

# Celebrate Int'l Working Women's Day 1977!

International Working Women's Day is celebrated throughout the world by all working and oppressed peoples. International Working Women's Day is an expression of the heroic struggle of women in the face of exploitation and oppression. In 1910, Clara Zetkin, a German communist, at the International Socialist Congress, declared March 8 an international holiday. The deaths of 147 women at the Triangle Shirtwaist sweatshop in New York in 1911 focused the hatred and anger of communists and all working class and oppressed women around the world against women's oppression by the bourgeoisie.

Today we celebrate International Working Women's Day in solidarity with the women of China, Albania, and other socialist countries in their struggle for socialist construction, with the oppressed women of all Third World countries who are fighting against colonialism, racism, zionism, imperialism, hegemonism, and all reaction. We celebrate with the entire

working class, all oppressed nationalities and national minorities, and women who are struggling to overthrow the capitalist system in order to gain genuine equality between men and women.

Today we must view International Working Women's Day not only as a day to celebrate, but as a time to sum up our past struggles and march forward towards our noble goal of communism.

## The Future is Bright, but the Road is Tortuous!

Today the world is in great disorder. World war and revolution are two contending trends: either world war will give rise to revolution, or revolution will prevent world war. More and more, the two superpowers are becoming exposed.

Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations in various countries have developed

and grown in strength in the fight against the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism. The Third World countries and peoples have won new victories and advanced in the struggle against colonialism, racism, zionism, imperialism, hegemonism, and all reaction. The working class and oppressed nationalities and national minorities in the U.S. and all capitalist countries have launched fresh offensives against their own bourgeoisies. On the other hand, the contention between U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism in Europe and the situation in Angola and southern Africa testify to the growing danger of a new world war and how Soviet social-imperialism is the main danger to the peoples of the world and the main source of war.

We cannot separate the women's movement from the larger international situation. As a representative from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) cor-  
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# WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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End the Criminal Rule  
of the U.S. Monopoly Capitalist Class,  
Fight for Socialism!

The Proletariat and Oppressed People  
and Nations of the World, Unite!

# No Triumph For 'ROOTS'

GLORIOUS AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY WILL NOT  
SERVE CAPITALISM!



*NAT TURNER  
REBELLION  
was only 1  
of hundreds  
of acts of  
mass resistance  
to the criminal  
system of  
slavery,  
part of the  
glorious  
history of  
U.S. multi-  
national  
proletariat.*

The 400-year historic struggle of the Afro-American people against slavery and all oppression and exploitation is a tremendous chapter in the history of the oppressed peoples of the U.S. and the world. Wave upon wave of Afro-Americans have fought and died in this struggle. As soon as one fell, another stepped in to continue the battle. The thousands of slave rebellions on slave-trade ships and southern plantations, the organization of the Underground Railroad, the Afro-Americans heroic role in the Civil War to smash slavery, the fight against Jim Crow, the defense of the Scottsboro boys, all the way to the Black Liberation Movement in the 1960's and the

fight of Afro-American industrial workers -- all these move us to song and tears.

The peoples of the entire world have drawn inspiration and strength from the tradition, power, and legacy of the Afro-American peoples' struggle against historic chattel slavery and contemporary wage slavery and national oppression. This is an affirmation of Chairman Mao's Marxist teaching that "the just struggles of all peoples support each other."

In particular, the powerful upsurge of the Afro-American movement in the late 1950's to early 70's did much to win the respect and support, not only of huge

sectors of the U.S. population, but of progressive and revolutionary people the world over. Fighting with resolute determination against police dog attacks, fire bombings, church bombings, lynchings, assassinations, etc., the spirit of resistance of the Afro-American people did much to fire the upsurge of struggles of the entire multinational proletariat, students and other oppressed peoples in the 60's and early 70's. This was a continuation of the historic determination and spirit of resistance against slave-whippings, destruction of family, death, etc., in the struggle against chattel slavery. (Continue on page 26)

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## Marxist-Leninists Unite

### 2 ROADS TO PARTY BUILDING

by the Bolshevik Workers  
Organization (Marxist-Leninist)

# MALCOLM X :

## 'Turning The Corner'

Today, twelve years after his assassination, the bourgeoisie is still trying to kill Malcolm's revolutionary work and ideas. Today, the ruling class is trying to rewrite the proud history of the Afro-American people's struggle against national and class oppression. But just as the bourgeoisie can never wipe away the conditions that produced a fighter such as Malcolm, neither can it stamp out the revolutionary essence of his thinking, one that was moving steadily toward the only revolutionary theory than can expose and destroy the roots of the sufferings of the oppressed people the world over - the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

Malcolm has always been remembered for his militant and heroic stand against oppression, and it was this stand and his advanced thinking which broke a path out of the swamp of reformism and bourgeois democracy in the Afro-American national movement. Malcolm hacked through bourgeois illusions of the state to reveal it as a tool of the ruling class. It was Malcolm who clearly pointed to the role of social props (misleaders) particularly within the national movement. It was Malcolm who correctly saw and exposed the reactionary dual tactics of the bourgeoisie. It was Malcolm who saw that the end result of bourgeois nationalism was reformism, and that the stand with the oppressed of the world is a clarion call for proletarian internationalism. It was Malcolm's consistent revolutionary stand with the oppressed Afro-American masses that enabled him to develop the revolutionary views which directed the path out of gradualism, integrationism, and reformism that held back the struggle.

As time goes by, Malcolm's stature continues to grow. The bourgeoisie, who furiously attacked him while he was alive - and assassinated him - attempts to make him harmless, trying to distort, dilute, and vulgarize his revolutionary teachings. Today, the bourgeoisie and their lackies "pay tribute" to his memory, from broadcasting his speeches on radio to allowing his autobiography to be read inside classrooms. The ruling class tries to distort and confuse Malcolm's developing revolutionary ideas because what they fear most is the ever clearer direction Malcolm was heading - turning the corner toward Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. But as time goes by, Malcolm's memory is cherished by millions who loved him and his historic contributions toward the inevitable process that Chairman Mao foretold in his speech in 1968 - "the inevitable merger of the Afro-American national movement with the working class movement."

### By Any Means Necessary

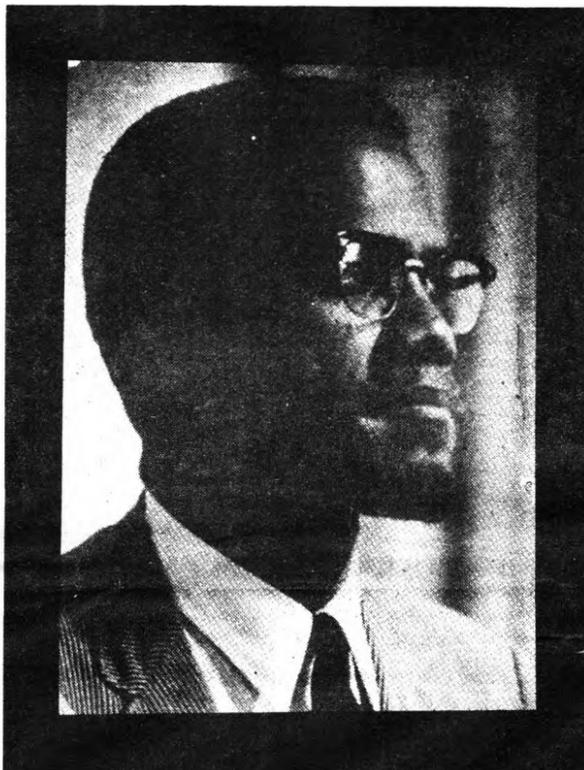
In Dec. 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks, an Afro-American woman worker, refused to give up her seat on a city bus. The bus driver had her arrested, and the smoldering power of the Afro-American people erupted with the Montgomery bus boycott. Following the example of four students from North Carolina A&T, sitting in at a segregated Greensboro lunch counter, wave after wave of sit-ins, freedom rides, and marches burst across the Black Belt South. This was a powerful and progressive movement, the struggle to smash Jim Crow restrictive laws across the South.

But as the Civil Rights Movement developed, the masses became increasingly disillusioned with the openly reformist leadership and methods of struggle, particularly the NAACP's reliance on the courts and legal methods, which smothered the revolutionary actions of the Afro-American masses. The failure of non-violence and the need for self-defense became clear in the face of clubs, dogs, and bullets. And as the movement developed, the Afro-

American masses became more and more convinced of the bankruptcy of integrationism and searched for new forms and a new philosophy and objective of struggle.

As national minister of the Nation of Islam in 1963, Malcolm X voiced this disillusionment, both expressing and pushing forward the new mood of the Afro-American masses. Expressing the experience of 400 years of oppression, and exposing the lie of bourgeois democracy, Malcolm said:

"...Well, I am one who doesn't believe in deluding myself. I'm



not going to sit at your table and watch you eat, with nothing on my plate, and call myself a diner. Sitting at the table doesn't make you a diner, unless you eat some of what's on the plate. Being here in America doesn't make you an American...

"...No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver -- no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And, I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream, I see an American nightmare..."

In reaction to the counter-revolutionary violence of the state and the Ku Klux Klan -- sanctioned and instigated by the ruling class -- Malcolm charged:

"If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be defending black women and children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her..."

Exposing the bourgeoisie's hypocrisy of preaching non-violence at home, he said:

"...and if it is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country."

Malcolm broke through the illusion that the aspirations of Afro-American people can be achieved by any means except violent revolutionary struggle. Ridiculing the pacifist turn-the-other-cheek tactics of "moral persuasion" pushed by the established Civil Rights officials, Malcolm pointed to the revolutions of national liberation sweeping the Third World as an example:

"...Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in the way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on a wall, saying 'I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me.'

"No, you need a revolution. Whoever heard of a revolution where you lock arms, as Rev. Cleage was pointing out beautifully, singing 'We Shall Overcome?' You don't do that in a revolution. You don't do any singing, you are too busy swinging."

### THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

By 1963, the powerful Afro-American movement had grown beyond the control of the "Negro leaders of national stature. After almost a decade of struggle, the anger at the grass roots was smoldering. All across the country, the word was to march on Washington, shut it down, and keep it shut to dramatize the struggle for equal rights.

The revolutionary anger of the Afro-American people was about to explode, and in Washington, the bourgeoisie was shaking with fear:

"...When they found out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in those national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, 'Call it off.'

"Kennedy said, 'Look, you all are letting this thing get too far.' And Old Tom said, 'Boss, I can't stop, because I didn't start it... And that shrewd old fox (Kennedy), he said, 'If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it, I'll endorse it, I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it...'

And thus Kennedy, the more advanced representative of the bourgeoisie, temporarily disintegrated the surging mass movement, sidetracking the potentially revolutionary demonstrations into a picnic:

"...and as they took it over...it ceased to be angry, it ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. Nothing but a circus, with clowns and all..."

And for the 250,000 who came to Washington, the bourgeoisie, with the aid of its social props -- just as in the attempt to turn the April 25 demonstration into a picnic two years ago --

"...controlled it so tight, they told them Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what signs to carry, what songs to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make, and then told them to get out of town by sundown.

"...It was a circus, a performance that beat anything Hollywood could ever do, the performance of the year ..."

### Why Malcolm Joined Muslims...

Born in Lansing, Michigan, the son of a Garveyite minister, murdered by the KKK,

and a West Indian mother driven to insanity, Malcolm grew up in the streets of Roxbury and Harlem. It was while in prison, on a 10-year rap for burglary, that the Nation of Islam - first, through his family - approached him with some of the answers he was searching for, as a vehicle to combat national oppression and chauvinism: the Nation, through its militant stand against the "white man", whom at that time Malcolm perceived as the enemy, through its mythological explanation of the oppression of black people, through its call for Black Self-respect.

Malcolm responded to the call to pull themselves up as a people, to reject the imperialist and chauvinist image of the Afro-American community as inherently ridden with drugs, prostitution and alcohol - all products of class and national oppression. It was a refusal to accept the oppressor's degrading image, the oppressor's attempt to crush the Afro-American people's spirit of resistance. At that time, this call for Black self-respect was a spontaneous form of resistance to national oppression.

As Malcolm put it in his autobiography:

"...the religion of Islam had reached down into the mud to lift me up, to save me from being what I inevitably would have been: a dead criminal in a grave, or, if still alive, a flint-hard, bitter, thirty-seven year old convict in some penitentiary or insane asylum. Or, at best, I would have been an old, fading Detroit Red, hustling, stealing enough for food and narcotics, and myself being stalked as prey by cruelly ambitious younger hustlers such as Detroit Red had been."

Like many others, Malcolm's conversion to the Nation (and later to orthodox Islam, following his trip to Mecca) supplied the form for his early struggle against national oppression and chauvinism, given the lack of genuine communist leadership and proletarian ideology. Malcolm picked up the ideology of the Nation, clothed in religious garb, as a weapon - primitive, but a weapon nevertheless - in the class struggle. As Karl Marx explained over a hundred years ago, "religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress."

But Malcolm was clear that he was first and foremost a fighter for the freedom of his people:

"...no religion will ever make me forget the conditions of our people in this country. No religion will ever make me forget the continued fighting with dogs against our people in this country. No religion will ever make me forget the police clubs that come up 'side our heads. No God, no religion, no nothing will make me forget it until it stops, until it's finished, until it's eliminated. I want to make that point clear."

But more so than anything else, Malcolm's critical and combative spirit and his firm stand with the common people were pushing him to more and more advanced solutions to the suffering of the Afro-American masses. It was this that was responsible for his break with the Nation. It was this that forced Malcolm to truly begin to come into his own - a revolutionary hero. And it was Malcolm's independent search for a guiding political philosophy that forced the bourgeoisie to recognize that he was a threat to their existence and murder him.

#### ...AND WHY MALCOLM INEVITABLY BROKE

In late 1963, Malcolm, in answer to a reporter's question about the assassination of Kennedy, responded, in his forthright, pull-no-punches way, that it was a case of chickens come home to roost - the contradictions in the U.S. perpetuated in the killing of defenseless black people had struck down the Chief of State.

Within minutes, the news media had distorted these words which had been expressed by many others into an ominous stirring up of "race hatred." More important, this incident was used by

Elijah Muhammed as an excuse to silence Malcolm and then to force him to leave the Nation.

It was an excuse, because even while Malcolm was in the Nation, serious differences arose over the tactics pushed by the Nation, which Malcolm was already going beyond. The Nation under Elijah had a strict policy of abstaining from other struggles being waged; for example, in 1962, when seven unarmed Muslims were shot in cold blood by Los Angeles police, Malcolm flew to L.A., organized mass protests and rallied all segments of the Afro-American community, as well as whites, against police rampage in a mass defense movement. Yet Elijah smothered the growing nation-wide movement and turned the potentially revolutionary mass movement into a pure legal defense in the courts under the pretext that it would "only antagonize and make it worse for brothers in court."

While Malcolm represented the spontaneous national sentiment of the Afro-American masses, which in essence is for liberation and the end of all oppression and exploitation, the Nation represented the aspirations of the Afro-American national and petty bourgeoisie striving for a market, "a piece of the rock." The national bourgeoisie utilizes the spontaneous progressive sentiment for self-respect, molds into meaning "Buy Black," as opposed to the self-respect developed in the uncompromising struggle against all oppression and exploitation.

Inevitably, the Nation tried to use the national sentiment of the Afro-American masses against national oppression to cover its own class interests. While Malcolm's revolutionary message was, "By any means necessary," and thereby fundamentally challenging the class rule of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, the Nation clothed their capitalist aspirations in bourgeois nationalism, which inevitably had to merge with reformism. This is why Malcolm inevitably broke with the Nation.

### Turning the Corner

In 1964, after his split from the Muslims, Malcolm noted that the capitalist-controlled media, which had always portrayed him as a "hate-monger":

"refused to convey that I was attempting to teach Negroes a new direction... I was trying to turn a corner, into a new regard by the public, especially Negroes..."

At first the break to Malcolm was a severe disillusionment -- "as if the stars had failed" -- but with his departure, his political philosophy blossomed. The last year of his life was a period of vital and fast-paced enrichment and development of his thinking -- a process that was steadily leading towards Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Malcolm took a definite anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist stance; he clearly linked up the common interests of oppressed peoples round the world -- the proletarian internationalist stance that the just struggles of all peoples support one another. Malcolm pulled the covers off the bourgeoisie's dual tactics and he cleared the path towards genuine multinational unity forged in the heat of class struggle.

In an address to his newly-formed Organization of Afro-American Unity, Malcolm spoke of the unbreakable bond between the Afro-American and African people, linking the murder of Medgar Evers and the fire-bombing of a Birmingham church, and the U.S.-Belgian invasion to stop the freedom-fighters in the Congo:

"You can't understand what is going on in Mississippi if you don't understand what is going on in the Congo... And you can't really be interested in what's going on in Mississippi if you're not also interested in what's going on in the Congo. They're both the same... The same interests are at stake... the same schemes are at work... the same stake -- no difference whatsoever."

What were the same interests? Malcolm pointed to the capitalist system:

"You can't operate a capitalistic system unless you are vulturistic; you have to have someone else's blood to

suck to be a capitalist. You show me a capitalist, I'll show you a blood-sucker..."

And while Malcolm drew inspiration and strength from the upsurges on the African continent, he didn't limit his scope to Africa only. Paying tribute to the heroism of the national liberation fighters of Vietnam:

"Little rice farmers, peasants, with a rifle -- up against all the highly mechanized weapons of warfare -- jets, napalm, battle ships, everything else, and they can't put those rice farmers back where they want them. Somebody's waking up..."

Malcolm was wide awake to the schemes of U.S. imperialism. Pointing to the 'benevolent' approach of U.S. neo-colonialism replacing the old-line colonial powers in Africa:

"They switched from the old openly colonial imperialist approach to the benevolent approach. They came up with some benevolent colonialism, philanthropic colonialism, humanitarianism, or dollarism. Immediately everything was Peace Corps, Operation Crossroads, 'We've got to help our African brothers'."

#### THE WOLF AND THE FOX

During the 1964 Presidential campaign Malcolm was traveling in Africa. In answer to a reporter's question, he said:

"Johnson or Goldwater? ... as far as the American black is concerned they are both just about the same. It's only a question of Johnson, the fox, or Goldwater, the wolf... they both will eat him..."

Malcolm was always vigilant to the bourgeoisie's two-faced tactics. While the "C" PUSA was pushing their "anti-monopoly coalition" and uniting with the "liberal" bourgeoisie, Malcolm was crystal clear to the fact that

"The wolf and the fox are both enemies of humanity... both have the same objectives but differ only in methods."

And while Malcolm was clear on the fundamental unity of the ruling class, he also saw that the "liberal" fox was more crafty -- and more dangerous:

"... in a wolf's den, I'd always know exactly where I stand: I'd watch the dangerous wolf closer than the smooth sly fox. The wolf's very growling would keep me alert and fighting him to survive, whereas I might be lulled and fooled by the tricky fox..."

Malcolm grasped what Chairman Mao described as the "inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. government at home and its policies of aggression abroad." He linked the "new approach" of U.S. imperialism in the Third World to its reactionary tricks at home:

"J.F. Kennedy also saw that it was necessary for a new approach among the American Negroes. And during his entire term in office, he specialized in how to psyche the American Negro... Kennedy's new approach was pretending to go along with us in our struggle for civil rights..."

Malcolm was able to see through the bourgeoisie's use of the tactic of reform -- to disintegrate the revolutionary movement, on the one hand, and repression on the other:

"In 1963, it was the march on Washington, in 1964, what was it? The Civil Rights Bill. Right after they passed the Civil Rights Bill, they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it, murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the Civil Rights Bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable us to let off our frustrations. But the bill itself was not designed to solve our problems... It wasn't designed to solve the problems, it was designed to lessen the explosion..."

"What will they give us in 1965? I just read where they planned to make a black cabinet member. Yes, they have a new gimmick every year. They're going to take one of their boys, black boys, and put him in the cabinet, so he can walk around Washington with a cigar --

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# AMNESTY: PREPARATION FOR WAR

Carter's amnesty plan, his latest in a string of populist frauds, brings into sharp focus the question of the communist position on war, revolution, and the imperialist army.

Carter's sham amnesty plan reveals the deep class contradictions in the decaying capitalist system. The children of the monopoly capitalists, of course, never saw the inside of an army barrack or wore "olive drab" green. Carter's phoney amnesty covers the approximately 6,000 largely petty bourgeois students who refused induction and had access to lawyers and counseling. His plan pits them against the servicemen overwhelmingly from the working class and oppressed nationalities, the 100,000 who deserted, and the close to 800,000 who received "less than honorable discharges" (less than honorable from the capitalist standpoint), all in direct defiance of the imperialist war in Southeast Asia. Imperialist conscription and Carter's amnesty plan are attacks on the whole working class and on Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Americans, and other oppressed nationalities and national minorities who formed part of the backbone of the resistance to imperialist war.

The real class content of "dishonorable discharge" and desertion is clear. Carter's amnesty plan deliberately singles out the close to one million men, almost exclusively from the working class and oppressed nationalities, who expressed their spontaneous outrage at the Vietnam War and who carried on class struggle directly within the military. The 6,000 draft resisters covered by Carter's plan, who largely fled to Canada, played a progressive role in building the anti-imperialist movement. But basically only these petty bourgeois students, and not the broad masses of men from the working class and oppressed nationalities, could meet the restrictive Canadian immigration requirements based upon a point system for having sponsorship, an income, bringing in a minimum amount of cash, having skills and education, etc. The Canadian monopoly capitalists' "point system" was rigged to favor students with advanced education and petty bourgeois professional experience, and deliberately excluded the working class and oppressed minorities and nationalities.

The nature of the "offenses" also brings out the class nature of the resistance. The 100,000 men who deserted the military, unable to afford fancy lawyers or bribe their draft boards, like the monopoly capitalists or to accumulate points in Canada, like the petty bourgeoisie, were working class men who were expressing their open defiance of the crumbling imperialist army by refusing to fight the heroic Vietnamese people. And for those who received "less than honorable discharge," A.W.O.L., insubordination became a way of life for many working class youth. Rather than knuckle under daily threats and harrassments and be used as cannon fodder for U.S. monopoly capital, working class men turned to A.W.O.L., insubordination, and eventually to sabotage, mutiny and shooting of officers. This resistance to the bourgeoisie is "dishonorable," and "criminal" only to the bourgeoisie. To the working class, it is honorable and heroic!

## Amnesty and the Liberal Fascist Carter

The working class demands total, unconditional amnesty! But Carter's plan, of course, is a total sham. Even the bourgeois press is forced to admit that draft resisters in Canada, in solidarity with deserters, are refusing Carter's plan.

Carter's amnesty plan is a clear example of the bourgeois reactionary dual tactics of reform and repression. The bourgeoisie, on one hand, uses "dishonorable discharge" and the threat of imprisonment as a form of repression to subjugate the working class and oppressed nationalities in the military. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie uses selective amnesty to divide and disintegrate working class resistance to imperialist conscription and war.

Like his \$50 rebate, his "immediate and total" disarmament plan and his billion dollar work programs, amnesty is a sugar coated bullet, designed to split the working class movement to create illusions of bourgeois democracy, to create confusion within the workers' movement and prepare for world war. Carter, the liberal fascist, is an advanced representative of the bourgeoisie. Like Roosevelt and Kennedy before him, Carter wears the "liberal" mask in order to better "restore faith" in the thoroughly discredited bourgeois democratic system. His carefully packaged "just folks" image, his fireside chats, his "people's Inaugural," his populist "new spirit," his "Dial-a-President" are choreographed to deceive the masses in the face of the general crisis of capitalism and the ruling class' preparations for fascism.

Carter's amnesty plan is a direct preparation for world war. The bourgeoisie is anxious to, as Senator Kennedy said, "heal the wounds of the Vietnam War." But the bourgeoisie's plan to "put Vietnam behind us," in reality actually means to "put Europe ahead of us," to gear up for the next world war with the Soviet Soviet Imperialists. The two superpowers, carving up the world to plunder the Second and Third World, are preparing for world war, where the focus of contention is Europe. The bourgeoisie's amnesty plan is attempting to quickly put an end to one of the stormiest periods in the spontaneous movement, for the bourgeoisie cannot maintain a "reliable" military force if the heroic memories of the armed resistance to imperialism are still fresh in the minds of every soldier from the working class and oppressed nationalities! To collude and contend even more fiercely with the Soviet Social-imperialists to carve up the world, the U.S. bourgeoisie must have a free hand in conscripting a new imperialist army to fight over the world's resources and wealth. But this preparation for war can be accomplished only if the liberal fascist is successful in disintegrating the spontaneous movement.

## Spontaneous Disintegration of the U.S. Army

Oppression in the military is one concentrated form of national and class oppression. Yet hundreds of thousands of soldiers defied threats, courtmartial, and imprisonment in Ft. Leavenworth and turned their guns around. In many rifle platoons, class and national oppression would erupt into open revolutionary warfare. In solidarity with the Vietnamese people, GIs would throw fragmentation grenades at officers who would order them to oppress the Vietnamese people. Even the bourgeoisie is forced to admit that "fragging" of officers and noncoms were running at the rate of one a week in one division alone.

In 1971, so great was the total collapse of the U.S. military that Col. Robert D. Heinl, Jr. was forced to admit:

"The morale, discipline and battle worthiness of the U.S. Armed Forces are...lower and worse than at any time in this century and possibly in the history of the United States...our army that now remains in Vietnam is in a state of approaching collapse, with individual units avoiding or having

refused combat, murdering their officers...drug-ridden and unspirited where not mutinous." (Armed Forces Journal)

So thorough, so deep was the widespread resistance, that more men openly resisted the imperialist war (almost one million) than actively served combat duty in Vietnam (800,000). So great were the number of GIs in the war who mutined in the infantry that the bourgeoisie, in desperation, had to set up special companies for them. Entire units became paralyzed on missions in Vietnam when faced with revolutionary soldiers who would openly defy direct orders and who wouldn't hesitate to shoot their own officers. Troops refused direct orders to invade Cambodia while the bourgeoisie still denied their imperialist aggression in that country. In 1971, the GIs of B Company, 1/12, First Cavalry Division, in overwhelming opposition to the imperialist war and in unity with the cause of Vietnamese liberation, declared a ceasefire with the NLF.

Troops in the U.S. openly ripped up orders to be shipped out to fight in Vietnam. Starting in 1966 with 33 soldiers in Ft. Hood who refused their orders to be shipped out, thousands of spontaneous revolts erupted, like the sailors of the attack carrier U.S.S. Coral Sea in 1971 who linked up with 30,000 anti-imperialist demonstrators in San Francisco.

And when G.I.'s weren't refusing orders, staging sit-ins, chaining themselves to paralyze entire ships and planes, burning down entire barracks, leading brig revolts, they were also engaged in direct acts of sabotage. To prevent the U.S.S. Ranger from joining the imperialist war in S.E. Asia, sailors threw bolts directly into the ship's gears, creating massive damage and immobilizing the ship for months.

Afro-Americans have a particularly rich history against imperialism. Imperialist conscription of Afro-American youth represents a direct act of national oppression against the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South. Afro-Americans have played a leading role in disintegrating the U.S. military, shutting down military bases in Vietnam and Germany in reaction to the military's racism and open promotion of the KKK. The military has also been a great training ground for armed struggle -- hundreds of thousands of Afro-Americans received advanced weaponry training in the military, invaluable for any revolutionary action.

After WWII, for example, Robert F. Williams organized Afro-Americans in direct reaction to the provocation of the KKK. Using his weapons training he set up one of the first armed self-defense militias in the Black Belt South. In the late 1960's, many of the cadre of the Black Panther Party were trained by the U.S. military in Vietnam -- they clearly understood the role of force in history and had no illusions of the necessity for armed struggle. In 1968, 200 Afro-Americans in Ft. Hood refused orders for Vietnam and staged a massive sit-down demonstration, which paralyzed the ship. Resistance was particularly sharp among Afro-Americans -- the imperialist army was forced to discharge 300,000 Afro-Americans for spontaneous acts of resistance to the imperialist war. And if the bourgeoisie dares to unleash another world war, Afro-Americans will once again be in the front ranks of the armed resistance within the heart of the imperialist army!

The disintegration of the imperialist armed forces in Vietnam took place largely spontaneously, without

# DISINTEGRATE THE IMPERIALIST ARMY!

the genuine vanguard leadership of the anti-revisionist communist party. It's perfectly clear that the history of spontaneous G.I. insurrections proves that heroic revolutionary struggles within the U.S. Imperialist army demands communist leadership and the science of Marxism-Leninism.

## Communist Stand on the Standing Army

There are some important parallels between the spontaneous disintegration of the U.S. army and the revolutionary conditions in 1917 Russia. During the first imperialist war, with over 2 million Russian deserters fleeing the collapsing European front, with the Bolshevik Party actively forming cells within the Army to lead scores of armed mutinies, the correct Leninist line turned imperialist war to civil war. The massive Petrograd strikes of deserters from the disastrous war, the arming of the Kronstadt sailors and Red Guards, and the capture of the battleship Aurora played key roles in paralyzing the bourgeois forces and in paving the way for the storming of the Winter Palace and the seizure of state power. The Bolsheviks did not boycott the war, but sent their cadre right in to paralyze and disintegrate the army, winning over the best proletarian elements for the Red Army. The Comintern clearly carried out Lenin's line on the imperialist army:

"From the same standpoint of the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, the Communists take their stand with regard to the slogan of refusal of military service (boycott of war) advocated by certain "radical" pacifists and Left Social Democrats. The Communists fight against this slogan for the following reasons:

a) The idea that imperialist war can be rendered impossible by a call for the refusal of military service, by calling upon those liable for military service to refuse to answer the call for mobilization is as illusory as the idea of "replying to war with a general strike." Propaganda in favor of this prescription merely serves to weaken the genuine revolutionary struggle against war. b) Even if a "mass boycott" were at least partially successful, the result would be that the most determined and class-conscious workers would remain outside the army. Systematic revolutionary work in the army - one of the most vital tasks in the struggle against war - would then be impossible.

But Lenin's instructions regarding the Communists' attitude towards the boycott (the refusal of military service) as a means of combating war, does not mean that the Communists must urge the masses of workers to join the bourgeois armies. It means that the Communists, while strongly combating the harmful and illusory boycott slogan, must agitate for revolutionary work and organization in the bourgeois army, for the arming of the proletariat and for the transformation of imperialist war into civil war.

Therefore, when the question of joining the bourgeois army or refusal of military service (boycott) is raised, the Communists must advise the workers and poor peasants to reject the refusal of the military service slogan, to avail themselves of the opportunity to learn the use of arms, to carry on revolutionary work in the army and, at the proper moment, to turn their weapons against the bourgeoisie. (Resolutions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, Communist International, 1928)

The Comintern's Leninist line of actively sending communists into the imperialist army provides correct leadership of the correct line to thousands of spontaneous soldiers revolts, unleashing their revolutionary potential, actively furthering the fusion with the spontaneous movement, concretely laying the groundwork for setting up a network of cells within the military, hastening the disintegration of the imperialist armed



200 Afro-American sailors paralyze the U.S.S. Constellation in San Diego in Nov. 1972. The genuine Communist Party will lead these spontaneous acts of rebellion to step-by-step disintegrate the imperialist army and overthrow the ruling class!!

forces

With regard to the imperialist army, this is precisely the real, living content of the slogan "turn imperialist war into civil war." Every militant struggle for partial demands, every act of sabotage, every mutiny, every act of insurrection in the army can build for general armed rebellion against the imperialists in the army. This correct line arms the proletariat and paralyzes the bourgeois forces. Even in cases where there is a large spontaneous movement toward boycottism, the Communist Party staunchly unites with all progressive forces to defeat the boycott ideology and the pacifist boycott slogan of "refusal of military service".

"Persistent and intensified work must be conducted for the purpose of disintegrating the bourgeois armies, which work at the moment of the uprising, will assume the character of a struggle for the army." (Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International - 1928)

## RCP Disarms the Masses Militarily, Politically and Ideologically

But there are opportunists and sham communists in the working class movement who openly are disarming the proletariat ideologically, politically, and militarily by refusing to do meticulous exposure of all the bourgeoisie's liberal masks and the social props and by promoting pacifist illusions with their populist slogan "we won't fight another rich man's war." Blinded by their own populist illusions, and their economist "mass line," they cannot do the necessary patient ideological and political work to steel the masses against the tricks of the bourgeoisie and the social props. The RCP slogan, "we won't fight another rich man's war" directly isolates communists from the broad masses of class conscious soldiers in the military who are actively picking up the gun to fight the imperialists. By failing to provide communist leadership to the forces of resistance within the army, RCP's line guarantees that resistance will remain scattered, disorganized, misled and hence arms the bourgeoisie. By failing to fuse with the soldier's revolts, the RCP line denies the proletariat the forces of armed class conscious working class soldiers. "The closer and more imminent the danger of war becomes, the more dangerous becomes so-called "radical pacifism" (emphasis ours), (Ibid). Their "radical petty bourgeois" slogan reflects a lack of grasp that it is the real spontaneous resistance of the working class and oppressed nationalities and minorities in the army that is the real material out of which insurrection and disintegration of the bourgeois army will come, and not from petty bourgeois students hiding out in Canada.

The social pacifist RCP has for years tailed behind the "boycott" movement. There was clearly a progressive and proletarian kernel in the spontaneous resistance to the US imperialist aggression in Vietnam, manifested in many persons resisting conscription,

fleeing to Canada, etc. But for communists to tail, and even to attempt to lead and promote this pacifist boycott movement is a traitorous act against the working class. The Bolshevik Party, unlike petty bourgeois radicals, did not chant "we won't fight another rich man's war", but instead penetrated, paralyzed, and finally disintegrated the imperialist army, turning entire regiments into Red Army units.

The RCP rips the heart out of the slogan "turning imperialist war into civil war". They demagogically treat Lenin's line as an empty slogan, without the slightest shred of understanding as to how to turn imperialist war into civil war. All their radical petty bourgeois, economist deviations on this question jump out because they pragmatically fail to grasp that the real content of turning imperialist war into civil war, with regard to the imperialist army, is precisely to press for the disintegration of the bourgeois army

and not "boycott". As Lenin makes clear in Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, "No revolution has ever taken place without the disintegration of the ruling class' standing army."

"...not a single great revolution has ever taken place or ever can take place, without the "disorganization" of the army... Counter revolution has never tolerated, and never can tolerate, armed workers side by side with the army... The first commandment of every victorious revolution, as Marx and Engels repeatedly emphasized, was to smash the old army, dissolve it and replace it by a new one. A new social class, when rising to power, never could and cannot now, attain power and consolidate it except by completely disintegrating the old army." (LCW, vol. 28, pg. 284)

It is perfectly clear that RCP's boycott line isolates communists from the mass movement, and actively disarms the proletariat and is, as Lenin said, a "stupid phrase".

Lenin was absolutely right, therefore, when in 1922, on the basis of experience of the world war, he wrote "Boycott the war 'is a stupid phrase.' The Communists must participate in every reactionary war." (Ibid)

If the bourgeoisie dares to unleash another world war, then the stand of communists must be clear, a clarion call to turn imperialist war into civil war under the correct leadership of the new Communist Party. Like the Bolsheviks in 1917, the new Communist Party in this country will penetrate and paralyze the military and turn the guns of the standing army onto the bourgeoisie itself. The masses of class conscious workers, who have been steeled in innumerable struggles against the increasingly sophisticated masks and tricks of the bourgeoisie and against fascism, will brush aside the social pacifists and opportunists of all shades, like the RCP and OL, and will continue on its historic mission to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism! ■

## People Suffer, Capitalists Profit

# ENERGY "SHORTAGE"

The "energy crisis" is here again. As temperatures around the country plummet to record lows in the harshest winter in a century, working class and oppressed nationality families must face the brutal cold in unheated apartments. Everyday, the bourgeois press is filled with reports of people freezing to death in their homes or huddled in icy apartments with gaping holes in the walls. Hundreds of thousands are laid off in New York and New Jersey alone while the prices of fuel sky-rocket. Working class families in the East Coast and Midwest are forced to turn down their thermostats, endangering the health of young infants. Elderly people, after spending their lives working so that the monopoly capitalists can live in luxury and who now must live on tiny fixed incomes, must spend even a greater percentage of their meager income just to keep warm!

The ruling class is using the unusually cold winter to further oppress the working class while reaping tremendous windfall profits. This is another example of the criminal rule of the monopoly capitalists and the depths of their political and economic crisis. Just as the ruling class attempted to blame the Arab boycott for the "oil shortage" in 1973, they are attempting to blame "Mother Nature" for the "natural gas shortage." However, just as the exposure of the "oil shortage" was another nail in the coffin of the bourgeoisie, so too will the exposure of the "natural gas shortage" be still another.

### SHAM SHORTAGE FOR MONOPOLY CAPITALIST SUPERPROFITS

First, there is no natural shortage at all! Even bourgeois sources admit that in general, the U.S. has enough energy reserves for hundreds of years. In fact, even the oil companies who also dominate the natural gas production admit that the "shortage" is not a question of the lack of natural gas, but the lack of "incentives" for natural gas development, exploration, and production for the oil companies. The oil companies, Mobil for example, in newspaper ads dating back for years have even warned that unless the price of gas were raised, they would stop exploring and producing more natural gas. The "energy crisis" in the main has nothing to do with "Mother Nature" but with the anarchy inherent in capitalist production--production in the interests of the monopoly capitalists.

Thus there is a situation where trillions of cubic feet of gas sit untapped because of the lack of increased profits in it for the monopoly capitalists who would have us unemployed and frozen first.

### PROFITS FROM INCREASED EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING CLASS A NECESSITY UNDER CAPITALISM

The bloodthirsty quest for profits is not caused by simple greed alone. It is an objective necessity under imperialism. Simply put, because the capitalist system runs on profit and is rooted in competition, there is also an inevitable falling rate of profit. How is this so? To compete in the period of early, competitive capitalism, the capitalist had to constantly expand his machinery, plant size, use of raw materials and fuel, etc., in order to survive against his competitors. In return, competition bred, and still breeds, monopoly. To cheapen production, to broaden his market, to create disadvantages for his competitors, the early capitalist was forced to grow larger and larger, the same as a small cobbler, who could only produce 10 pairs of shoes a day could not compete with the shoe factory (with machinery, hundreds of workers, etc.) that produced thousands of pairs of shoes per day and who could lower the cost of producing each pair of shoes. As one capitalist built larger plants, employed more workers, and introduced machinery, thereby able to

undersell his competitor, the competitor was forced to follow suit or go under. He was forced to expand or die, in the ruthless world of capitalism. In this way, then, the factories and machinery (the means of production) were continually revolutionized. In this way, the plant and machinery -- the constant capital -- got larger and larger, and the big fish ate the little fish.

The Ford company has grown, for instance, from a little family business to a huge monopoly today, contending with the other giants. Remember all the car companies like Packard, that have long since "bit the dust" unable to compete? Today in the period of monopoly capitalism, no one is going to compete against the Big Three car manufacturers by opening a small factory down on the corner. "Free" competition (or "free enterprise" as the bourgeoisie calls it) is a long, dead, relic of the past.

In turn, monopoly intensifies competition as monopolies struggle for hegemony.

### LABOR PRODUCES PROFIT

The only source of profit for the capitalist is the value extracted from the labor of the worker. That is, if a worker produces \$4 worth of value an hour and is paid \$2 an hour, after an 8 hour shift, he or she will have produced \$32 worth of value and have been paid only \$16 as wages. The remaining \$16 is called the surplus value, which is what the capitalist appropriates,

Profit, according to Marx, is the ratio between the surplus value and the total capital invested in an undertaking. This total capital is divided into two components--that which is needed for machinery, buildings, raw materials, fuel, etc. (called constant capital), and that which is used to pay the workers (called variable capital). Variable capital might be, for instance, the money in the bank account which the capitalist has set aside for wages to the workers on the payroll.

Therefore as competition forces the capitalist to expand his machinery, etc. (his constant capital), the total capital invested increases. And since the rate of profit is the ratio between surplus value and the total capital, the ratio then also increases. So, for example, if the amount of surplus value is \$5 and the total capital invested is \$10 (of course, the figure under imperialism runs into the billions) then the ratio is 5:10 or a 50% rate of profit. However, if the total capital invested is raised to \$15, then the ratio becomes 5:15 or a 33% rate.

Thus the capitalist is caught in an unsolvable contradiction--he must expand or die and yet if he expands without increasing his surplus value (the exploitation of the labor of the worker), his rate of profit declines!

The only way to counter-balance the falling rate of profit is by increasing the exploitation of the worker (through lengthening the work day, speed-up, etc.) which lead to heightened class contradictions; by artificial maintenance of high prices due to monopolization of industries; by exporting capital to countries where the rate of exploitation is higher as in oppressed Third World countries, which leads to intensified national contradictions with imperialism - by shifting capital to industries in which there is a higher rate of profit.

An example of how this process serves two purposes, one, of continuing the process of monopolization, and two, avoiding temporarily a fall in the overall rate of profit, can be seen with all the giant monopolies. ITT invests in food products, Gulf and Western diversifies into Paramount Pictures, Ford Motor into Philco (as only tiny samples), all of which are in turn controlled by tremendous financial groups. By investing in other in-

dustries, the monopoly capitalist can temporarily avoid a decrease in the rate of profit. However, the cycle of increasing constant capital created by the necessity of expansion in this new industry inevitably starts again.

It is obvious that this "natural gas shortage" is just another attempt by the ruling class to increase the exploitation of the oppressed masses as the capitalists struggle to survive. In fact, it provides an excellent opportunity by which the oil companies can force the Rockefeller program for energy resources down the throats of the working class.

This program provides that the government subsidize the oil monopolies in their exploration and development of energy resources and insure the oil monopolies against loss. What does this mean? It means the working class pays for the risks through our taxes while the monopoly capitalists reap the profits. In return the working class pays through the nose for inflated fuel prices!

It is the classic "got-you-coming-and-going" scheme. In fact, the whole capitalist system is a "got-you-coming-and-going" scheme for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. They tell you to switch to gas because of the "oil shortage" and then have a "natural gas shortage." They blame "Mother Nature" for the steadily rising price of food or they blame "Mother Nature" for the fact that people are freezing to death in unheated apartments and not on the fact that the apartments were unheated for the lack of fuel and/or the criminal state of the housing in which workers are forced to live in the first place! This dictatorship of the bourgeoisie must be destroyed!!

### "ENERGY CRISIS"--AIDING PROCESS OF CONCENTRATION

Another characteristic of imperialism is that "the extremely rapid rate of technical progress gives rise to increasing elements of disparity between the various spheres of national economy, to anarchy and crisis...Crises of every kind--economic crises most frequently, but not only these--in their turn increase very considerably the tendency toward concentration and towards monopoly." (Lenin, *Imperialism Highest Stage of Capitalism*, FLP)

The natural gas "shortage" is an effective illustration of the continuing concentration of capital under imperialism--that of the big fish swallowing the little fish. This happens in two ways. First, the giant oil monopolies dominate the natural gas industry. As the windfall profits from the skyrocketing prices of natural gas increase their already bulging coffers, it increasingly puts the smaller oil companies who do not gain as much at a disadvantage. Unable to compete in the long-term, these companies, going in deeper and deeper debt to the banks which control the major oil companies, eventually are swallowed up by the giant monopolies.

Second, the small industrial companies forced to close due to the monopolies' control of natural gas cannot sustain the losses as well as the larger companies, and eventually, they too must surrender to the monopolies and banking interests. Thus the concentration process continues as the monopoly capitalists swallow the little fish, struggle for contention among themselves, and try desperately to delay the inevitable collapse of their dying system.

### NO TEMPORARY SHORTAGE EITHER

There isn't even any temporary shortage of natural gas. The bourgeois New York Times has even reported of a single operator in Texas that has enough natural gas on hand to fuel the entire country for the next six months! However, indicative of the criminal, av- aricious nature of capitalism, he re-

fuses to release it until the price of natural gas sold interstate goes up! The price of gas that is sold within a state is about \$2 per thousand cubic feet, while the price of gas that is sold interstate, which is regulated federally, is about \$1.42. These blood-suckers are simply waiting until the interstate prices are "deregulated" and thus raised before they sell their gas to gas-deficient areas.

Yet even before this "shortage" the profits of the gas pipelines and distributors rose an average of 20%. For example, the People Gas distributors over the last 12 months (at existing prices) gained 26% in total sales of \$1,193,000,000. The profits of the giant oil monopolies of Exxon and Texaco (which dominate the natural gas production and exploration) will go up 20% in the main due to the anticipated rise in natural gas prices!

Thus the "emergency decrees" that have been issued by such states as New York and New Jersey have to do only with covering the anarchy inherent in capitalist production for profit as the suppliers and pipelines refuse to release natural gas without a price hike and the oil companies refuse to produce natural gas unless they can gain greater profits. The regulation of gas distribution is also an attempt to buy time due to the dislocation of natural gas in a few states caused by the severe weather. It has nothing to do with the lack of natural gas nationally available above or below ground! In fact a distributor was even quoted in the bourgeois press as stating blatantly: "Why should I sell my gas out of state for \$1.42 when Texas buyers are waiting in line to pay \$2 for it?"

As soon as the ruling class, through its federal government, lifts the price regulations off natural gas, we will see the immediate "crisis" ease, just as in the "oil crisis" of 1973. In fact, Jimmy Carter's "emergency" gas bill does do just that. While he "fire-side chats" about how "we" all have to tighten our belts, how he, as opposed to Nixon, is not a politician and "just folks," he meanwhile is forcing the working class and oppressed nationalities to pay higher and higher fuel prices, and sleep in freezing homes already inadequate before this "emergency." Clearly Carter does not expect the monopoly capitalists to "sacrifice" their profits. Instead the working class must "sacrifice" our jobs and the health and well-being of our families.

As thousands of industries shut down as a result of this "crisis," the oppression of the working class is intensified as we still fight the continuing lay-offs which occurred in "normal" times. Lenin stated: "...monopoly which is created in certain branches of industry, increases and intensifies the anarchy inherent in capitalist production as a whole." (Imperialism Highest Stage of Capitalism, FLP)

However, this is not to say that price regulation of interstate gas is any answer to the problem either, as misleaders of various shades would have the working class believe. Price regulation far from being in the interest of the oppressed masses, is also an aspect of monopoly capitalism and is in its interest. The necessity of price regulation has its roots in the antagonistic contradiction between monopoly capitalists.

The Federal agencies (whose members are direct agents of monopoly capitalism) which "regulate" various industries like the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), or the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), serve as tools by which various monopoly interests can collude - by dividing territory (for example in airlines), or by making sure that the interest of one monopoly group cannot run rough-shod over the interests of another (as in the case of prices) - as well as contend by keeping rein on each other, or by using the state apparatus to attack one another.

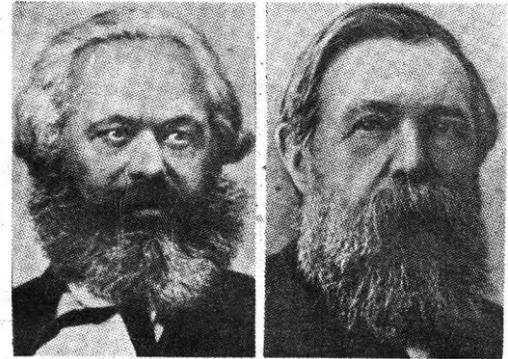
At the same time regulation itself reinforces monopoly by driving out the small producer who is less able to compete at lower prices and by temporarily and superficially and temporarily regulating

the anarchy of production. The regulation or deregulation of price has nothing to do with the interests of the working class but to do only with the necessities and interests of monopoly capitalism.

#### "ENERGY CRISIS"--PART OF SUPERPOWER CONTENTION

What is the larger context of the "energy crisis"? Lenin said: "An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony." (*ibid.*)

"AND HERE IT BECOMES EVIDENT, THAT THE BOURGEOISIE IS UNFIT ANY LONGER TO BE THE RULING CLASS IN SOCIETY, AND TO IMPOSE ITS CONDITIONS OF EXISTENCE UPON SOCIETY AS AN OVER-RIDING LAW... SOCIETY CAN NO LONGER LIVE UNDER THIS BOURGEOISIE, IN OTHER WORDS, ITS EXISTENCE IS NO LONGER COMPATIBLE WITH SOCIETY."  
(COMMUNIST MANIFESTO)



In this period of two contending trends ("either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war"), the two superpowers. (U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism) are in a fierce struggle to redivide the world as they are beaten back around the world by the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed masses.

The strategic area of this contention is for the control of Western Europe. Since Western Europe and Japan depend almost exclusively on the Middle Eastern countries for oil and natural gas, the control of the Middle Eastern energy sources is key for hegemony in the Second World. The Peking Review, 1973, stated:

"...U.S. monopoly capital will go on trying by all means to preserve the 'oil interests' it has seized in all parts of the world, in the Middle East in particular... To try to justify its plundering of the energy resources of the Asian, African, and Latin American countries, Soviet revisionist social imperialism has lately been doing its utmost to dish up a fantastic theory 'theory of international property'... This gibberish is first of all directed against the oil producing countries in the Middle East, striking at the root of the just struggles which these countries are waging to defend state sovereignty and protect their national resources. It is at the same time directed against the oil monopolies of the other superpower..."

Thus under the cover of "detente" and through the whipping up of an "energy crisis" atmosphere, the U.S. monopoly capitalists with the one hand pursue their hegemonistic activities for control of the world and the oppression of the world's masses, while with the other lay the groundwork for the ideological and political preparation for World War. This "emergency" atmosphere, the "race against the natural elements" only serves the bourgeoisie in their attempt to rally support for their attacks on OPEC, for the future attempts at seizure of Middle East oil fields and other acts of aggression and exploitation in the name of "national interests."

Typically, the opportunists, like the Revolutionary Communist Party, do not raise this aspect and larger context in their analysis of the "natural gas shortage." These pragmatists who belittle the working class by assuming that we will only move based on our immediate interests never once in their February Worker articles on the gas "shortage" put forward the international context of the "crisis," never once put it in the context of the ideological and political preparation for world war.

The October League, not to be outdone in opportunism also never raises the international context and the preparation for world war. Incredibly enough they even cop the RCP's bankrupt slogan of "Fight--Don't Starve" and headline their article "Fight--Don't Freeze." The OL and the RCP are united in their opportunism, their pragmatism, their pandering only to the immediate interests of the working class and in so doing belittle the workers' class consciousness and prove incompetent to lead the proletariat forward to victory over the bourgeoisie.

#### RULING CLASS WILL USE ANY EXCUSE

Thus using the accidents of nature,

the record cold winter and the instances of real emergencies caused by the weather and snow, the bourgeoisie is trying to capitalize on the situation in order to promote its own phoney energy "emergencies" to further oppress and exploit the working class. It only speaks to the very real economic and political emergency-crisis of the ruling class! Marx stated in the Communist Manifesto

"And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society."

#### "C" PUSA SELL OUT OF WORKING CLASS

Compare these ringing words, staunchly in the interests of the working class to the "C" PUSA's traitorous position of "Federal takeover of all natural gas supplies." Instead of demanding and fighting for the abolition and destruction of the bourgeoisie and its state, the revisionists would have the state assume greater control.

Lenin said that the state is "an organ of class domination, an organ of oppression of one class by another; its aim is the creation of 'order' which legalises and perpetuates this oppression..." (State and Revolution, FLP). The anarchy of production, the root of the "energy crisis" is inherent under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and streamlining the apparatus of the state will only intensify the oppression of the proletariat!

The "C" P wants the working class who are out of work, shivering in their inadequate and unheated buildings and homes, unable to pay the fuel and food bills, told to "sacrifice" even more by the state which is legalizing and perpetuating this criminal oppression, to depend on this very same state for solutions! Their "federal takeover" scheme is another example of their complete betrayal and another of their attempts to disintegrate the revolutionary strivings of the working class and oppressed nationalities. So intent are they on sabotaging the revolution, that they would have the Congress and President, tools of the bourgeoisie, fight in the interests of the workers and do away with themselves and their bourgeois masters! In fact the "C" P goes so far as to put forward that the "crisis" can be reduced to the fact that Carter, a historic lackey for the Rockefeller oil interests, is getting "bad advice" about his energy policy!!!

(Continue on page 25)

## CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

# DRIVE LABOR LIEUTENANTS FROM OUR RANKS !

The current state of the construction industry in the US clearly exposes the fact that US monopoly capitalism is in a permanent crisis, moving down the road of stagnation and total decay. While new housing starts in 1976 showed some increases, the industry is still in a slump comparable only to the Great Depression of the 30's. In major cities such as New York City, plagued by budget crisis, new housing construction has come to a practical standstill with no recovery in sight. Across the country, more than half of the construction workers are unemployed. For the so-called "lower trades" such as bricklayers and laborers, and workers from oppressed nationalities, unemployment has even reached 90%.

Construction is one of the three key industries of the US and its present state shows the future of US monopoly capitalism. It is clear that any "recovery" that the bourgeoisie is boasting about is only the last gasping breath of US monopoly capitalism before its final doom.

The sharpening contradiction between the workers and the bourgeoisie in construction also shows clearly how the bourgeoisie is trying to usher in fascism to maintain its class rule. It points to the urgent need of communist leadership in this front of struggle, to smash the opportunist misleaders within the ranks of the workers, win over the advanced and consolidate our mass base in this area of work, as part of the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS STEP UP ATTACK ON WORKERS

At the end of last year, the outgoing Ford administration announced a program under which housing rehabilitation jobs would be set up in New York City and Atlanta. The bourgeoisie trumpeted that the program would help to create jobs and give a "lift" to the construction industry. But to workers, it is clear that such a move is another scheme of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers. Jobs under the program would only be paid 75% of the union wage. Furthermore, the window dressing purpose of such programs is clear. For the entire city of New York, only \$33 million of Federal money is allocated to the program. At today's inflation rate, this is not even enough to pay for a 300-unit housing project for the working class. These rehabilitation programs are also used to bust the union since union workers are forced to compete with non-union workers, who usually do rehabilitation work. Through these programs, in order to weaken the union, the bourgeoisie is playing on the chauvinism of the trade union misleaders who never before organized rehabilitation workers.

The Ford program is only part of a full-scale attack that the construction monopolies are launching against the workers. Since last year, misleaders from at least 9 AFL-CIO construction unions have signed pacts with the monopolies to cut wages and benefits to 3/4 of the union rate. Scores of misleaders at the locals have engaged in similar sellouts. In announcing the Ford program, the bourgeoisie also made it clear that other similar schemes will be pushed in North Jersey, Connecticut and other areas of the country. Speedups and violations of work regulations protecting the workers are rampant in the industry. For example, apprentice carpenters are used as laborers and are not allowed to be trained on the

job. Mechanization is used not to improve the working conditions of the workers but to take away jobs and boost the profit of the monopolies.

Another tactic of the bourgeoisie is union busting. The Associated General Contractors of America, with nearly ten thousand members who do more than half of the construction work in the country, held a huge conference in August last year to dish out schemes on using non-union labor. Over the last ten years, the amount of non-union construction has grown tremendously. Non-union hiring halls are set up across the country. At present, more than half of the meagre construction work going on in the country is non-union. The contractors have also stepped up their campaign to get the Federal government to repeal the Davis Beacon Act which requires the Federal government to use union labor on all Government construction sites.

To stamp out the growing resistance of the rank and file workers, the contractors have resorted to taking away the right to strike and to picket. A court anti-trust ruling last spring on a case in Dallas, Texas forbids unions from picketing sites where the general contractors contract the work to non-union firms. This decision allows a project to be built entirely by non-union subcontractors. The Picketing Bill (common situs) which Carter is going to sign is another such attack. In appearance, it grants a concession to the workers by allowing a union to shut down a whole site where it is only fighting directly against one of the subcontractors (which workers are doing now anyway). But the second part of the Bill would impose a ten-day "cooling off period" before unions can call a strike, and a 30-day limit on picketing altogether. The "cooling off" period clause would amount to taking away the right to strike altogether given the short-term character of most work on many construction sites. The Bill would also allow the government to centralize wage and contract negotiations to the national level, increasing the control of the huge monopolies, the Government and the top-level trade union misleaders. Some major contractors associations opposed the Bill only because they are unwilling to make any concession to the workers. The ultra-right groups such as the National Right to Work Committee which opposed the Bill is only feeding the more crafty schemes of the "liberals" who are pushing centralization and fascism with this Bill under the cloak of "reformism".

### ORGANIZE OUR RANKS AND PREPARE FOR THE BATTLE AHEAD

In the face of these attacks, the spontaneous resistance of the rank and file construction workers has increased. At the Citibank site in New York City, the largest site in the city, white workers together with workers from oppressed nationalities staged a three-day wildcat last year to protest against the working conditions and contractors' attempt to pay non-union wages through piece-rate. Prince, one of the biggest carpentry contractors in the country, has been pushing piece-work for the whole past year, underbidding other contractors. Construction workers from the oppressed nationalities have persisted in struggles against exclusion and racial discrimination in the industry. Even the bourgeoisie has to admit that "sabotage", a form of spontaneous resistance of the workers has risen sharply across the country in recent years.

Though the nature of these struggles are scattered in the form of sudden flareups here and there, they show the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the working class are sharpening and the current relative quiet is only a lull before a rising storm. They point out the need of building communist leadership of the rank and file movement in the course of leading the day-to-day struggles of the working class. We must organize our ranks, sum up the lessons learned in the past struggles and prepare for the battles ahead. Such sumups are particularly important because the current relative lull comes on the heels of the upsurge of the minority construction workers in '74 and '75. Because of the lack of communist leadership, based on correct political lines, the bourgeoisie was able to sabotage the workers' upsurge of that period from within.

The national movement in the construction industry has spearheaded the struggle of the multinational working class against the construction monopolies and the labor aristocracy within the trades. The latest upsurge of the national movement in the industry was in 1974, when large numbers of workers from oppressed nationalities spontaneously took up the struggle against exclusion and racial discrimination in the industry. In major cities across the country, organizations of oppressed nationality workers sprang up to launch militant struggles against the bourgeoisie. In New York City, the minority workers took over the Boys High School site for a month, successfully made use of the contradiction between the trade union misleaders, the state and the construction monopolies, and wrested some jobs from them. Struggles were directly waged against the trade union misleaders and the labor aristocracy in the sheetmetal and the electrical trades, which are the most chauvinist in the industry. In another struggle, minority workers stormed the office of Local 3, stronghold of the labor aristocracy. In the struggle against exclusion at City College of New York, workers raised high the banner of the unity of the multinational working class and rallied broad-based support from the community. One of the demands workers put forth was that no white worker lose his job due to the contradictions of the contractors and minority workers. Minority workers fought to uphold this despite twists and turns, showing a clear stand in the interests of the working class.

The bourgeoisie could clearly see that these struggles were mighty threats to their rule and reacted with both repression and reformist schemes. Union goons were used to attack the minority workers directly, such as the struggle at City College, New York. But when the workers completely crushed the goon attacks, the bourgeoisie actively promoted reformism, utopian socialism, Black capitalism, through their agents within the national movement. Through the trade union misleaders, the bourgeoisie also worked fanatically to whip up chauvinism and racism among the skilled trades and the white workers. Misleaders of the oppressed nationality workers captured the genuine sentiment of the oppressed nationalities against chauvinism but led it down the blind alley of petty bourgeois nationalism. As the national movement increasingly merged with the working class movement, which the wildcat at the Citibank site was an indication of, the bourgeoisie stepped up these schemes to split the working class. In the future, WVO will further sum up the lessons learned in the struggle of the minority construc-

tion workers against national oppression and its relationship with the struggle of the multinational US proletariat to overthrow the criminal system of monopoly capitalism.

The tremendous crisis of US imperialism is pushing us into a crucial period. It is clearer than ever that in this country, either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war. Either way, the future is bright for the multinational working class here and oppressed people of the world. But we must be prepared. As part of their preparation for world war, the U.S. bourgeoisie is actively trying to usher in fascism. As all forms of attack on the working class and resistance by it are on the rise, we must seize the initiative and carry these struggles forward to revolution. We must carry out immediate, systematic and all round preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

The struggles in construction show that no such preparation is possible without smashing the labor aristocracy and its political representatives, the trade union misleaders. We must expose, isolate and expel them from our ranks. Historically, the misleaders in construction have been some of the most reactionary and the most chauvinist agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class. Many top trade union misleaders within the AFL-CIO began their careers as officers in the building trade unions and are "married" to the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus. George Meany, President of AFL-CIO was originally from the Plumbers Union. Harry Van Arsdale, an old time trade union misleader in the construction industry, has been the head of the N.Y. Central Labor Council and sat on the Board of the Municipal Assistance Corporation of N.Y. City, a body set up by the monopoly capitalists to control the finances of New York City. And Peter Brennan, former Secretary of Labor in the Nixon Administration, came from the Building Trades Council of the AFL-CIO, to name just a few. These misleaders are the traitors of the working class and the main social props of the bourgeoisie. As Lenin taught us:

"The capitalists of these countries have been able to create a relatively larger and more stable labor aristocracy, a section which comprised a small minority of the working class. This minority enjoys better terms of employment and is most imbued with a narrow-minded craft spirit and with petty bourgeois and imperialist prejudice. It forms the real social pillar of the Second International, of reformists and the 'Centrists'; at present it might even be called the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. No preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible, even in the preliminary sense, unless an immediate systematic, extensive and open struggle is waged against this stratum, which, as experience has already fully shown, will no doubt provide the bourgeois white guards (armed counter-revolutionaries supported by the imperialists) with many a recruit after the victory of the proletariat." (Lenin, *Theses on Fundamental Tasks*, Vol. 31. Emphasis added.)

The dying US bourgeoisie is unable to bribe the entire working class as the bourgeoisie was striving to do in England between 1848 and 1868 when she was the only developing imperialist power in the world. But the US bourgeoisie are still reaping huge super-profits from their exploitation of the Third World, and have used these super-profits to buy off a tiny minority of workers to maintain their rule. These forms of bribery are political, economic and ideological. For instance, many of the electricians in Local 3 of the Electricians' union are paid substantially higher than the rest of the construction workers. Until recently, they enjoyed a five-hour work day, 2-hour overtime pay every day, many paid holidays, early retirement and relatively less supervision on the job. It is a skilled trade which has strong ties to the petty bourgeoisie since with their skill, they can set up their own business and carry on "side-jobs", especi-

ally in times of high unemployment. Under the current crisis, while most of the laborers are unemployed, none of these electricians have been without work for more than 19 weeks. Historically, the trade union misleaders working hand-in-hand with the bourgeoisie, promote what Lenin called the "narrow craft prejudices" of the skilled trades such as electrician, boilermakers (steamfitters), iron workers and the operator engineers (such as the crane operators on the site). Many different schemes such as long and limited apprenticeship programs are used to maintain the privileged status of these skilled trades. Nepotism and corruption is rampant in the unions. Workers were forced to pay "grants" up to several thousand dollars to get into the union or they can only get in through the favor of a friend or relative. The skilled unions of these trades have also practised the most blatant exclusion of workers from oppressed nationalities and national minorities. It was only until the recent years that the narrow craft unions in construction were forced under the storm of the Black Liberation Movement to drop the clauses in their constitution that excluded minority workers. But restriction is still practised through the restrictive apprentice program and the hiring hall. While the number of Afro-Americans in the unions increased slightly, the number employed

May 1975: Over 700 students, communists, and construction workers from the working class and oppressed nationalities and national minorities shut down the construction site at City College of New York, to fight against national oppression and the bourgeoisie's outbacks. Resisting the goon squads sent in by the social props, the demonstration built broad-based unity of the national minority communities with the multinational working class.



hardly improved since they are usually the last to be sent out to available jobs. Most of the increase is limited to the lower trades.

Under the present crisis in the construction industry, the labor aristocracy is also hard hit. This is how the electricians in Local 3, who enjoyed the 2 hr. overtime pay before, has had it taken away. But this does not mean that their reactionary views will disappear. In fact, they would intensify their collaboration with the bourgeoisie in a more sophisticated manner to contain the increasing resistance of the rank and file and to preserve their privileged status. Increasingly trade union misleaders are trying to save their own skin by channeling the genuine discontent of the workers into the service of the bourgeoisie and to pave the way for fascism. The main way fascism arrives in the US is not like storm-troopers in the night. The process of fascization creeps in through the superstructure, the ideological sphere, through interaction between reformism and fascists and through stripping the working class and oppressed nationalities of our hard-won political rights and standard of living.

The misleaders in the building trades unions are among the main agents of the bourgeoisie ushering in this fascization process. The Picketing Bill, which the trade union misleaders are pushing so hard is an example of how they use "reforms" to usher in fascism.

In selling the wage-cut package to the workers, the trade union misleaders preached class collaborationism and tried to whip up chauvinism of the workers. They are telling the workers that the only way for the workers to get jobs is to accept the cut wages so that the monopolies would be able to create more jobs. They sang the same tune as the bourgeoisie -- that construction is in a slump because wages are too high.

Chauvinism and racism will be the main vehicles used by the bourgeoisie to usher in fascism. The trade union misleaders in construction are now fa-

natically whipping up chauvinism among the workers. They are telling the workers that it is the "illegal aliens", the non-union workers, the foreign workers, that are taking away the jobs of the workers. In 1974, the trade union misleaders organized a demonstration of 12,000 people in New York, demanding jobs, and raising slogans against "illegal aliens", burning an effigy of an "illegal" at the rally.

Opportunists such as the R"C"P came out supporting the 1974 construction worker demonstration with its chauvinist slogan against "illegal aliens". This shows how R"C"P worships blind motion and militancy, totally liquidating the political content of the struggle. The workers that ganged up on the minority workers and students in the City College of New York struggle are no doubt "militant." So were the construction workers that so infamously beat up anti-war student demonstrators in 1971. But it is "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line that decides everything". Mere motion decides nothing. The R"C"P position, which stems from chauvinism and liquidates national oppression, is objectively social-fascist because it aids the bourgeoisie to usher in fascism. This is precisely playing into the trap of the bourgeoisie.

In other cities, raids on work-sites were organized to attack the non-union workers. Local 2 of the Plumbers union picketed contractors for following a court-order to hire Afro-American and Puerto Rican workers. Local 28 of the Sheetmetal workers also conducted work stoppages to oppose court orders on "affirmative action". In May 1975, union goons were used to beat up minority workers and students who were fighting against exclusion at the construction site at City College of New York. The trade union misleaders also use lies to mobilize white workers to the site, telling them to come for jobs which are actually non-existent.

These trade union misleaders are actively working to split the multinational working class and to disarm the working class ideologically and politically from within.

**BUILD THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT! FIGHT FOR THE IRON UNITY OF THE MULTINATIONAL WORKING CLASS**

At this time, the subjective forces -- communist leadership and ideology -- is key in forging iron unity of the multinational proletariat. We must build the communist leadership of the working class movement and direct the spearhead of struggle straight at the bourgeoisie. We must put forth to the rank and file construction workers a fighting program that stands for the interests of the entire working class to forge the unity of the multinational proletariat. Arising from the immediate struggles of the construction workers in this period, our program calls for:

- Defend the standard of living, no wage cut, no cut in benefits.
- Shorter work day.
- Employed and unemployed workers unite, no suspension of unemployed union members behind in dues.
- Closed shop, permanently open up union books. Unionize all workers, especially workers of oppressed nationalities.
- No discrimination against immigrant construction workers.

(Continue on page 30)

# Southern African Masses Persist in Struggle While Andrew Young Claims "Violence is Bad for Business"

The militant victories of the southern African masses in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and apartheid have forced the U.S. imperialists to the Conference table in Geneva. But the U.S. imperialists like to point to the Geneva Conference as a product of their initiative (i.e. former Secretary of State Kissinger's diplomatic maneuvering back in Sept. 1976) and have billed it as the "solution" to the Rhodesian question (see Workers Viewpoint newspaper, Vol. I, No. 4, July 1976). And now that the talks are stalled indefinitely, they must try to piece them back together to preserve their new image as "friends" of the African people, to better contend with the Soviet social-imperialists and to try to disintegrate the revolutionary struggles of the African masses.

Initially, the Conference stalemated around the issue of the date for majority rule and independence. The Zimbabwean liberation forces, represented by the Patriotic Front of Robert Mugabe (ZANU) and Joshua Nkomo (ZAPU), and backed by the 5 front-line African presidents, justly demanded immediate (later, a one-year transition) majority rule, while the white settler regime of Ian Smith counterposed a 2-year peaceful transition. Jockeying on this question went back and forth for several weeks, with no resolution, and when it was clear that the Zimbabwean liberation representatives would not negotiate their demand for a one-year transition, the desperate Smith regime exposed that all their talk about majority rule was just that -- empty talk, by trying to force the freedom fighters' hand by resorting to despicable double-dealing counter-revolutionary dual tactics -- making strikes into the Zimbabwean guerrillas' bases in Mozambique in "hot pursuit operations," on the bankrupt pretext of retaliating for the killing of some Rhodesian settlers, just as Smith's racist Rhodesian Front Army resorted to murdering 32 African tea workers on the Mozambique border or, even more recently, accusing the freedom fighters of murdering 7 white Roman Catholic missionaries, in an attempt to discredit the guerrillas as a band of blood-seeking terrorists. This was the same foul tactic the U.S. imperialists used in Vietnam to try to discredit those fighting for national liberation, when it was clear all along that the massacres, napalming, etc. were last-ditch acts of the desperate U.S. imperialists on the brink of total defeat.

Finally, the issue of the date for transition was shelved, and the Conference moved onto the next one -- the actual structure of the interim government. Again, arch-racist Smith held tight to the 5-point Kissinger plan which he claimed was non-negotiable and which stipulated that the white settlers, and not Black Africans, control the interim government, as well as the ministries of police, law and order, and defense. The racists also demanded a cessation of armed struggle and guerrilla war as soon as the interim government was established. Smith was "assured by the American Government -- they had the support of the British Government and indeed the support of other Western European governments -- that the tremendous power and influence that they yield would be used to bring about a cessation of terrorism."

The liberation forces, on the other hand, demanded that Zimbabweans have overall control of the interim government as well as of the ministries of police, law and order, and the army. The racist Smith regime, faced with the unwavering opposition of the liberation forces, was forced to back down, withdraw from the talks, and try to buy more time, clearly exposing his bankruptcy to revolutionary peoples the world over -- that he had never altered his stand and never had any real intentions of bringing about genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe. The indefinite postponement of the Conference represents a victory for the liberation forces and all progressive forces in southern Africa, and a smashing defeat for the racist Smith regime that



Zimbabwean masses at a rally demanding immediate majority rule. Southern African freedom fighters will persist in armed struggle against racist white minority governments until final victory!

is now talking about seeking channels of communication with more "receptive" and "responsible" Africans, i.e. ones who will collaborate to sell out the just struggles of the African masses with sham pledges of majority rule. Such sell-outs among the African masses will inevitably be exposed and discarded by the African masses, who will continue to fight until final victory.

## ANDREW YOUNG -- NEW MOUTHPIECE OF THE U.S. BOURGEOISIE

The U.S. imperialists, facing intensifying contention with their superpower rival, the Soviet social-imperialists, and facing the mounting armed struggle in Zimbabwe and heightening resistance in Azania, must more desperately than ever try to "save" the Conference and preserve their "progressive" image. They are trying to achieve this through their new mouthpiece -- "friend" of the African and Afro-American people -- Andrew Young (see Workers Viewpoint newspaper, Vol. II, No. 1, Jan. 1977, p. 13) who has just completed a "mission" for the bourgeoisie to Tanzania and Nigeria.

What kind of stand on Zimbabwe and southern Africa in general can we expect from this lackey who says (while perpetuating the U.S.'s latest image campaign) that he wants to put the U.S. "on the right side of the moral issues in the world," i.e. to move "aggressively" towards majority rule in Azania (Sunday New York Times magazine, Feb. 6, 1977, p. 18, "Our New Voice at the UN")? We have only to turn the pages of history back 2 years to a trip that Young (then Georgia Congressman and appointee of the House Rules Committee) and Robert L. Green, Dean of the College of Urban Development and Professor of Educational Psychology at Michigan State University, made to South Africa. In a paper they prepared for the eyes of the bourgeoisie only ("Draft Do Not Circulate") entitled "The Republic of South Africa: Impressions," they wrote, "We went to South Africa because we loathe oppression no matter where it exists, and we are concerned for the oppressed."

Yes, Young and Green were very concerned, but not about the oppression of the African masses. They wrote:

"We believe that it is time for the United States to define its African policy in terms of a total African approach rather than in the piecemeal

protection of its economic interests. The emerging resource politics of Africa dictate such a reassessment. We are already importing large quantities of oil from Nigeria, and there are even larger deposits in Angola. Zinc, bauxite, copper, cobalt -- all essential to an industrial society -- are present on the African continent.

These oil and mineral deposits will become increasingly vital to world markets, suggesting it might soon be less than profitable to play politics with South Africa. Today's Arab demands may well be repeated tomorrow by Nigeria and Angola."

These "friends of the Afro-American and African people" clearly show that their main concern is to protect the interests of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie. Their main concern was how best to serve their imperialist masters. Is it any wonder then why Young was selected the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.? What is behind their opportunist scheme of coming out for majority rule at this time is concern about how best to exploit Africa's labor and rich stores of natural resources, like oil and diamonds, to "save" the crumbling empire of the U.S. bourgeoisie -- and how Africa fits into their global strategy of contention with the Soviet social-imperialists for spheres of influence around the world.

## YOUNG SEES OPPRESSION THROUGH EYES OF PETTY BOURGEOIS PSYCHOLOGISTS

Young and Green's report reduces the harsh everyday oppression of the Zimbabwean masses under the brutal apartheid system, and their valiant resistance to this oppression, in a most disgusting manner to vulgar petty bourgeois psychological interpretations of certain kinds of neurotic "behavior."

Describing the substandard housing and crowded living conditions in Black homelands, they say "when large numbers of people are crowded into difficult living situations, pathological behavior emerges. Studies with animals confirm that violence surfaces as the amount of living space is limited. In Soweto, where 1 million people are herded into a compacted area, there were one thousand homicides last year. These were black Africans killing black Africans."

And they talk about "coping" (take note: not resisting) in different ways with the "intolerable situation," one way being "an underground expression of

(Continue on page 17)

# FROM OUR READERS

## WVO forms Basis for Genuine Communist Party

2/9/77

Comrades:

In reading Workers's Viewpoint for several weeks now, I would like to subscribe to the paper for a year. I am impressed with the stance on bourgeois reformist measures of all types and was impressed with the level of Marxist Leninist Mao Tsetung analyses and self-critical attitude of the paper. I can see a new Communist Party arising from an ever increasing struggle against capitalism and oppression. While all other petty bourgeois outfits ("C" PUSA, SWP, OL, RCP, etc.) subvert Marxism Leninism with reformist tactics and narrow nationalist doctrines, tailing the movement instead of providing revolutionary leadership of the masses, the developing Workers Viewpoint movement is gaining more followers and is increasing its political awareness. I would also like to order "The Formation of the Party is a Settled Question" and a copy of Journal II, No. 2.

Comradely greetings,  
C.S.  
Wilson's Mills, N.C.

## Criticize "Roots"

2/12/77

Comrades,

Enclosed is something which I hope you will publish in the Workers Viewpoint newspaper. It was drawn up initially by me, and through criticisms and suggestions, revised to its present form.

Needless to say, I enjoy the paper immensely and have no illusions about the bourgeoisie printing this enclosed article in their papers.

### MY REACTION TO "ROOTS"

It was very difficult in watching "Roots" to suppress my tremendous emotions -- feelings of longing, love, tenderness and hatred.

A feeling of longing for the part of my heritage which is lost to me forever. A feeling of love for the people - my people, who were depicted. A feeling of tenderness for the trials endured by the young men during the manhood ceremony, and a feeling of hatred against the white man.

These emotions, of course, are a result of my past experiences and the impression the film made on me. Since this is not an autobiography, let's examine the reason "Roots" made this kind of impression on me and possibly millions of other viewers.

Was "Roots" designed to whip up anti-white feelings in Blacks?

I would say that yes, it was designed to whip up this kind of feeling and in fact, was successful, as evidenced by the recent student clashes between Blacks and whites. It was also designed to elicit a lot of "white guilt" feelings on the part of whites. These things, of course, completely gloss over the class nature of slavery and our present day oppression.

For the injustices suffered by my people were all due to one basic reason - the acquisition of wealth by any means necessary.

But Oh! the reader might exclaim - those people were persecuted and enslaved simply because they were black.

To this I would reply that the racism used against my people is and was used to justify the enslavement. The racism is used to fool all sides - black and white - into thinking that somehow this is the proper order of the world. "We must enslave these heathens for their own good," "We are saving them from eating themselves," "They need Christianity!" These remarks are intended to gloss over the essence of the enslavement - Profit - the acquisition of wealth by any means necessary.

Ol' George and Martha are shown as "good" white folks, who, irregardless of class and their opportunities to escape their poverty, stick it out with the Blacks. Mr. Slater, how-

ever, as a former indentured servant is shown as the "bad guy." What does this say but that there is no class basis for multinational unity? Only once in the film was the fact mentioned that the white indentured servants were not being used any longer because they could escape and blend in with the population. Unity must be based on class, not good intentions or feelings!

What about Fiddler - what did he represent?

In my estimation, Fiddler represented the Black who "goes along with the system" in order to survive. A great effort was made to portray Fiddler as a hero. What is the message, then? The message is that "although you Blacks may sympathize with these crazy militants (like Kunta) and class conscious fighters of today, your best bet is to 'go along with the system' so that you can survive." Clearly, Fiddler's character was an effort to undermine and quell our militancy!

Why did the film portray that it was so terrible to try to fight the system of slavery?

When Nat Turner was spoken of (and never seen), we found that his followers were burned and skinned alive. Never was any attempt made to portray the thousands of slaves who successfully escaped via people such as Harriett Tubman. Nor were any of the revolutionary fighters such as Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel Prosser or John Brown portrayed as heroes. Escapists and rebels such as Kunta and Nat Turner were depicted as destined for miserable defeat and death. The message here was, "resign yourselves to your situation. There is no other way out!" This, of course, is designed to tell us, workers and minorities, the same thing today - there is no hope for us to rebel so just aspire to play the man's game and make it in his system. But the "game" is owned and operated by the rich monopoly capitalists and they change the rules as they wish to maintain their power!

What about the slaves displaying such love for Abraham Lincoln?

It is entirely possible that many slaves were fooled by Lincoln. After all, slaves were not allowed to read or write. They probably overheard their masters talk about this hated man who threatened the economy of the South. They had little or no way of knowing that Lincoln believed in white supremacy and only freed the slaves to fight on the side of the Union army. Another case of a misleader, being promoted to fool oppressed people!

Was the real enemy of blacks the white man?

The white man... who is this white man? Is he exemplified by the doubtful, reticent captain (who still stole slaves from their homeland), or by the surly, arrogant Mr. Slater? Or is this white man someone or something else?

Actually, white man is a poor term for this entity. Perhaps green money man or imperialist or capitalist would be better. The green money symbolizes the profit motives of the capitalist and the imperialist. And profit knows no limits. It seeks to exploit who and whatever it can. We must realize that profit motives are used against all working class and oppressed peoples, regardless of sex, religion, creed or national origin. It does not discriminate. Remember the Chinese coolie, the Irish, German and Italian immigrants, the Chicano, and the Japanese during

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■ O.L.'s Opportunist Call for the Party

\* \* \* \* \*

P R I C E S

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World War II? We have all been victims of capitalism because capitalism seeks to make profit at the expense of human life. And slavery, of course, was an especially ugly chapter in the saga of capitalism. Slavery was the total disregard for the human life of Africans who were torn, stolen and sold from our native land and brought here against our will to serve the needs of the capitalist. But it wasn't the only ugly chapter in the saga of capitalism. As long as it and its highest form, imperialism, exist, there will be suffering and misery. Our mission is clear -- the complete destruction of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism -- a system designed to meet the needs of the working class and minorities. All power to the working class and oppressed nationalities and national minorities! Wake up Everybody!

A West Coast Friend  
Los Angeles, CA.

## Continue to Criticize Andrew Young

Your January article exposing Andrew Young did a good job of placing Young in the larger historical perspective. At this point we'd like to deepen the exposure of Young in light of his treacherous role in the struggle to organize textile workers in Roanoke Rapids NC.

On Labor Day, 1976, the misleaders in the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union threw a rally in Roanoke Rapids, to "support" the heroic struggle of the JP Stevens workers there. At his rally they had all kinds of trade union misleaders getting up and making all kinds of promises, and boasting of the Stevens' boycott. But their main man to speak was none other than Andrew Young.

"Pimping" off the Afro-American national movement is exactly what Young represents. He took a seemingly militant stance, talked glowingly about SNCC struggles in the 60's. And in this same, deceptively militant tone he proceeded to put out the line that the best way for the workers to get ahead is through higher profits for the company -- he even went so far as to say "We are not here to fight JP Stevens!" On hearing that, some members of the audience had had enough, and one militant worker shouted "Yes we are!"

It will be good to keep coming down on Young's case, however, because while a great many workers and oppressed nationalities are clear on him already, a great many others are not yet clear on Young and other social props like him. The recent WVO exposure of him has been helpful, and we'd encourage more articles on this.

A Friend

## WVO CALLS FOR LETTERS

Communist organizations and Parties around the world must acquire the great traditions of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party summed up by the Communist Party of China: integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism. We think that one way for WVO to start acquiring these traditions is through our newspaper's correspondence.

We ask comrades and friends around the country to send us letters, criticisms, reports on struggles, etc., on our articles and other issues in the communist and workers' movements, the international and national situations, the national movements, working women's movements, etc. This correspondence will contribute directly to our common struggle to build the U.S. anti-revisionist communist party and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Write to: Workers Viewpoint Org.  
GPO Box 2256  
New York, N.Y., 10001

# GILMORE'S DEATH WISH: CAPITALIST WEAPON

In executing Gary Gilmore last month and focussing the national media on this issue for several weeks, the U.S. ruling class raised two burning political and ethical problems for all workers and oppressed people. The capitalists are brazenly using Gilmore's demand to die to help fully revive the death penalty and sharpen this weapon for use against genuine communists and the revolutionary workers' and national movements, and at the same time, using Gilmore's death wish and other "Right to Die" issues to push bourgeois pessimism and even glorify death, for the same purpose of smothering the masses' struggle for socialism. Both of these moves of the ruling class sharply disclose the rising danger of fascism in this country.

## THE DEATH PENALTY IS A WEAPON OF CAPITALIST RULE

The capitalists are using Gilmore's demand to be executed to help build up public support for the death penalty. This is obvious at a glance. Through Gilmore, they are advancing the death penalty as "society's solution" for crime and criminals, and even as a "humane" alternative to life sentences that some criminals welcome.

In reality, crime is a class question, and the capitalists' death penalty is a weapon of their class rule. The history of U.S. capitalism is filled with the "legal" murder of the oppressed masses and their leaders, of anyone who fought for liberation and socialism. The lynching and murder of Afro-Americans under slavery and Jim Crow, the execution of John Brown who organized a slave insurrection, the executions of the Haymarket martyrs who fought for the 8-hour day in the 1880's, and of Joe Hill who fought for the International Workers of the World, down to those on today's Death Row who are overwhelmingly working class and over 50% Afro-American -- all these expose the death penalty as one of the capitalists' many "legal" weapons to intimidate workers and especially the oppressed nationalities, and cruelly punish our revolutionary leaders.

Faced with the tremendous national and student movements in the 1960's, the ruling class temporarily lowered the death penalty's profile and even claimed they had "abolished" it. Of course, they never "abolished" it, and they are proving this fact today. After a short lull in the early 1970's, the previous struggles are now giving way to the multinational workers' movement and a renewed wave of national struggles. At the same time, the WVO is on the verge of building the genuine communist party and is rapidly sinking roots and gaining leadership in all these movements. The ruling class knows full well that the prospect of genuine communist leadership in the workers' and national movements poses a graver danger to them than any they have faced since the Great Depression. They are preparing on all fronts to meet this danger, and one of them is the open and full revival of the death penalty.

Capitalism never could and never will be able to stand without the death penalty. The ruling class' build-up of Gary Gilmore at just this time is no accident, but is part and parcel of their vain preparations to smash the socialist revolution with fascist dictatorship.

We oppose the capitalist's death penalty to the end! Gilmore's death-wish and the build-up he has gotten in the capitalist press cannot hide the reality. We will always remember and uphold the fighting traditions of our thousands of working class brothers

and sisters and revolutionary leaders, whom the capitalists have "legally" murdered over the past four centuries.

The IWW wrote the following tribute to Joe Hill and other revolutionary martyrs:

"We'll remember you.  
They couldn't still your voice,  
So they strangled it;  
They couldn't chill your heart,  
So they stopped it;  
They couldn't dam your life blood,  
So they spilled it.

Black and red the colors blended;  
Black and red the pledge we made  
Red until the fight is ended  
Black until the debt is paid.

## PROLETARIAN ETHICS OF LIFE AND DEATH

But what's harder to see than the bourgeoisie's use of Gilmore to build public acceptance of the death penalty is their effort to promote bourgeois pessimism and even glorify death and the insane who want to die such as Gilmore. Gilmore's pessimism and desire for death are not just the sickness of an individual, but are capitalist ideological weapons to demoralize and corrupt the proletariat and its revolutionary struggle.

The bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are dying classes, classes with no future. Their existence is totally bound up with that of capitalism, which is doomed to be overthrown by the proletarian revolution. Like capitalism itself, these doomed classes live from day to day, barely getting by from one crisis to another. Their ideology inevitably reflects their mode of life, in every variety of short-sightedness, lack of principle, pragmatism, hedonism, and pessimism.

The ruling class tries to make full use of all these ideological weapons to corrupt the working class ideologically and disrupt its struggle. The wave of pornography and pleasure-seeking in movies like "The Story of O", or the "get over, be happy and be cool" message of "Car Wash", which tries to console young workers into forgetting their oppression, or the pleasure-seeking in hit tunes like "Love to Love You Baby" and "Enjoy Yourself", and the capitalist press' big play-up in 1975 of the "right to die" in the case of Karen Quinlan, a paralyzed woman whose relatives asked for the legal right to cut off her mechanical life-support -- all these show the ruling class' attempts to spread this sinister ideological influence.

This is a tremendous danger to the proletariat, a tremendous block to its struggle. But the capitalists' feverish efforts to use Gilmore's death-wish to spread pessimism in the working class is sure to fail. Capitalism grinds down and brings tremendous suffering to the working class, but also strengthens, disciplines, organizes and welds it into the greatest revolutionary force in history. The pessimism and death-wish of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are totally alien to the working class. The proletariat's infinitely bright future, the certain prospect of the victory of socialism and the ultimate aim of communism, guides all our thinking and all our struggles! The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains!

## THE RCP'S "PSYCHO"

The opportunist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) naturally can understand neither the class character

of crime and the death penalty nor the class character of Gilmore's desire to die, for the RCP harbors the very same petty bourgeois thinking.

Genuine communists oppose the death penalty because it is a brutal weapon of capitalist rule. But the RCP resorts to the straight-up liberal argument that the death penalty is bad because it is not "a deterrent" against crime and "may actually be, in the cases of some very sick people, an incentive to murder" (Revolution, Jan. '77, Vol. 2, No. 3, pg. 6)! And if the ruling class jurists could draw up a death penalty that was an "effective deterrent" against "crime", then would you support it, RCP? In the hands of the capitalists, the death penalty is and will always be an instrument to crush the masses and their leaders and maintain their criminal rule. But RCP talks about "deterrents" and "incentives", "crime" and "sick people", without ever asking the essential question: crimes committed by which class against which class?

The RCP does not even try to deal with the class content of Gilmore's death wish and naturally they cannot combat it. They do not deal with his pessimism as a class phenomenon, as the ethics of the petty bourgeoisie which are an ideological weapon of the ruling class, but treat it only as an individual sickness. The RCP calls Gilmore "a nut", "a psychotic", a "pathetic suicidal creation of the prison system", (ibid), and so on. Mechanical materialists to the bone, the RCP cannot even imagine that everything in class society, including views of life and death and other problems of ethics, all serve a definite class and are weapons in that class' hands.

The RCP deals with both the practical political, and the ideological problems entirely in the abstract, above-class manner of the petty bourgeoisie, and totally disarms the proletariat in the face of these fascist attacks.

But the revolutionary proletariat will expose the class content of these attacks along with the RCP, and will carry the struggle against the danger of fascism through to the proletarian revolution. ■

## **WORKERS VIEWPOINT**

is the political organ of a communist organization. The theory guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. We view ourselves as a part of the general communist movement in the U.S. and look forward to uniting with other communist organizations on the basis of a common program, strategy, tactics and organizational principles. We view the present tasks of our movement as the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the linking up of the working class movement with the communist movement to help build an anti-revisionist communist party in the United States.

We welcome your suggestions and criticisms. Also, if you would like to support us financially, be placed on our mailing list, or receive additional copies of our newspaper or our journals, please write to us. Address to:

**WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION**

GPO Box 2256  
New York, N.Y. 10001

# PANAMA CANAL BELONGS TO THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE

Carter has promised to sign a "new" treaty with Panama which will give control over the Canal and the Canal Zone (a 10-mile wide strip of land on both sides of the Canal) back to the Panamanian people, but not until the year 2000. This is only another one of the tricks of Carter's reactionary dual tactics -- "speaking softly" as well as "carrying a big stick" -- for stepping up contention with the other superpower, the Soviet Social-imperialists. This seemingly "speak softly" tactic is an attempt by the US imperialists to disintegrate the heroic resistance of the Panamanian people, to diffuse the patriotic struggle for sovereignty and total independence while maintaining the exploitation and oppression of the Panamanian people. In addition, a torrent of opposition is arising through Latin America against the blatant colonialist control of the Panama Canal by the United States imperialists. Historically, the U.S. imperialists have always employed these dual tactics to gain world hegemony. Today, in the heightening contention with the other superpower, this tactic is again used to prevent the Soviet Social-imperialists from "fishing in troubled waters."

## PANAMA CANAL -- "ARTERY OF AMERICA"

The Panama Canal is contended for with growing intensity by the two superpowers because of its strategic and economic importance. Its value lies in its shortening of the passage time between the two oceans (Atlantic and Pacific). It is the "artery of America" and the Canal Zone is strategically vital to U.S. defense in the Western hemisphere. U.S. military bases take up 70% of the Canal Zone with stretches of fertile land lying wasted on both sides of the Canal. The Zone is armed with the latest military technology -- missile-launching pads, modern communications equipment, nuclear weapons and weapons for germ warfare. In 1938, just before the outbreak of World War II, the US Naval fleet held a practice-demonstration. The whole fleet passed through the Canal within two days. In 1962, a group of warships from the Pacific fleet sailed through the Canal and towards the Caribbean Sea to help in the blockade of Cuba. History has clearly proven that under the control of the US imperialists, the Panama Canal is a tool of aggression.

Economically, the US imperialists use the Canal to carry out international exploitation. All the products and materials from South America and countries in the Pacific must be shipped through the Canal. Every year, the US imperialists earn more than \$140 million in transit fees but they only give Panama about \$1.93 million while saving more than \$900 million in using the shortened water route.

## CANAL ZONE -- "COLONIAL ENCLAVE IN THE VERY HEART OF THE ISTHMUS"

To protect this "artery," the US imperialists set up a "government of the zone", flying the US flag, complete with the whole state apparatus (the police, court, jails, and the enforcement of US law). This "colonial enclave in the very heart of the isthmus" as the angry Panamanians have called the Zone is also a base area of operations for the U.S. to attack Latin American countries and to suppress the Latin American people's national liberation struggles.

The Canal Zone is more than just a base for US reactionary activities. It is a typical colony. US monopolies, like Coca Cola Company, United Brands of Boston (formerly United Fruit Company), Chase Manhattan Bank and about 100 branches of other companies control the whole

economy of the Canal Zone. Through the export of capital and manufactured products, US imperialists have completely destroyed the national economy of Panama. In the Zone, the wages of Panamanian workers are only 1/6 of those of American workers and work in the most menial jobs. English is the official language. Panamanian people have been robbed even of their right to speak their native language.

## SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS' SCHEME OF "INTERNATIONALIZATION" -- WARMED-OVER OLD SOUP

The Soviet Social-imperialists, on their part, have coveted Central America, in particular Panama, in their scheme to expand in Latin America. Their naval presence in the Caribbean Sea and Pacific has alerted the US imperialists. The ultimate goal of the Soviet Social-imperialists is to seize control of the Canal. To achieve this goal, they have treacherously put forth the idea of the "internationalization" of the Canal, which will only transfer control of the Canal from the US imperialists to their hands but behind a better mask.

This "internationalization" line was the same scheme that the US imperialists used in late 19th century in their contention with the British imperialists for control over the Caribbean. Because US imperialists at that time were not fully strong enough to drive out the British imperialists, they signed the Clayton-Bulwer Agreement (1850), by which the 2 countries would jointly control the canal area. But when US imperialism could outrightly flex its muscles, it exploited the weakening position of British imperialism worldwide to force the signing of the Hay-Pauncefot Treaty of 1901. US imperialists secured the right to construct and control the Canal alone.

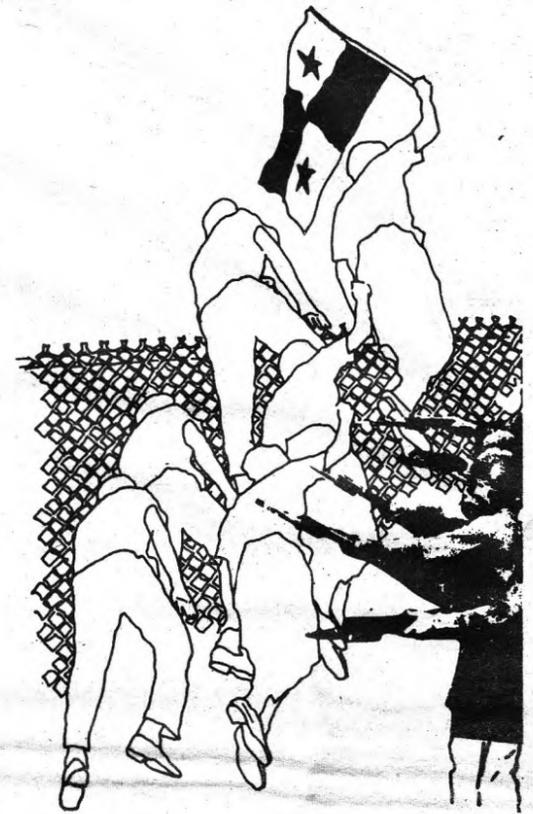
The Panamanian people have taken this historic lesson to heart and are already seeing through the "internationalization" scheme of the Soviet social-imperialists, as "the same old soup warmed over again". The Panamanian people are more and more on guard against possible Soviet intervention, direct or indirect, in Panama's affairs. The Panamanian Foreign Ministry has refuted the idea of "internationalization" of the Canal, saying that this goes against the national interests of the Panamanian Republic.

## US IMPERIALISM'S CRIMINAL HISTORY IN LATIN AMERICA

The Treaty of 1903 which gave US "permanent" privilege over the Canal and the Canal Zone was signed 15 days after a "revolution" in Panama, was planned and staged by US imperialists as an excuse to take over the Isthmus of Panama, which was controlled by Colombia. This "revolution", which resulted in a US-installed puppet government, was designed to defeat the opposition of the Colombian and Panamanian people against US hegemonism. This despicable treaty gave US the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Panama, even armed intervention. To cover up the aggressive nature of the Treaty, it contains a clause stipulating that the U.S. merely pay a rent of \$10 million, and \$250,000 annually as compensation to Panama. But the occupation of Panama under the cover of a treaty and the treaty itself is a blatant example of US imperialists Gunboat Diplomacy.

In the 1900's, the US was a rising imperialist power, arrogant and aggressive, as the Soviet Union is today. US imperialists followed the grabbing of the Canal with a whole series of aggression and penetration into Central

America: US troops suppressed the Cuban people's rebellion in 1906; attacked Honduras in 1907 and Haiti in 1914; assaulted Mexico nine times in 1918-1919; occupied Dominica from 1913-1934, Guatemala in 1920 and Nicaragua from 1926-1934. The Caribbean Sea became an internal lake of the US. This aggression was only the first step by the US to gain world hegemony.



*SOVEREIGNTY NOW! Panamanian peoples' struggle against hegemonist schemes of both superpowers will be victorious.*

## HISTORY OF US IMPERIALISTS' REACTIONARY DUAL TACTICS FOR HEGEMONY

During WWII, Franklin D. Roosevelt (whose liberal-fascist image Jimmy Carter is trying to copy), a more advanced representative of the bourgeoisie and a skillful user of dual tactics, created the "good neighbor policy" to get the support of Latin American countries for the Western Alliance. In 1934, he revoked the Platt Amendment which gave the US rights of intervention in Cuba, and in 1936 signed some amendments to the 1903 Treaty which toned down the aggressive nature of the original treaty but did not fundamentally change its imperialist essence.

After the war, US imperialists stepped up their aggression all over the world, in response to the rising consciousness of the people for national liberation and socialist revolution. In Latin America, US imperialists from Eisenhower through Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon intervened openly -- the overthrow of President Arbenz of Guatemala in a plot engineered by the CIA; the Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba; direct US military intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965 and the overthrow of Chilean President Allende with the aid of the CIA. But this has only aroused the anger of the oppressed masses of the world and strengthened their will to struggle against the imperialism and hegemonism of the two superpowers.

With the resounding defeat of US imperialism by the heroic Indochinese people, the US imperialists are more and more exposed as a paper tiger. The US imperialists are now trying to create a "new image" everywhere of being a "friend of the people" to shore up their falling position for contention with the new rising imperialist power, the Soviet Union. (See article on Young and South Africa in this issue).

(Continue on page 21)

# Historical Lessons of Munich

## EXPOSE THE SUPERPOWERS' CONTENTION FOR WORLD HEGEMONY !

THIS IS THE LAST OF A CHAPTER-BY-CHAPTER TRANSLATION OF A CHINESE PAMPHLET, "LURING TO THE EAST WATERS THAT BRING DISASTER." WE ARE TRANSLATING THIS TO SHARE THE HISTORIC LESSONS FROM WORLD WAR II SUMMED UP BY THE CHINESE COMRADES AND TO DEEPEN OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, AND THE TWO CONTENDING TRENDS OF REVOLUTION OR WORLD WAR AND FASCISM.

WE HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM HISTORY. BEFORE WORLD WAR II, THE MUNICH PACT WAS AN EXAMPLE OF APEASEMENT OF THE GERMAN FASCISTS, OF LURING HITLER TO THE EAST, TRYING TO ENCOURAGE HIM INTO STARTING A WAR AGAINST SOVIET UNION.

THE SO-CALLED EUROPEAN SECURITY TREATY SIGNED IN HELSINKI LAST JULY IS ACTUALLY A EUROPEAN "INSECURITY" TREATY, IT ONLY SHOWS THE GROWING CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO IMPERIALIST POWERS AS THEY GEAR UP FOR WAR BY REALIGNING THEIR FORCES. ALSO, THE RECENT "SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE" IS AN APEASEMENT OF THE HITLER-TYPE FASCISTS OF SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM. IT ACKNOWLEDGES THAT "EASTERN EUROPE IS THEIR TURF" AND IN

RETURN DEMANDS THAT THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS BE LEFT ALONE IN THEIR "TURF," WESTERN EUROPE.

UNDER THE SHAM COVER OF DETENTE, BOTH SUPERPOWERS AIM TO HIDE THEIR FIERCE CONTENTION BY APPEARING TO "NORMALIZE" THEIR RELATIONSHIP. IN ACTUALITY, THE SOVIET IMPERIALISTS ARE RECEIVING TRANSFUSIONS OF NEEDED MONEY & TECHNOLOGY FROM U.S. & EUROPEAN CAPITAL FOR THEIR INTENSIFIED MILITARY ECONOMY. THE U.S. & THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) COUNTRIES ARE STREAMLINING THEIR FORCES TO MAKE THEM MORE EFFICIENT, BUT INTER-IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS ARE ABSOLUTE, THIS SHOWS IN THE RECENT KISSINGER WARNINGS ABOUT 'COMMUNISM' TAKING OVER WESTERN EUROPE & THE NEGATIVE RESPONSES FROM THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CONCERNED.

THE CONTRADICTION AMONG IMPERIALISTS ESPECIALLY THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, IS INTENSIFYING; SO IS THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN LABOR & CAPITAL IN BOTH COUNTRIES. EITHER WORLD WAR WILL BRING ABOUT REVOLUTION, OR REVOLUTION WILL PREVENT WORLD WAR.

"return to Germany" of Danzig, the free port and to grant Germany permission to build railroads and highways through the Polish Corridor in order to link Danzig and Eastern Prussia with Germany, with the additional stipulation that Germany was to "enjoy extraterritoriality" over these road links. Later, this request was turned down by the Polish government. While adamantly pushing his territorial demand and creating tension in the relationship between Poland and Germany, Hitler ordered the secret formulation of the "White Plan" for the "permanent annihilation of Poland." He was prepared to mount a direct offensive against the West using the issue of Poland.

On April 11, 1939, Hitler approved the White Plan, and stated in his instruction that the objective of the German armed forces should be the solution of "irreconcilable contradictions with the western countries," and that "the White Plan is merely the initial step in carrying out these preparations." In meetings with his military staff he further stated that "in the next few years, we will deal with the West first," and that he was "determined to attack the western powers." Goering once told Mussolini that "the situation with the two Axis countries has improved as a result of German action, especially since Czechoslovakia transferred to Germany a great amount of productivity, our economic potential has been strengthened," militarily it enabled Germany "to attack Poland from both flanks," thus also "greatly increased our strength in dealing with the western powers." All these indicate that fascist Germany regarded its offensive against Poland as a step to go to war with the West.

Fascist Germany continued to grab territories and to intensify its preparation for war, so the threat of war against Britain and France became more and more obvious. In order to maintain their hegemony in Europe, Britain and France reiterated their mutual support of each other in case one of them was attacked, and together they offered "assurances" to Poland, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, Romania, Greece and Turkey promising support against aggression. In a futile attempt they tried to use a system of collective security formed by a series of such "assurances" to threaten fascist Germany and to force Germany to abandon its venture of attacking the West, and to divert the imminent offensive eastward against the Soviet Union. However, Hitler could see for himself that in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat was comparatively stronger and its power was continually on the rise, with an industrial output in 1937 surpassing all other European countries. So with its nature of browbeating the weak but fearing the strong, fascist Germany decided it was wiser to attack the West first, realizing that only after grabbing up the industries and resources of the major West European countries would it have sufficient strength to take on the Soviet Union in the east.

Thus Germany put forth various excuses and abolished the naval agreement between Germany and Britain and the pact of mutual nonaggression between Germany and Poland. The situation at once became very tense and a German attack on

### Chapter 6 (Conclusion):

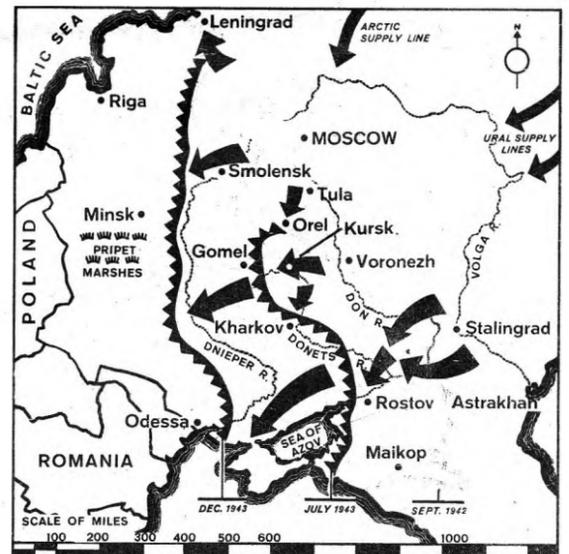
## LIFTING A ROCK ONLY TO DROP IT ON ONE'S OWN TOES

### The Calamity of War Looming over the West

Poland is to the east of Germany. Poland served as an important avenue for fascist Germany to attack the Soviet Union. After coming to power, Hitler raised the question of the occupation of Poland in speeches on the "construction" of "Great Germany" to his Nazi followers. In 1933, Nazi press propaganda started to advocate the "return to Germany" of the Baltic free port Danzig and the Polish Corridor--a narrow strip of land leading to the Baltic Sea that was returned to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles. Poland protested repeatedly against this demand, reiterating that the Government of Poland could not give up this vital outlet to the sea. It demanded that the western countries exert themselves in the safeguarding of the Treaty of Versailles, to support Poland and to stop Germany. But, in order to egg Germany on its march to the east, the western countries such as Britain and France not only withheld their support to Poland, but also used different ways to apply pressure on Poland, forcing it to sign a pact of mutual nonaggression with Germany in January of 1934 by itself, thus placing Poland directly under the aegis of Germany and making it a springboard for Germany to attack the Soviet Union. Hitler's willingness to sign the German-Polish pact was partly due to the fact that he was not quite prepared to launch an attack on Poland yet, and partly due to the fact that he could use the opportunity to obtain a diabolical anti-Soviet "ally," also making Poland drift away from Britain and France, thus sabotaging the European order under the Treaty of Versailles.

When Germany started its invasion of Czechoslovakia, the reactionary government of Poland, as an ally of the fascists, ganged up with Germany and took part in the dividing up of Czechoslovakia. After Germany occupied Czechoslovakia, Poland found itself surrounded on three sides--west, north and south--by Germany, marking very clearly the next target of aggression by the wolf-like fascist Germany.

On the 24th of October, 1938, less than a month after the Munich conference, at a reception for the Polish ambassador, the German foreign minister delivered a request for the Polish government to "consider" the



Fascist Germany, egged on by the western imperialist powers' policy of appeasement, attacked socialist Russia in 1941. But under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Soviet people rose up to defend their motherland and drove back the aggressors in 1943.

Poland seemed imminent. Basing themselves on past experience of connivance in Hitler's aggression, the governments of Britain, United States and France still wanted to "mediate the German-Polish conflict" by the same method as the sellout of Czechoslovakia, to make a vain attempt at a Polish "Munich." Backed by France and United States, the British government sought and carried out secret negotiations with Germany in June and July of 1939, for a pact of mutual nonaggression. The British representative hinted to Germany that, if a pact of mutual nonaggression could be arranged among Britain, France and Germany, various assurances concerning the independence of Poland could be rescinded by Britain and France. In other words, they were ready to sacrifice Poland as the price for a new anti-Soviet collusion involving Britain, France and Germany. However, at that time Hitler was at the peak of his power and even more arrogant, and did not bother to reply until August 25, only five days before the invasion of Poland by the German bandits. The reply stated: Germany is ready to reach agreement with Britain and France, but the agreement could only be signed after all German demands on Poland had been met. The British and French governments were still trying their utmost to arrange direct "negotiations" between Germany and Poland on August 31.

On the evening of August 31, according to his original plan, Hitler arranged a "sudden raid" on Germany by fake Polish troops (German soldiers in Polish army uniforms). Radio stations in Germany immediately announced that Germany was under "surprise attacks from Poland." On September 1, seventy infantry divisions, six motorized divisions and three thousand war planes of the German armed forces crossed the border to launch a fierce offensive against Poland. Pressed hard by their own people and by world opinion, the British and French governments reluctantly declared war on Germany on September 3.

## Britain and France Carried out Sham Negotiations with Soviet Union

In the months immediately preceding the eruption of war, with the backing of the United States government, Britain and France still maintained the policy of urging fascist Germany to attack in the east. While engaging in under-the-table dealings with fascist Germany in the vain hope of colluding with Hitler against the Soviet Union, they also played the trick of "negotiating" with the Soviet Union in order to mislead public opinion. They exhausted every trick in their bags to start a war between Germany and the Soviet Union, a war in which they could watch the combatants wear each other out from the sidelines.

In order to organize an anti-fascist united front to stop aggression, the Soviet Union agreed to enter into negotiations with Britain and France. The negotiations started in April of 1939 in Moscow. Britain suggested that the Soviet Union make a unilateral declaration that "when subjected to aggression, any European neighbor of the Soviet Union can count on the assistance of the Soviet government, provided only that such assistance conforms to the wishes of the recipient state." According to this British proposal, when Germany committed aggression against any European neighbor of the Soviet Union, the latter must come to its assistance, while both Britain and France were free from any obligation to help. In other words, the Soviet Union must fight Germany by itself. If Germany attacked Poland and Romania, to both of which Britain and France had commitments to help, the Soviet Union must assist them in their struggle against aggression while Britain and France were under no obligation to fight on the side of the Soviet Union, in fact they could do whatever they want. In case Germany committed aggression against the Soviet Union, Britain and France, as well as all the European neighbors of the Soviet Union, were under no obligation to come to the assistance of the Soviet Union. Naturally, the Soviet Union would not consent to such an unreasonable proposal, whose intention was to have a war involving Germany and Soviet Union standing by itself.

In the negotiations, the Soviet Union proposed that: (1) Britain, France and the Soviet Union sign an effective anti-aggression agreement of mutual assistance that would be defensive in nature; (2) Britain, France and the Soviet Union assure assistance to all central and eastern European countries fighting against aggression; (3) Britain, France and the Soviet Union sign military agreements to provide for effective mutual assistance and the assistance of other countries covered in their commitments when the aggressor launched its offensive. Britain and France refused to accept this comprehensive and reasonable Soviet proposal.

In early May, Britain and France again proposed: "If, in carrying out their commitments (assurances of assistance given to Poland, Romania, Greece, Turkey and other countries), Britain and France were to be involved in military actions, the Soviet government must immediately offer any assistance desired by the other parties, and only the nature and conditions of this assistance were to be the subject of consultations." In other words, the Soviet Union could only negotiate with Britain and France on how it could help Britain and France, and other countries that had received assurances from Britain and France. The Soviet Union could not even talk of British and French obligations to the Soviet Union, the Baltic states and Finland.



*Soviet women played an important part in defending their socialist motherland against fascism and imperialism. Here they are building antitank defenses on the outskirts of Leningrad.*

From these proposals it can be seen that, rather than raising them to the Soviet Union, Britain and France were actually raising the proposals to fascist Germany, for the proposals could only demonstrate to Germany that Britain and France did not and would not assume any obligation for the Soviet Union or other Baltic states; and that as long as countries that had received assurances from Britain and France were left alone, the eastward advance of Germany would not be interfered with by Britain and France.

Later, the Soviet Union proposed once more that Britain, France and the Soviet Union should negotiate concretely a military agreement for the sake of fighting against aggressors. Britain and France were forced to accept this offer, but their acceptance was totally without good faith. The head of the British military delegation was a retired admiral, Drax, who had served as the commander of a naval fortress with scant knowledge other than routine military operations. The head of the French military delegation was a General Doumenc, a regimental commander who had never taken part in normal strategic decisions of the French army. A report cabled by the then German ambassador to Moscow had this to say: "that admiral (of the British military delegation)...is in fact already listed among the retired. Furthermore, he never worked in the general staffs of the navy. As for the army general, he is strictly a combat officer. The air force general is an outstanding pilot and flight instructor, but not a strategist. This seems to indicate that rather than concluding military operational agreements, this military delegation is more interested in gauging the fighting capability of the Soviet armed forces." It would take only one day by plane to reach Moscow, but the military delegation chose to take the boat, setting out on August 5 and arriving on August 11.

During the negotiations, the Soviet Union indicated that if any party to the agreement were subjected to aggression, the Soviet Union was ready to commit to the front line one hundred and thirty-six infantry divisions, five thousand medium and heavy artillery pieces, about ten thousand heavy or light tanks and five thousand war planes. The British representative could only counter with an offer of five infantry divisions and one mechanized division.

The British military delegation carried with it secret instructions "to delay the progress of the negotiations as much as possible" and they had no intention to reach a final conclusion in the negotiations. The THAMES Newspaper stated that "if we promptly enter into a firm alliance with the Russians, it will hinder a different kind of negotiation." The so-called "different kind of negotiation" meant the negotiation in which Britain and France tried their utmost to form some kind of collusion with the German fascists. In a report to the German Foreign Ministry, the German Embassy in London stated on August 3, 1939, that "there is a prevailing impression here that contacts with other countries in the last few months were merely a supplementary measure to realize genuine compromise with Germany. As soon as the only important and worthwhile goal, i.e., agreement with Germany, is reached, then all these contacts will evaporate." For this reason, even though the negotiations lasted more than four months, and in spite of the fact that the Soviet Union exercised tremendous patience to strive for an agreement with the western countries, the negotiations still fell through.

At this time, Hitler had already decided to start a world war in order to seize world hegemony. Realizing that the Soviet Union was strong and not to be subdued for the time being, he had decided not to attack the "tough one" in the east, but rather to take on the west first. Of course Comrade Stalin knew the cunning nature of the German fascists. However, since the western countries did not have the slightest intention to join the Soviet Union in a common struggle against the fascists, and in order to smash the conspiracy to divert the calamity of German fascists onto the Soviet Union cooked up by western imperialism, he skillfully took advantage of the contradictions among the imperialists and signed a "treaty of nonaggression" with Germany. Through this, he won time to consolidate and strengthen the Soviet Union and to deliver a hard blow to its enemy. Concerning this decision of Comrade Stalin, Chairman Mao has made a penetrating analysis and a correct evaluation. Chairman Mao said:

The plan of Britain, the United States and France was to egg Germany on to attack the Soviet Union, so that they themselves, 'sitting on top of the mountain to watch the tigers fight,' could come down and take over after the Soviet Union and Germany had worn each other out. The Soviet-German non-aggression treaty smashed this plot. (The Identity of Interests Between the Soviet Union and All Mankind)

## Starting with Malice and Ending with Self-Ruin

After declaring war with Germany, Britain and France did not fulfill their concrete obligations to Poland. According to the Franco-Polish military agreement signed on May 19, 1939, "within three days after the mobilization orders were proclaimed," the French side should "gradually launch offensives against selected targets," and that "if Germany attacked Poland with its main force, then within fifteen days after general mobilization, France should launch offensive against Germany with its main force." However, though forced to declare war on Germany when Germany sent a huge army to penetrate deeply into Poland, France did not move in the period of almost a year. One British general described the situation of the Franco-German border at that time in this way: "The strongest (French) army of the world is confronted with merely twenty-three (German) divisions,"

(Continue on page 25)

# October League's Organizing Committee

## DOOMED FROM THE START

The victory of the correct proletarian line of the WVO over right and "left" opportunism in the U.S. has laid the basis for the genuine communist party in this country and brought that party's formation nearer than ever before. This is a tremendous event in the history of the U.S. working class. Yet the WVO's victory and thorough exposure of all the opportunists is also forcing these same opportunists to cop to our line, to adopt superficial aspects of it and try to use it to delay their own total collapse.

Since 1974, the WVO has fought the Revolutionary Communist Party's (RCP) belittling of the importance of Marxist theory. But after thoroughly disarming themselves of the weapon of theory, the RCP has found themselves totally beached and stagnant, completely unable to provide communist leadership to the working class. So it comes as no surprise that they have recently launched a "theoretical journal" and, in an article called "Theoretical Struggle Crucial Part Of Working Class Movement," they claim to have discovered...the importance of Marxist theory! (RCP Discovers 'Theory In Its Own Right' WVO newspaper, Vol II, No 1, 1/77)

Since late 1974, the WVO has led the all-out fight against the October League's (OL) Klonskyite revisionism. And since early 1975, the OL has buckled under to our exposure of their bankruptcy and steadily tried to adopt one aspect after another of our line. The same OL who, from 1972-1974, faithfully tailed the RCP's belittling of theory and the principal task of party building, had the audacity to claim in late 1975 that they had always been "consistent and clear" in upholding these tasks! The same OL who unreservedly tailed after every liberal politician and militant union misleader, from Ted Kennedy in Watergate to Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers, from Roy Wilkins of the NAACP to the revisionist Puerto Rican Socialist Party, now claims to be the great opponent of these same liberals and misleaders and even pretends to have discovered the strategic concept of aiming the direction of the main blow against the social props! The same OL who has always defended every variety of autonomism and looseness in organization and who carried this right into their Organizing Committee, now pretends to be the champion of Leninist centralism and discipline!

All the OL's efforts to cover themselves are already collapsing quickly and will inevitably fall completely, but they again confirm by negative example, that genuine communists must maintain vigilance against these new and always slimier forms of revisionism. Since early 1976, the WVO has exposed all the OL's new twists and turns, which we called their "left" feint, their new orthodox look.

Marxism will not serve revisionism. And by vainly trying to use the WVO's line to serve their revisionist purposes, the OL is quickly discovering that dialectics is a two edged knife which very soon will slit their throats.

### THE TOTAL BANKRUPTCY OF THE OLOC

The present focus of the OL's "left" feint is on questions on organization. Their OC is riddled with opportunist infighting and maneuvering from top to bottom, and now the OL is desperately trying to hold it together by advertising it as the successor to Lenin's Organizing Committee of 1902, and by running a sham "study campaign" on Lenin's One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, which he wrote in 1904.

A study campaign! After the WVO had completely exposed the OL's bourgeois democratic illusions in the state in 1974-75, the OL started up a "study campaign" on Lenin's The State And Revolution, precisely to try to cover those exposures and divert any new ones. And now that the WVO has totally discredited the OL's original party building plan, they cough up the present campaign for the same purpose. Yet it was pre-

cisely on the basis of the principles Lenin laid out in One Step Forward... that we exposed the OL's original party building plan and their OC!

A full year ago, the WVO exposed the petty bourgeois organizational looseness, autonomism and fear of discipline in the OL party building plan, which called for a party without a political program to unite it, with a "temporary leading body" instead of a unified Central Committee to lead it, and with a promise of "full democracy," then the "fullest possible democracy" for all its members. Today the OL has copped to every one of these criticisms and now we see them whipping together their "draft party program" and freely quoting Lenin's One Step Forward, where he fought petty bourgeois organizational looseness and fear of centralism!

Of course, the Menshevik character of the OL and its OC hasn't changed in the least, for it is deep in their bones, built right into their entire conception of the role of the OC in building the party.

### ISKRA BECAME THE PARTY AND THE PARTY BECAME ISKRA

The First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) in 1898 united the scattered communist circles formally, but not in reality, because no one had succeeded yet in building a genuine center that could really draw the circles together around the correct line. After the Congress, the Russian communists' principal task was still the building of that genuine center that would be the basis of the party.

To answer this pressing need, Lenin created the Iskra (Spark) newspaper and organization in late 1900. Through tremendous efforts, under his leadership, by 1902 the Iskra had developed the correct line for a number of major questions of the Russian revolution, which it summed up in its draft program, and had succeeded in really uniting the majority of the communist circles and advanced workers in Russia. Built on the correct line, Iskra became the leading circle in the Russian communist movement, laying the basis for the RSDLP. In late 1902, Iskra initiated the Organizing Committee which included a number of separate circles. Under Iskra's leadership, the OC made the preparations for the Second Congress of the RSDLP, which was held in 1903, and where the Bolshevik wing of the party first emerged.

What are the lessons? Lenin always held that Iskra, in its role as the leading circle, created the basis for the united RSDLP, while the OC was mainly a commission established to organize the Second Congress. Undergoing tremendous hardships between 1900 and 1902, Iskra developed the correct line, Iskra drew the lines of demarcation against the opportunists, Iskra developed the draft program, and Iskra united the many circles, most of whom liquidated themselves and joined Iskra before the OC was created. Through all this, Iskra achieved the hegemony of the correct line in Russia.

Lenin summed up:

"...the real work of creating the organized unity for the party was done entirely by the Iskra organization /while the /organizing committee was mainly a commission set up to convene the Congress." (One Step Forward, Two Steps Back. 1904. LCW, Vol. 7, p. 274)

"Iskra became the Party and the Party became Iskra..." (Letter To Alexandra Kalmykova, Sept. 1903, LCW, Vol. 34)

But, trying to sum up these same events on their own in their "study campaign," the OL directly contradicts all this:

"The preparations for the congress by the Organizing Committee provided the basis for this single center to be built." (The Call, Vol. 5, No. 28, Nov. 15, 1976)

This is the OL's Menshevism defined! In

its OC, the OL never dares to proclaim that the OL is the leading circle, that the OL's line will be the party's line, that those circles that agree with the OL should liquidate themselves and join the OL, that the OL is the party. No, nothing of the kind. If the OL ever made claim to any of this, they would immediately scare off all their Menshevik junior partners in the OC, who hate nothing more than being eaten alive by a big, "hegemonic" organization.

No, just as they admit, the OC (not the OL!) is laying the basis for their party. The OC writes its principles of unity, the OC is drafting the party program, the OC makes the public tours, the OC calls the circles to join itself, and not the OL. According to the OC's own rules, every circle has a single vote to determine the line. Each circle will write a chapter of the party program!

In fact, how is the present OC different from the bankrupt "temporary leading body" scheme that the OL claims they dropped? The present OC is the "temporary leading body," which, as the OL originally planned, would "survey the organizational forces represented in the party, establish democratic centralism and prepare us for our first Party Congress, to be held within a year of our founding." (The Call, Nov. 1975). That is exactly what the OC is doing today. The OL's party already exists -- the OC-"temporary leading body" is it! The OL's slogan is: the OC became the party and the party became the OC!

### OVERBOARD WITH "UNITY"

As if this wasn't enough already, the OLOC piles it on:

"It is not, nor has it ever been, the position of the OC that the ten organizations and collectives currently represented on the OC are the only members of the unity trend within this country. The unity trend is broader than the ranks of the OC. There are many honest Marxist-Leninists currently studying the different lines and trends within the communist movement out of a genuine desire to build an anti-revisionist party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

"These people are also part of the unity trend... To equate the OC with the unity trend would be a sectarian error and would reflect an incorrect stand on the question of uniting with these Marxist-Leninists.

"...the OC sees the importance of intensifying our efforts over the next period of time to increase the ranks of the unity trend and to unite all of the forces within the unity trend into the party-building efforts." (The Call, Vol. 5, No. 29, Nov. 22, 1976, p. 7)

Even the OLOC isn't "broad" enough to include all the Mensheviks in the U.S.! For this, a "unity trend" is needed! And what is the line of demarcation of this "unity trend," dividing it from revisionists, opportunists, social democrats, the marsh and plain liberals? There is no line of demarcation. To avoid "a sectarian error," the OLOC recognizes all "honest Marxist-Leninists currently studying the different lines and trends" who say they want to build a communist party as part of the "unity trend" and bring them all into the OLOC party building motion. Anyone who is "studying the different lines and trends" and who claims to want to build a communist party is in the "unity trend"! What is this but the old Menshevik attempt to bring "every professor and every striker" into the communist party, which Lenin fought so fiercely in One Step Forward?

Chairman Mao stated the "three do's and three don'ts" for communists:

"Practice Marxism, and not revisionism;

unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."

Of these, "practice Marxism and not revisionism" is the most fundamental, and it determines the other two. Communists must always base their unity on Marxism, on the correct ideological and political line.

But the OLOC has whipped themselves into such a Menshevik frenzy over their "unity trend" that one of their OC circles went completely overboard and actually made "unity" the standpoint for judging correct from incorrect, Marxism from revisionism:

"Marxist-Leninists must be judged today by their stance on uniting." (The Call, Vol. 5, No. 26, 11/1/76, p. 7)

If this is Leninism, then what is Menshevism!

#### THE OLOC IS DOOMED

Built on such Menshevik mud, the OLOC was doomed from the beginning. It is riddled from head to foot with opportunist maneuvering and circle squabbling which, as "party time" draws closer and the small sharks get the taste of blood, reaches the point of a frenzy.

The most recent sign of this inner decay is the OL's recent "purge" of the arch-revisionist Martin Nicholaus. Actually, Nicholaus is a most consistent representative of the OL's line. Every one of the bankrupt lines that the OL now attributes solely to Nicholaus, and which they are "criticizing" in their paper, were the undisguised lines of the OL from 1972-75. From the view that liberal monopoly capitalists and militant misleaders are allies of the working class, to the line that agitation is the chief form of activity and ultra-"leftism" is the main danger in the communist movement (The Call, Vol. 5, No. 30, 11/29/76, and 12/13/76) -- every one of these was the line of the OL ringleaders, the Klonsky renegade clique.

The substance of the "purge" is this: the arch-revisionist Nicholaus wanted to stick with the OL's openly revisionist lines of 1972-75, while the renegade Klonsky saw the need for the OL's "left" feint of 1975-76 to try to cover their revisionism and prevent further exposure. The immediate cause was this: in mid-1976 the Klonsky renegade clique copped to the line of The League for Marxist-Leninist Unity ("On Building The Party Among The Masses", Class Struggle, Spring/Summer 1976, #4-5), which was a rotten and vain attempt to appropriate the line of the WVO and distort it to serve the OL's revisionism.

In the Klonsky-Nicholaus revisionist infighting, each side used aspects of the WVO's line to cut up the other. Klonsky got rid of Nicholaus, but not the contradiction that traps them both. The same unholy maneuvering continues in the OLOC now, and sooner or later the knife will slip from Klonsky's hands and take his head off.

Marxism is invincible. Whichever way they twist and turn, the Klonsky renegade clique will continue their slide to defeat, while the correct line of the WVO will always grow stronger and more steeled.

#### Two Roads

The OL likes to pretend that theirs is the only concrete plan to build the party. No, besides their revisionist road, there is the Marxist road of the WVO, which begins by recognizing that the WVO is the leading circle in the U.S. today, the only organization with the correct line and the core of professional revolutionaries, the only organization that can serve as the "firm base of operations" to build the genuine communist party (Lenin, Preface To The Collection Twelve Years, 1907. Against Revisionism, p. 102).

In the conditions of the U.S. today, the setting up of an Organizing Committee is the incorrect approach to rally the party's forces. The main conditions that made the OC necessary in Russia in 1902, and again in 1912, were the existence of nu-

merous workers circles and committees with no common literature and contact between them and the conditions of illegality under Tsarist oppression which made common work among the circles a matter of survival, even if they had differences in line.

In the conditions of bourgeois democracy in the U.S., the communist movement was not forced to develop into one organization, but on the contrary, any swell-headed intellectual could start his own little circle and trend. The sorting out between Marxists and opportunists has taken place not inside a single party, but between different organizations. The major trends have definite organizational representatives, and there are not hundreds or thousands, but a few genuine ML collectives. The establishment of an OC in these conditions will not help fight circle spirit but will appeal to ultra-democratic and autonomist prejudices and will block the formation of the genuine communist party.

We therefore call on all genuine communists to rally to the correct line of the WVO and liquidate themselves, joining the WVO directly. And we are achieving this. As anyone can see from the series of "Two Roads" articles in the past issues of the WVO newspaper, the very best elements from the communist movement grasp the correctness of this approach and are following it.

We will make every effort to unite with all genuine Marxists on the basis of the correct line. But unlike the OL, we plainly state that party building does not hinge on any broad "unity trend" because the WVO is the center of gravity of the motion, and we certainly will not try to drag "every professor and striker" into the vanguard party.

The rallying of the best communists to form the genuine communist party is the single greatest step in the fusion with the working class. This great event in the history of the U.S. proletariat will reinforce our invincible ideological unity on the principles of Marxism with the material force of organization to overthrow the criminal rule of U.S. monopoly capitalism. ■

**AFRICA** (Continued from page 10) - rage -- blacks expressing their anger about the oppressive system to each other -- such whispered communication is clearly the genesis of violence." And then they go on to label violence "anti-social behavior," and suggest that one way to avoid such behavior is merely to provide mechanisms for voicing grievances, for "releasing their frustrations"! Every thought of Young's is aimed at smothering the masses' revolutionary anger and violence, and saving U.S. imperialism!

#### COCA-COLA WILL SAVE SOUTH AFRICA, SAYS YOUNG

And on whom do Young and Green exhort the Africans to rely to spearhead the movement for reforms and "accommodation," since "violence... has never been an acceptable agent of change"? Why, on the U.S. multinational corporations, of course -- like IBM, Mobil, Coca-Cola, and Polaroid. Young calls on these corporations that build their plants right next to the segregated homelands areas where Blacks are forced to live, in order to directly exploit the cheap labor pool, to "disavow the comfortable status quo and creatively look for ways to bring about reform.... If such companies would unilaterally grant equal pay for equal work, they could revolutionize the living standard for black South Africans overnight." After all, Young points out, U.S. corporations have a vested interest in breaking down apartheid peacefully because, as Young reminds them, "violence is bad for business."

#### PERSIST IN TIT-FOR-TAT ARMED STRUGGLE TO THE END!

It is no surprise that Young takes such a consistent stand in advocating reform and peaceful change and a bigger role for U.S. corporations, etc. This lackey is nothing but a bribed mouthpiece for the U.S. monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie and its imperialist policies in southern Africa.

From his Civil Rights days as a Congregationalist minister and as right-hand negotiator for Martin Luther King -- when in a huge antiwar demonstration at the U.N. he stipulated that King would address the rally only if NLF flags were kept out of sight and the "radical rhetoric" kept down -- to "cooling off"

spontaneous acts of resistance during urban uprisings, to his advice to Carter to cover up for his chauvinist "ethnic purity" statement by talking about unemployment more, Andrew Young has been a faithful, energetic misleader of the working class movement, especially of the Afro-American masses. His recent appointment to the U.N. post which he himself said he just couldn't pass up, must be viewed for what it is: an out-and-out reward from the bourgeoisie themselves for his slick performance as a direct servant of the bourgeoisie. His long years of cultivation as a social prop, as a trained agent of the bourgeoisie, have finally paid off Andrew Young well! He has now "risen" from his role as a social prop for the bourgeoisie to a member of the bourgeois state-apparatus -- part of the target of the U.S. proletarian revolution!

The southern African freedom fighters are vigilant on these conniving U.S. and Soviet social-imperialists and their worn-out bag of tricks, including Andrew Young, and with every passing day they are more clearly seeing through what

really lies behind the U.S. imperialists' "support" for majority rule in Zimbabwe. A great step forward has been taken by the unity forged in the Patriotic Front between ZANU and ZAPU, in the face of attempts by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists to split and weaken the liberation forces. All forces opposed to apartheid and superpower interference should join forces under one banner to fight for national independence.

As the Geneva Conference has shown, the freedom fighters are not opposed to negotiations with the racist regimes. But these negotiations by themselves can never resolve the deep and irreconcilable contradictions between the African people and the white racists. The negotiations must be based on armed struggle and nothing else! The African freedom fighters will never surrender their guns or initiative in the guerrilla war as they go to the Conference table, nor will they be tricked into laying down their arms, but will remain vigilant and persist in tit-for-tat armed struggle against the racist white minority government until final victory! ■

**DECLARATION OF THE WVO:**  
**The Formation of the Party is a Settled Question !!**  
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# Two Roads

BOLSHEVIK WORKERS ORGANIZATION

SPIRIT SEVERE BLOW

The Bolshevik Workers Organization is a newly formed communist organization composed of former members of the Revolutionary Workers League and the February First Movement. Our roots are in the Afro-American liberation movement of the sixties, particularly the Black student movement where our first introduction to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought began. Through sharp comradesly struggle with genuine Marxist-Leninists, especially BOC/CWC (ML), we have been able to grasp the stand, method and viewpoint of MLMTTT, to find our bearings and break with our earlier stance as a faction of supporters of the Otvovist PRRWO/RWL clique while members of the Collective for a Bolshevik Party (CBP), and now recognize the most overall correct line of WVO in the anti-revisionist communist movement and that the party of the U.S. proletariat is nearer than ever before.

We had joined in the formation of CBP soon after being purged from the otzovist clique, put forth some minor differences with the opportunist line of the clique but in the main continued to hold most of the same "left" opportunist lines. At the time of CBP's formation we had a clear oppositional stance toward the leading circle WVO as we continued to propagate the line of the clique under a new cover. What was not grasped was the petty bourgeois stand, method and viewpoint and lack of decisive struggle against specific ideological deviations prevalent throughout the history of PRRWO and RWL. As a result the same deviations were carried over into CBP. The failure of CBP to resolutely criticize the line and methodology of the clique, limiting our differences to minor points or just criticizing specific acts of the leadership meant our serving as a faction of supporters of Otvovists. In fact, like ATM and other opportunists we first took a centrist stand on the split that occurred between WVO and the PRRWO/RWL clique in the revolutionary wing. Instead of holding to a correct view of the decisiveness of ideological and political line, CBP sought an idealist guarantee-ideological and political unity.

"Comrades, though you claim you are not shielding the Otvovist PRRWO/RWL and that you are not otzovists yourselves, why is it that the guarantee-unity view cannot answer the questions why has the 'left' degenerated? Which trend was fundamentally and overall correct? Comrades, your idealism which made you flip to PRRWO/RWL is the same idealism which prevents you from answering this fundamental question. (WVO Vol. 1 #5 p. 19)

This centrism on the split was only a different manifestation of the centrism of RWL when struggle sharpened between PRRWO and WVO in February 1976 over PRRWO's opportunist line on the proposed merger of RWL and WVO. RWL's eventual unity with PRRWO's Menshevik line on the organizational question "opened the floodgates" to backsliding and opportunism in other spheres and the rapid degeneration of the PRRWO/RWL clique.

Not only did CBP try to stand above the split at its formation; the same circle spirit showed itself in many other ways. While maintaining opposition to the leading line and the leading circle

WVO, we were content with our small circle form, content with drawing up an "independent" contribution to the anti-revisionist communist movement (ARCM) (straight up bigheadedness), and content with no strategic view of the road forward. Also lacking was a concrete analysis of the ARCM itself, its importance and a correct summation of the past 8 or 9 years of struggle. What was evident was our satisfaction with petty bourgeois autonomism, anarchism and individualism-in a word, circle spirit.

In struggling with BOC/CWC (ML) and other genuine Marxist Leninists some of the members of CBP began to grasp the seriousness of the errors we were making. Struggle intensified within CBP to not only break with the clique organizationally but also ideologically and politically. Our factional supporters' role became increasingly obvious as we began to recognize major deviations such as mechanical and vulgar materialism, dogmatism and centrism tracing them all the way back through RWL.

One of the most glaringly opportunist lines a section of us in CBP were won away from was the view of "political line as mere formulation," a line that substitutes pragmatism for a Marxist-Leninist analysis of line and represents the lazy bones attitude of the petty bourgeoisie. The opportunists of all shades use this line to justify maintaining small circles. All negate Mao's teaching "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." It was in struggle to grasp and repudiate such erroneous lines, aided by principled struggle with comrades in unity with the leading line of WVO that CBP split and comrades in BWO came to unite with the most overall correct line and its organizational representative WVO. We recognize the absolute necessity of building the Party on the proletarian ideological plane, the immediacy of party building and preparation of the proletariat for dictatorship of the proletariat, correctly summing up the history of struggle in the ARCM, and the role of criticism-self criticism, repudiation, and transformation in serving the interest of the proletariat. This stands in contradiction to the method of the other trends that came out of the CBP who have yet to put forward a correct summation of the degeneration of PRRWO/RWL, or grasp the ideological and class character of the right and "left" lines in the ARCM today. Failure to repudiate the methodology of the PRRWO/RWL clique, correctly sum-up the ideological deviations, unite with the most overall correct line and leading circle WVO, has led them straight into the backsliding of the August Twenty-ninth Movement and to the Workers Congress line.

## Periods and the Differentiation of Genuine from Sham Marxism

"The development of the communist movement is something definite and concrete. Every struggle, every bit

"Before

we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation"

of knowledge, line, tradition, and understanding of the particulars has to be forged in the course of class struggle. This has to be guided as well as enriched by links with the general theory, the historical and international experience of the proletariat.

Every phase of its development is characterized by a principal contradiction. Class struggle in society must be reflected in the communist movement, concretely manifested and concentrated in the two line struggle between genuine Marxism-Leninism and different shades and forms of opportunism. Each phase, therefore, is characterized by a line struggle, with a dominant line, whether correct or incorrect. Resolution of the two line struggle, resolution of the principal contradiction that characterized the movement as a whole, enables the communist movement to "liquidate the old period" and surge forward. (WVO journal #4 p. 93)

The history of the communist movement is a crucial question for communists to analyze correctly because "it enables us to see where we have gone and what is the next obstacle we must overcome in order to make the qualitative leap necessary to form the party." In this sense it is strategically important because it is one of the ways we see what battles have been won and which battle is crucial in the immediate future.

There has been 8 to 9 years of intense struggle in the ARCM. Unless this is summed up correctly the future of the present movement cannot be insured. We think WVO has grasped and consistently applied the correct methodology in summing up the history of the movement by grasping what the principal contradiction was and is at critical junctures in

# To Party Building

## ORGANIZATION (ML) STRIKES CIRCLE

### LIQUIDATING ITSELF TO WVO



We think it is important to note here that not all correct lines in the history of the anti-revisionist communist movement were formulated and developed by the WVO (as the WVO has publicly stated many times) other communist organizations made important contributions to the most overall correct line in the communist movement. But because these groups did not grasp in a consistent way the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint, and method, they degenerated. The WVO now represents the synthesis of the best elements and best line to emerge out of the anti-revisionist communist movement in the course of tit-for-tat struggle against right and "left" opportunism.

Since the degeneration of the "C" PUSA there were many splinter groups which constituted themselves around the time of the polemics between the "C" PSU and the CPC and the split in the international communist movement. These splinter groups did not grasp firmly the theory of MLMTT and failed in their obligation to give communist leadership to the surging spontaneous movements of the early sixties. There was a lack of genuine ML leadership as the "C" PUSA attempted to divert the heroic struggles of the masses into reformism and pacifism.

As the mass movements of the sixties and early seventies grew (in the absence of a vanguard party of the proletariat to lead them through the twists and turns of the bourgeoisie's dual tactics) so grew also many eclectic petty bourgeois theories of Nkrumaism, lumpen as the vanguard, etc. During this period splinter groups such as Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and Provisional Organizing Committee (POC) degenerated into Trotskyite sects.

It was under these conditions that the Revolutionary Union (RU) played a leading role.

"Led by the Revolutionary Union, the advanced elements from these movements mainly the national and students movements, broke with revisionism and the various petty bourgeois eclectic theories and began adopting some of the fundamentals of Marxism, including the need for armed struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of socialist China and Albania, and the contributions of Stalin. Above all, the young communist movement grasped the key link of that period, which was to uphold the leading role of the proletariat in the US socialist revolution." (WVO Supplement, Jan. '77 p. s8)

This eclectic period corresponds to the surging forward of the mass movements which covered the mid-'60's to '71-'72. During 1972 this process of grasping the key link had in the main been consolidated. This consolidation represented the sorting out of the petty bourgeois theories, including Trotskyism, and saw the emergence of RU as the leading line in the anti-revisionist communist movement.

There followed a relative ebb period in the mass movements after the struggles and victories of the first period. This relative ebb period provided the conditions for genuine Marxist-Leninists to sum up and draw out the lessons of the past period so that we could lead even bigger battles as the working class movement would begin to surge forward.

There were many crucial questions brought up in the flow period which had to be answered correctly if the movement was to be successfully pushed forward. Among these were the central task of party building, class analysis, line on the national question and woman question, the dual tactics of the bourgeoisie, and the international situation. The question of using MLMTT to answer these questions became crucial. The movement had emerged from the practical struggles of the eclectic period but theoretically it was weak. The struggle to apply MLMTT to answer the questions facing the movement set the conditions for the broad struggle which broke out between the leading role of the theory of MLMTT and American Pragmatism.

It was this American pragmatist line of RU (and pushed by the opportunist October League (OL) who emerged as the main revisionist danger in the ARCM during the 3rd period) which had to be defeated and was the focus of struggle during this period. This line belittled theory and pushed empiricism as the theory of knowledge. In this period from 1972-1975 the RU changed from promoting the most overall correct line in the ARCM to being sorted out along with other opportunists such as OL, I Wor Kuen (IWK), Communist League (CL) and the Guardian. This "practice, practice, practice" trend which also did not uphold the central task of party building was defeated by the emerging revolutionary theory trend led by BWC, WVO, PRRWO and ATM. This trend crystallized into the revolutionary wing of the communist movement in the fall of 1975 which by then included the RWL. There were definite principles of unity among the revolutionary wing based on the line struggles and clear demarcations of the period. (See WVO Aug.

1976, p. 7).

It is precisely these principles of unity that the ATM is reneging on by saying that there never was a revolutionary wing and summing it up as a "left, sectarian, subjective and idealist view."

"The revolutionary wing did not come out of nowhere. It was a concrete product of the struggles in the communist movement between 1972-75. Why did the role of theory come to the front as the key link in those three years? It was not by chance, or by anybody's whim, or because we preferred to read Marxist books, as the right opportunist always claimed. It was not by accident or because of anybody's subjective desires, but because of the totality of the objective conditions of the time, which forced to the forefront questions and tasks that demanded answers- the need for revolutionary theory. (WVO Vol.II, No.1, p. 8)

The backsliding of ATM is the same type of backsliding that PRRWO went through. It started on the organizational sphere with opportunist opposition to the proposed merger of WVO and RWL and led them to backsliding on all the correct lines they once held. ATM never talks about the role they played in the struggles inside the revolutionary wing where they covered and supported PRRWO's "left" opportunism and united with the right opportunist line on the organizational sphere. ATM is continuing this backsliding by negating the lessons of the second period; by ignoring that there was an absolute line of demarcation between the revolutionary wing and the opportunist wing.

"This is just the beginning, which leads them to deny all the correct verdicts of the second period, to deny the absolute line of demarcation against right opportunism, and to backslide straight into the pragmatist arms of the RU and the OL. This is inevitable. Today, the ATM has swallowed hook, line and sinker the pragmatist line of these opportunists, and is in fact now sinking to a level lower than RU and OL ever attained. The ATM is indeed a "better defender of the RU and OL's line than the RU and OL themselves!" (WVO Vol.II, No.1, p.s10)

In 1975 with the emergence of the trend based on building the party on the proletarian ideological plane and as the working class movement began a flow toward a mighty upsurge, we entered another period- the third period of party building in the ARCM. In this period political line became the key link for the revolutionary wing. The fundamental questions of political line are the state and class analysis. This is the sphere of proletarian ideology which includes questions most related to the state and the process of seizure of state power by the working class led by its vanguard party, the various national questions, the woman question, the larger international and domestic situations, the dual tactics of the bourgeoisie and the strategy and tactics of the proletariat. In this period many of the programmatic elements of the party programme came forth in the course of struggle.

(Continued from page 1)

rectly said: "Equality is out of the question for us unless our African continent is freed from colonial occupation, racial discrimination and apartheid in all its forms" and "provided that the people of other countries are still suffering from colonial enslavement and foreign economic plunder, we have no peace to speak of." With the unity of the awakening oppressed peoples and nations of the world, imperialist attempts to control the world are being exposed.

At home, U.S. capitalism is in its deepest economic crisis since the Great Depression of 1929. In its preparation for a new world war, the U.S. ruling class is stepping up its attacks on the working class through unemployment, inflation, speedups and cuts in vital services as well as repressive measures such as gun control bills, the S.I. bill and police brutality, to tighten the control on the working class, while advancing Jimmy Carter's liberal front to cover and carry out their ideological and material preparation for fascism. It is clear that the hardest hit within the working class in this crisis are the oppressed nationalities, national minorities and working class women.

For working class and oppressed women here at home, we must take a stand with the oppressed peoples and nations against colonialism, racism, zionism, imperialism, hegemonism, and all reaction. This struggle is inseparably linked to our own emancipation just as our struggle to overthrow monopoly capitalism here is inseparably linked with our struggle against women's oppression. We cannot have a separate movement of women for equal rights, but must have a movement that is inseparable from the entire proletariat's struggle to overthrow the ruling monopoly capitalist class. "Clearly, the primary task at the present in the struggle for women's emancipation is to fight imperialism, colonialism and particularly hegemonism of the two superpowers. Only when this struggle is carried out successfully, while giving due attention to solving the special demands and problems of women, can the cause for women's emancipation be pushed ahead steadily." (from speech given by Li Suwen, head of the Chinese delegation at the International Women's Year Conference in 1975)

In the national liberation movements, women have played a key role in liberating their countries from U.S. imperialism. The women of Vietnam and Mozambique have clearly shown this. Only by taking up the armed struggle to kick out both superpowers, will the women of the Third World be able to achieve real equality.

### Fight Against Women's Oppression is a Component Part of Proletarian Revolution

Working women, along with the working class, in the capitalist countries of the Second World, have also taken the offensive against their own bourgeoisie, as well as both superpowers.

In the U.S., the struggle of working and oppressed women against women's oppression has always been an integral part of the working class movement and the movement of oppressed nationalities against national oppression. The women garment and textile workers pioneered the struggle against the use of women and children as cheap labor and against the wretched working conditions imposed by the capitalists.

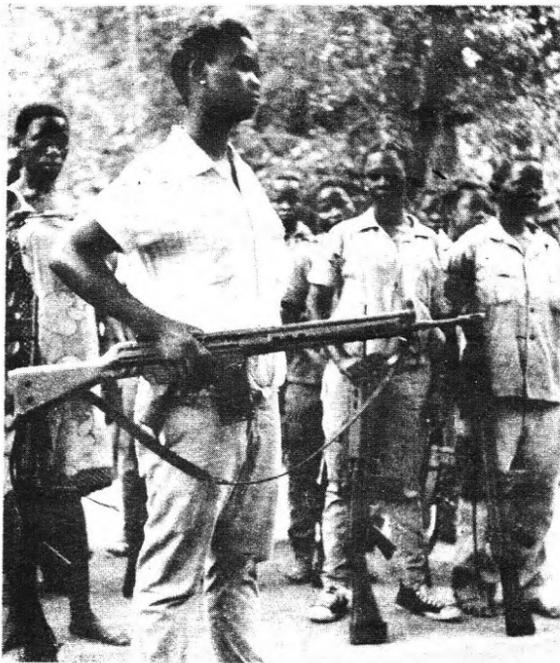
Working women's struggles have also made great strides in the past year. The Farah workers, after a 22-month protracted and militant strike finally won the right to unionize. The Oneida Mills strike of North Carolina was another blow to the monopoly capitalists. Wildcat strikes erupt everyday in the sweatshops concentrated in the Northeast of the country. In textile, garment, electronic, food processing, health care and other industries where most workers are women, women workers are rising up spontaneously to fight for the right to unionize, against slave wages, for decent living conditions, for union democracy, and against male supremacist ideological influence in the working class promoted by the bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy.

Working women have also taken a leading role in community struggles, particularly in oppressed nationality communities, for free and quality daycare, quality education, against police brutality, against pornography and degenerate cul-

# FIGHT FOR THE REAL SMASH THE DOUBLE YOKE OF

ture. Across the country, working and oppressed women are surging forward with rising consciousness to take up the task of liberating the entire working class from the yoke of wage slavery.

Women workers, alongside men workers, are beating back attack upon attack by the capitalist class that has been launched upon us to drive us into further poverty. With U.S. imperialism on its deathbed, they are desperate to save themselves. Pushing more and more women out of the factories, fields, offices, etc. and making it harder and harder for us to live each day by raising rents, inflating food prices, and using natural disasters



AFRICAN WOMEN FREEDOM FIGHTERS, along with oppressed women in other Third World countries, are taking up the gun against colonialism, imperialism, hegemonism, Zionism, racism and all reaction.

like the cold weather to fabricate natural gas shortages while we freeze to death. But the working class and oppressed women are standing up through all this.

### The Bourgeoisie Attempts to Usher in Fascism to Save Themselves

In this period of the deepening of the economic and political crisis, the working class in spite of the bourgeoisie's attempts to divide, divert, and confuse the struggle through such tricks as superseniority, the Equal Rights Amendment, and Title XX, are fighting back heroically. Mass demonstrations against cuts in daycare, strikes against layoffs and budget cuts, unemployment, speedups are on the rise. Everyday, the working class demonstrates their growing awareness of this system of exploitation, everyday the working class builds its strength in its many battles with the bourgeoisie.

### The Working Class Needs Its Party!

To lead these spontaneous struggles so they become conscious attacks on the bourgeoisie in preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class needs its own political Party. The vanguard Party of the working class is composed of our best sons and daughters, the advanced elements who will always defend the interests of all working and oppressed peoples in our struggle for the noble goal of communism. The Party is guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought that enables it to understand the laws of development of society in order to change it. This knowledge becomes a powerful material force to change the whole of society once the working class grasps it and its historic mission to eliminate all classes and all exploitation of man by man.

The Party of the working class must take up the fight against women's oppression, lead the spontaneous outbursts of the masses into a mighty torrent for

proletarian revolution. Without involving the masses of working and oppressed women, the proletariat will not be able to overthrow the bourgeois dictatorship.

"Working women - workers and peasants are the greatest reserve of the working class. This reserve constitutes a good half of the population. The fate of the proletarian movement, the victory or defeat of the proletarian revolution, the victory or defeat of proletarian power depends on whether or not the reserve of women will be for or against the working class... International Women's Day is a means of winning the women's labor reserves to the side of the proletariat. Working women are not only reserves, however. They can and must become - if the working class carries out a correct policy - a real army of the working class, operating against the bourgeoisie." (Stalin, A Political Biography, from Women's Question)

In order to win over the advanced workers and the broad masses of working and oppressed peoples - not just women - the Party must have a correct understanding of the women's question. The women's question is part of the overall class struggle. What does this mean to us, in the course of our day to day work of winning the advanced, in our preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat?

### Smash the Double Yoke of Capitalism and Domestic Slavery!

Women's oppression rose with the development of private property, when class society came into being. In primitive communal society, property was used in common. Women worked mainly in the home, doing household duties. Men hunted, fished and went to war. Each was master of their own domain, and women were highly respected in communal society. But when classes arose, man's work became dominant because the division of labor outside the family had changed. Women's tasks in the home, isolating her from socially productive labor, became a form of oppression. It is here that the double yoke oppressing women develops. First with slavery, then feudalism, now capitalism, but always confined to domestic slavery, women in great masses have been forced out of the productive social life of the entire society. Her home and her family have become the center of her attention, grinding her down every day, chaining her to her husband, narrowing her outlook and participation in society and blocking her great political role in fighting for the working class.

Although the progressive tendency of capitalism is to bring women into social production, because of the greater exploitation of the male worker and the necessity for women to work to help keep the family "above water," because of the special oppression of women, capitalism can never bring them into production fully, as women are used as a reserve labor force, a source of cheap labor, keeping down the overall wage scale.

Women need to be brought into social production in order to lay the foundation for her liberation. But her domestic chores -- housework, raising children -- must be socialized, something for all society to take up. It is important for the Party of the U.S. proletariat to fight for the special programs to allow women to fully enter the workforce, to fight for free daycare, for maternity benefits, etc. The Party must take up these special demands of women in order for women to play a more active role in the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Women face the double yoke of oppression -- capitalism and domestic slavery!

In fighting for women's special demands, we must guard against falling into reformism, of seeing these day-to-day needs of women as the final goal. We must avoid getting caught in the winning of these demands such as daycare, equal pay for equal work as the final victory of women's emancipation. They are only steps towards the real goal -- the emancipation of all

(Continue on next page)

# EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN!

## CAPITALISM AND DOMESTIC SLAVERY



WORKING MOTHERS UNITE TO SMASH TITLE 20, bourgeois scheme to divert and divide working class

mankind through communism. For example, during World War II, free and 24-hour daycare was given to working and oppressed women in order to bring them into the labor force, while men workers had been recruited in large numbers to fight the imperialist's war. But when the war was over, daycare was cut in order to throw women out of the factories and back into the homes. To have focused only on winning the demand for daycare would have confused and diverted the struggle. It would have created illusions that women can gain true equality under capitalism, that capitalism is really benevolent, concerned about the masses of working and oppressed peoples. The special demands of women, the fight against women's oppression cannot be won fully and consistently under capitalism. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can take up these demands wholeheartedly, and ultimately wipe the brutal oppression of women off the face of the earth.

### Women's Oppression Acts as Bind on the Whole Working Class

The correct understanding of the women's question is vital to the victory of the proletarian revolution. Understanding women's oppression, and actively taking up the fight against it, will strengthen the ability of the Party to win over the masses of working and op-

pressed peoples. If women are not organized to participate in the struggle, their husbands will be also hindered in taking up the proletarian struggle wholeheartedly.

"... His slave takes her revenge. Also in concealed form. Her backwardness and her lack of understanding for her husband's revolutionary ideals act as a drag on his fighting spirit, on his determination to fight. They are like tiny worms, gnawing and undermining imperceptibly, slowly but surely." (Clara Zetkin, My Recollections of Lenin)

In our day-to-day work in winning the advanced and the broad masses of workers and oppressed nationalities, women's oppression comes up in many forms, in many ways. Problems around childcare -- who's to take care of the kids while the parents attend to their political tasks? What's the correct way to view the relations between men and women? How do we fight male supremacist ideology on the job, in the home, in our day-to-day work of winning the broad masses to communism? The Party of the proletariat must address all these questions. The masses of working women and men cannot be won over to our noble cause unless the Party integrates the special demands of women with the proletariat's larger struggle, educates the masses against the bour-

geoisie's male supremacist ideology, and begins to involve women directly in the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

### Fight for Special Demands of Women in the Struggle to Achieve Equality Between Men and Women

1. Fight against layoffs of all workers.
2. Support the seniority system. Fight for job security. Fight against favoritism in promotions. Oppose political firings. Support plant-wide seniority.
3. No forced overtime. Hire more workers, especially oppressed nationalities, national minorities, and women. 6-hour day with no cut in pay.
4. Increase Supplementary Unemployment Benefits and other benefits for unemployed workers. Extend the length of coverage until workers are able to find jobs.
5. Free and quality daycare.
6. Equal opportunities for all jobs for oppressed nationalities, national minorities and women.
7. Special training programs for women workers so that they can take on jobs that were traditionally not open to them.
8. Special training programs for oppressed nationality workers who have been confined to the most unskilled, dirtiest, and least paying jobs.
9. Equal pay for equal work.
10. Paid maternity leaves and other benefits related to pregnancy, with no fear of job loss.
11. Expose the Equal Rights Amendment as a trick to divert the working class struggle. Fight for the real equality between men and women. Fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat!
12. Fight against forced sterilization. Improve the quality of health care!
13. Support the right of women to public education. Oppose all budget cuts in colleges and other educational institutions.

BUILD THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING WOMEN'S STRUGGLE.

SUPPORT NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES AGAINST COLONIALISM, RACISM, ZIONISM, IMPERIALISM, HEGEMONISM. DEFEAT BOTH SUPERPOWERS.

SMASH THE DOUBLE YOKE OF CAPITALISM AND DOMESTIC SLAVERY. FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM, FOR THE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF WORKING WOMEN.

SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN MASSES IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH. SUPPORT THE RIGHTS OF ALL OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES. ■

have held demonstrations to commemorate their murdered compatriots, to denounce US imperialism and to demand "Total sovereignty all over the land, including the Canal Zone", "For Total Independence" and "Join Hands with Third World Peoples"!

The attempt of US imperialists to extend their control over the Canal Zone for another 23 years and to maintain their "right" to keep military bases in Panama will inevitably fail. The same fate awaits the Soviet Social-imperialists' scheme to "internationalize" the Canal. The Panamanian people who have a glorious tradition of struggle will never allow their destiny to be swayed by others. Their road ahead may be tortuous and arduous, but they will never swerve in their firm resolution to restore their sovereign rights over the Canal Zone. And this cause is supported by and linked to the struggles of the oppressed masses and proletariat of the world against the two imperialist superpowers and against all reaction. ■

TOTAL SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE CANAL ZONE TO THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE NOW!

DEFEAT THE 2 SUPERPOWERS (US IMPERIALISTS AND SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS)!

END US MILITARY OCCUPATION OF PANAMA NOW!

Pamphlet

### FIGHT FOR THE REAL EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Smash the Double Yoke of Capitalism and Domestic Slavery

- Superseniority
- Title 20
- ERA and more

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### PANAMA (Continued from page 13)

Carter has made clear that he wants to go the path of "partnership" with Panama and that he would press his case with the American people through "fireside chats". Carter is bringing back Roosevelt's demagogic populist image for the same dangerous purpose -- to win the friendship of Latin American countries in preparation for a world war with the Soviet Union.

#### PANAMANIAN PEOPLE WILL BE VICTORIOUS IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST BOTH SUPERPOWERS

But the Panamanian people and oppressed masses of Latin America will see through this and wage a determined struggle against it. The Panamanian people have a heroic history of patriotic struggle to recover their sovereignty over the Canal Zone. The world-shaking anti-US imperialist struggle on January 9, 1964 in which more than 500 Panamanians were killed or wounded, forced the US imperialists to open up the current negotiations for a new treaty. But the US has been dragging its feet on these negotiations in the hope of maintaining its control and continuing the exploitation. However, oppression only breeds resistance. Every year since 1964, tens of thousands of Panamanian masses

# TWO ROADS (from page 19)

During this period unities and differences within the revolutionary trend were crystallized and struggled out, demarcations between sham and genuine were drawn and one divided into two as opportunists were sorted out. The struggles crystallized unities and differences around the fundamental question of the character of the party as the central task of party building was pushed forward. "Build the party on the proletarian ideological plane is the first and most fundamental line of demarcation differentiating all genuine from sham." This is the fundamental question that sorted out the petty bourgeois fellow travelers from the "left-" PRRWO/RWL, and it also sorted out the pragmatist from the right. The objective needs of the movement were being held back by the "otzovists" and the pragmatists. Both these trends are rapidly losing influence and are being clearly exposed for what they are—petty bourgeois democrats from the national movements who were blocked by petty bourgeois outlook from assimilating the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought in a comprehensive way.

This understanding of the periods of the ARCM stands in sharp contrast to the static, mechanical view we held in CBP and to which ATM and others still cling. Our past erroneous line on periods was the stages triad of ideology is key link, then political line is key link, then organization is key link devoid of clear analysis of the concrete struggles in the ARCM and failing to grasp what was the principal contradiction in a given period which had to be resolved to move the whole process of party-building forward. Calling the first period the period of "ideology is key link" muddles ideology and theory and perpetuates the metaphysical view that the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought can be grasped in one whole. It negates how Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought is grasped more deeply in each two line struggle, aspect by aspect.

Our mechanical, undialectical view of periods liquidated the sorting out process in the ARCM—the demarcations into definite trends based on line. Not grasping the decisiveness of past struggles in the sorting out process leads to muddle on the question of key link and key link for who? Certainly not for the opportunists who were sorted out in past periods. This is the muddle in which ATM is bogged today which leads to their petty bourgeois pessimistic analysis of the decisive struggles of the past 8 to 9 years and which has inevitably led to their backsliding and reversing correct verdicts. This line provides fertile basis for not grasping the fundamental question of building the party on the proletarian ideological plane which all opportunists liquidate.

## Build the Party on the Proletarian Ideological Plane

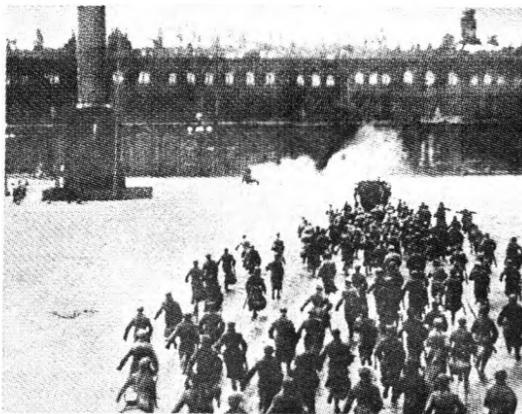
In relation to this most fundamental question:

"what sort of anti-revisionist party to build is not yet resolved in advanced capitalist countries because of the deep penetration of bourgeois ideology and particularities of political systems of advanced capitalist countries. Undertaking the task of building the party on the ideological plane is based on the present day Marxist-Leninist understanding of the sum up of the lessons of the international communist movement."

We are a product of the mass movements of the sixties and early seventies. We were not Marxists when we came into the movement but rather were from the revolutionary national movements. Being products of the ideological superstructure specific to the U.S. we brought many bourgeois tendencies into the communist movement. We have come to see the absolute need to wage a stubborn

struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology: because just like anything reactionary, if it is not hit it will not fall.

In the past, members of the BWO held an incorrect line on the role of criticism and self-criticism and its relationship to building the Party ideologically. When we were purged from the "wing", we upheld and defended much of its "left" opportunist line and used much of the methodology of the "wing" to criticize it. For example, we criticized the "wing" for upholding "political line is mere formulation" saying they had "correctly formulated the line of party building" but were not carrying it out in practice. This came up around the line on the need to base the party in the industrial proletariat. This "mere formulation" line blurred over the thoroughly left opportunist line they not only formulated using dogmatism, mechanical and vulgar materialism, etc, but were also carrying out in practice which has led it to be the



*Under the leadership of Lenin's correct line, the Bolshevik Party leads the masses in storming the Winter Palace and seizing state power.*

isolated sect it now is. Initially, we didn't grasp this crucial point and therefore could not break with this incorrect line and bankrupt methodology.

By having only shades of difference with the line of the "wing" and using an incorrect line to criticize it, meant that we could only cover for its total bankruptcy. Unity with most of those lines, i.e. periods, international situation, character of the party, explanation of the split on the Revolutionary Wing, etc, while drawing shallow lines of demarcation, such as differences on how to develop programme (we held a dogmatist line on the need to "start from" the Comintern), meant that we were still plagued by the same ideological deviations that led to its total degeneration. We were a "faction of supporters" of their left otzovist line. We declared our independence from the wing, but in reality this independence was only organizational, for ideologically and politically we were in the same trend of these modern day "otzovists". As Lenin described the faction of supporters in his time:

"We are not otzovist, cry the members of this clique. But make them say a few words about the contemporary political situation and the tasks of the party and you will hear in full all the otzovist arguments, slightly watered down.. by.. reservations, additions, suppressions, mitigations, confusions, etc. ("Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-Builders, Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 16)

The danger of the CBP "faction of supporters" position at that time, was that the exposure and degeneration of the PRRWO/RWL clique, the struggle between the correct and incorrect line, was raging fiercely. The CBP, still part of the revolutionary trend, acted as a cover for and was a more sophisticated version of the incorrect line, and consequently became the main danger to its complete ideological exposure.

As Lenin says:

"The shielding of the otzovist by Maximov and Co. is one of the most characteristic features of the new faction and we must dwell on it in all the more detail because the unenlightened public is all too often taken in by our bitterly complaining removed ones." (LCW, Vol. 16, p.39)

The CBP and its historical prece-

cessor the RWL never had a determined struggle against their historical deviation. In the earlier period of RWL we were plagued with right errors. This was under the vulgar materialist "proletarianization" line which held that communist consciousness arose spontaneously from the objective conditions of large scale production. It was an opportunist line that belittled the role of revolutionary theory, and led to economist and pragmatist errors. Inside RWL there were also many empiricist errors and rationalist tendencies. These ideological deviations had been recognized around the fall of 1975 and the period leading up to the Second National Conference of RWL in late '75. WVO's struggle against RU's pragmatism and OL's line were important weapons in waging struggle against these lines internally. The struggle to repudiate these lines were initially moving in a forward direction as was the growing unity between WVO and RWL leading up to the proposed merger. However as the struggle intensified inside the Revolutionary wing, and RWL united with PRRWO's menshevik line on merger, a process of backsliding began. This backsliding on the part of RWL into 'left' opportunism led to the backsliding on the struggle to get at the ideological and class basis for the right lines that had plagued us. This slip into 'left' opportunism and the repudiation of the correct line of WVO on the need to build the Party on the proletarian ideological plane meant that the same historical deviations would inevitably reappear, this time only with a different cover. Instead of an intense struggle to identify the basis and conditions for erroneous lines, and thoroughly root them out, we reduced errors to a distorted view of "bowing to spontaneity", "falling prey to opportunists like Akalimat" and unprincipled purges. This bourgeois method liquidated the process of "no construction without destruction" and represented a lazy bones, pragmatist approach to ideological remoulding and rectification. Failing to grasp how Marxism and bourgeois ideology coexist in our thinking and the absolute necessity to study Marxism to criticize revisionism, we fell back into past deviations. This is exactly what happened in the CBP where we put forth the vulgar materialist line on the character of the party, namely that it was principally a question of its social composition, and "explained" the degeneration of the wing as a question of its "lack of fusion in the industrial proletariat." This glossed over the deep entrenchment of bourgeois ideological and petty bourgeois class tendencies which was at the basis of its degeneration, the source of its 'left' lines on fusion, advanced etc. that led to it being totally incapable of correctly fusing with the working class.

This same bourgeois baggage affects the ATM and WC trends. Neither take errors back to their ideological basis or explain revisionism using the dialectical and historical materialist method of analysis. For the WC who have never drawn principled lines of demarcation with the revisionist OL, IWK etc., it is commonplace to hear them explain all error as "amateurishness" OR "not putting politics into command". They never deal with the basis of amateurishness and come up with the "Iskra plan" which will only guarantee that amateurishness and circle spirit will prevail. Like all opportunists they liquidate the decisiveness of correct ideological and political line. From the ATM, we hear "self criticism" for not "raising socialism or party building" in their trade union work or "failing to stress (the necessity to use Marxist theory -- BWO note) with advanced contacts who need particular clarity on the national question or the role of communist strikes". ATM's failure to do this necessary propaganda flowed from their right line and stages theory of the relationship between propaganda and agitation and their thoroughly pragmatist line which raises the old RU cry to "gain experience in the mass movement" as the key link. Creating theoretical justifications and attacking the correct line of the WVO can only lead to their further degeneration.

(continue on next page)

# TWO ROADS

piece in a nine week strike - BWO note), our study, and upon this, as well as other criticisms of our erroneous views we were able to see the incorrectness of the position... (Revolutionary Cause No. 9, pg. 9)

Really comrades, those were lessons that Lenin consistently drew for us only if ATM would study them. This is a clear reflection of not putting theory in the lead but the attempt to learn these lessons on ATM's narrow individual experience alone.

Since the particularity of how ATM's "go to the masses" line shows itself is its line on fusion and the building of factory nuclei, we have to see what is at the bottom of this line. As they put it, "We must end the practice of just talking about fusion and start actually fusing... We want, we demand a party of action, and not a bloated circle of polemicists and windbags; a party born and bred and tempered by having led the struggles of the workers."



This is nothing but the rehashed opportunist line of the MLOC, whom the ATM tried to bring into the revolutionary wing. When MLOC was rejected by all genuine Marxist-Leninists and even many opportunists, they also retreated and came forward with sophistry that "fusion was the essence and key link to party building." Since ATM has been rejected by all the genuine forces in the revolutionary trend, they have come forward with a line that vulgarizes fusion as principally having cadre at the workplace with their heads buried in struggle (narrow practice). This negates the content of fusion, bringing definite socialist ideas to the working class movement -- the fusion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought with the working class movement -- a negation of line as the principal factor in fusion. No one has disagreed with the Marxist-Leninist line of the necessity to build the party in the large-scale industries and to make every factory our fortress through the basic organizational form of factory nuclei, although the ATM has tried hard to slander the WVO and make this the question in dispute.

In the case of ATM this has led to glorifying having cadre at the workplace leading some narrow struggles and not critically looking at the line being carried to the masses. Without the correct line there is no real fusion, in the ATM's case, there is the bringing of bourgeois ideology to the movement in a more organized form. This is what we mean by absolutizing the form-having cadre at the plants, and negating the content--taking the correct line to the masses.

Just like the question of the character of the party is its ideological class character, so is the question of all the work we do in the working class and the other mass movements. Like the ideological character of the party, the ideological character of our work is reflected in the methodology used, in the correctness or incorrectness of line, in one's orientation to the masses, and one's links with the masses, in whether or not the party or the nuclei, the organization being built is one which enables the proletariat to wage struggle under all conditions and circumstances and in whether or not it is actively preparing the forces to decisively smash bourgeois rule and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is on the basis of staunch proletarian ideological stand that, in fact, the composition of

(Continue on next page)

As two line struggle began to heighten in the CBP, the cadre began to consolidate into definite trends, reflecting the consolidation into trends of the communist movement nationally. The old right deviations of the petty bourgeois democrats which came into the communist movement with the RWL but had not been repudiated became the basis of unity of the opportunist ATM and WC trend. On the other hand there emerged a revolutionary trend seeking to grasp the ideological and class tendencies that had historically plagued us. It was only through struggle to grasp the correct line of the WVO and break with the dogmatism, economic determinism and circle spirit that plagued us inside the RWL and the wing, and struggle to raise our negative experience with the wing to the ideological plane, by using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, that we were able to break with the 'left' line and the bourgeois stuff it was made of. This was the only road to carrying out the task of party building and grasping the immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the realization of Communism.

## ATM's Pragmatism Defends Economism

The sorting out process continues! The ATM's line has been exposed by the comrades of the leading circle in the communist movement, the WVO. The leading circle have shown how these petty bourgeois democrats consistently distort Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. As the line struggle intensified around how to "build the Party on the proletarian ideological plane" the ATM's line has been continuously uncovered and exposed. The more they are exposed the more they retreat in search of a safe place to hide.

"ATM like the scared petty bourgeoisie, who can't cope with the complex and intense class struggle internationally and nationally and is now looking for a "safe" enclave to hide in the national movement. This is essentially the content of ATM's line drift, i.e. that party building is a "protracted" process..." (WVO Jan. '77, pg. S2)

Like the petty bourgeoisie who have lost their bearings, they are desperately clutching for something to prove (to themselves) they are still Marxist-Leninists. They, like the RU when they were sorted out of the ARCM, were reduced to self-cultivation.

"It is not by accident. It is from the same basis that the ATM leadership is adopting the RU's self-cultivation line on "go to the masses" now, three years after the line was abandoned by genuine Marxist-Leninists, and it is the same basis which is leading the ATM leadership to "confuse" the long term task of party-building and the key question on the agenda today -- the formation of the Communist Party of the U.S. proletariat." (WVO Jan. '77, pg. S2)

Since they consider the working class as their refuge away from the "bloated circle of polemicists and windbags" (here they are appealing to retrograde anti-theoretical tendencies of the petty bourgeoisie drawing on the strength of 'old world' outlook), we see it as important to deepen the exposure of their line on work in the working class.

The sudden turn to stressing "unity on the political line--which unity is tested over a protracted period of time, or "forge their (Marxist-Leninists'-BWO note) unity in the heat of mass struggle, as well as in the ideological struggle against opportunism," is, as we have stated earlier, just another form of the "political line is not mere formulation" line of the RWL. This line was exposed by BOC/CWC in the WVO, November 1976, page 20:

"This view that "political line is not mere formulation" has been taken up by many of those forces who have not taken a clear stand, or rather, have taken a centrist stand on the struggle between WVO and the PRRWO/RWL clique. This

is an opportunist line which belittles the decisiveness of line and provided a convenient way of creating false lines of demarcation with the correct line and thus justify not uniting. ...This line also(our emphasis) stops principled line struggle by saying "lines merely formulated are not significant," thus it is not important to struggle for line clarity. It serves the worst kind of philistinism."

To the ATM, line is not decisive, only results. This line totally negates the decisiveness of line; it says that communists can't use the stand, method and viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to distinguish the genuine from the sham.

This line of ATM's is an empiricist line on the process of cognition; recognizing only the particular to the general and not the general to the particular. It advocates a particular element of the empiricist method--individualism.

"The exclusive stress on sensuous experience leads to a distorted emphasis on individual as opposed to social practice. Now there is nothing in itself wrong with individual practice. But at the same time the individual aspect of practical experience can be understood only when it is seen in relation to the social. To stress the individual at the expense of the social is to turn the former into individualism." (Pragmatism; Philosophy of Imperialism, pg. 189)

The ATM holds that "A party is also judged by the Political influence (emphasis in original) it has over the working class." (Revolutionary Cause No. 10, pg. 11) This is pure narrow practicalism. "As it affects the U.S. working class, pragmatism is the separation of practical work from revolutionary theory. It is narrow practicalism." (Ibid., pg. 203)

We need to contrast this to how the Chinese comrades pose the question:

The fundamental criterion which enables us to distinguish a Marxist-Leninist party from a revisionist party is whether or not it perseveres in making Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought the theoretical foundation guiding its thinking. (Basic Understanding of CPC, pg. 34)

According to the ATM's criterion the "C"PSU is a genuine party.

Just as the WVO comrades drew out how RU substitutes their own practice as the means of verifying the theory, so must we draw out how ATM likewise negates the historical experience of the international proletariat by absolutizing their own narrow practice as the only correct test of line. WVO using "Our Immediate Tasks" showed the fallacy of the "sum up our practice" line. "That's what Lenin meant by 'experiences' of Outlaw (Molder's strike in ATM's case) or the 'experience of the last period,' but the sum total of all past class struggles as they are correctly interpreted in the literature and history of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. "The history of socialism and democracy in Western Europe, the history of the Russian revolutionary movement, the experience of our working class movement --such is the material (his emphasis) we must master to elaborate a purposeful organization and purposeful tactics for our Party." (WVJ, No. 2, pg.20)

A good example of how they (ATM) negate the history of the international revolutionary struggle is how they came to recognize that propaganda is not just for the advanced. They say:

Until fairly recently, our organization had viewed propaganda work in the narrowest sense--that is, as strictly illegal work confined to the advanced elements, mostly in a study circle setting. Based upon the experience of our political work (notice which is raised first, which is also the case in the molder's strike where they, based on their own experience, realized the need to do more than one propaganda

# TWO ROADS

(Continued from previous page)

the party and the character or our work will develop in a clearly proletarian direction. This is why we raise the slogan "build the party on the proletarian ideological plane", based on mastering the five criterion and three traditions of the CPC. It is this question primarily which will ensure the class character of the party, and its basic organization in the class--the nuclei, including its class composition. To turn this relationship around would result in belittling theory and the conscious element.

As the ATM approaches this question, it has led to worshipping the practical struggle to the detriment of struggling for the correct line. To pit polemics (by referring to it as "untested theory") against giving clear ideological and political leadership to the mass movements is to relegate theory to the back seat, as something secondary to "having calloused hands in the audience." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, No. 10) If the line is correct, that is the guarantee that calloused hands will be in the party. As the Chinese comrades put it:

"... to determine whether a party is really a proletarian political party, whether it is the vanguard of the proletariat, one must not merely examine the social origin of its members, but instead one must look at its guiding thought, its programme, and its line. As Lenin has pointed out: "...Whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only this latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat." (Basic Understanding of CPC, pg 21)

ATM turns this relationship around (between what is principal in determining the character of our work, whether we are carrying the correct line to the proletariat and the masses.)

By negating the decisiveness of line the ATM narrows the scope of their work and attempts to take the working class down the road to reformism. This is clearly laid out in the polemics the WVO wrote against the ATM in the January Workers Viewpoint.

In fact the ATM even puts forward the same arguments as the Russian defenders of economism put forward. They are defenders of economism because of their anti-theoretical (empiricist) approach to the questions facing the working class movement.

The comrades from the WVO lay out:

"...the real meaning of the ATM's stress on the protracted nature of the socialist revolution is clear. The socialist revolution is an entire epoch of class and national struggles, full of ebbs and flows, advances and retreats, partial engagements and civil wars. But the ATM's stress on this side of the problem while they disdain the communist task of preparing the masses for socialist revolution, amounts to putting the revolution off into the far, far distant future and saying that, for now our task is to fight for democratic rights."

This complacency or lack of urgency is being happy with the backward state of the movement. Lenin was polemicising against this tendency in his "A Talk With Defenders of Economism;" he said:

"...the emergence of a separate trend, which is usually designated as economism, the principal feature of which is its incomprehension, even defense, of lagging, i.e., as we have explained, the lagging of the conscious leaders behind the spontaneous awakening of the masses (their line on the struggle for the party is a protracted struggle defends their complacent, tailing attitude-BWO) The characteristic feature of this trend expresses themselves in the following: with respect to principles, in the

vulgarization of Marxism (by ATM's pragmatism and empiricism-BWO) and in helplessness in the face of modern "criticism", that up-to-date species of opportunism; with respect to politics, in the striving to restrict political agitation and political struggle or to reduce them to petty activities (ATM's down-playing polemics and line struggle-BWO), ...with respect to tactics, in utter instability; and with respect to organization, in the failure to understand that the mass character of the movement does not diminish, but increases our obligation to establish a strong and centralized organization of revolutionaries capable of leading the preparatory struggle, every unexpected outbreak, and finally the decisive assault." (ATM's line on the struggle for the party is a protracted struggle would have communists forever tailing the mass movements and would never build a genuine Communist Party until we already have red trade unions!-BWO,

ATM's line is in essence the same line as the economists. Economism may take different forms but it always ties the interests of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. Above, Lenin stresses the importance and the immediate necessity of the party. This is a good example of the class character of ideology and why the party has to be a "concentrated expression of the characteristics and qualities of the proletariat." ATM's line represents the concentrated expression of the class interests of the petty bourgeois--have contradictions with capitalism, but also fear the proletariat.

Just like the opportunist defenders of economism (whom Lenin talked about) incorrectly said to Lenin:

The principal drawback of the paper (ISKRA-Ed. note), which runs like a scarlet thread through its columns, and which is the cause of all its other defects, large and small, is the exaggerated importance it attaches to the influence which the ideologists of the movement exert upon its various tendencies (Remember the "WVO Proclaims Itself the Vanguard" article-BWO). At the same time Iskra gives too little consideration to the material elements and the material environment of the movement, whose interaction creates a definite type of labor movement and determines its path, the path from which the ideologists, despite all their efforts, are incapable from diverting it, even if they are inspired by the finest theories and programmes. (LCW, Vol. 5, p. 313)

Comrades, does this sound familiar? This is nothing but the ATM's version of the "political line is not mere formulation" line. This echoes the same criticisms that the ATM puts out against the line of the leading circle. It is also reflected in their practice (this attack on the correct line taking the lead). Just look at their summation of the molders where they consistently tailed the spontaneous motion (even by their own admission) and negated giving political and ideological guidance to that struggle. That is ATM's line, that the ideologists do not determine the character of the mass movements.

"Or, Iskra's excessive predilection for controversy is due primarily to its exaggerating the role of 'ideology' (programmes, theories...) in the movement." (LCW, Vol. 5, p. 314) Isn't this the same line "unity tested in practice over a considerable period of time" is the only unity. A line that negated the role of "ideology" and theory.

This belittling of theory (empiricism) is tantamount to:

The ignoring of the interests and requirements of this advanced section of the workers, and the desire to descend to the level of understanding of the lower strata (instead of constantly raising the level of the worker's class consciousness) must, therefore, necessarily have a profoundly harmful effect and prepare the groundwork for the infiltration

of all sorts of non-socialist and non-revolutionary ideas into the worker's midst (like reformism and red-baiting-BWO) (LCW, Vol. 4, p. 293)

The result of this empiricism is spontaneity--"Without general social theory to guide it, individual practical activity can only meet each situation as it arises." (Philosophy of Imperialism, p. 190) This spontaneity is clearly expressed in the molder's strike "sum up." Their lack of a strategic plan which is reflected in, (1) not putting out systematic propaganda, (2) not mentioning the party, (3) not exposing revisionists, and (4) not ideologically preparing cadre to carry out line struggle but to end up supporting red-baiting.

Tenacious day-to-day practice, however taken apart from the guidance of long-range theory and planning based on scientific principles, leads to more speed-up, more exploitation for maximum profits. It becomes economism, pure and simple trade-unionism, binding the labor movement with the capitalist system. (Philosophy of Imperialism, p. 204)

Lastly we want to draw out how the ATM narrows the scope of their cadre and advanced by not arming them in the struggle to differentiate lines. This can be seen in the support of red-baiting by the ATM cadre, where the cadre thought he was fighting right opportunism by running WVO away from the site because "they had not done any work." The cadre did not know how to differentiate lines and try to show why the WVO was supposedly "right opportunist." This is a good example of what the lack of training of cadre and the advanced to carry on the line struggle which is the duty of communists can lead to, reducing them to serve the role of company goons.

This is in sharp contrast to Chairman Mao's call:

"Read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism". Each member of the Communist Party should also continue to plunge actively into the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, criticize revisionism and the bourgeois world view, strengthening through struggle his capacity to distinguish true Marxism from sham and make up his mind to struggle relentlessly to preserve the guiding thought of the Party."

## Smash Circle Spirit -- Grasp Party Spirit

Whether or not an organization practices the Party spirit or the circle spirit constitutes a line of demarcation between genuine and sham Marxism. The comrades in BOC/CWG (ML) put it this way:

Upholding the proletarian class stand on the question of party building is a question of practicing Party spirit. The fundamental criteria for determining who practices Party spirit and who practices circle spirit is the stance one takes toward Chairman Mao's teaching that the "correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line determines everything." The question of Party spirit is a question of actively striving to slaughter all our own circles and actively waging sharp class struggle against any and all lines which stand in the way of this. In this struggle we must grasp how this question of party spirit is a question of class struggle, a question of struggle between the proletariat's stand, method and viewpoint on this question and the petty-bourgeois stand, viewpoint, and method. We must grasp how the petty-bourgeois class outlook fosters circle spirit due to the petty-bourgeoisie's fear of becoming a "cog in a wheel," the petty-bourgeoisie's striving for autonomy, individualism, and anarchism, all of which are in direct opposition to the proletarian party. Our movement has a strong social basis for the kind of petty-bourgeois autonomism and anarchism which clearly stands in the way of forging the party. We must grasp how

(Continue on page 29)

# Munich (from page 15)

yet the French armed forces are hiding behind shelters constructed of reinforced concrete, quietly sitting there and watching while a quixotic and valiant ally is being wiped out." It was dubbed the "phoney war" or the "sitting war." Later on Keitel, Commandant of the German High Command of the Armed Forces confessed: "Our forces were worried all along that France might launch an attack during the campaign of Poland. But the result was rather surprising, because nothing happened... If France had attacked, what they would have met with would only be a military paper screen in Germany, not a real defence." France not only sat on its forces, it even asked the British air force to refrain from bombing targets inside Germany, so that France could be saved from any retaliation.

By declaring but not going to war with Germany, Britain and France were still trying to turn their war against Germany into an anti-Soviet war. Diplomatically, Britain and France engaged in a high pitch of activity in the hope of reaching compromise with Hitler, while, in their press, they made a big issue of the "communist threat" to the entire western civilization and fanned anti-Soviet sentiments.

After their declaration of war against Germany, because Britain and France had no intention to support Poland's struggle against German aggression, on the contrary they actively engaged in anti-Soviet activities, it was possible for Hitler, after his conquest of Poland, to spend half a year looting eastern Europe of its resources to increase his aggressive capability. Then, he moved his forces to the western front.

On April 9, 1940, Hitler started his "blitzkrieg" offensive and occupied Denmark and Norway in northern Europe. On May 10, German forces launched a large-scale invasion of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. After the surrender of these countries, the German forces cut across northern France via Belgium and cut off the British and French allied forces from each other. At Dunkirk the joint British and French forces totalling more than three hundred thousand were surrounded on three sides and subjected to intense bombing. The British suffered tremendous losses and could only manage to escape back to England, leaving the French behind. On June 14, German forces occupied Paris. One of the so-called capitalist powers of the world, France shamefully came to its knees after merely three weeks of fighting, with three million of its forces destroyed. This is the result of the western imperialist countries connivance in fascist German aggression and their vain attempt to push Germany eastward to lure the calamity onto the Soviet Union. On September 1, 1939, the day German bandits launched their attack against Poland, Chairman Mao pointed out:

"As I said on October 1938 at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of our Party, 'The inevitable result of Chamberlain's policy will be like 'lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own toes'.' Chamberlain started with the aim of injuring others only to end up ruining himself. This is the law of development which governs all reactionary policies." (Interview with a New China Daily correspondent on the new international situation.)

## The Ignominious End of Hitler

Hitler's strategy of "feigning to the east while attacking in the west" was not because he had no intention to attack in the east. After the surrender of France, Germany launched an air-and-naval encirclement campaign on Britain, rendering the situation on the British isles extremely precarious. At this time, Hitler miscalculated his own strength and believed it was time to annex the Soviet Union. A plan to launch an offensive against the Soviet Union was secretly drawn up. It was decided to turn the guns to the east and "the German armed forces must,

before concluding the British campaign, crush the Soviet Russia in a swift campaign." In the early morning hours of June 22, 1941, employing its practice of launching an undeclared war, fascist Germany treacherously launched a sudden attack on the Soviet Union. The offensive launched by the German aggressors was very ferocious. It mobilized over one hundred and ninety divisions grouped into three columns, to come at the Soviet Union from different points. It tried vainly to crush the Soviet Union in one and a half to two months by means of this "blitzkrieg". But the calculation on Hitler's part was entirely wrong. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Soviet people rose to defend their Soviet motherland, and eliminated the enemy's effective forces in large numbers on their own territory. It was not until mid-August of 1942 that the German aggressor army reached the outskirts of Stalingrad. Here the Soviet army and the Soviet people carried out a decisive battle with the German aggressor army. Every street and every house in Stalingrad became fortresses to block the enemy's advance. In spite of the fact that the Hitler fascist clique threw in all they had and daily sent in thousands of fighter planes, dropping tens of thousands of bombs, and charged one to twenty times, they could not defeat this heroic city. On November 19, 1942, the Soviet army started a counter-offensive. Within five days, twelve infantry divisions, two tank divisions and one cavalry division of the enemy were destroyed, and three hundred and thirty thousand of the enemy's elite troops were surrounded. In early February 1943, all the surrounded enemy troops were destroyed. The gigantic battle at Stalingrad was the turning point of the Second World War. Very quickly the Soviet army entered into counter-offensive on the various fronts, and in the summer of 1945 it was knocking at the door of fascist Germany. People of the various countries, long suffering under the yoke of fascism, rose up one after another to struggle against the aggressors. On the eve of the fall of Berlin, for fear of impending justice, Hitler committed suicide. Once arrogant beyond belief and seeking no less than the hegemony of the entire world, this fascist gangster finally met his doom.

History is developing and the international situation after the Second World War has undergone great changes. However, the era has not changed, today, we are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Today, Soviet revisionist Social imperialism replaces the position of fascist Germany at the time, becoming the trouble-maker today. The Soviet revisionists dishes out a so-called "Brezhnev Doctrine", which is imperialism with a "socialist" label, namely, out and out hegemonism. Internally, the Soviet revisionists carry out a Hitlerite fascist dictatorship, enslaving the people of the various nationalities of the Soviet Union; abroad, following the path of Hitler, they are pursuing aggression and expansion everywhere. In order to contend for world hegemony, the Soviet revisionists are playing the old tricks of Hitler of making a feint to the East to attack the West, using the "feint to the East" to cover the "attack to the West". Similarly, their "feint to the East" is definitely not an empty bluff, once they feel the time is ripe, they will resort to Hitler's old trick of launching a sudden attack against the East. Consequently, we must maintain a high level of vigilance and strengthen our preparations for war in order to deal with all the schemes of the Soviet Revisionists. There is a common saying that "the tighter the bamboo fence, the more difficult for the wild dog to squeeze in." We must implement the directives put forward by Chairman Mao: "Prepare against war, prepare against natural disasters, and serve the people," and "dig tunnels deep, store grain widely, never seek hegemonism," and continue to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the Soviet revisionists insist on following the path of Hitler, and launch wars of aggression, they will ultimately be seeking their own doom, and their fate will be no better than Hitler's. ●

# Energy (Continued from page 7)

However, so sham is this "natural gas shortage" that even the bourgeoisie must jump out ahead and do some "exposure" work on the crisis. While on the one hand this is an example of the intermonopoly group competition for hegemony, on the other, it is the recognition by the ruling class of the shallowness of their deceptions.

Their "exposures" (like Senators Metzenbaum and Abourek's rantings about how gas is being withheld) serve as nothing else but to patch up the crisis and to divert the revolutionary anger of the masses into "reforming" the system. The solutions they propose are offered as "amendments" to the "emergency" legislation of Carter and advocate such stop-gap, patchwork schemes as diverting gas from "wasteful" enterprises.

In fact, these charlatans are featured on the front pages of the "C" P's rag, the Daily World, as staunch fighters for the working class because of their "exposure" work! The working class must expose and root out these traitors from the ranks of the working class movement as well as expose those ruling class interests of both the revisionists and their "liberal" bourgeoisie brethren.

## NO SHAM CRISES UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

As the masses rip away the masks and defenders of the monopoly capitalist system, the day comes closer when we will rise in revolution and sweep history forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only under the dictatorship of the proletariat that instead of the anarchy of production, there is planned production, production dictated not by the scramble for greater profit, but dictated by the masses' use and need.

Under socialism the revolutionary potential of the masses can be unleashed in the course of waging class struggle to meet natural calamities as well as to create and innovate new ways to more effectively produce the necessities of life. Compare the situation in Buffalo, N. Y. where the city is virtually paralyzed by the freezing cold and snow, the inability of the government to effectively provide for the relief of those frozen there, to the vast mobilization of the masses during the disastrous earthquakes in China early last year when thousands participated in the relief work and the disruption of daily life was kept to a minimum. Compare the tremendous waste and hardship to the working class brought about by the anarchic production under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to the planned production under the dictatorship of the proletariat where the workers run production in the interests of the masses. This is the future! This is the revolutionary and inevitable future when the "energy crisis" which is causing so much hardship and exploitation now, will only be a dim reminder of the decaying monopoly capitalism of the past! ■

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# ROOTS DISTORTS

The recent Roots TV series, based on the book by Alex Haley, is being trumpeted by the ruling class and by petty bourgeois sham communists as a "true portrayal" of this glorious history, which has caused a "transformation in social relations" in the U.S. Certainly, over 130 million people of all nationalities watched the series, and it touched many to their very heart and soul, stirring their profoundest emotions against chattel-slave and capitalist oppression. Many people cried, many people were inspired to fight their own oppression. But Roots is by far the slickest and most advanced piece of counter-revolutionary bourgeois propaganda to hit the TV screen yet.

Why did Roots evoke so much emotion amongst the masses? Why did so many people tune in and stay with the whole 8-program series? Because Roots, in its attempt to distort and mold Afro-American history to serve its own counter-revolutionary ends, not only was unable to completely ignore and cut out this glorious history, but had to appeal to it to a certain extent. And it was this history of resistance, which the ruling class could not completely cut out, that touched workers and oppressed people everywhere so deeply.

The fact that the bourgeoisie could not completely cut out this history, and even had to try to use it for its own ends, is a direct result of the power and strength of the Afro-American struggle. In no way could the bourgeoisie come forward in 1977 with a "Birth Of A Nation" slander against that struggle, for the Afro-American movement has completely smashed this kind of blatant chauvinist propaganda. It is precisely the strength of the Afro-American movement that has forced the bourgeoisie to resort to this slicker, more deceptive and higher form of counter-revolutionary propaganda.

But the ruling class is only lifting a rock to drop it on its own feet. The single fact that they had to try to appeal to the masses' revolutionary sentiments is already a victory for us. But even more, communists will lead revolutionary workers and advanced elements among the masses to cut through the bourgeoisie's attempt to twist our history to serve their ends. We will sift out the revolutionary sentiments and traditions that Roots evoked from its reactionary shell, and turn those kernels of resistance into a further commitment and weapon against the bourgeoisie.

## SINISTER CONTENT OF ROOTS

From beginning to end, Roots portrays Afro-American history only to distort it and mislead today's struggle. From beginning to end, Roots glorifies all the most bankrupt and reactionary trends in the Afro-American movement, drawing them from the 1960's. Episode after episode, the series unfolded its arsenal: from liberal non-violence and fear of mass rebellion, to "hate whitey" petty bourgeois nationalism and backward-gazing attempts to find solace and quiet moral strength in one's "roots".

Non-violence of the slave against the slaveowner, love for your enemy, and bourgeois democratic liberalism in general, are one of the series' most important themes, which is exemplified by all the major characters. For example, after the Civil War, Kunta Kinte's great-grandson Tom does not rely on and organize his fellow ex-slaves to fight the Klan's night raids, but instead takes his case to the local sheriff who is directly tied to the ex-slaveowners and the Klan! Tom really believes that "the law's the law" and that blacks will get their fair share if they give it a chance. And when at the end, he has a chance to whip and kill the local Klan leader, but instead drops his whip to the ground -- Haley and ABC have gone too far! So the slave must not rout and kill the slaveowner, but must love him to the end! Tom's saintly non-violence, this "moral superiority of the oppressed", is in the worst style of Martin Luther King and Andrew Young. Don't we hear the same Young today, doing everything to kill any and all revolutionary violence by the people of southern Africa against the racist Smith and Vorster?

And if there are Afro-American liberals in Roots, there must also be white liberals, and sure enough there are. The unreal Old George, supposedly a ruined poor white farmer, is actually a picture of the classic, naive petty bourgeois liberal of the 1960's. Completely up in the clouds, Old George knows nothing about slavery or racism, and Tom and his brother Louis have to teach him how to be a slave overseer. The friendship they develop together is also the classic liberal friendship and love. Nowhere is there the slightest hint of the multi-national unity between slaves and white indentured servants and small farmers, built in common struggle against the slave plantation owners. Yet this kind of multi-national unity in class struggle filled the history of the U.S. masses in the Black Belt South.

Roots repeatedly calls in this liberalism to smother all revolutionary sentiments and actions of the slave against the slaveowner. When the Klan whips Tom half to death, his young son, in tears, tells Old George's wife that he means to kill those white people someday. By and large, this was not the wrong stand of black against white, but the correct stand of the exploited against the exploiter. But Old George's wife tells him that he can't start killing whites just because they're white, and manages to confuse him enough that he breaks down crying and drops his correct stand against the slaveowners. All the major characters, whether Kunta Kinte, his daughter Kizzy or her son Chicken George, passionately hate their slavemasters at some point in their youth. But as they grow older, each mellows out and becomes "reasonable", and starts holding back the next generation.

## CAPITALISM AROSE AND THRIVED ON SLAVERY

Covering for the modern-day monopoly capitalists, Roots never reveals the Afro-American struggle as a struggle against the slave system, but only as one against individual slave-masters. The monopoly capitalists naturally will never reveal the brutal class rule of the slaveowners, for this is part of their own sinister "roots".

The U.S. bourgeois War of Independence swept away British colonial rule and feudal remnants, opening the road for the development of capitalism. Although the laboring masses were the main force in the Independence War, the big bourgeoisie and big slave plantation owners seized leadership and established their joint dictatorship. The land question of the peasantry had not been completely solved. Moreover, the slave system was maintained in the south. Although the slave plantation had characteristics of capitalism because it was developed by capitalism and used by the capitalists to produce commodities for the international market, it nevertheless was a slave system because it had the basic characteristics of the slave mode of production. This slavery was many times more oppressive for the slaves because it combined the brutal oppression of slavery with the demand for high production of the modern capitalist market.

The development of British and U.S. capitalism had relied much on slavery and the slave trade. The particular climate and farming process in the south were important factors in the production of cotton. The textile mills of New England and England needed cotton, and the backward feudal-slave mode of production in the south developed to abundantly supply this important commodity for the English colonialists and New England merchants. Thus the slave trade and vicious plunder of Africa were component parts of primitive accumulation of capital for colonial England and the rising bourgeoisie in the New England colonies.

The production of cotton in the feudal-slave south required a "stable" labor force. One that was totally dependent on the owners of the means of production. One that was legally "subhuman". One that was part of and in the path of British colo-

onial expansion (in the trade route between England and its 13 colonies). One that could be socially marked as "abnormal" and "subhuman" and thus have even more "reasons" for it to work the cotton fields. The African people were forced to serve this purpose. Thus the objective laws of capitalist development and primitive accumulation of capital coupled with the backward feudal mode of production in the south, were the basic reasons why historically the African peoples (later to be forged into an oppressed nation in the Black Belt South during Reconstruction) were chained together in the south. Capitalism arose and thrived on colonialism and slavery.

The system of slavery was perpetuated by the class alliance of the English colonialists, New England rising bourgeoisie and the southern feudal landowners. The fact that the feudal-slave landowners were supplying the raw material of cotton to the mills of New England -- aiding the development of capitalism -- was the material basis that set the stage for the Civil War of 1860-65.

Yet heroic slave resistance constantly fought against the brutal system of slavery. Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Never ceasing, the slaves launched all forms of struggle and organization. From slave rebellions, breaking the tools of the slave master to poisoning the decadent slaveowners, slave resistance persisted. In various instances, entire populations of slaves would run away and establish maroons. Maroons were fortified "towns" of ex-slaves who lived in the deep marsh and rural areas of the south. They were basically self-sufficient. They often carried out planned guerrilla warfare attacks on plantation owners. Another form of struggle was the church songs. Here the slaves would use gospels as codes to carry messages for revolt and escape routes to the north. A most scientific passageway to the north was the Underground Railroad.

## THE MASSES ALONE ARE THE MAKERS OF HISTORY

The surest and most important exposure of Roots' liberalism is its attitude towards the slave rebellions and the role of the masses in making history. In the short run, the thousands of slave uprisings always ended in defeat, because unlike the modern working class, the slaves were unable to organize themselves and develop the correct revolutionary theory to lead their struggle to final victory. But defeated in the short run, the rebellions always advanced to higher and higher levels, drawing in millions of slaves and throwing the slaveowners into panic. They were a tremendous motive force in the overthrow of the evil slave system, fully proving that the masses alone are the makers of history.

Roots shows only one unsuccessful uprising on the slave trade ship that brings Kunta Kinte to the U.S., and mentions only one slave rebellion in the U.S., the famous rebellion led by Nat Turner in 1831. And to what end? None but to show that the uprisings were hopeless and led only to defeat, death, and more trouble for the other slaves. Roots' main family takes absolutely no part in the Nat Turner rebellion (not even whispering!) and knows nothing about Nat Turner (of course, during the Civil War later on, they are shown to know all about Abraham Lincoln, and they are eternally grateful to this representative of the capitalist ruling class). The main character in the Turner rebellion episode, Chicken George, just wishes it would all end so the slaveowners would calm down and he could get back to his training of fighting cocks for his "Massa" Moore. Through all this, Roots shows absolutely no mass resistance by the slaves. The only sign of Turner's rebellion is the body of a dead slave after its defeat. Roots serves up the same high school version of the Civil War: Abraham Lincoln supposedly "freed" the slaves, who received the news by telegram and never lifted a finger for their own liberation!

# GLORIOUS HISTORY

What is Roots' alternative to revolutionary mass struggle? The individual striving for freedom of the privileged, "upwardly mobile" "house Negroes". Chicken George's dream is not to serve his slave class and its liberation, but to build his individual fame as a cock handler and to be a partner of his "Massa" Moore, and buy freedom and a piece of land for his family. He eventually reaches that goal, and it is the climax of the entire series.

Roots also shows many just and sometimes brave acts of resistance, which however always remain isolated, individual acts. Kunta Kinte's deep desire and repeated attempts to run away, or Kizzy's spitting into the cup of water she has to get for Miss Reynolds, her one-time slaveowning "friend", and Tom's murder of a white man who tried to rape his wife, all show some of the spirit of resistance that always burned among the slaves. But none of these could ever threaten and shatter the slave system as the Underground Railroad, the mass uprisings and rebellions alone did.

Besides this rampant liberalism, with its disdain for revolutionary mass struggle, its individualism and escapism, Roots' second main theme is its reactionary "hate whitey" nationalism. Roots repeatedly shows slaves trusting whites, and whites repeatedly betraying the slaves. Kizzy trusts "Missy" Reynolds who betrays her friendship, Chicken George is betrayed by Moore and Tom by the sheriff. The lesson is that blacks can't trust white folks.

On the other side, the liberal "unity" and "friendship" that Roots does show between the slaves and Old George is completely unreal. Showing no real multi-national unity forged in class struggle, Roots' lesson here is that the only whites who ever will unite with Afro-Americans are bleeding-heart liberals like Old George. This can only raise cynicism among white workers who watched Roots and who can see through or sense this liberal sop.

The one point Roots really drives home is the cynicism, distrust and antagonism between nationalities, on both sides. As Tom's brother Louis put it: "Like sticks with like."

## RACISM OR NATIONAL OPPRESSION?

So how does all of this add up? Since the Afro-Americans can't trust the whites, and since only unreal, bleeding-heart liberal whites can unite with the Afro-Americans, the problem must be a "race problem" -- two societies, one Black and one white. This is nothing but U.S. imperialist trash designed to whip up national antagonisms and promote the reactionary race theory that white workers are the enemies of the Afro-American people. A most sinister attempt to cover over the national oppression of the Afro-American people which has its material basis in the oppression of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South, which was oppressed and exploited only by the U.S. ruling class and which has its solution in the overthrow of the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist ruling class. A most sinister attempt to let the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie off the hook by dividing the multinational proletariat, a part of the bourgeoisie's ideological propaganda to prepare for fascism by splitting the working class.

Racism was the ruling class ideology of the slave-owning classes which had its material basis in the slave mode of production. The necessity to have an entire race of people as the main labor force in the plantation slavery in the south gave rise to an entire judicial, legal, moral, etc. and ideological superstructure to serve the economic base of feudal slave society. The degrading slave ideology of racism arose. It did not just passively reflect the economic base. On the contrary, it reacted upon and further justified the maintenance of the slave economic system. The feudal slave economic base engendered the racist superstructure which reacted on and further developed the economic base.

The victory of the North in the Civil War led to the nationwide dictatorship of the industrial bourgeoisie and created conditions for the speedy development of capitalism in the U.S. In the South, although the slave system was abolished, the land question of the ex-slaves and poor peasantry was not solved; old bondages were transformed into new forms; the no less oppress-

ive sharecropping system, semi-feudal with remnants of slavery, and racism were still rampant.

Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. The revolutionary tide of resistance of the Afro-American "freedmen" and poor white peasants was mounting, the elements of Afro-American nationhood were developing -- it was under such material conditions of intense oppression and resistance that the reactionary bourgeoisie continued to call on racism to suppress the rising Afro-American national movement and development of the Afro-American nation, to enforce the superexploitation of the Afro-Americans as sharecroppers and "free" laborers, to stunt the development of a Black national bourgeoisie, as well as the reactionary tactics of divide and rule, by using racist propaganda and appeals to split the developing unity of the Afro-American and white sharecroppers and small farmers forged in struggle against the bourgeoisie.

With the Civil War sweeping away old fetters, capitalism in the U.S. developed rapidly, especially in industry, then into monopoly capital, i.e. imperialism. Superexploitation of Afro-Americans and other immigrant workers at home and imperialist plunder of colonial and semi-colonial countries abroad were two major factors upon which U.S. imperialism was built. The U.S. bourgeoisie again continued to call on the perpetuation of racism for their interests, transforming racism into a most brutal, reactionary imperialist ideology.

Today, the Afro-American people suffer national oppression and national chauvinism, which have a material basis in the historic oppression of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South by the U.S. ruling class. The Afro-American people are not oppressed because of race, but as a national grouping, whose liberation can only be achieved by decisive struggle against the monopoly capitalist ruling class. But besides national (white) chauvinism, the ruling class calls into service the racist ideology of the slave-owning classes, because it helps to maintain their own reactionary rule and creates illusions that the problem is a "race problem" -- thereby dividing the multinational proletariat. Only the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie oppresses and exploits the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South and the Afro-American national minority outside the Black Belt nation.

## HALEY SERVES THE INTERESTS OF THE BOURGEOISIE

Alex Haley's book reflects the outlook of the petty bourgeoisie -- a dying class -- on the one hand being crushed by capitalism and on the other, afraid of losing its privileges in the proletarian revolution. An unstable class that vacillates back and forth between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, on the one hand hoping to become the big bourgeoisie, and on the other having to unite with the proletariat because of its contradictions with the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie has no future. This objective class position gives rise to a pessimistic world outlook, vacillating between despair and idealist hope. Only the proletariat, the class of the future, is consistently optimistic and confident in its bright future. The petty bourgeoisie always looks back to the "good old days" when capitalism was in its competitive stage of development, while the proletariat always looks forward to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the elimination of all exploiting classes.

This is the outlook in Roots -- looking backwards to find solace in your roots, in the face of the intensifying contradictions of capitalism. This petty bourgeois class tendency is nothing new in the Afro-American movement and in fact is a line and tendency that has been defeated amongst the advanced elements. Haley's book is an attempt to resurrect this line. It is no accident that the identification with Africa is and has been a strong sentiment and tendency within the Afro-American movement. Because of the bourgeoisie's historical attempt to vilify and degrade the Afro-American people by distorting the history of the Afro-American and African peoples, recurrent efforts and struggle in the Afro-American movement have taken the form of a struggle to identify with the African people. This form of spontaneous proletarian internationalism has promoted the identification and

unity of Afro-Americans with the struggle of the oppressed peoples the world over.

For example, during the late 60's and early 70's, one of the chief slogans in the Afro-American movement was the slogan "We Are An African People". This slogan was an expression of the attempt by advanced elements coming out of the Afro-American movement to scientifically grasp the development of imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, the African slave trade, and its relation to the development of the Afro-American people in the US. But there were two tendencies in this development. One followed the principle of "making the past serve the present". That is to draw upon the rich history of struggle of the African and Afro-American people in order to draw strength to continue the struggle against the US bourgeoisie

and the criminal system of capitalism. This was the tendency in the Pan Africanist movement that in the course of struggle took up the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, which occurred only in the course of fierce struggle against the other tendency, the petty bourgeois nationalist elements that attempted to utilize the slogan to cover their compromising stand with the US multinational proletariat and the task of overthrowing the US bourgeoisie.

For these elements, the slogan was a cover for looking backward, finding solace in their roots, not in order to move forward, but to find an elitist and comfortable nest in the fact that they were African. This tendency degenerated into the Carmichael line, that of opposing that the task of Afro-American revolutionaries is to unite with the multinational proletariat and overthrow the US bourgeoisie, itself an act of proletarian internationalism and concrete support for the struggle of the African and revolutionary peoples the world over, while at the same time giving other forms of concrete support to revolutionary movements. Instead, Carmichael called on Afro-American revolutionaries to see their principal struggle not in the US, but in Africa. An even more narrow and backward tendency has resulted in numerous sects whose disdain and elitism toward the Afro-American masses became so strong that they carry out no mass work, are completely isolated, and find solace in conducting feudal rituals under the guise of recapturing their African tradition.

This elitist tendency, this petty bourgeois disdain for the masses, also comes out in Haley's picture, as only the slaves who remember their Mandinka roots, have the determination to struggle, to run, or to escape, while the slaves who were born in the US and have forgotten this aspect of their history are pictured as different, and only concerned about survival in the slave system. Kizzy maintains aristocratic disdain for the carriage driver because he is not clear on his "roots", as opposed to patient and consistent struggle to win him over and unite. This is no different from the modern "African" aristocrats who in fact show nothing but petty-bourgeois disdain for the Afro-American masses.

This is nothing but a sinister attempt to promote division and antagonism among the Afro-American people. An attempt to resurrect petty-bourgeois elitist tendency, comfortable in their "Africaness" while being contemptuous toward the masses. In fact, the stealing of slaves from Africa brought many different tribes together and the slave system itself began to forge the many peoples into one people. Through a common historical background, common oppression and exploitation in chains and common resistance, the African slaves developed into one people, and during Reconstruction were forged into a nation.

The line of demarcation comes to be whether or not one recognizes their "Africaness", not whether or not one consistently opposed the criminal rule of the slave master then or the US bourgeoisie today, and what is the relationship between grasping one's roots to the struggle to overthrow the reactionary bourgeoisie. The dialectics of this petty bourgeois tendency, looking backward to find solace in your roots, is inevitably reformist in looking forward. Looking backward, to escape the task of

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overthrowing the US bourgeoisie and ending the national oppression of the Afro-American people (which demands the unity of the multinational proletariat, the merger of the workers and national movements and the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought) is an act of national capitulation. And as Chairman Mao has taught us, "national capitulation leads to class capitulation". This is why Haley and other strains of petty bourgeois nationalism so easily merge with reformism and promote reformist illusions in the Afro-American movement, from Black capitalist schemes to developing "independent" African institutions (schools, stores, etc.) that do not fundamentally challenge the class rule of the US monopoly capitalists.

Roots is an attempt to resurrect the backward trend in the movement to grasp one's roots in the Afro-American national movement. It definitely is not an attempt to make the past serve the present, but appeals to finding quiet strength and solace in your roots, while the bourgeoisie continue to exploit and oppress the Afro-American masses. This counter-revolutionary line will not find any acceptance among advanced elements!

Because the petty bourgeois reformists, independent of their will, objectively serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, their literature and art, class outlook, are readily appropriated and promoted by the bourgeoisie, to spread ideological confusion in the working class and national movements. Independent of their will, they become better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie themselves. This is the "saga" of Alex Haley and why ABC so readily took up and promoted his book. It was the triumph of the bourgeoisie, again making one of the petty bourgeois reformists serve their class interests and attempt to consolidate their class rule.

The proletariat looks back in history to sum up the lessons, to draw strength and inspiration from past struggles to serve future struggles, moving irresistibly forward to the inevitable victory of socialist revolution and the final goal of communism. In contrast to the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat does not long for the past, for they grasp that "to find men truly great and noble-hearted, we must look here in the present".

#### THE CAPITALISTS NEED ROOTS IN TODAY'S CRISIS

Why have the capitalists come up with *Roots* at just this time? Because the U.S.' contention with Soviet social-imperialism is driving them both towards another world war, because U.S. capitalism is crumbling at its foundations, and because to smash the threat of proletarian revolution, the ruling class must do everything possible to split the workers from the national movements and split the masses from their emerging vanguard, the genuine communist party. For this, the ruling class needs fascism.

Like all the other movements of the 1960's, the most fundamental question the Afro-American movement faced was: which road? The proletarian or bourgeois? From the mid-60's, the movement's best leaders, including Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, led the Afro-American masses closer and closer to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, towards merger with the U.S. working class, towards the only path that can put away U.S. monopoly capitalism and bring the U.S. people to liberation and socialism. But Haley and others like him took the bourgeois road, the road of looking back to find solace in one's "roots," the road abandoning revolutionary mass struggle and leading to certain defeat at the hands of the monopoly capitalists.

The revolutionary leaders in the 1960's scored a resounding victory over reformism, educating millions of people to the need for revolutionary mass struggle and violent revolution, dispelling illusions in non-violent resistance and capitalist reformism to the winds. Today the WWO is inheriting the best and most advanced lessons from that period, uniting the best elements which came out of those movements, and working to gain leadership in the African Liberation Support Committee and the whole Afro-American movement. This represents a new stage in the fight for Marxist leadership in the national movements, and its fusion with the proletarian movement.

At the same time, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists are contending more fiercely than ever before for hegemony in the world, and as their actions in the Middle East, Cyprus, Angola and Europe all show, the two

# ROOTS DISTORTS

superpowers are driving towards a new world war. World capitalism also faces the beginning of the deepest crisis in its history, a crisis that, in the U.S., is already shaking capitalism from top to bottom and opening up millions of people to socialism. The two roads that opened up in the 60's are becoming clearer and clearer to people because of this crisis, and this growing revolutionary consciousness among the masses is what the ruling class fears most. It makes them tremble in their boots. It is socialist revolution and the impending doom of their class rule.

To fight an imperialist war with the Soviet Union and break up the growing proletarian revolution at home, the U.S. rulers need fascism. They are making all-round preparations for this: ideological, political, military, etc. The no-strike laws like the ENA to keep production and profits up and to "discipline" the labor force, the Boston forced busing plan and Equal Rights Amendment to split the workers' movement, the centralization of the CIA and FBI, the sensationalizing of Nazis and other fascists and the mysticism and pornography we see and hear on the airwaves, all aim at one thing: to strengthen the capitalist state and break and demoralize the masses.

Fascism in the U.S. will attempt to ride in on a wave of racist propaganda and national (white) chauvinism, in order to split the U.S. multinational working class. *Roots* was a slick, deceptive attempt at promoting this ideological refuse. Just as Carter (an advanced representative of the bourgeoisie) puts forward a liberal appearance with a fascist essence, *Roots* is also a "liberal" tactic to portray the history of Afro-Americans "the way it really was," while in essence promoting all the ideological trash necessary to pave the ground for fascism and world war.

The ruling class tries to appeal to the vast majority of the masses who will not fall for outright and blatant sensationalizing, racism, pornography and so on, by digging up all the discredited but seemingly progressive and revolutionary thinking from the 1960's. *Roots*' themes of nonviolence, "quiet, moral superiority of the oppressed," Pan-Africanism, "hate whitey" nationalism, liberalism, and the striving for individual, American-dream freedom, designed to promote cynicism and white chauvinism, etc., are all bankrupt and abandoned thinking from the last decade. The ruling class, who knows full well that the history of oppression of the Afro-American people stirs the profoundest emotions among the U.S. people and moves us to song and tears, is trying to pump some life back into its bankrupt reactionary themes by spinning them into a story about Afro-American slavery. Their sole purpose is to put us on the wrong road, to divert us from Marxism.

Anything but Marxism! That is the bourgeoisie's slogan, in *Roots* as in everything else, which in today's situation can only mean: preparation for world war and fascism.

#### BOURGEOISIE USES LITERATURE AND ART TO DEFEND ITS CLASS RULE

The bourgeoisie at every step has attempted to distort and promote all kinds of reactionary chauvinist and imperialist interpretations of the history of resistance of the Afro-American people's struggle. This spirit and resistance is a clarion call to the entire US multinational proletariat, and the merger of these two movements will surely spell the doom of the reactionary US monopoly capitalist ruling class. From the chauvinist, imperialist mythology that Afro-Americans were happy as slaves in the "peculiar institution" of slavery, to the Kerner Commission Report which promoted the bourgeois "race theory" that the urban rebellions and resistance of the Afro-American people in the 60's were due to two societies, "one Black and one White", the monopoly capitalists have tried to cover up their vicious class rule in an attempt to point to white workers as the enemies of the Afro-American people, and not the bourgeoisie themselves. But could it be any other way?

All art and culture is part of the struggle between the two classes. Every class uses art and culture to serve its class interests, to glorify itself, to propagate its ideology, and to consolidate its rule. Exploiting classes have always used literature and art to oppress the masses. This is the stand and view-

point from which we must look at *Roots*. The proletariat criticizes the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes and systems in order to destroy them completely. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois literature and art sometimes criticize capitalism and slavery, but dare not reveal the class essence of their rule, the dictatorship of the capitalists and slave-owners, because that would open the whole can of worms and show the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat to destroy all exploitation. On the contrary, they "criticize" only to attempt to consolidate the dictatorship of the exploiting classes by prescribing band-aid measures for the incurable capitalist system. This is why Chairman Mao said, "If the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian lite-



rature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause." We must not pay tribute to bourgeois literature and art.

#### REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY TRUMPETS BOURGEOIS LITERATURE AND ART

The thoroughly chauvinist Revolutionary Communist Party has never understood the national question in general and the Afro-American national question in particular. This is reflected in the numerous political positions of the RCP. Take, for instance, their position on the Boston Busing Plan in which the RCP liquidated the special demands of the Afro-American national minority because the RCP saw them as divisive and splitting the multinational proletariat, not as demands necessary to uphold and fight for in order to build the iron unity of the multinational proletariat. Or the



# GLORIOUS HISTORY

RCP's previous position that the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) was a thoroughly reactionary bourgeois nationalist formation which stemmed from RCP's line that "all nationalism is nationalism". This line, which RCP put forward in struggle with Black Workers Congress' deviation on this question, was a slick way of liquidating the revolutionary potential of the national movements, and was a more deceptive version of Progressive Labor Party's line that "all nationalism is reactionary". To the RCP, the truth that the national movements in the final analysis are class struggle, means that the national movements have no particularity. The RCP denies they are a specific form of class struggle. The RCP cannot grasp the difference between the appearance and form (national) and the content and essence (class struggle), which leads them to liquidate the national movements. This has led to the RCP's failure to neither give leadership nor develop any influence in the Afro-American national movement.

In this recent period, with the RCP's historically incorrect lines on the leading role of theory, and on the national movements, having caught up with them and left them "dried, beached fish" (see Workers Viewpoint newspaper, Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan. 1977 -- RCP Discovers "Theory in its own Right"), the RCP has taken to the October League's trick of feinting in an attempt to gain new life.

In the recent New York-New Jersey Worker (Feb. 1977, Vol. 2, No. 5), the RCP in an attempt to feint away from its former liquidationist/chauvinist line on the national movements, completely flips to trumpeting Roots to the sky. They out-and-out trumpet bourgeois literature and art in the vain hope that it will increase their influence in the Afro-American national movement. But all it does is show that the RCP's old line and new feint are made of the same stuff. It reveals that they understand absolutely nothing about the character and content of the national movement, and is a downright insulting, liberal-chauvinist, opportunist feint.

In statements reminiscent of the October League's praise to the sky of the CBS program, "The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman", the NY-NJ Worker says, "...Alex Haley, in searching back for his family origins, put into motion a powerful force in fighting against some long-standing myths about slavery.... There is a real source of strength in Roots. Its great contribution is that in documenting the history of one family it creates a stirring picture of the oppression of a whole people and their resistance to this oppression...it refutes the 'modern', 'scientific' myths of the Black family and Black people (like the Moynihan report, written by the NY senator, which portrays Blacks as having no family feelings or ties)..."

True to the RCP's thoroughly opportunist approach to all questions, the NY-NJ Worker never once asks the question, "what did the advanced, intermediate, and lower stratum of the workers and elements from the Afro-American national movement think about Roots?" The platitudes that the NY-NJ Worker sings toward Roots are the songs that the lower stratum and petty bourgeois liberals are singing. As Lenin said, a certain stratum will temporarily be taken in hook, line and sinker by the bourgeois trash -- the lower stratum. The advanced and even intermediate workers and elements from the Afro-American movement were never taken in by Moynihan's trash. For the RCP who apparently was taken in by the Moynihan report, yes; but not for the advanced workers and Afro-Americans was Roots to be praised as a smashing refutation of the Moynihan report. The advanced workers and elements from the Afro-American national movement, on the other hand, saw clean through Roots (see From Our Readers in this issue) as a counter-revolutionary attempt by the bourgeoisie to create fascist public opinion under the thin disguise of "liberalism".

When the NY-NJ Worker trumpets Roots for discrediting the imperialist myth of slavery as essentially that of good-hearted masters and contented happy darkies, they act as if there has not been in general, centuries of heroic struggle by the Afro-American masses that long ago smashed that mythology to

pieces, and in particular a powerful national movement from the late 50's to the early 70's that was so earth-shaking that it crushed completely all stereotypes of Afro-Americans as contented and happy with their lot since slavery. This movement was so powerful that only the most backward Afro-Americans and chauvinist of workers could still hold onto this imperialist mythology. Only the bourgeois NY Times, in an attempt to deny the effects of the Afro-American mass movement of the 60's and 70's, would trumpet Roots for having accomplished this "revolution in social relations". So the RCP, along with the NY Times is putting forward a theory that goes against the view that the masses make history, and is acting as an accomplice in promoting this most sinister bourgeois theory. The Roots TV series has accomplished what the heroic struggle of the masses could never do! Hail Roots!

This desperate feint of the RCP's reflects a most insulting, patronizing and thoroughly pragmatist attempt to remedy their previous incorrect lines, and continue its competition for the base of the Guardian and the OL. The advanced workers and Afro-Americans will certainly reject this attempt, and see through the feint.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, where class struggle in literature and art is a main sphere in which the bourgeoisie contends with the proletariat in its attempt to restore capitalism, in the life and death struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two world outlooks, following the leadership of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in literature and art, our Chinese comrades have put forward the view that "To Trumpet Bourgeois Literature and Art is to Restore Capitalism". Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for the RCP to trumpet bourgeois literature and art, means to act as an accomplice of the bourgeoisie in its vain attempt to prevent its inevitable downfall and the seizure of power by the revolutionary proletariat.

## THE OCTOBER LEAGUE CONTINUES ITS FEINT TO THE "LEFT"

The OL on the front page of the Call, (Feb. 14, 1977) in trying hard to be "orthodox Marxists" poses the question,

# AFRICAN PEOPLES' STRUGGLE WILL SURELY TRIUMPH!

## Build Communist Leadership of the African Liberation Support Committee!

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**TWO ROADS** (from page 24)  
line objectively reflects the circle spirit, even if it is not "intended."  
(Two Roads to Party Building. BOC/CWG. WV, Vol. 1, No. 7)

In the past we in BWO upheld circle spirit not party spirit. The basis was our petty bourgeois class stand and a "big headed" overestimation of our own importance. The circle spirit ran through many of our lines; from our unity with the P/R Menshevik line on merger with WVO, to the line of "political line is not mere formulation." This led us to have a tailist "go slow" attitude immediately following our purge from RWL. Losing our bearings given the twist and turns during the struggle inside the revolutionary wing, we clung to a "guarantee unity line," a philistine attitude toward struggle. This bourgeois line is made up of the same stuff ATM's line of "test unities

"Roots TV series, which class does it serve?" Who would believe that this is the same OL, who just a short while ago praised a less sophisticated "Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman" to the sky? But, the OL fools no one. Just as their "left" feint ("everything is liberal") is a superficial cover for their thick right opportunism, designed to kick dust in the eyes of the masses, their analysis of Roots is just as superficial.

After appearing to pose a staunch front of asking, "which class does it serve?" the OL proceeds to really show its equivocating position on Roots. Vacillating on how it gave us a "glimpse into the long history of Black slavery",

how it "to some degree" has "helped awaken pride and awareness", and how it even gave "Black actors and actresses in the media a chance to play something other than the usual pimp and hooker", the OL in essence reveals that it really dug Roots. This is the same attempt to stand between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie that has historically characterized the OL's petty bourgeois stand, viewpoint and method.

But after extolling Roots, the OL then proceeds to pose a number of questions concerning the class interest that Roots serves and the lessons that it offers its viewers. The OL's inability to go beyond the surface of any of the questions that it poses, proves that it is only feinting at being "orthodox", and makes us ask the same questions about the OL's article -- "which class does it serve?, what does it include and what does it skip over?, what are the lessons it offers its viewers (readers), etc.?"

Because the OL does not understand the class outlook of Haley (the petty bourgeoisie) nor the dialectics of bourgeois-democratic "liberalism" and fascism, it can only resort to refuting the historical inaccuracies of Roots, the more blatant aspects of Haley's outlook, but cannot go into the class effects of Roots and why it has come forth in this period. Like the RCP, the OL abstracts Roots out of the entire crisis of US monopoly capitalism, a mortal sin and gross deviation in the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. Consequently the OL cannot go beyond the point of view of revisionist and liberal historians of the Herbert Aptheker type, who currently are all over the radio and TV debating the "historical inaccuracies of Roots". This is because the OL is the representative of this revisionist and petty bourgeois liberal trend. ■

in practice over a protracted period of time" is. This line is incompatible with proletarian optimism that comes with understanding that the correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line determines everything.

Comrades, Workers and Friends, on the basis of having reached political and ideological unity with the leading line of the WVO, the Bolshevik Workers Organization takes a big step in smashing circle spirit and upholding party spirit. There are only "Two Roads" to the genuine anti-revisionist communist party of the U.S. proletariat. The BWO is taking the road of liquidating and joining the WVO, the only organization capable of laying the foundation of the revolutionary party of the proletariat in the U.S. -- the headquarters of the revolutionary U.S. proletariat.

BUILD THE PARTY ON THE PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGICAL PLANE!  
FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING PARTY CONGRESS!

**MALCOLM** (Continued from page 3)

fire on one end and fool on the other."

Malcolm had that quality of an advanced element, a real leader of the masses -- the ability to see further than the average; in 1965 he had predicted the likes of an Andrew Young -- a fool to believe the masses cannot see through him. And, in fact, the direction he was heading was clear before his split with the Muslims; in his Message to the Grass Roots, he had already demolished not just the misleaders, but also penetrated the role that the social props play, these

"modern Uncle Toms, the 20th century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, to keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent."

And further, Malcolm saw the bankruptcy of reformism, of ending national oppression under capitalism:

"The system in this country cannot produce freedom for the Afro-American. It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system, this system period..."

His trip to Africa in 1964 opened his eyes to the chains with which the Nation of Islam's ideology bound him. It showed clearly Malcolm's stand -- a revolutionary first and foremost. For example, after a meeting with the Algerian Ambassador to Ghana -- who was white -- and whom Malcolm respected as a revolutionary -- Malcolm rejected the "white devil" world view of Elijah Muhammed and spoke of multinational unity:

"We will work with anyone, with any group, no matter what their color is, as long as they are genuinely interested in taking the types of steps necessary to bring an end to the injustices that black people in this country are afflicted by..."

"as long as their aims and objectives are in the direction of destroying the vulturous system that has been sucking the blood of black people in this country, they're all right with us..."

Summing up the experiences of his travels to Africa, he was turning toward socialism, although he was as yet unable to differentiate between scientific socialism and utopian, petty bourgeois socialism.

"They say travel broadens your scope, and recently I've had an opportunity to do a lot of it in the Mid-East, and

Africa. While I am travelling I noticed that most of the countries that have recently emerged into independence have turned away from the so-called capitalist system in the direction of socialism.

"So out of curiosity, I can't resist the temptation to do a little investigating wherever that particular philosophy happens to be in existence or an attempt is being made to bring it into existence

His keen mind and critical and combative spirit brought him spontaneously to grasp that the people of the world have a common enemy in imperialism and colonialism. Three days before his death:

"We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolution of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era..."

"It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed and oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter..."

It was this sharp vision targeting the imperialist system that made the bourgeoisie tremble. It was this powerful voice which pierced the covers of the bourgeoisie's social props one after another, from Elijah Muhammed to the "C" PUSA, which moved the entire movement forward. It was his iron stand -- never forgetting he was one of the "field Negroes" -- that made him loved by the masses and hated by the bourgeoisie.

### Malcolm's Legacy

In the massive spontaneous rebellions of the 1960's, the single greatest weakness of the movement was the lack of a genuine Communist Party, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, to correctly lead and fuse with them, both in giving communist leadership to the immediate struggle and guiding it towards its long-range goals. The revisionist "Communist Party" USA, by then, had totally betrayed the working class and oppressed masses. Under these conditions, the national movement was led by advanced elements, like Malcolm. While Malcolm said revolution is bloody, is uncompromising, and overturns, the "C" PUSA was peddling its notorious peaceful transition to socialism line.

Completely abandoning the correct

line of the 1930's in equal rights and self-determination for Afro-Americans in the Black Belt South, it tailed the ruling class's integrationist and gradualist strategies for the oppressed nationalities and national minorities.

The revisionist "C" PUSA viewed with horror and hatred the genuine revolutionary upsurges of the masses and students. Furiously slandering Malcolm as a "police agent", it echoed the bourgeoisie and liberals who attacked Malcolm as a "reverse racist", just as it echoed the international center of revisionism, the "C" PSU, who slandered the CPC's support of the national liberation struggles as "racialist" and "abandoning a class perspective." While Malcolm cut through the sham character of the ruling class's two party system - the "wolf" and the fox - the "C" PUSA were willing apologists for the slick reformist tactics of the bourgeoisie and preached an alliance with the fox. While Malcolm clearly identified U.S. neo-colonialism, the "C" PUSA was wagging its tail after the revisionist "C" PSU which desperately tried to deny its existence.

It is no wonder, then, that Malcolm scorned those "people who call themselves Marxists" and "claim to be enemies of the system," but who were "on their hands, knees", hoping and working for Lyndon Johnson's election.

Although it is clear what direction he was moving toward, Malcolm had not yet embraced Marxism. He did not see that the working class is the only thoroughly revolutionary class and the need for proletarian socialist revolution; he had not adopted the stand of the entire multinational working class. And he had not yet seen that only the merger of the national and working class movement can end the oppression and exploitation he had fought against all his life. It was up to other advanced elements who emerged from the Afro-American liberation struggle - from SNCC, the Black Panther Party, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the African Liberation Support Committee, and others, to pick up the threads of his revolutionary thinking and complete the process of turning the corner - from revolutionary nationalism to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. ■

### CONSTRUCTION

 (Continued from page 9)

- Safety and health protection for all construction workers. Enforce safety rules and regulations in all sites.
- Equal rights for workers of oppressed nationalities and national minorities. Uphold the right of self-determination of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South, up to and including secession. No exclusion from joining unions and no discrimination within the unions.
- Training programs for oppressed nationalities, national minorities and women workers. Abolish the apprentice system. Cut all training programs to a maximum of 2 years.
- Fight for trade union democracy. Fight for right to strike and picket.
- For decent housing, schools, hospitals for the working class, especially the oppressed nationalities.
- Increase hiring of all workers, especially oppressed nationalities.

Through communist propaganda and agitation around these partial demands, which taken as a whole, draw a clear line of demarcation with revisionist and opportunist misleaders among the rank and file construction workers, we must expose, isolate and defeat the trade union misleaders, winning over the masses of workers to the side of communism, by linking them up to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fighting national oppression, we must conduct special education among the higher trades and the white workers to counter the chauvinist jingoism of the trade union misleaders. Under the current crisis, more and more white workers have realized that the multinational working class shares the same fundamental interests in our struggle against the bourgeoisie. We must rally the white workers to join with workers

from oppressed nationalities in the fight against national oppression. The bulk of our work should be concentrated in the lower trades, such as the laborers.

"'Deeper into the thick of the masses', 'Closer links with the masses' -- meaning by the masses all those who toil and are exploited by capital, particularly those who are least organized and educated, who are most oppressed and least amenable to organization." (Lenin, Theses on Fundamental Tasks.)

We must fight for the unity of the multinational working class in a way that exposes the trade union misleaders and serves the final overthrow of the bourgeoisie. We do not fight to preserve the interests of a tiny minority of workers. Labor aristocrats such as some of the electricians in Local 3 can unite with working class only by subordinating their interests to the interests of the working class as a whole. We do not negate that in the course of struggle some individuals from the stratum of the labor aristocracy will be won over, especially under the present crisis where the labor aristocracy is also hard hit. But the fight against opportunism within the working class is not a matter of a few labor lieutenants, but a question of fighting a trend that is bound to jump up in one political form or another under changing conditions.

They jump out in the form of social-democrats such as trade union misleader Leon Davis of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; blatant chauvinist Tom Van Arsdale of Local 3; or the skilled tradesmen in the International Society

of Skilled Trades in the auto industry (who fight for a 25% wage differential over production workers under the banner of "unity"). The only way we can keep our orientation clear and not be mesmerized by these different political forms is to tightly grasp the ideological and social basis of opportunism within the working class in this period when imperialism is heading towards total collapse. We must be clear that these opportunists within the working class are the main social props of the bourgeoisie.

As Lenin taught us, "Certain individuals among the present social chauvinist leaders may 'return' to the revolutionary proletariat, but the social chauvinist (or what is the same thing) opportunist trend can neither disappear nor 'return' to the revolutionary proletariat." (Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism")

FOR THE UNITY OF ALL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM, THAT PITS WORKERS AGAINST WORKERS, CRAFT AGAINST CRAFT, LOCAL AGAINST LOCAL.

FIGHT FOR THE UNITY OF THE MULTINATIONAL WORKING CLASS!

UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH, UP TO AND INCLUDING SECESSION!

SMASH THE LABOR ARISTOCRACY, TRADE UNION MISLEADERS AND ALL CHAUVINISM IN THE WORKING CLASS!

ALL-ROUND PREPARATION FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE THE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT! ■