

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

"A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist." Mao Tsetung

VOL. II no. 11 WORKERS CONGRESS (M-L)

POB 1297 Chicago, Illinois 60690

August 28, 1976

25C

National Rebellion in Azania "WE WILL NOT RIDE!"

The struggle of the Azanian people reached a new phase during the month of August. The protests and demonstrations that began on June 16, when the criminal South African regime attempted to impose a law making Afrikaans a mandatory language in Black schools, has developed into widespread and sustained national and industrial unrest.

Throughout the month there has been a growing campaign to impose an industrial boycott that would cripple the South African economy. On August 4, students attempted to break through a barricade barring them from Johannesburg where they planned to protest the arrests of students from the rioting seven weeks ago. When the demonstration stopped workers from going to work in the city, the police began shooting into the crowd, and shooting to kill. But this barbarity, which killed three, did not stop the protest. Instead the crowd attacked and burned two police stations and set several government buildings on fire. On August 6, adults and workers from the community marched to the police station 5000 strong. Again the fascist troops fired into the crowd. The demonstrations spread to the Jabulani area where 20,000 marched, and also to the townships of

Tempis and Katelhon and Phosloorus which are northeast of Johannesburg.

On August 12, the demonstrations spread to Capetown, 800 miles southwest of Johannesburg where government buildings were burned and workers were urged not to go to work. Marchers also went into neighboring townships of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga where the fascist police again fired into the crowd. The police have murdered over 250 people in South Africa since June 16.

On August 19, marchers attacked four factory buildings with fire and rocks in the coastal city of Port Elizabeth, 560 miles south of Johannesburg. This was the first incident of its kind since the protest began, for only government buildings up to that point had been attacked. Along with worker absenteeism, a number of employers began to complain that they were under a reign of "industrial terror." They have the nerve to talk of industrial terror who impose it with a knife day after day in serf-like conditions! The demonstrations continued, spreading to workers in New Brighton, a nearby suburb.

For August 23 pamphlets were distributed throughout

Soweto, the black suburb of Johannesburg, calling for a three day national strike among industrial workers. This boycott prepared throughout the month was a huge success. Its slogan was "Aziklelwa"; "we will not ride". More than 20 of the 98 morning trains to Johannesburg were cancelled and most of those that did run were nearly empty. Construction sites in Johannesburg were shut down and whites in the city were forced to do menial labor usually imposed on Blacks. One person said: "I'd be surprised if most of the tenants here knew how to mop their own floors."

Soweto, where these demonstrations began, is the largest segregated township in South Africa. It is the home of nearly a million people who travel each day to work in the homes, factories and mines of Johannesburg. Blacks must have passes to work in the city and only 120,000 are allowed to live there -- all in servant quarters attached to white homes. Even these quarters are to be abolished and Black workers doing domestic work will have to move to barracks like hostels in the black suburbs under a government campaign to make the city "white by night". Whites

who want to visit Soweto also must have passes and a good reason for going.

The Soweto township, which is 35 square miles wide, is located only a few miles from the first gold mines worked over 90 years ago in South Africa. It is practically unnoticeable in the distance from the tallest point in Johannesburg because of the smoke that comes from the coal and wood burning stoves in the houses. The smoke lasts from late afternoon to mid-morning of the next day, causing throats to itch and choke and eyes to run. The city consists entirely of cramped bungalows and dusty unpaved streets.

These miserable houses, over 102,000 of them, are state owned and built on small lots renting for \$11.50 a month. Less than 25% of the bungalows have electricity. Half of them have running water, but it is cold. Only 15% have inside baths. Six or seven people live in an average home of four rooms. And there are no shopping areas in Soweto. A government rule permits no stores other than those that sell food and kitchen requirements. For all other commodities, residents have to go to Johannesburg. The situation is crucial now, because the

Continued on page 4

THE "WING": 'STUCK IN A HOLE'

One of the most serious obstacles to party building in our movement is the persistence of the local circle spirit in our ranks. This social democratic tendency is a product of the history of our movement, its class composition, and the powerful influence of economism and the worship of the spontaneous movement, and our failure to rigorously apply the orthodox science of Marxism-Leninism. In Lenin's writings from the Iskra period Lenin emphasized how fragmentation hinders our work. Listen to what he says in WHAT IS TO BE DONE:

"All without exception now talk of the importance of unity, of the necessity for gathering and organizing; but in the majority of cases what is lacking is a definite idea of where to begin and how to bring about this unity. Probably all will agree that if we 'unite', say the district circles in a given town, it will be necessary to have for this purpose common institutions...genuinely common work, exchange of material, experience, and forces, dis-

tribution of functions, not only by districts, but through specialization on a town-wide scale. ...the same thing applies to the co-ordination of activities of a number of towns, since even a specific locality will be and, in the history of our Social Democratic movement, has proved to be, far too narrow a field; ...What we require foremost and imperatively is to broaden the field, establish real contacts between the towns on the basis of regular, common work; for fragmentation weighs down on the people and they are 'stuck in a hole'... not knowing what is happening in the world, from whom to learn, or how to acquire experience and satisfy their desire to engage in broad activities. I continue to insist that we can start establishing real contacts only with the aid of a common newspaper, as the only regular, all Russia enterprise, one which will summarize the results of the most diverse forms of activity and thereby stimulate people to march forward untiringly along all the innumerable paths leading to revolution, in the same way

as all roads lead to Rome." WHAT IS TO BE DONE pp206-7.

In struggling to guide our organization based on the principles advanced by Lenin, particularly in ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK, we have had to wage, and continue to wage a sharp struggle against the spirit of the circle, the spirit of factionalism, fear of centralized leadership, disregard for discipline, and the failure to struggle for unity in building M-L organization and the Party.

One of the most consolidated expression of this tendency in our movement is the Revolutionary Wing. Lenin says our backwardness is one thing if we recognize it and struggle consciously to overcome it, where it is quite another thing to justify and perpetuate it as does the Wing. It is this tendency and its various aspects that we will take up in this polemic. Before we go any further let us point out that we do not discount the common history of struggle we share

with the comrades in PRRWO, nor the unity we have on some of the basic formulations concerning the defence of orthodox Marxism-Leninism, and party building. But this tendency of local circle spirit within our movement weighs us down and denies us the revolutionary sweep and practicalness that we must have to win the vanguard of the mighty proletariat in this country to communism and to join with us in forging a Bolshevik party. As this kind of trend develops, it serves to blunt and disrupt the sharp and protracted struggle we must wage against right opportunism in all its forms, in the course of forging a genuine vanguard party. Like any form of opportunism, it serves the bourgeoisie within our ranks. This ideology must be soundly defeated and purged from out midst as we win honest comrades who are temporarily confused to the side of Marxism-Leninism.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

*Remember the
Cruelty of
Apartheid*

Homelands: Basis Of Racist Policy

The development of homelands or Bantustans or reservations for Blacks in South Africa is nothing else but a vehicle to facilitate the racist fascist plot known as apartheid or so-called separate development. Although the plan was initially formulated with the passing of the Land Act of 1913, setting up a number of scattered "black spots" or "native reserves" to facilitate the racial segregation acts; it was not until the racist Verwoerd and later Voster regimes took over that this sordid plot was implemented to its fullest capacity. The Bantu Self-government Act of 1959 promulgated establishment of these homelands. In 1963 the Transkei was the first reservation to be proclaimed.

The homelands combined come to 13% of the land and this is supposed to accommodate over 80% of the population. These homelands are a cornerstone of the brutal policy of apartheid and should be exposed as such. In October of this year the first of these homelands is due for its so-called "independence" hence we need to study this question and expose them for what they really are.

It should come as no surprise that Vorster should encourage the idea of these "concentration camps" for during the second world war he was jailed for being a member of a Nazi group known as the "Broederbond" meaning the "brotherhood". His fascist apartheid policy further supports the evidence above. There are some common characteristics pertaining to these homelands: The homelands are found in the less fertile areas with little or no known mineral resources. None of them have enough financial resources to explore or exploit their potential. The areas are the least developed industrially and agriculturally.

Most of them are located in the interior away from the coast and large cities. The Transkei has been fighting relentlessly to have a port added to their territory. It has been a struggle even though the port they were claiming is merely a resort port rather than a port of entry and industry. Thus the homelands fully depend on South African ports and cities for import/export activities.

None these homelands can adequately support or even accommodate the bulk of their populations so they again rely on South African industry to exploit the labor of their populations. In other words the homelands are spawning grounds for a constant underpaid labor force for the South African capitalists. They are also dumping grounds to dispose of those who can no longer work.

Widows have been allowed to remain as domestic servants in the cities provided they send their children to the homelands; teenagers have been sent to the homelands because of so-called juvenile delinquency crimes; and older people and handicapped people have been sent to the homelands because they could not work and thus were of no use to the capitalists.

Workers from the homelands are subject to the migratory labor contract laws. Since the homelands are not equipped to handle the employment of all their people, workers have to seek work outside. They have to go to the recruitment offices where they sign in for nine, twelve, or so month contracts to sell their labor to South African firms. Some of these contracts can be extended depending on the employer.

In South Africa, these workers are treated as aliens. They have to live in single mens' compounds, they are not allowed to rent houses and live with their families in South Africa; they have no right or say pertaining to their own lives. They can be deported back to the homelands at the whim of the white South Africans. They can only be with their families under the following conditions:

1. If the wife or child is suffering from an ailment which cannot be cured in the homelands and they are given short term permission which they have to extend periodically (monthly, quarterly, etc.)
2. When the husband wants to add a member to his family. As soon as the wife gets pregnant she has to go back to the homelands, unless there are some serious complications. The capitalists make sure that workers produce future workers and slaves for them.
3. Provided when his family is in South Africa, the man can rent a room from a resident South African and also maintain his hostel room to which he has to return as soon as his family returns to the homelands.

Workers from the homelands get the worst jobs and are the least paid. They get the jobs which even the black South Africans avoid. Due to the desparate and backward conditions of their homelands they are mostly less educated and less developed politically and are therefore used as scabs in many instances. There is therefore a gap created between them and the Black and White South African workers. In fact even in the community their hostels of compounds are built at the edge of the location so that they don't really regard themselves as part of the community and it is not infrequent for there to be violent fights which sometimes lead to ganglike

feuds between the hostel dwellers and the rest of the residents. When these battles occur the police never show up until someone dies.

The police often make raids at the hostels and arrest all females for being there and fine them \$10.00 to \$20.00. They also check on the pass books of every one and fine them for every offence they can find on the book. Sometimes the females arrested in the hostels are the real wives and daughters of the men. The police do not care since they get a kickback out of the hundreds of dollars they make for their departments for each load of women they turn in, and the possibility for promotion.

Another interesting common factor is that in all the homelands many official posts are appointed by the government, which picks persons they can count on to perpetuate the apartheid system. As for the kings, chiefheads, etc., they are directly or indirectly connected with royal blood in the tribes and are an aristocratic elite that do not represent the people. They see themselves as being above the people and often preach monarchial servility and stress tribalism. The government tries to use them as puppets for the oppression and suppression of their own people. But in recent weeks even a majority of these leaders have spoken out to denounce the system of apartheid. In a joint statement, they call for an end to discriminatory legislation, an end to the detention of black leaders without trial, an end to control of movement and a recognition of the permanent status of black people everywhere in the country, including the urban areas. With the exception of the chiefs of Bophuthatswana and Transkei, they stated they had "no intention whatsoever of opting for the so-called independence" or to abandon their citizenship or forfeit their share in an economy black people have built. They called this a time for black people to overcome tribal divisions and speak with one voice.

INDEPENDENCE OF THE FIRST HOMELAND

In October 26, 1976, the Transkei which is the oldest homeland (12 years) is supposed to be obtaining its "independence" from South Africa. Chief Matanzima, the chief minister of this homeland has been issuing public statements which further expose these reservations for what they are. He has announced his intentions to seek membership both in the OAU and in the UN. He claims that his territory represents the Xosa tribe which is not true, the majority of the Xosas are in the Ciskei (another homeland) and in the rest of South Africa. The Transkei is a dumping ground; it is more of a camp than a country by itself. It does

not meet the requirements of a country. If any of these groups accepted its membership, they would be recognizing the apartheid system the product of which the Transkei is.

During the South African interference on Angola the chief minister of the Transkei together with others from the other reservations supported the South African presence there. They incorrectly said that South Africa was fighting a war against communism in Angola which if encouraged would threaten democracy and peace in South Africa.

In one of his speeches about preparations for the "independence" the chief minister revealed that he was getting a strong Transkei army ready. The primary role of this army he said would be to protect South Africa from any foreign invasion from communist or from terrorists (liberation movements). Here again we can clearly see whose interests the homeland is serving. Now South Africa is going to have a convenient reserve army.

Recently the chief minister called for the release to the Transkei of all Xosa political prisoners and specifically Mandela in Robben Island. There are presently hundreds of political prisoners in Robben Island and in other South African prisons. Hundreds of these prisoners are not Xosas; none of them are there for a Xosa cause but for the independence of the oppressed peoples of South Africa. Again we see the chief minister peddling a divisive tribal routine. Mandela is married to the daughter of one of the influential and well to do families in the Transkei. His name also always strikes an emotional note to the whole of South Africa as he is one of the leaders of one of the banned liberation groups. Also everybody has an emotional attachment to people who are political prisoners especially for those who are in the island.

These political prisoners if released would have to take Transkei citizenship and they would be aliens in South Africa. They went to prison because they were against the apartheid system, the product of which is the homelands. Therefore by accepting Matanzima's proposal they would be denouncing the very same principles they had gone to jail for. In the homelands they would have to obey everything the chief ministers' government requires of them which would be what the South African government commands. They would in fact remain prisoners for they would be under the direct scrutiny of the homeland government and at the mercy of the South African government, whenever it felt like pouncing on them. The counter revolutionary nature of this proposal is too evident.

The homelands system is the epitome of apartheid and an active boycott of it and political exposures will serve as a blow to the horrendous apartheid system and to its inventors and their lackeys.

Submitted by a correspondent.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE COMMUNIST

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$4.25 per year.

Send to:
WC (M-L)
POB 1297
Chicago, Ill. 60690

The WC (M-L) can also
be contacted at:
W.C. (M-L)
POB 11713
L.A., Ca. 90011



THEIR "PLAN" FOR PARTY BUILDING

The clearest and most important example of the line bowing to and perpetuating the backward aspects of our movement is its failure to hit "head on" the fragmented character of our movement. In "Party Building in the Heat of Class Struggle" n.41, they point to the problem, speaking of "Our conditions—that is, the fragmentation of groups, collectives, etc.—provide a basis for factionalism, small groupism to develop within the party, which will provide the ground for the bourgeoisie to corrode the party from within." That is a fine and correct observation, but what practical plan do they put forward to overcome this situation? Listen to what they say, "By the end of the year, most of the organizations in the Revolutionary Wing will have a national newspaper. Let's unite on a division of labor which, of course, must be guided by a centralized plan." Party Building in the Heat of Class Struggle (PBPCS) n. 40. There you have it. Not only do they bow to the backward state of affairs but they call on their Wing to perpetuate it guaranteeing that even the organization(s) that they share unity with can maintain and sustain their regional and fragmented character guaranteeing, as they say in the preceding sentence, "We will continue to be narrow in our scope because our line is not developed sufficiently to reach advanced elements even in places where there is not significant communist presence, like in the Southern U.S." This call to build "many newspapers", from what we read is the only practical "plan" advanced by the Wing. It is a clear perpetuation of the local circle spirit and fragmented character of our movement when in fact vanguard organizations must begin to advance plans to overcome this fragmentation and amateurishness. This bowing to the backward character of our movement by the Wing is why we say they are "stuck in a hole".

The WC(M-L) since its beginning has insisted that our movement struggle for ideological unity and we have upheld the powerful weapon of an Iskra type newspaper in accomplishing this. We have struggled for the Leninist trend to unite to build a common newspaper which would enable us to develop common propaganda, pool the resources of our trend, centralize the leadership of our trend, and enable our trend to establish the hegemony of orthodox Leninism and defeat economism. THE COMMUNIST is written as an instrument to achieve that goal. Our objective is one newspaper that represents and consolidates the unity of the Leninist trend, not the proliferation of many "Iskra" type newspapers, and the perpetuation of the local circle spirit and fragmentation that still drags on our movement like a ball and chain. In order to facilitate this development we will struggle with the various organizations in our movement to have more exchange of papers and publications, to take up correspondence over various issues, with the objective of developing a common ideological view of the burning questions of our movement and where possible developing a common editorial policy. This can serve as one tool to strengthen the ideological unity of our movement and to lay the basis for organizational unity and the forging of a

genuine party based on a revolutionary program. It is the responsibility of Marxist Leninists to advance, fight for and unite around a plan to gather the forces and resources of our movement and in a step by step way forge them into one centralized vanguard party. Despite all its phrasemongering on bolshevizing, the Wing advances their "plan" which serves to perpetuate the backward primitive character of our movement.

PROPAGANDA--"LIKE FROGS IN A WELL"

The Wing upholds that propaganda is the chief form of activity in this period, but in practice they narrow and belittle our tasks. In this period of winning the vanguard to communism and forging a party, we must take propaganda to the working class in every way possible to defeat revisionism and opportunism in all its forms, winning a complete ideological and political victory over these alien influences on the vanguard of the proletariat. In order to do this we must confront the tasks of revolution in the U.S. and a major aspect of our propaganda must be developing communist policies and analysis of the events affecting the working and oppressed masses—the need of topical political exposures. This is the "essential and fundamental condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity". (WHAT IS TO BE DONE) But this is not what these forces mean when they say "political line is key". For the Wing, working out political line has very little to do with topical political exposures despite PRRWO stating that "cadres must be trained to do political exposures" (p. 49 PBPCS) These exposures, along with the other forms of our propaganda such as summations of practice, polemics, etc. are a vital tool in winning the advanced, taking this propaganda into the plants and exposing the nature of capitalist society and developing and showing our leadership in advancing a communist policy of struggle. Their newspapers, or now PALANTE, grow weaker and weaker in this regard with the latest (Vol. 6, no. 6) sounding like defensive personal messages to their "menshevik" opponents rather than scientific polemics, along with a few reprints from "Peking Review".

Their practice, regarding propaganda, reflects the basic underlying errors of subjectivism and empiricism. Mao says, "In approaching a problem a Marxist should see the whole as well as the parts. A frog in a well says, 'The sky is no bigger than the mouth of the well'". (SW, v.1, p 159). Increasingly the Wing in failing to take up the writing of topical political exposures and the broader tasks of propaganda, stay isolated within their own little world. They do not try to transcend their own narrow framework by training themselves and those who read their papers but instead justify their own backwardness. Not only does this fail to meet the standards advanced by Lenin and Stalin regarding our building a party, but it also corrodes or retards the ability of the comrades themselves to gain their bearings politically, in spite of all their talk that political line is key. This couldn't be clearer than in their line on the democratic struggles, such as busing and the Equal Rights Amendment.

BELITTLING THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

In belittling the struggle for democratic rights, the Wing has further exposed its tendency to bow to the backward aspects of our movement as well as demonstrating the dangers of failing to transcend their spirit of local autonomy, isolation, empiricism and subjectivity. In looking at their motion we can see how a left form can emerge out of a basically right error. In the first place they bow to their isolation and primitiveness, covering it with all sorts of militant left sounding rhetoric. Listen to Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) in its organ BOLSHEVIK, p.23, "Comrades, the question of whether to support the ERA or not will be of little importance in a year or two" -And this comes after they acknowledge and bow to their "limited" ability to develop lines on these issues!

But then of course they do take a line which ironically tails the RCP and WVO stating that "bourgeois reactionary reforms such as the ERA, (and) forced busing, are designed to take away already existing rights of women and divide the working class, as well as to channel the struggle of working class women and oppressed nationalities away from revolution and into bourgeois reform," (PALANTE, v. 6, #6) If they had done some work and investigation, they would have perhaps grasped Lenin's line on this question. He says, "The Marxist solution of the problem of democracy is for the proletariat to utilize all democratic institutions and aspirations in its class struggle against the bourgeoisie in order to prepare for the overthrow and assure its own victory. He goes on to add "that to 'fight opportunism' by renouncing utilization of the democratic institutions created and distorted by the bourgeoisie of the given capitalist society is to completely surrender to opportunism." (LCW, v.23, p. 26)

As PRRWO can remember, it was these kinds of issues like the democratic struggle of the Afro American Nation and debate over seemingly limited things like slogans that sparked the struggle that exposed the revisionist line of the RU on the national question and served to raise significantly the theoretical level of our movement.

CAPITULATION TO NARROW NATIONALISM

Another manifestation of the Wing's perpetuation of fragmentation and small circle autonomy is their capitulation to narrow nationalism. This is particularly manifested in PRRWO as seen in their line on busing (See THE COMMUNIST, Vol. 1, no. 9) and in matters of organization. As one of the organizations that had their roots in national form of organization, PRRWO continues to uphold this national form seen in holding onto their name Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization. Despite all the claims of bolshevization, they cling to this identity. Our movement must make every effort to wipe out the narrowness that characterized our ranks for so long including narrow nationalism. We must uphold the standards of the party. As Stalin writes in ANARCHISM OR SOCIALISM, "...This party must be an inter-

national party; the doors of the party must be open to every class conscious proletarian...From this it is clear that the more closely the proletarians of the various nations stand together, the more thorough going the destruction of the national walls which have been erected between them, the stronger will be the party of the proletariat, the easier it will be to organize the proletariat into one indivisible class."

PRRWO arose from the struggles of a national minority located in one region. In itself, this is a good thing. What is wrong is to continue to cling to and justify this narrow, local form and to fail to transcend it and develop communist scope and perspective. To continue this error represents bowing to the spontaneous movement of the oppressed nationalities and to the backward, social democratic features within our movement.

ON MATTERS OF ORGANIZATION

By now the Wing's phony attack on "organization is key", has been exposed as nothing but an ideological cover for their own opportunist organizational practice of forming an unprincipled alliance which is not based on the struggle for ideological and political unity or tempered by criticism and self-criticism.

This liberalism and failure to put politics in command is part and parcel of a tendency which encourages local circle autonomy. This developed tendency of opportunism in organizational affairs has been a consistent trait with PRRWO in the last period. It was true in their relations with RU, CL, WVO, the Bloc, ATM, etc.

The formation of the Wing itself began on the basis of these unprincipled kinds of alliances, characteristic of bourgeois politics. For instance, PRRWO has now discovered that WVO is a band of "traitors". But what is different today about WVO's line and practice than it was last year when you both announced your "Wing"? WVO came out with its "premises" in May of 1975, and has pursued a consistent line. In PRRWO's pamphlet, "Party Building in the Heat of the Class Struggle", of Feb. 1976, they tell us that while they have criticisms of right errors by WVO, that WVO has... "been leading the struggle against...OL and "We do believe firmly that our comrades of the WVO are honest and will repudiate the positions that are not in the interests of the proletarian revolution and will move forward..."

Then two months later in PALANTE they write, "In fighting against the party, the OL and WVO are no different than the Triangle Shirtwaist factory boss who locked the doors to prevent any kind of job action by workers. OL and WVO and all Mensheviks are trying to put a dagger in the heart of the party—this is their reason." From gallant leaders in the struggle against opportunism to traitors overnight. It seems that a little M-L cement of politics in command would have prevented a few of those feathers from falling off and leaving the bones behind.

The unprincipled alliance not based on ideological unity in addition to a "plan" which promotes and justifies these kind of alliances and autonomy spell opportunism in matters of organization.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

PRRWO alliance not formed on ideological unity but on opportunistic alliances

government has halted daily deliveries of milk and bread.

No Black person has the right of permanent residence in Soweto or any other township. This is due to the homelands policy (see: "Homelands: Basis of Fascist Policy, in this issue) whereby all Blacks are considered to be citizens of their homelands and only temporary visitors or "foreigners" in the "white" areas that the settler colonialist South Africa regime has imposed on 87% of Azania. According to the government, Black workers are in townships like Soweto because the government wants them there. They have no rights and must seek "rights" in their homelands.

Even at that, the dingy bungalows of Soweto are more liveable than the barrack like hostels where the remainder of the workers in Soweto are forced to live separated from their families. They are not permitted to bring their wives from their tribal homelands.

As the death toll nears 300, the character of the mass uprising has passed far beyond a protest against the use of the Afrikaans language -- a symbol of national oppression -- and taken on the character of a national rebellion against the fascist settler colonialist regime. It is obvious that the Vorster regime was caught off guard by such sustained resistance that spread rapidly throughout the country growing steadily each day. The genocidal fervor with which they have fired into crowds has exposed their ruthless beastiality to the world. The undisguised racism of the regime is characterized by the Minister of Police and Prisons, James F. Krueger, who

WING FROM P. 3

We have also witnessed a similar policy in the way the wing has stood in regards to groups who they "differ" with or place in the "opportunist wing", such as ourselves. As in the unity they have "forged" with various forces, we see a failure to investigate or to pursue struggle in a Leninist fashion. In the first place, when the split took place in the BWC, which was the birth of the WC(M-L), MLOC, RWC, and the Revolutionary Bloc, PRRWO united with the Revolutionary Bloc who they called, "honest and down to build the party", and "represented the most correct stand in the BWC split". (HCS p. 37)

This so called "Revolutionary Bloc" was formed when two members of the Bloc along with a supporter resigned from a leading body of 5 people, which began the split in the BWC. They then whined about how they were supposedly bullied by the other two. Normally we would expect Marxist-Leninists to exercise their majority over the minority, but this was not the case with the "Bloc" who instead defended a line of capitulation and demoralization as well as attacking the basic principles of forming a Leninist party such as the chief role of propaganda, centralized organization, winning the advanced, etc.

The failure of the "Bloc" to ever put forward its views in writing and in public is a testament to the contradictions between those views and Marxism-Leninism. The same reason applies to PRRWO and their failure to put forward the paper on the BWC split

The Azanian People Will Certainly Gain Total Victory!



recently said, "If the Black man does not know his place, I will teach him his place," and "All men are created equal before God, but all men are not equal before man because the difference is obvious." He is the one responsible for the fascist detention law in which any African suspected of being a black militant leader can be held indefinitely by the police. Under this law, over 170 persons are known to have been arrested and held without trial, including Winnie Mandela, the wife of Nelson Mandela, who was jailed after the Sharpeville Massacre. 23 persons have died in police custody in the last few years of mysterious bruising and "suicides" -- that is 23, that have been reported. Children of 5 years old have been arrested for stealing, and beaten with canes.

But the more blatant the oppression, the stronger the resistance. The Organization of African Unity has called for support of the Azanian people and for armed resistance to the Vorster regime. Also, the South African government was condemned for committing genocidal massacres against the African

that they have promised to do twice in writing! (Check it out on pp.48 and 90 in HCS).

The wing constantly raises its insistence on the role of polemics and criticism - self-criticism. Twice the WC (M-L) has taken up PRRWO's line in comradely polemics; once on their stand on busing (vol. 1 #9 in June of 1975 and on their general line in vol 2 #6, THE COMMUNIST) and never has there been a response. Also their analysis has changed from characterizing us as first "left" and then "right" with no explanation. This unprincipled method of struggle can only serve to encourage slavishness among cadre and supporters and serve to split and disrupt the movement, and is characteristic of the bourgeois kind of politics that we must leave behind with the forging of a genuine party.

Another example of the same unprincipled attitude is their placing the RCP outside of the communist movement. While we certainly do not recognize the RCP as a vanguard party, and will continue the struggle against their contributions to the consolidation of opportunism in our movement, we still consider them part of the movement because of their opposition to modern revisionism, their stand on class struggle up to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and their stand on Marxism-Leninism-Mao-tseTung-Thought.

The Wing's failure to put politics in command in their struggle within our movement flows from the local circle spirit which means that they want to perpetuate their circles at all cost -- even the sacrifice of M-L principles.

people and students by representatives of the UN Security Council. It is another racist regime, Israel, which in the recent period has increased its ties with South Africa, and developed closer economic relations with the Vorster regime, exchanging military weapons for South Africa's raw materials. Israel is giving the apartheid government the same arms used against the Palestinian people for Krueger and Vorster to use against the Azanian people.

In recent days divisions have arisen among the Black population in Soweto. This is the result of a cynical effort of the criminal South African regime to foment tribal conflict. While increasingly black residents of townships like Soweto have put aside tribal differences which tie them to the past, recognizing their common national identity and unity against a common oppressor, the Vorster regime. His regime has done everything in its power to perpetuate and aggravate tribal divisions in order to stem the tide of national resistance. Out of this has come the reactionary feudal policy that apartheid not only governs the relations be-

PARTY BUILDING AS THE "ONLY" TASK

It is important to comment on the Wing's formulation that party building is their only task. If communists fail to link themselves firmly with the working and oppressed masses and fail to take up their spontaneous struggles giving them a planned conscious character, they will fail in winning the vanguard of the class to communism and welding them into a conscious core. For example, in the trade unions we must take the lead of the struggle to expel the traitors and bring the unions under revolutionary leadership. In doing so, communists must lead the spontaneous struggle for the contracts, for democracy within the union, etc. At all times our central task is party building, but to see our task only as party building would represent a failure to distinguish between the masses and the party and in its opportunist form would result in seeing every striker as a party member, or in its "left" form would lead to isolation from that struggle.

The Wing has made a "left" error on this matter in relation to African Liberation Support Committee. They wanted ALSC to adopt party building as the central task. That is incorrect. The main job of mass organizations like ALSC should be to build mass support for the struggle of the Third World against the two superpowers. We work within them to contribute to that effort and to lead it. It is the same with organizations struggling for women's rights. We take up this work in both examples and in others like them because it contributes to the cause of revolution.

tween whites and blacks, but also governs relations between different tribal and ethnic groups. Each must live separately and follow a policy of "separate development". Thus the government segregates different tribal groups in a township like Soweto.

In Soweto there are 26 residential districts, each assigned to one particular ethnic group. Schools enroll children of one language only. Efforts to overcome tribal barriers are discouraged.

Given the appalling living conditions of the barrack hostels where men live without their families, slaving for wages that are 1/10 those of a white worker and less than a subsistence for anything but a crude standard of life, and given the government promoted policy of tribal segregation, violence between tribal groups often occurs. It is the frustration and misunderstanding born out of these conditions that are responsible for the attacks last week by one tribal group, the Zulus, on the black power demonstrators. These incidents were obviously provoked by the government which urged attacks on the demonstrators and promised that there would be no prosecutions for it. These differences will certainly soon be overcome. There is no confusion as to the source of oppression in Azania. In the course of protracted struggle the black people of Azania will certainly unite as one and turn the immense courage they have displayed over the last 3 months into an invincible tidal wave of outrage and national liberation. VICTORY IS CERTAIN!!

Without a doubt in the course of that work, we strive to win the advanced elements to communism. If you do not go to where the masses are you cannot win the advanced. Within those organizations, lines of demarcation will also be drawn, such as around the ERA, but the purpose of mass organizations is to build the struggle of the masses. That work is not our main task in this period, but neither do we belittle or neglect it or distort it by saying our "only" task is party building. Such a line about our "only" task is one of pure metaphysics and idealism of the outraged petty bourgeois intellectual.

In sum, we feel the Wing is pursuing an opportunist line on party building, which despite all the phrasemongering, stands exposed in line and in practice as one which perpetuates small circle autonomy and stands in the way of forging a genuine vanguard party. Complimenting this line are consistent stands and policies which bow to backwardness in our movement such as sectarianism, narrow nationalism, narrowing the scope of propaganda, and departing from the Leninist method, and a belittlement of the struggle for democratic rights by women, oppressed nations, and the masses of oppressed and exploited people.

We call on the Wing to repudiate its errors and unite on the principles that we share and to join in the struggle for the principled unity that the proletariat and oppressed masses who are rising in struggle demand, forged in a genuine vanguard communist party.

Win The Vanguard!!

The First ISKRA

Within the last year, two aspects of a correct line on party building have gained hegemony in our movement: first, that the basic task of party building is to win the vanguard to communism; second, that propaganda is the chief form of activity. Although interpretation of this line is by no means uniform, consolidation on it represents a good step forward.

Now, however, one of the groups making up the Organizing Committee established around O.L.'s Call to build a party has come forward to attack this line by substituting a new formulation for the main task of party building and by seeking to limit and narrow the scope of our propaganda. The article "Building the Party among the Masses," is written by the League for Marxist Leninist Unity.

Their argument is this: advanced workers according to Lenin's definition in A RETROGRADE TREND IN RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY include only those who are already communists. They are a very small number and are mostly already in existing pre-party organizations. This follows from the fact that the advanced worker, according to Lenin, accepts socialism consciously and elaborated independent socialist theories. Therefore, they argue, we must distinguish advanced workers from the "best elements of the working class."

The best elements are not advanced but must be promoted to the ranks of the advanced workers by winning them to Marxism-Leninism. Since these elements are not advanced, they come from what Lenin called the average workers. The comrades write: "Our task is to promote ever greater numbers of workers to the level of the advanced. These advanced workers are promoted from the ranks of what Lenin called the average strata."

CLASS STRUGGLE, #4,5, p.72) So our primary task is not to win over the advanced to communism, but to win over the best of the average

They write: "The main task was not to win advanced workers to communism, but to constantly reinforce and increase the numbers of advanced workers, and thus to form the ranks of the Party." (p.65). Or again, "Thus, the question is not one of winning these advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism." (p.65). And again, "Winning these advanced workers is part of the general struggle for Marxist-Leninists to unite and is not our principal task in the workers' movement." (p.65). Instead "the primary task of the party in its first period of its development will be to win the best elements of the working class to Marxism-Leninism and to the party." (p.86).

These formulations contradict the experience of the Bolshevik party on which we rely. In LEFT WING COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER, Lenin called "the first historical objective" of communists "that of winning over the class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat to the side of soviet power and the dictatorship of the working class". Because this requires "a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism and social chauvinism," he writes: "As long as it was (And inasmuch as it still is) a question of winning the proletariat's vanguard over to the side of communism,

priority went and still goes to propaganda work," (Peking ed. p. 97-98).

Stalin summed up these lessons of Lenin and the Bolshevik party in his synopsis for an article on strategy and tactics: "Tasks: a) To win the vanguard of the proletariat to the side of communism (i.e. build up cadres, create a Communist Party, work out the programme, the principles of tactics). Propaganda as the chief form of activity." (CW, v.5, p.82).

How have these comrades fallen into such a thorny conflict with Lenin and Stalin? They have allowed themselves to look at the question statically and meta-physically rather than dialectically. "Advanced," "vanguard," "best elements" or "foremost representatives" which Lenin also uses, are all comparative words which cannot be used to establish fixed and isolated categories. Advanced has meaning only in relation to average and backward; by itself it has no independent meaning. Best elements has meaning only in relation to middle and worst elements. Vanguard means those which go in advance and can only be understood in relationship to those who tail. What all these words have in common is to be first, primary, best, or leading, as against the ordinary or backward. In the classics of Marxism-Leninism they are used interchangeably. It is nonsense for these comrades to set up some hierarchy of meaning which they arbitrarily impose, i.e. "advanced" is number one, "vanguard" number two, "best elements" number three and so forth.

Also they fail to grasp the sensible point that in any situation there are the advanced, intermediate and the backward. Lenin mocks the Economists in WHAT IS TO BE DONE?: "Are there not advanced people, "average people", and "masses" among the intelligentsia too?" (Pek. Ed. p. 161)

This is true of every Communist party and organization. Although a Communist party is the advanced detachment of the proletariat within each party there are the most advanced, the intermediate and the below average. This is true also of the leading body of every communist organization, and it is the task of leadership to know how to rely on the advanced in any situation. In fact, based on the experience of Lenin's Iskra organization and the lessons of WHAT IS TO BE DONE, we have summed this up as one of the fundamental principles of party building: "to provide communist leadership on every task by uniting with the advanced and relying on the advanced to win over the intermediate and the backward." (Party Building Resolution, THE COMMUNIST, v.2, #1).

One of the chief defects in our movement to date, hindering us from forging a Bolshevik party is the widespread failure to grasp this principle, and instead, "on matters of leadership, bowing to the sentiments of the average or backward elements and failing to identify the advanced or to strengthen its leadership role in everything and rely on the advanced to win over the broad masses of workers and oppressed people." (Party

In the centerfold to this issue we reprint two of the three articles from the first issue of Lenin's ISKRA which appeared December 11, 1900. This was the newspaper Lenin had fought for on returning from prison in Siberia and which he saw as the weapon with which to forge the unity of the Russian Social Democratic Party on the uncompromising principles of orthodox revolutionary Marxism.

It was ISKRA which laid the line around which the party was built and which prepared the ground for the Party Congress in 1902. And it was the principles of the Iskra organization which Lenin summed up in WHAT IS TO BE DONE and which stand today as the ideological foundation of any revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. The call for an Iskra type newspaper has come from many quarters of our movement. We need to analyze just what kind of newspaper this was.

Reading the articles we reprint, every comrade will be struck by how powerfully they speak to our situation today, 76 years later. How can this be so? What accounts for the success of these articles? The answer is Lenin's line on what a press should be, on political exposures, laid out in WHAT IS TO BE DONE. Lenin did not just report on skirmishes in China like the bourgeois press. He asks first of all -- "what is a communist policy towards this war." This is his approach to every question -- what is a communist policy. A newspaper which does not answer this question is not an Iskra type newspaper. That is why we have summed this lesson up as the second Iskra principle in our Party Building Resolutions: "to work out and implement an independent communist policy on all our tasks."

This means simply following the rule laid down by Marx and Engels in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO: "Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." This is a standard for our press. Lenin always uses the particular topical event to draw the general lessons about capitalism that show its essence and point to the way to overthrow it. This is why these articles remain valuable guides to us applied to our different particular situation. Lenin uses events in China to expose the general features of imperialist war. As a result the lessons he draws remain vitally applicable -- didn't we just hear on the news tonight a TV special on "Why they (the Koreans) hate us." The same applies to the policy of the new tsars who have restored capitalism and imperialism in the USSR and carry out aggression and plunder against Angola and elsewhere in the world. The barbarity, the repression, the attacks on the living standards of the working class, the suppression of information and the corruption of the press, and above all the effort to corrupt the political consciousness of the working class and stir up national hatred in order to divert us from our real enemies -- all these are familiar to us. Lenin

has identified the particular phenomena which show the general features of imperialist war. And in this he shows what is most important.

The same relationship of the particular situation to the general features which determine such a situation characterizes the article URGENT TASKS. This first article of the first issue of ISKRA throws down the gauntlet to the "Economist" trend of the movement. Economism, or the effort to restrict and narrow the political tasks of the proletariat, was a particular obstacle to the fundamental task of the overthrow of the autocracy. And its influence in the movement had been prepared in particular ways: (1) by the limited activity of the early propaganda circles divorced from agitation among the broad masses, (2) by a reaction to the narrow view of reducing politics to conspiratorial struggle, and (3) by "working in the isolation of small local workers' circles." On this last point Lenin writes: "the Social Democrats did not devote sufficient attention to the necessity of organizing a revolutionary party which would combine all the activities of the local groups and make it possible to organize the revolutionary work on correct lines. The predominance of isolated work is naturally connected with the predominance of the economic struggle."

WHAT IS TO BE DONE is the ideological foundation of every Marxist-Leninist party because in these particular problems of Russian Social Democracy Lenin exposed the general features which are at the root of all opportunism: bowing to spontaneity and the effort to restrict and narrow the political tasks of the proletariat.

He also identified the solution: to combine socialism with the workers movement. The particular lesson for Russian Social Democracy is our own: a young communist movement must combine socialism with the working class movement by taking the ideas of communism aggressively to the masses and using them to organize an independent political party of the proletariat. All the forces of the awakening proletariat must be united with all revolutionary forces into one party that is strongly, professionally, and tightly organized.

Clearly these articles are written for the advanced. Pretty obviously also their goal is to win the advanced to communism. But in fact we think that if Lenin's first ISKRA appeared in our movement today it would be criticized by many among us as being too theoretical, as being devoted exclusively to propaganda, as being for the advanced of the advanced. We reject these views. We think Lenin's ISKRA articles are a good yardstick for the press of our movement. In our own effort we must strive to emulate this style. If we are frank we must admit that we have not yet succeeded in winning the battle for a press which in every article, every sentence and every word attacks first of all the task of combining socialism with the workers movement.



THE FIRST ISKRA

THE URGENT TASKS OF OUR MOVEMENT

Russian Social-Democracy has repeatedly declared the immediate political task of a Russian working-class party to be the overthrow of the autocracy, the achievement of political liberty. This was enunciated over fifteen years ago by the representatives of Russian Social-Democracy—the members of the Emancipation of Labour group. It was affirmed two and a half years ago by the representatives of the Russian Social-Democratic organisations that, in the spring of 1898, founded the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Despite these repeated declarations, however, the question of the political tasks of Social-Democracy in Russia is prominent again today. Many representatives of our movement express doubt as to the correctness of the above-mentioned solution of the question. It is claimed that the economic struggle is of predominant importance; the political tasks of the proletariat are pushed into the background, narrowed down, and restricted, and it is even said that to speak of forming an independent working-class party in Russia is merely to repeat somebody else's words, that the workers should carry on only the economic struggle and leave politics to the intelligentsia in alliance with the liberals. The latest profession of the new faith (the notorious *Credo*) amounts to a declaration that the Russian proletariat has not yet come of age and to a complete rejection of the Social-Democratic programme. *Rabochaya Mysl* (particularly in its *Separate Supplement*) takes practically the same attitude. Russian Social-Democracy is passing through a period of vacillation and doubt bordering on self-negation. On the one hand, the working-class movement is being sundered from socialism, the workers are being helped to carry on the economic struggle, but nothing, or next to nothing, is done to explain to them the socialist aims and the political tasks of the movement as a whole. On the other hand, socialism is being sundered from the labour movement; Russian socialists are again beginning to talk more and more about the struggle against the government having to be carried on entirely by the intelligentsia because the workers confine themselves to the economic struggle.

In our opinion the ground has been prepared for this sad state of affairs by three circumstances. First, in their early activity, Russian Social-Democrats restricted themselves merely to work in propaganda circles. When we took up agitation among the masses we were not always able to restrain ourselves from going to the other extreme. Secondly, in our early activity we often had to struggle for our right to existence against the Narodnaya Volya adherents, who understood by "politics" an activity isolated from the working-class movement and who reduced politics purely to conspiratorial struggle. In rejecting this sort of politics, the Social-Democrats went to the extreme of pushing politics entirely into the background. Thirdly, working in the isolation of small local workers' circles, the Social-Democrats did not devote sufficient attention to the necessity of organising a revolutionary party which would combine all the activities of the local groups and make it possible to organise the revolutionary work on correct lines. The predominance of isolated work is naturally connected with the predominance of the economic struggle.

These circumstances resulted in concentration on one side of the movement only. The "economist" trend (that is, if we can speak of it as a "trend") has attempted to elevate this narrowness to the rank of a special theory and has tried to utilise for this purpose the fashionable Bernsteinism and the fashionable "criticism of Marxism," which peddles old bourgeois ideas under a new label. These attempts alone have given rise to the danger of a weakening of connection between the Russian working-class movement and Russian Social-Democracy, the vanguard in the struggle for political liberty. The most urgent task of our movement is to strengthen this connection.

Social-Democracy is the combination of the working-class movement and socialism. Its task is not to serve the working-class movement passively at each of its separate stages, but to represent the interests of the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aim and its political tasks, and to safeguard its political and ideological independence. Isolated from Social-Democracy, the working-class movement becomes petty and inevitably becomes bourgeois. In waging only the economic struggle, the working class loses its political independence; it becomes the tail of other parties and betrays the great principle: "The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves." In every country there has been a period in which the working-class movement existed apart from socialism, each going its own way; and in every country this isolation has weakened both socialism and the working-class movement. Only the fusion of socialism with the working-class movement has in all countries created a durable basis for both. But in every country this combination of socialism and the working-class movement was evolved historically, in unique ways, in accordance with the prevailing conditions of time and place. In Russia, the necessity for combining socialism and the working-class movement was in theory long ago proclaimed, but it is only now being carried into practice. It is a very difficult process and there is, therefore, nothing surprising in the fact that it is accompanied by vacillations and doubts.

What lesson can be learned from the past?

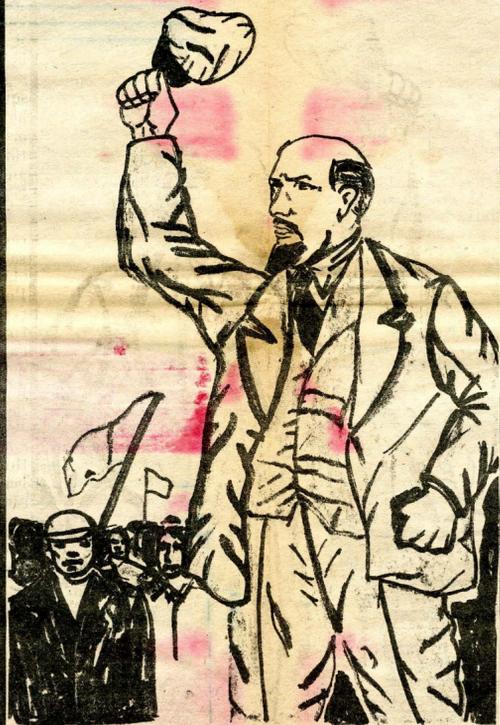
The entire history of Russian socialism has led to the condition in which the most urgent task is the struggle against the autocratic government and the achievement of political liberty. Our socialist movement concentrated itself, so to speak, upon the struggle against the autocracy. On the other hand, history has shown that the isolation of socialist thought from the vanguard of the working classes is greater in Russia than in other countries, and that if this state of affairs continues, the revolutionary movement in Russia is doomed to impotence. From this condition emerges the task which the Russian Social-Democracy is called upon to fulfil—to imbue the masses of the proletariat with the ideas of socialism and political consciousness, and to organise a revolutionary party inseparably connected with the spontaneous working-class movement. Russian Social-Democracy has done much in this direction, but much more still remains to be done. With the growth of the movement, the field of activity for Social-Democrats becomes wider; the work becomes more varied, and an increasing number of activists in the movement will concentrate their efforts upon the fulfilment of various special tasks which the daily needs of propaganda and agitation bring to the fore. This phenomenon is quite natural and is inevitable, but it causes us to be particularly concerned with preventing these special activities and methods of struggle from becoming ends in themselves and with preventing preparatory work from being regarded as the main and sole activity.

Our principal and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development and the political organisation of the working class. Those who push this task into the background, who refuse to subordinate to it all the special tasks and particular methods of struggle, are following a false path and causing serious harm to the movement. And it is being pushed into the background, firstly, by those who call upon revolutionaries to employ only the forces of isolated conspiratorial circles cut off from the working-class movement in the struggle against the government. It is being pushed into the background, secondly, by those who restrict the content and scope of political propaganda, agitation, and organisation; who think it fit and proper to treat the workers to "politics" only at exceptional moments in their lives, only on festive occasions; who too solicitously substitute demands for partial concessions from the autocracy for the political struggle against the autocracy; and who do not go to sufficient lengths to ensure that these demands for partial concessions are raised to the status of a systematic, implacable struggle of a revolutionary, working-class party against the autocracy.

"Organise!" *Rabochaya Mysl* keeps repeating to the workers in all keys, and all the adherents of the "economist" trend echo the cry. We, of course, wholly endorse this appeal, but we will not fail to add: organise, but not only in mutual benefit societies, strike funds, and workers' circles; organise also in a political party; organise for the determined struggle against the autocratic government and against the whole of capitalist society. Without such organisation the proletariat will never rise to the class-conscious struggle; without such organisation the working-class movement is doomed to impotency. With the aid of nothing but funds and study circles and mutual benefit societies the working class will never be able to fulfil its great historical mission—to emancipate itself and the whole of the Russian people from political and economic slavery. Not a single class in history has achieved power without producing its political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organise a movement and lead it. And the Russian working class has already shown that it can produce such men and women. The struggle which has developed so widely during the past five or six years has revealed the great potential revolutionary power of the working class; it has shown that the most ruthless government persecution does not diminish, but, on the contrary, increases the number of workers who strive towards socialism, towards political consciousness, and towards the political struggle. The congress which our comrades held in 1898 correctly defined our tasks and did not merely repeat other people's words, did not merely express the enthusiasm of "intellectuals."... We must set to work resolutely to fulfil these tasks, placing the question of the Party's programme, organisation, and tactics on the order of the day. We have already set forth our views on the fundamental postulates of our programme, and, of course, this is not the place to develop them in detail. We propose to devote a series of articles in forthcoming issues to questions of organisation, which are among the most burning problems confronting us. In this respect we lag considerably behind the old workers in the Russian revolutionary movement. We must frankly admit this defect and exert all our efforts to devise methods of greater secrecy in our work, to propagate systematically the proper methods of work, the proper methods of deluding the gendarmes and of evading the snares of the police. We must train people who will devote the whole of their lives, not only their spare evenings, to the revolution; we must build up an organisation large enough to permit the introduction of a strict division of labour in the various forms of our work. Finally, with regard to questions of tactics, we shall confine ourselves to the following: Social-Democracy does not tie its hands, it does not restrict

its activities to some one preconceived plan or method of political struggle; it recognises all methods of struggle, provided they correspond to the forces at the disposal of the Party and facilitate the achievement of the best results possible under the given conditions. If we have a strongly organised party, a single strike may turn into a political demonstration, into a political victory over the government. If we have a strongly organised party, a revolt in a single locality may grow into a victorious revolution. We must bear in mind that the struggles with the government for partial demands and the gain of certain concessions are merely light skirmishes with the enemy, encounters between outposts, whereas the decisive battle is still to come. Before us, in all its strength, towers the enemy fortress which is raining shot and shell upon us, mowing down our best fighters. We must capture this fortress, and we will capture it, if we unite all the forces of the awakening proletariat with all the forces of the Russian revolutionaries into one party which will attract all that is vital and honest in Russia. Only then will the great prophecy of the Russian worker-revolutionary, Pyotr Alexeyev, be fulfilled: "The muscular arm of the working millions will be lifted, and the yoke of despotism, guarded by the soldiers' bayonets, will be smashed to atoms!"

WE MUST JUDGE THE QUALITY OF OUR COMMUNIST PRESS BY THE HIGH STANDARDS SET FOR US BY COMRADE LENIN!!



THE WAR IN CHINA

Russia is bringing her war with China to a close: a number of military districts have been mobilised, hundreds of millions of rubles have been spent, tens of thousands of troops have been dispatched to China, a number of battles have been fought and a number of victories won—true, not so much over regular enemy troops, as over Chinese insurgents and, particularly, over the unarmed Chinese populace, who were drowned or killed, with no holding back from the slaughter of women and children, not to speak of the looting of palaces, homes, and shops. The Russian Government, together with the press that kowtows to it, is celebrating a victory and rejoicing over the fresh exploits of the gallant soldiery, rejoicing at the victory of European culture over Chinese barbarism and over the fresh successes of Russia's "civilising mission" in the Far East.

But the voices of the class-conscious workers, of the advanced representatives of the many millions of the working people, are not heard amid this rejoicing. And yet, it is the working people who bear the brunt of the victorious new campaigns, it is working people who are sent to the other end of the world, from whom increased taxes are extorted to cover the millions expended. Let us, therefore, see: What attitude should the socialists adopt towards this war? In whose interests is it being fought? What is the real nature of the policy now being pursued by the Russian Government?

Our government asserts first of all that it is not waging war against China; that it is merely suppressing a

rebellion, pacifying rebels; that it is helping the lawful government of China to re-establish law and order. True, war has not been declared, but this does not change the situation a bit, because war is being waged nonetheless. What made the Chinese attack Europeans, what caused the rebellion which the British, French, Germans, Russians, Japanese, etc., are so zealously crushing? "The hostility of the yellow race towards the white race," "the Chinese hatred for European culture and civilisation"—answer the supporters of the war. Yes! It is true the Chinese hate the Europeans, but which Europeans do they hate, and why? The Chinese do not hate the European peoples, they have never had any quarrel with them—they hate the European capitalists and the European governments obedient to them. How can the Chinese not hate those who have come to China solely for the sake of gain; who have utilised their vaunted civilisation solely for the purpose of deception, plunder, and violence; who have waged wars against China in order to win the right to trade in opium with which to drug the people (the war of England and France with China in 1856); and who hypocritically carried their policy of plunder under the guise of spreading Christianity? The bourgeois governments of Europe have long been conducting this policy of plunder with respect to China, and now they have been joined by the autocratic Russian Government. This policy of plunder is usually called a colonial policy. Every country in which capitalist industry develops rapidly has very soon to seek colonies, i.e., countries in which industry is weakly developed, in which a more or less patriarchal way of life still prevails, and which can serve as a market for manufactured goods and a source of high profits. For the sake of the profit of a handful of capitalists, the bourgeois governments have waged endless wars, have sent regiments to die in unhealthy tropical countries, have squandered millions of money extracted from the people, and have driven the peoples in the colonies to desperate revolts or to death from starvation. We need only recall the rebellion of the native peoples against the British in India and the famine that prevailed there, or think of the war the English are now waging against the Boers.

And now the European capitalists have placed their rapacious paws upon China, and almost the first to do so was the Russian Government, which now so loudly proclaims its "disinterestedness." It "disinterestedly" took Port Arthur away from China and began to build a railway to Manchuria under the protection of Russian troops. One after another the European governments began feverishly to loot, or, as they put it, to "rent," Chinese territory, giving good grounds for the talk of the partition of China. If we are to call things by their right names, we must say that the European governments (the Russian Government among the very first) have already started to partition China. However, they have not begun this partitioning openly, but stealthily, like thieves. They began to rob China as ghouls rob corpses, and when the seeming corpse attempted to resist, they flung themselves upon it like savage beasts, burning down whole villages, shooting, bayonetting, and drowning in the Amur River unarmed inhabitants, their wives, and their children. And all these Christian exploits are accompanied by howls against the Chinese barbarians who dared to raise their hands against the civilised Europeans. The occupation of Niuchung and the moving of Russian troops into Manchuria are temporary measures, declares the autocratic Russian Government in its circular note of August 12, 1900 addressed to the Powers; these measures "are called forth exclusively by the necessity to repel the aggressive operations of Chinese rebels"; they "cannot in the least be regarded as evidence of any selfish plans, which are totally alien to the policy of the Imperial Government."

Poor Imperial Government! So Christianly unselfish, and yet so unjustly malign! Several years ago it unselfishly seized Port Arthur, and now it is unselfishly seizing Manchuria; it has unselfishly flooded the frontier provinces of China with hordes of contractors, engineers, and officers, who, by their conduct, have roused to indignation even the Chinese, known for their docility. The Chinese workers employed in the construction of the Chinese railway had to exist on a wage of ten kopeks a day—is this not unselfish on Russia's part?

How is our government's senseless policy in China to be explained? Who benefits by it? The benefit goes to a handful of capitalist magnates who carry on trade with China, to a handful of factory owners who manufacture goods for the Asian market, to a handful of contractors who are now piling up huge profits on urgent war orders (factories producing war equipment, supplies for the troops, etc., are now operating at full capacity and are engaging hundreds of new workers). This policy is of benefit to a handful of nobles who occupy high posts in the civil and military services. They need adventurous policies, for these provide them with opportunities for promotion, for making a career and gaining fame by their "exploits." In the interests of this handful of capitalists and bureaucratic scoundrels, our government unhesitatingly sacrifices the interests of the entire people. And in this case, as always, the autocratic tsarist government has

proved itself to be a government of irresponsible bureaucrats servilely cringing before the capitalist magnates and nobles.

What benefits do the Russian working class and the labouring people generally obtain from the conquests in China? Thousands of ruined families, whose breadwinners have been sent to the war; an enormous increase in the national debt and the national expenditure; mounting taxation; greater power for the capitalists, the exploiters of the workers; worse conditions for the workers; still greater mortality among the peasantry; famine in Siberia—this is what the Chinese war promises and is already bringing. The entire Russian press, all the newspapers and periodicals are kept in a state of bondage; they dare not print anything without permission of the government officials. This is the reason for the lack of precise information as to what the Chinese war is costing the people; but there is no doubt that it requires the expenditure of many hundreds of millions of rubles. It has come to our knowledge that the government, by an unpublished decree, handed out the tidy sum of a hundred and fifty million rubles for the purpose of waging the war. In addition to this, current expenditures on the war absorb one million rubles every three or four days, and these terrific sums are being squandered by a government which, haggling over every kopek, has steadily cut down grants to the famine-stricken peasantry; which can find no money for the people's education; which, like any kulak, sweats the workers in the government factories, sweats the lower employees in the post offices, etc.!

Minister of Finance Witte declared that on January 1, 1900, there were two hundred and fifty million rubles available in the treasury. Now this money is gone, it has been spent on the war. The government is seeking loans, is increasing taxation, is refusing necessary expenditures because of the lack of money, and is putting a stop to the building of railways. The tsarist government is threatened with bankruptcy, and yet it is plunging into a policy of conquest—a policy which not only demands the expenditure of enormous sums of money, but threatens to plunge us into still more dangerous wars. The European states that have flung themselves upon China are already beginning to quarrel over the division of the booty, and no one can say how this quarrel will end.

But the policy of the tsarist government in China is not only a mockery of the interests of the people—its aim is to corrupt the political consciousness of the masses. Governments that maintain themselves in power only by means of the bayonet, that have constantly to restrain or suppress the indignation of the people, have long realised the truism that popular discontent can never be removed and that it is necessary to divert the discontent from the government to some other object. For example, hostility is being stirred up against the Jews; the gutter press carries on Jew-baiting campaigns, as if the Jewish workers do not suffer in exactly the same way as the Russian workers from the oppression of capital and the police government. At the present time, the press is conducting a campaign against the Chinese; it is howling about the savage yellow race and its hostility towards civilisation, about Russia's tasks of enlightenment, about the enthusiasm with which the Russian soldiers go into battle, etc., etc. Journalists who crawl on their bellies before the government and the money-bags are straining every nerve to rouse the hatred of the people against China. But the Chinese people have at no time and in no way oppressed the Russian people. The Chinese people suffer from the same evils as those from which the Russian people suffer—they suffer from an Asiatic government that squeezes taxes from the starving peasantry and that suppresses every aspiration towards liberty by military force; they suffer from the oppression of capital, which has penetrated into the Middle Kingdom.

The Russian working class is beginning to move out of the state of political oppression and ignorance in which the masses of the people are still submerged. Hence, the duty of all class-conscious workers is to rise with all their might against those who are stirring up national hatred and diverting the attention of the working people from their real enemies. The policy of the tsarist government in China is a criminal policy which is impoverishing, corrupting, and oppressing the people more than ever. The tsarist government not only keeps our people in slavery but sends them to pacify other peoples who rebel against their slavery (as was the case in 1849 when Russian troops suppressed the revolution in Hungary). It not only helps the Russian capitalists to exploit the Russian workers, whose hands it ties to hold them back from combining and defending themselves, but it also sends soldiers to plunder other peoples in the interests of a handful of rich men and nobles. There is only one way in which the new burden the war is thrusting upon the working people can be removed, and that is the convening of an assembly of representatives of the people, which would put an end to the autocracy of the government and compel it to have regard for interests other than those solely of a gang of courtiers.

Win Vanguard from p.5

Building Resolutions).
The line of the LMUL is a perpetuation of this error and a justification of our backwardness in that they bow to the average by setting as our primary task, not winning over the advanced, but the best of the average.

If we recognize that in every situation there are the advanced, the intermediate and the backward we can read Lenin's famous quote from RETROGRADE TREND in a common sense way. There is no doubt that Lenin is holding up the Weitlings and the Bebel's as the most advanced--they even elaborate independent socialist theories. There is no doubt either that he is talking about the great bulk of full time workers of the Russian revolutionary party -- those who devote themselves entirely to the education and organization of the proletariat and who, he says, guide workers study circles and fill the tsarist prisons and places of exile. The majority of these would not elaborate independent socialist theories like Bebel, but they are advanced nonetheless.

Lenin is also speaking here of the advanced coming to the fore who are still subjected to the stultifying penal servitude of factory labor. These "real heroes" are not full time professional party workers, but nevertheless they "possess so much character and will power they study, study, study, and turn themselves into conscious Social Democrats." (CW, v.4, p. 280). These too are advanced workers. So even within Lenin's definition there is room for the relatively more advanced, the relatively less advanced, the intermediate and the process of transformation.

There's another point. As we say in our resolutions on FACTORY NUCLEI, (THE COMMUNIST v.2 #1), "We base ourselves on the industrial proletariat in the large factories and mills as the decisive sector of the revolutionary proletariat in regards to numbers and concentration, breadth of outlook and influence, and strategic position and fighting capacity to overthrow monopoly capitalism. At the present our whole task must be to go lower and deeper among the working masses and to consolidate our position in the working class." In other words the task of party building is to go to the decisive sectors of the proletariat and to identify the advanced in those situations. In those factories and mills the polemic to end these debates about who is advanced is written in sweat. And it takes some dry as dust "revolutionary" pessimist to think that the task can't be done or that we are dealing with only a very tiny stratum. In this respect our situation is little different from that of the Bolsheviks: "There are no people -- yet there is a mass of people." (WHAT IS TO BE DONE, (Pek. Ed. p. 157)

There are large numbers of advanced workers in the mills and factories of the US and it is our backwardness, our inability to reach them with Marxism-Leninism, and above all the theoretical justifications of those facts that cause some among us to think that the numbers of the advanced are tiny. We lack experience and winning the vanguard is hard. But "revolutionary experience and organizational skill are things that can be acquired, provided the desire is there to acquire them, provided

the shortcomings are recognized." (Pek. P.40) What we have to fight is when people appear who regard shortcomings as virtues and give theoretical justification to our backwardness. That must be our position on the question of the advanced. We must fight every attempt to give up on the task of winning the vanguard to communism in order to drag our primary work backward to winning over the average.

PROPAGANDA IS THE CHIEF FORM OF ACTIVITY

Based on an incorrect analysis of the question of the advanced, that our primary task is to win the vanguard to communism, LMLU cannot in a straightforward way give priority to our propaganda work. They pay lip service to the position that propaganda is the chief form of our activity, but the leading role of propaganda work does not clearly emerge from their argument. Instead there is a tendency to belittle the role of propaganda and, as a consequence, the mobilizing, organizing and transforming power of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The first way that they belittle propaganda is to belittle its scope. This comes from their view that the advanced, to which propaganda is primarily directed, is only a tiny strata.

Second, they belittle the role of propaganda in a Bolshevik newspaper. In particular they criticize the newspapers of the Wing as being too theoretical and having too much propaganda. In their view this is because the Wing accepts Lenin's "narrow" definition of an advanced worker. They write: "After all, if the main task is to win over workers who meet Lenin's definition of advanced worker then it makes sense that their newspapers are written as they are, for such workers would be fully capable of grasping the content of such articles." Wrong! It does not make sense because these newspapers are far, far too narrow to meet the needs of the advanced. But that isn't the thrust of LMLU's criticism. In their view these newspapers are not wrong because they are too narrow, but because they are written for the advanced and therefore could not be grasped by the "best elements" they want to work with. Unfortunately this view is another instance where they contradict the views of Lenin. Compare the passage just quoted with Lenin's statement in RETROGRADE TREND: "The newspaper that wants to become the organ of all Russian Social Democracy must, therefore, be at the level of the advanced workers; not only must it not lower its level artificially, but, on the contrary it must raise it constantly, it must follow up all the tactical, political and theoretical problems of world Social Democracy." (CW, v.4 p. 280). In Lenin's view a newspaper is written for the advanced -- and according to his definition. Furthermore, according to Lenin, "The average worker will not understand some of the articles in a newspaper that aims to be the organ of the Party, he will not be able to get a full grasp of an intricate theoretical or practical problem."

In other words, LMLU's criticism of the newspapers of the Wing misses its mark. (In fact, if they followed Lenin's view that a newspaper must be directed at the advanced, and then

were consistent with their own interpretation of the advanced, they would call for cadres newspapers of the RCP kind.)

Another criticism they make of the Wing shows the third way in which these comrades belittle propaganda. They write: "Each of their newspapers . . . is primarily propaganda. Only infrequently do they discuss concrete struggles that are occurring (except political line struggles within the communist movement.) They do not take up mass campaigns in the pages of their newspapers. Rarely have they included agitation-al articles." (p. 85).

This line equates agitation with the concrete struggle and propaganda with what is abstract. However both propaganda and agitation are empty and sterile if they are not a concrete application of Marxism-Leninism to concrete events. As Lenin makes clear, propaganda will take a concrete situation such as unemployment and explain it fully and in detail, while agitation will take a particular incident or aspect of it and uses it in order to arouse discontent, anger and the passion for revolutionary activity.

PRIORITY STILL GOES TO PROPAGANDA WORK

The comrades insist that a newspaper in this period should be primarily agitational. We don't disagree with that line, which is put forward by Lenin in the DRAFT DECLARATION OF ISKRA AND ZARYA.

We also agree, that in general the agitational work of our movement is far too narrow -- we do indeed intend to build the mass movement. But it is important that our position on agitation be subordinate to propaganda work which has priority. Our views on agitation must not become a cover or justification for diverting us from the central task of winning the advanced to communism.

In WHAT IS TO BE DONE, Lenin's primary concern was with raising the level and expanding the scope of both propaganda and agitation and attacking all those who would restrict the propaganda and agitational tasks of the Iskra organization. He emphasized the need for comprehensive and topical political exposures that treated all the burning questions of the movement in all their aspects both to raise the consciousness of class conscious revolutionaries and also to guide the party and the masses in revolutionary activity. And, measured by Lenin's ISKRA articles, the problem with the propaganda and agitational articles in our newspapers is not only that they are not sufficiently topical and concrete but also that they are not thorough and comprehensive enough.

During this period we think the work of our press overall, as with the rest of our work, must give priority to propaganda. Thus we think an organization such as ours which does not at this time publish a theoretical journal will place a relatively greater emphasis in its newspaper on propaganda. The line here,

as Lenin says in the DRAFT DECLARATION, is not a mechanical one, but geared to serve our tasks.

In addition, we think that giving priority to propaganda means, above all recognizing the leading role of propaganda at this time. We cannot lead the day to day struggles of the masses without consolidating a Bolshevik core. But in consolidating such cores, it is propaganda which is decisive and our press must play the guiding role in that work. For example, we have an article in this issue of THE COMMUNIST on agitation in one plant carried out around the struggle for trade union democracy. This work was based on a relatively low level of propaganda and small consolidation of the advanced forces. If it is to go forward and expand, broadening its scope to include also political agitation, it will be on the basis of the full consolidation of a Bolshevik core. This depends first of all on our propaganda work and the chief form of our activity is geared to that. Any belittling of our propaganda work in this sphere means to restrict the scope of our agitation as well, condemning our work to tailing the trade union movement. Thus we must be vigilant against any attempt to belittle the decisive role of propaganda or divert us to aimless agitation at the workplace and in the mass movement.

In concluding, we call the attention of comrades to our party building resolutions which present a correct view on many of these questions. We state that party building means winning the vanguard to communism as our central task. We use interchangeably the terms vanguard, advanced, foremost representatives and best elements, and state that we must subordinate all our work to the task of winning the vanguard. We point out that it is on the basis of a Bolshevik core that we lay the reliable foundation for expanding our political activity. We then state what we mean by winning the vanguard of the proletariat to communism. It means winning the foremost representatives and the best elements. It means "mobilizing the experience, revolutionary spirit, and selfless devotion of those who show their readiness and ability to serve the cause of the working class, who prove their ability to win the confidence of the masses, who accept communism consciously and who devote themselves entirely to the education and organization of the proletariat."

Accomplishing this task requires "a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism, revisionism, chauvinism, narrow nationalism and all manifestations of bourgeois ideology" because it is opportunism in all its forms which keeps the advanced of the proletariat from communism and which is the primary obstacle to welding the core. Therefore the chief form of our activity must be propaganda. Other sections of the resolutions emphasize the need for comprehensive political exposures as the means to train the masses and ourselves in political consciousness and revolutionary activity.



① Weitlings & Bebel's are most adv.
② Party workers
③ Regular industrial workers

X

X
X
X
X
X

3

X
X
X

SICK-PAY STOLEN FROM WORKERS

As decadent imperialism further declines, the capitalists are striving to strengthen those allies who help them maintain their present dictatorship over the working class and broad masses. In recent years we have seen the resurrection of the ugly faces of the Nazis, the Klan and the increasingly reactionary decisions of the Supreme Court, etc. As Lenin explained in THE TRADE UNION QUESTION, it is the labor aristocracy who are the main social props of the bourgeoisie among the working class movement. In advanced capitalist countries it is the big trade union bureaucrats who are the bulwark of the labor aristocracy. What has emerged from this are deals made between the union leadership and the bourgeoisie which strengthen the union bureaucrats while further undercutting the proletariat's power. What happened in Chicago at Cook County Hospital is a clear example.

In December, 1975, after months of secrecy, John Miller, President of Local 46 (Service Employees International Union) announced a tentative agreement with the governing commission (administration) of Cook County Hospital, (CCH). Just one week before Christmas the over 2,000 ward clerks, clerks, housekeepers, orderlies, aides, transporters and dietary workers were told they would receive a 5% raise over the next three years, no cost of living clause, no increase in benefits and that they would no longer get paid for their first sick day. In submitting the vote to the membership, the union chiefs painted it as a great victory and, lying outrightly, claimed they had won the first "closed shop" in the history of public employee collective bargaining in Illinois.

Throughout the history of union struggles in this country, a center of conflict has been closed versus open shops. A closed shop means that all workers must join the union in order to get a job, and they must stay in the union to keep their job. Closed shops were won after long and hard struggles and are a stronger form of organization for the working class, expressing the leadership of the advanced and intermediate workers over the backward workers. It is a form of organization which helps to undermine the ability of the capitalists to bribe a section of the workers to keep them out of the unions. In these struggles many workers also won union shops which mean that every employee has to join a union within 30 days of being hired. But after the many successful union drives in the 1930's, the bourgeoisie launched a campaign throughout the coun-

try and especially in the South and Southwest, to ban both closed and union shops. The Taft-Hartly amendment to the National Labor Relations Act in 1948 made closed shops illegal, although they had been lawful under the original Wagner Act. In addition, 14 (b) of the Taft Hartley Act gave states the right to enact "right to work" laws. These laws outlaw any form of union security clause. 19 states have now passed right to work laws and it is an important issue in the presidential campaign that both candidates pandering to these states, support "right to work," notably the peanut capitalist who fronts for the Democratic party, Jimmy Carter. These laws are attempts by the bourgeoisie to create safe havens for capitalist development in less industrially developed areas, particularly in the Black nation and Southwest. They say that any body can work anyplace and doesn't have to either belong to a union or pay dues. But it is an elementary class lesson that an individual worker is powerless against the power of capital. As an individual bargaining against a company he is nothing. A worker can defend himself only if he is part of a big strong organization. Comparing wage scales and working conditions of highly organized with unorganized sectors of the workforce makes this obvious. What big capital does is to use the ruling class ideology of individualism to bribe a few into thinking that they are getting a "good deal" and don't need a union in order to weaken the many. But nobody has the "right to work" under capitalism. This "good deal" is not the right to work, but the chance to scab.

With the strengthening of the trade union bureaucracy has come the "agency shop". The agency shop requires everyone covered by the union contract to pay union dues, but doesn't require workers to join the union. This is satisfactory to the bureaucrats who are only interested in more money to fatten their personal salaries and benefits. Because they rely on bourgeois legality, arbitration and no-strike clauses, they are not interested in increased active membership in the unions. They are indifferent to the increased cynicism this promotes among the backward workers - and to the fact that the capitalists often take advantage of the cynicism to promote decertification votes that destroy unions. This agency shop does exist among public employees in Hawaii and Michigan and has always been brought in as part of a trade-off for a major concession.

The trade-off at CCH was to give up the first day sick pay. Under the old contract, the workers received one paid sick day per month which they could use to get paid for days off due to illness, this included their first day of illness. Now, whenever they are ill, they automatically lose one day's pay. The intensity of labor at CCH is increasing and the need for sick pay is greater than ever before. In the case of the housekeepers, who have the greatest physical burden, over a dozen workers have been sent to the intensive care unit in the last two years for heart conditions. Because wages have not at all kept up with inflation, most workers are breaking even with their living expenses. The loss of a day's pay is significant, and this recent decision is a real attack.

This cutting back of sick time benefits is occurring in all industries and is part of the present assault by the capitalists on the living standards of the working class. The capitalists hope that the loss of first day sick pay will force the workers to come to work even when they are sick. This increases their profits in two ways: first, less money is paid out for sick time and, second, less workers will be hired to replace those who are ill. These capitalist bloodsuckers justify this by calling sick-pay a "privilege" even as they increase our exploitation, working us harder and harder. When we are sick, they say we are "abusing our privilege". Not only do we have to pay outrageous prices for our medical care to these profit-seeking enterprises, but they seek to even further rob us of our income when we have hard times.

As the capitalists cry out that "you workers are abusing your sick time privileges" the trade union bureaucrats join in the chorus like a pack of trained dogs. At a well attended union meeting last April 3, John Miller, president of Local 46, proved that he serves his capitalist masters well. This so-called "leader" had the gall to hysterically lash out at the workers blaming them not the capitalists, for the loss of the first day sick pay. Sounding like a boss he accused the workers of abusing their privilege, of taking off too many Mondays and Fridays. He then threatened them with doing nothing about impending layoffs and even said he would not ask for a raise in their next contract if they continued to call in sick in the same way. Then after this scum had finished his ravings, he proceeded, with a style similar

to the bourgeoisie's chief political representative in Chicago, Mayor Richard Daley, to pass out \$10 bribes to the workers in the various precincts who had turned out the largest vote for Michael Howlett (Daley's candidate for governor).

In place of the non-struggle and class collaborationist politics of the trade union bureaucrats, we must put communist leadership and a strong, unified working class stand in the unions. Attacks such as the loss of sick pay must be resolutely opposed. Instead of accepting half-hearted half-way measures like the agency shop which only benefit the pocketbooks of the trade union bureaucrats, we must fight to bring all workers into the unions and develop a strong rank-and-file movement to kick the bureaucrats out of leadership. We must persevere to build communist cells in the plants and workplaces which are the only means to provide communist leadership in the unions.

The bourgeoisie attempts to spread one victory over a section of the class to the entire class. This is why it is important for workers to unite across union lines to defeat any attempt by the bourgeoisie to increase their attacks on workers. After the victory over the members of Local 46, the administration then told the non-union workers they would lose their first two days of sick pay until they had accumulated two years worth of sick pay. They are now threatening Local 1111, the workers at Oak Forest Hospital in Local 73 and the professionals, such as the nurses, with the same attack.

At CCH it is necessary to face reality and realize that the attacks are going to continue and must be faced head on. For example, there is increasing talk that the Governing Commission is going to replace the entire house-keeping staff with a contract service. It is our task to expose the complicity of Miller and his fellow bourgeois-agents in these attacks, and organize against them, carefully planning out each step of the battle. When the contract reopens next May the entire workforce must be prepared. At the present time, as we carry out exposure and develop organization against the trade union bureaucrats and in defense of the class in its economic struggles against the capitalists, it is necessary to demonstrate on a daily basis the need for the proletariat to build its own political organization, a new communist party.

105,000 Miners Wildcat Over Right to Strike!

The right to strike is an essential weapon of the working class. In the present capitalist crisis this right is coming under increasing attack as the bourgeoisie seeks to strait-jacket the struggles of workers. This issue has become an object of sharp class struggle. On one side are the capitalists, the courts, federal arbitration agencies and the labor bureaucrats like Meany and Miller who perch like vultures on the top of the trade unions. On the other side are the millions of rank-and-file workers. The right to strike lies at the heart of the recent wild-cat strike that included 105,000 coal miners throughout West Vir-

ginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana and Colorado. The strike began at Grace Mine No. 3 in West Virginia in a dispute between the Cedar Coal Company and Local 1759 of the United Mine Workers (UMW). The strike began eight local mines, but when a court injunction was brought against the striking workers, fining Local 1759 \$50,000 plus \$25,000 for each day of the strike, miners throughout the country joined the West Virginia miners in militant solidarity. It was a stirring example of working class unity and strength. 105,000 workers stood steadfast against the government's court-ordered attacks on the miners' right to strike.

Arnold Miller, the supposedly "liberal" president of the UMW, opposed the strike from the very beginning. A true member of the labor aristocracy, he clearly sided with the mine owners. More and more mine workers are now recognizing that he is a wolf in sheep's clothing. At a meeting on August 10, this interchange between a rank-and-file miner and Miller took place: "You say you disagree with what we're doing?" the angry miner asked Miller. "I disagree with the means you use to accomplish your goals", Miller answered. The worker responded, "You're fighting us now. You're on their side."

This worker spoke the truth. The mine workers have a glorious history of class struggle. They were the first successful union organized on an industry wide basis and were the mainstay and originators of the CIO, where they aided other workers to form industrial unions. They have won their battles through persistent reliance on their strength exercised through strikes. In 1965 alone there were 1,139 strikes in the mines. Now Miller, who ran for office as a reform candidate, is uniting with the capitalists and the government to put a stop to this militant class struggle. He and his fellow bureaucrats have initi-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY AND OUR TASKS

The Workers Congress has correctly defined the central task of party building to build a genuine revolutionary communist party, to win the vanguard of the proletariat to communism. We also hold that accomplishing this task requires a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism, revisionism, economism, chauvinism, narrow-nationalism and all manifestations of bourgeois ideology. More recently the Workers Congress put forth the task of preparing for war (see THE COMMUNIST v.2, #5).

Our analysis shows that we have put forward the slogan **Raise the Banner of Civil War**. Therefore, our task in an inter-imperialist war is to turn an imperialist war into a civil war against our own bourgeoisie.

But, to give genuine Bolshevik leadership to the masses, we must have a party based on a strong granite foundation with close ties with the masses, able to support and lead every outbreak and protest, having stability, energy and continuity of the political struggle, providing all-around comprehensive political exposure as the chief means in training ourselves and the masses in revolutionary activity.

TRADE UNION WORK AND DEMOCRACY

In order to prepare for war, we must take up the various struggles of the class as a whole. This means struggle for reforms and struggle for democracy in general. What is the relation between trade union work and the struggle for democracy? Lenin brings forth that imperialism is the negation of democracy in its home and foreign policy. Therefore, imperialism turns democracy into an illusion, though at the same time it engenders democratic aspirations among the masses. It is the duty of every communist to struggle for democracy, that is to utilize the struggle for democracy to struggle for socialism. This is an important aspect on seeing the relationship between capitalism and democracy, between socialism and democracy. It becomes obvious why in the bourgeoisie's effort in preparing for war in its arms build-up, there must be a corresponding effort to take away democratic rights of the masses of working people and to disarm them politically and ideologically as with the policy of "detente".

This is vividly reflected in the trade union struggle. We can clearly see the connection between imperialism and the negation of democracy. In recent times, union members have been ousted out of unions for struggling against union officials; in certain hospital unions, workers have been brutally beaten up and thrown out of union meetings. In the United Steel Workers of America, we have witnessed the right to strike taken away. There are countless examples of sell-out union leaders who betray the working class.

The tighter the bourgeoisie come down on the working people, the more it is reflected in the role union mis-leaders play towards the working class. It is essential that communists and advanced workers take up the struggles for union democracy in an effort to play a leading role in the day to day struggles of the proletariat.

SHOULD COMMUNISTS WORK IN REACTIONARY TRADE UNIONS?

If we are to effectively prepare for war, we must take up the difficult and protracted task of work in all unions, including the reactionary trade unions, because the last two world wars show that the bourgeoisie would not have been able to influence the proletariat with bourgeois nationalism and "patriotism" without the support of the reformist trade union leaders and social democrats.

It will be impossible to win the vanguard to communism and prepare for war if we do not actively take up the difficult task of work in the trade unions and win the workers over to the side of communism and take the leadership of the trade unions in the course of our work. But, the question arises, what does trade union work entail? What are all the aspects of trade union work? How do we combine the economic struggle with the politics of socialism? We must take into account each aspect of trade union work, each industry, each field of production and work for the development of tactics in each phase of work. As Marx says, "Large scale industry concentrates in one place a crowd of people unknown to one another. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of wages, this common interest which they have against their boss, unites them in a common thought of resistance -- combination. . . . Combinations, at first isolated, constituting themselves into groups. . . and in face of always united capital, the maintenance of the association becomes more necessary to them (ie., the workers) than that of wages. . . . In this struggle--a veritable civil war--all the elements necessary for a coming battle unite and develop. Once it has reached this point, association takes a political character." (Lenin Selected Works, Vol. 1 page 54-55). By taking up these economic struggles, we are training the workers to act in their own interest and to distinguish the role of the sell-out trade union leadership. But, does it mean you're economist if you take up economic struggles of the working class? Lenin makes this clear. "Hence, it follows that social-democrats not only must not confine themselves entirely to the economic struggle; they must not even allow the organization of economic exposures to become the predominant part of their activities. We must actively take up the political education of the working class and the development of its political consciousness." (WITBD page 70).

But what is some of the work that most workers and communists are involved in and how should they influence

the situation. Communists must play a role in explaining the union contracts. Most trade unions will give a new union member a package of materials, which includes the contract, upon joining the union, but they will not assist them in using this information to their benefit. Communists must play a leading role in strikes, communists should work to be shop stewards, committee men and hold all other posts in the union to provide influence in the proletarian struggle. This calls for diversified work in the form of propaganda and agitation. Organizationally, this calls for secret work, that is the need to develop cores and nuclei. We must see the vicious role of the union leaders and the bourgeoisie who have and will move on communists in the work place. There are many existing clauses in certain union constitutions preventing communists from holding positions in the union. This only shows that the bourgeoisie and the courts, etc., will stop at nothing in suppressing the workers, and especially communists and even preventing them from joining the unions. This is why we must combine legal and illegal methods in this work. That will facilitate our goal. Lenin says, "There need be no doubt that those gentlemen, the "leaders" of opportunism will resort to every trick of bourgeois diplomacy, to the aid of bourgeois governments, the priests, the police, and the courts, to prevent communists joining the trade unions, to force them out by every means, to make their work in the trade unions as unpleasant as possible, to insult, bait and persecute them. We must be able to withstand all this, to agree to all and every sacrifice and even if need be, to resort to various stratagems, artifices, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, only so as to get into the trade unions, to remain in them and to carry on communist work within them at all costs." (LEFT-WING COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER page 46-47)

There are many examples of collaboration of union leaders and company bosses that have isolated and kicked out communists from the work place. In many cases, this could have been prevented if the work would have been carried on in a secret or illegal method. This is imperative that we take up this kind of work, especially in light of war and reactionary measures like the S-1 Bill.

TAKING UP THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

We can give an example of working in one reactionary union in a company that is part of a large monopoly corporation. There have been frequent layoffs and attempts to "cut costs." This has meant workers doing more than one man's job. In spite of these conditions, the workers have to pay the price, earnings were \$24.9 million in the first quarter of 1976. This represents a 3.1 percent increase over the first quarter earnings in 1975, which were \$24.2 million, compared to 1974. First quarter earnings in 1976 showed a 12.1 percent increase. While wor-

kers are laid off, the company boasted about their profits. Speedup, has meant more workers injured. There was a reactionary rule the company implemented that if a worker were injured three times in a year, he would be subjected to dismissal, because the company doesn't want to pay the increased insurance premiums, since this cuts into their profits. But there is a direct connection in the speed-up and injuries on the job. But, instead, the company would dismiss a worker as a result of these injuries. Some workers have kept quiet about their injuries, fearing that it would go against their record. There is constant harassment by the foreman, and the company has fired workers for just speaking up to the foreman. While this situation has gone on for years, the union has done very little in this regard. The only time you would see the representatives was when he was collecting union dues. There have been many cases of discrimination against Black and Mexican workers, which the union refuses to deal with.

There was an effort to deal with this situation. There was not even a shop steward in the plant. So several of us workers went to the union and stated we needed a shop steward. They said that we had the union representative and that he is serving as a union steward and therefore we didn't need one. We again made the motion at the union meeting in the form of a proposal in writing. We felt that we needed some union representation on the job, for the company bosses would fire workers and when the representative would come two or three days later to take up the matter, the company would consolidate their position by distorting the charges against the worker and using "stool pigeons" to say that the worker was doing this or that. Moreover, when workers would be brought into the office for certain "warnings", they would not be accompanied by a steward or someone to stand as witness in his behalf. This often meant workers would be intimidated or threatened with firing if they didn't submit to the company. So, when the union was presented with this proposal on the floor, they said they would appoint one. But, first they would have to take it up with the executive board. Imagine something that the union should automatically consent to, it had to take it to a "higher body". After stalling for a few weeks, they finally agreed to this. But, they were going to appoint them, We said we wanted an election. They rejected this because they said that some "stool pigeons" might get elected. This was a move to prevent the more militant and advanced workers from being elected. But, even considering that, if the union would appoint someone, wouldn't it be logical to appoint the workers who consistently lead the struggles for the shop steward and who drew up and presented the proposal. But, by their standards, we were too unruly, we would be too vocal, too out-spoken. The union representative even tried to dissuade us by saying

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

TOWN BATTLES FOR STRIKING WORKERS

On June 1, 1976, I.U.E. workers at the Copeland Corporation plant in Sidney, Ohio, got fed up with the bargaining efforts of their union and staged a wildcat strike. The labor bureaucrats refused to back the strike and the workers returned to work and took an official vote to strike on June 12, 1976.

After the wildcat strike the company picked out 13 workers as leaders of the strike and dismissed them. When the workers set up their picket lines for the official strike the company again refused to recognize the strike and continued production with 400 non-union employees. The company then informed the strikers that they would not receive their vacation pay. The workers became angry and organized a mass picket at the plant gate. The company then went immediately to the courts and obtained an injunction against the mass picketing, and the workers were ordered to set up 2 picketers per gate. The workers refused and sat on the ground with joined arms. The local police who had been called on the scene began to spray the workers with high pressure water hoses, and swing their billy clubs. One woman worker was picked off the

ground with billy clubs under her arms and she received back injuries. Other workers were brutalized by the police. They were taken to jail in horse vans and trucks.

When the people of Sidney heard about the arrest they assembled downtown at the police station 2,000 to 3,000 strong. When they saw the police bring the strikers out of the van in damp clothing to be taken to jail, they became angry and started throwing rocks and bottles at the police station. The police blocked off a six square mile area of the town and declared a state of police emergency and started using tear gas and dogs to break up the crowd. More than 300 police were called in from all of the surrounding counties. The police began arresting anyone in sight. After the riot the people in Sidney collected over \$2,000 by 4 a.m. the next morning and all the strikers and their supporters were out of jail before the day ended.

The Sidney Ohio plant employs over 2,500 workers of which 50% are women. It has been said that the corporation controls over 85% of Sidney. The corporation made over 137 million dollars

in profit after buying 5 new plants in the Ohio area.

The spontaneous actions of the Copeland workers represent the growing consciousness of workers all over the country due to the developing capitalist crisis. This consciousness is developing in opposition to the class collaborationist labor bureaucrats, and Sidney is a good example. The wildcat strike, the mass pickets and demonstrations took place mostly without the support of the I.U.E. When the bureaucrats saw that they could not stop these events they offered some piecemeal support. One significant factor concerning the events was the important role of women employees. They helped to organize the strike and are playing an active role in it. They have been fundamental in tracking down company warehouses in other parts of Ohio to set up pickets. Another significant factor is the unity of the workers in response to the events in Sidney, the I.U.E. workers received pledges of support from over 5,000 workers in the midwest, such as Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, and other areas. These workers have offered to join the Sidney workers in Ohio in

their struggle against the company and the courts. The important lesson that the workers are learning is that they cannot rely on the bureaucrats, the courts and the police in waging their economic struggle. One worker summed up the militant actions as follows:

"All we have are our numbers. We don't have police on our side, we don't have the courts on our side. Just our numbers."

This militant action by workers brings forward many lessons to our class. The role of the state and labor bureaucrats as weapons in the hands of the capitalists was exposed. The tremendous militancy and initiative of the masses should be a powerful incentive for communists to intensify their efforts to bring into these movements the science of Marxism Leninism to guarantee that these battles become part of the overall struggle of the international working class aimed at the complete overthrow of imperialist rule.



MINERS FROM P. 9
ated a program with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, an organization of mine owners, in cooperation with the director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, to "train" the workers to use a grievance procedure rather than strikes to settle local disputes. Like the Experimental Negotiating Agreement in steel, this is an attempt to rationalize and veil the open class antagonisms that exist between the workers and the capitalist owners. It is part of the present attempt by the bourgeoisie to maintain strict discipline over the working class due to preparation for another imperialist war. The mining industry is crucial because of the important role coal plays in providing ener-

gy for war production and because it is such a key link to other important industries such as steel on which the production of armaments depends.

Miller is attempting to exercise complete control over the locals in the UMW, curtailing their right to strike over local grievances. This would replace direct action by the workers with lengthy and costly arbitration cases and grievances that usually are decided in favor of the capitalists. But the present courageous strike shows that the workers will wage a bitter struggle against this class collaborationist plot.

The mine workers are playing a vanguard role in their fight for contract clauses that give the locals

the right to strike over local issues. This struggle must receive the utmost support from workers across the country. A victory for the mineworkers would be key to breaking open the developing struggle of the steelworkers against the ENA and would be a bulwark against no-strike deals in other industries.

The unity of the mineworkers forced the government to back down, cancel the fines and even forced it to order the Cedar Coal Company to re-hire six workers fired for leading the strike. It was a victory that revealed the emptiness of Miller's sell-out program. In opposition to the capitalists, their bourgeois state apparatus and their stooges, the trade union bureaucrats, the working class has again raised the banner

of class struggle and courageously upheld their right to strike!

The Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) has raised the slogan "Go Deeper into the Industrial Masses". We do this in order to carry out our task of winning the advanced to communism, of building communist nuclei in the factories and giving communist leadership in the trade unions. Only in this way can class consciousness, socialist consciousness, become an integral part of the working class movement. Only in this way can the working class movement consciously move forward and consolidate its victories, moving forward to the final overthrow of the capitalist system.

UNION DEMOC. FROM P. 10
whoever the steward would be had "better know the contract". The union finally picked two of the most backward elements with the collaboration of the company. We know this because the foremen were the ones who asked these workers to be the stewards. One steward didn't even want the job, but the union and the company persuaded him to take the job. The union and the company both agreed on these selections. One steward didn't even have a copy of the contract; it had to be furnished by one of us. Also, the union gave no booklets, no contracts, no constitution, no grievance reports or nothing to the stewards. They were simply just appointed. All see the true role of the union leadership and their collaboration with the company. Many workers saw the absence of union democracy, like not even being able to elect their own shop steward. All of this can be connected to the powerful influence of the bourgeoisie over the workers through their labor lieutenants and this is exactly why many workers do not attend the union meetings, because they have no role in participation, any discussion is suppressed. Workers do not feel they can play a role, so they are not stimulated to

attend. This is where the advanced and communists must play a key, leading role. They must be able to find practical solutions to problems, they must use any and every example the workers face in the work place, and the world and the country, and provide political education, drawing the connection between the worker's lack of rights in the unions and the role of imperialism, to show how the bourgeoisie is more concerned about waging a war than providing jobs for the working class and showing how the bourgeoisie is preparing for war at the expense of the workers and relying on their labor lieutenants.

WINNING THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM

Comrades, the work on the question of winning the advanced to communism has suffered in the past in regards to the work in the plants. Number one, it was a failure to take up the work on a day to day basis, and even when there were attempts, they were not consistent. While on a every day basis there was political education done among some workers, there were no practical tasks taken up in order to unite the workers around different questions. Also, there was a failure to identify the advanced, a failure to adhere to the Leninist method of leadership to unite with the advanced. At first we used the rationale that

there were no "advanced" at the plant. There are two basic errors in this, one, it failed to see the principle laid down by Mao that in any group of people there will be the advanced, intermediate and backward. This is a fundamental teaching that must be adhered to at all times in every phase of our work. Secondly, it failed to realize that to win the advanced is no easy matter, it is not an overnight thing. It was this difficult task that we have often failed to work toward consistently. As a result of seeing this error, we began to concentrate on the advanced and were able to win them to a study group, reading THE COMMUNIST and working in the union with them. This showed the connection between our work and M-L theory. Also this effort confirmed the correctness of uniting with the advanced and relying on them in carrying out work to win the intermediate and backward elements. There is no other means to gain and build connections with the class without winning the vanguard to our side--it is through them that we will be able to unite the broader masses of workers, THE ISKRA PLAN AND NUCLEI

In this period of party building and preparation for war, we must carry out the training of ourselves and the workers and masses to respond to their tasks to carry out work in the

trade unions. The Leninist trend must work toward building factory nuclei.

The main tasks of factory nuclei must be to forge strong and close connections with workers in the factory. All workers must realize that the nuclei exist and react immediately to every event in the factory and country. Every manifestation of discontent, every grievance, every occasion for factory and political exposure must be utilized in order for the nuclei to gain leadership of the defense of the daily interests of the working class. To provide this leadership, the establishment of plant-wide nuclei and the widest variety of factory organizations is essential. Directing the work of fractions in the trade unions and other mass organizations is particularly important for establishment of close connections with the working masses.

The Leninist trend must work to gain hegemonism in the trade unions and win the proletariat to the side of communism and the immediate struggle for union democracy. This way we will be strengthening our influence in our class and preventing the union misleaders, revisionists and social-chauvinists from deceiving the proletariat and bring the proletariat up in the fighting position of civil war.

PREPARE FOR WAR!!!
UNITE THE LENINIST TREND!!!

Focus Of 3rd World Struggle

New Democratic Revolution: Part One

The question of a correct line on the Third World is of decisive importance because the people and countries of the Third World are today the main force combating the exploitation, aggression and hegemonism of the two superpowers. They are the main force moving the wheel of world history forward. As a result, our preparation against a new inter-imperialist world war is inseparably connected to the battle for national liberation and independence in the Third World against imperialism and social imperialism. In fact what Lenin says is that the connection between the civil war of the proletariat and the national liberation movements characterizes our epoch:

"The social revolution can come only in the form of an epoch in which are combined civil war by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries and a whole series of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movement, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations." (A CARICATURE OF MARXISM AND IMPERIALIST ECONOMISM, LCW, v. 23, p.60)

No revolutionary can be little either the one or the other. For this reason we combat every opportunist distortion of a correct line on the Third World. In particular we fight tooth and nail every effort of modern revisionism to pretend that the USSR is a "natural ally" of the Third World and that its efforts at superpower hegemonism are examples of "proletarian internationalism" or that the countries and the peoples of the Third World should rely on this false friend for their liberation and independence rather than on their own efforts. The USSR is a "natural ally" which has done nothing but sow division and dissension, binding the Third World hand and foot to its own imperialist schemes for exploitation and oppression.

We fight equally all those who, whether consciously or unconsciously, lend support to the USSR because, under the phony signboard of socialist, it takes up the struggle against the most hated and most thoroughly exposed imperialism in the world, US imperialism. Soviet efforts to displace U.S. influence and control spring from its own imperialist interest in a redivision of superpower spheres of influence. In this situation, Lenin's teaching from SOCIALISM AND WAR applies:

"It is not the business of socialists to help the younger and stronger robber...to plunder the older and over-gorged robber."

ON NEW DEMOCRACY

In 1940 Mao Tsetung wrote ON NEW DEMOCRACY to guide the national liberation movement in China against imperialist aggression. He wrote to demonstrate the connection between the Chinese Revolution and the proletarian socialist world revolution. We think this text remains key to understanding the international situation today. It is the guiding thread we can

rely on to understand the role of the Third World and to combat every maneuver of imperialism or social imperialism, old line reaction or modern revisionism.

We need to understand New Democracy in order to get a good grasp on the united front we forge with the peoples of the world against imperialism, social imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION BELONGS TO THE PROLETARIAN SOCIALIST WORLD REVOLUTION

The first point is that the movements of the Third World for national liberation and independence, though bourgeois democratic in character, do not belong to the old category of bourgeois democratic revolutions like the French Revolution of 1789, but to a new category of bourgeois democratic revolutions which forms a part of the proletarian socialist world revolution. Mao writes:

"the first imperialist world war and the first victorious socialist revolution the October Revolution, have changed the whole course of world history and ushered in a new era....In this era, any revolution in a colony or semi-colony that is directed against imperialism, i.e., against the international bourgeoisie or international capitalism, no longer comes within the old category of the bourgeois democratic world revolution, but within the new category. It is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist, world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution."

Mao goes on to explain that although such a revolution is still fundamentally bourgeois democratic in its social character during its first stage, and although its objective mission is to clear a path for the development of capitalism, it can no longer establish a capitalist society under bourgeois dictatorship and is no longer led by the bourgeoisie. Therefore, "this revolution actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism."

The irreconcilable opposition between the bourgeois democratic revolution of today and the development of world capitalism arises out of the character of imperialism. Imperialism means the division of the world into oppressed and oppressor nations and the superpower struggle for hegemony and a redivision of the world. The general crisis of imperialism reflecting its dying or moribund character leads to greater and greater aggression, exploitation and oppression of the countries and peoples of the oppressed nations.

These are objective facts which lead to national democratic resistance. More and more it becomes clear that the national and democratic aspirations of the peoples oppressed by imperialism and social imperialism can only be achieved by overthrowing the entire system of imperialism. That is why in the Third World "such a revolu-

tion attacks imperialism at its very roots, and is therefore not tolerated, but opposed by imperialism."

But to overthrow the system of imperialism the oppressed peoples must have the assistance of the revolutionary proletariat. The New Democratic Revolution therefore becomes a component part of proletarian socialist world revolution.

Under imperialism the national democratic revolution can no longer establish a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the national bourgeoisie. In the first place, the road is blocked by imperialism. As capitalism in its moribund form, imperialism must increasingly live off the oppression of nations in order to survive. Mao says:

"it is not China that is developing Chinese capitalism, but Japan that is developing Japanese capitalism in our country."

In the same way, nowhere in the Third World today will imperialism and social imperialism allow the development and consolidation of national capitalism -- Puerto Rico and Cuba are two examples. In Puerto Rico or the Phillipines or Mexico or Chile, it is not primarily national capitalism that is developing, but U.S. monopoly capitalism. And in Cuba or other Soviet satellites it is not primarily national capitalism that is developing but Russian state monopoly capitalism.

Secondly, fully establishing a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the Third World countries is blocked by the socialist movement. It is impossible for the countries and peoples of the Third World to complete their national democratic revolution without the assistance of socialist countries and and of the proletariat of the imperialist countries against imperialism and social imperialism. They must either line up with the forces of world counter-revolution and thereby sacrifice their national and democratic aspirations, or line up with the forces of world revolution. There is no third choice.

Finally, the people of the Third World will not permit a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is impossible to win the battle of democracy and national independence without relying on the popular masses who suffer directly the ravages of imperialism and social imperialism. But if they share in the fight for national liberation and independence they will also share in the power-- there is no way to consolidate a state system without them. This is the case today in Lebanon where the Lebanese people have refused to permit a state dictatorship to be imposed on them which fails to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people and to support the cause of Palestinian and Arab revolution.

Furthermore, it is not only national development that is blocked under imperialism and social imperialism, but capitalist development as well. In THE CHINESE REVOLU-

TION AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, Mao points out that to see imperialism only as opening the path for the development of capitalism, is one sided.

"There is another concomitant and obstructive aspect, namely, the collusion of imperialism with the Chinese feudal forces to arrest the development of Chinese capitalism."

He goes on to quote from the Comintern Resolutions on the National and Colonial Questions in 1928: "Imperialism, 'first allies itself with the ruling strata of the previous social structure, with the feudal lords and the trading and money lending bourgeoisie, against the majority of the people. Everywhere imperialism attempts to preserve and to perpetuate all those pre-capitalist forms of exploitation (especially in the villages) which serve as the basis for the existence of its reactionary allies."

This too remains true in the Third World today. In spite of the long years of colonialism and imperialism in India, 80% of the Indian population are still peasants living in grinding village poverty. Imperialist development of oil in the Mid-east has not overcome feudalism in that area. Industrial development in southern Africa based on the labor of the black masses has not overcome pre-capitalist tribal economies in the countryside, and both the Smith and Vorster governments have sought to prop their doomed regimes by promoting reactionary tribal development. And in Latin America, the long history of U.S. neo-colonialism has brought one sham land reform after another, but conditions in the countryside have not changed.

In Brazil, big landowners own almost 80% of the entire land area. In Chile 2% of the landowners own 87% of the land. In Paraguay 93.8% of the arable land is owned by a handful of local and foreign landlords. And in Venezuela, where Rockefeller has his estate, 78.7% of the entire cultivatable land is owned by the rich few. As a result, impoverishment, backwardness, famine, disease, lack of medical assistance, illiteracy, high infant death rate, exploitation and oppression are the conditions under which the overwhelming majority of the peasants in Latin America still live. 85% of the peasants of Haiti are in conditions of permanent hunger and lack of food. Armed actions and occupation of the estates of the great landowners have become more and more frequent in the daily life of these countries.

This is the first part of an article which presents a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Third World and the New Democratic Revolution today. It will be continued next time, taking up the economics and politics of the New Democratic Revolution.