

# 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

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## NEW TSARS USE OLD MERCENARIES

# SOVIET-BACKED INVASION OF ZAIRE

On March 29, a message from Seewoosagur Rengoolam, current chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire expressed the unified stand taken by the African countries in the OAU in support of Zaire against the current Soviet-backed invasion of that country. Mr. Rengoolam, who is also the Prime Minister of Mauritius, stated:

"The news of the violation of the territorial integrity of Zaire, a fraternal country and member of the OAU, has aroused indignation not only among the member states of the OAU, but also among all people who cherish peace and freedom."

"This aggression against the security of a state, an irresponsible act, threatens to entail serious consequences to the security in this region of Africa."

"The OAU, whose charter establishes the principles of territorial integrity of all its member states, vigorously opposes and unreservedly condemns the invasion."

"The Zairian government and people have the total support and solidarity of the OAU and my government at the sad moment of trial for your country and Africa."

### SOVIETS SAME AS OLD COLONIALISTS

Zaire, located in southwest Africa, is a country rich in natural resources, particularly copper and other minerals. The imperialists and colonialists both old and new have always coveted Zaire, particularly the Shaba region where minerals are concentrated. The Soviet social-imperialists, in backing the present invasion by Katangese and Cuban mercenaries, are following the tactics and strategy of the old-

line imperialists in attempting to break off the Shaba (Katanga) province from Zaire. During the early 1960's, just weeks after the formal independence of Zaire had been declared, the Portuguese colonialists instigated a reactionary secessionist movement using these same Katangese mercenaries in order to link up the Shaba region to Angola which the Portuguese then controlled. Now the Soviet Union has brought these same counter-revolutionary mercenaries, who had previously fought for the Portuguese against the freedom fighters of Angola, into their service. This is a bold gesture by the new tsars to further subvert and conquer central and southern Africa to push out dominant US and western imperialism and replace it with their own rule.

### USSR NO "FRIEND" TO AFRICAN PEOPLES

The treachery of the Soviet Union knows no bounds. While pursuing their course for domination of the African continent, they are still trying to pass themselves off as friends of the African people. Even as they were carrying out their invasion of Zaire, the social-imperialists' president, Podgorny, was in Africa uttering pious words about "freedom and equality" for the African people, and how the Soviet Union "stands on the side of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa". The social-imperialists have honey on their lips but murder in their hearts. They try to weaken the unity of the third world countries by labelling some as "progressive" and some as "reactionary". They have used this divide-and-conquer scheme to justify the invasion. They have slandered the Zairian government

as "reactionary" and labelled the invasion a "civil war". The Soviet Union's mouthpiece, TASS, called it an "uprising in the south of Zaire." The "Communist" Party USA ("C" PUSA) echoed the Soviet lies in its newspaper THE DAILY WORLD by calling the government of Zaire "imperialism's ally in Central Africa". What has brought on this attack in the press is the well-known fact that the Zairian government has been an avid opponent of social-imperialist interference and expansionism in Africa and has consistently exposed Soviet crimes against the African people. But the "C" PUSA covers up these crimes and attempts to use the US peoples' legitimate hatred of US imperialism to validate Soviet hegemonic ambitions in Africa. But the nature of Soviet social-imperialism is no different from that of any other imperialism, old or new. The Soviets may use false "socialism" as a cover, while US imperialism uses "human rights", but they are both driven by the same insatiable hunger for power and maximum profits. Both will surely face the same certain defeat at the hands of the oppressed people of the world.

### ROLE OF US IMPERIALISM

The US imperialists have not sat back idle over a situation which threatens their power on the African continent. US imperialism is the main exploiter of the Zairian people. The US finance capitalists have over one billion dollars invested in the country's mining and copper industry. Thus, a few days after the invasion took place, the US imperialists airlifted over \$2 million of supposedly "non-lethal" equipment into Zaire. Cyrus Vance, secretary of state, testified before

the House on March 16 and called it a "dangerous situation." But this is not the limit of US imperialist involvement and interference. Last week it was exposed that the US imperialists are recruiting mercenaries. The US also has a military base in Zaire as well as hundreds of so-called "advisers". The US imperialists are interfering in the matter not to protect the sovereignty of Zaire from invasion, but to protect their own imperialist interests from their rival, the Soviet Union. The US must also be thrown out by the Zairian people. The people of Zaire can never achieve the political, economic and military strength necessary to protect themselves from aggression as long as one superpower lords over Zaire and exploits it mercilessly. It is imperialism which weakens the nation and leaves it open to any attacker. The Zairian nation cannot rely on one superpower to fight another.

The revolutionary proletariat of the US condemns totally the present invasion of Zaire by the Soviet social-imperialists. We also condemn the continuing exploitation and oppression of Zaire by the US imperialists. We oppose any and all shipments of military equipment by the US imperialists to Zaire, for these shipments are meant to promote the interests of US imperialism. Our opposition to intervention prepares the US proletariat to work for defeat of its own bourgeoisie in imperialist war. We take advantage of the difficulties the US faces in its contention with the Soviet Union and the difficulties it meets due to the powerful storm of resistance from the countries and peoples of the third world. Lenin says that we must "explain to the masses that they have no other road of

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# PARTY BUILDING TACTICS

The following article from the San Diego Organizing Committee (Marxist-Leninist) cuts through confusion spread in our movement regarding the slogan "political line is key". A comment by the WC (ML) follows the article.

In this period when the revolutionary movement is without a vanguard, party-building is not only a strategic task, it constitutes our central task as well. All of our political work must be subordinated to the central task of party building.

Although the Leninist trend has consolidated ideologically behind this view, objectively we have yet to make a decisive breakthrough on the essence of this task--winning the vanguard to communism and away from opportunism ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The first step in rectifying the Marxist-Leninist movement's weaknesses on party-building lies in understanding how the tasks of communists must be developed in general to defeat economism and revisionism in all aspects of our work. We unite with the WC (ML)'s views on party building because the Iskra principle and Plan address exactly this point.

Our own understanding of these views has been advanced by seeing the necessity for proletarian tactics to implement our main strategic task. To move forward on our central task (or any task) we must employ tactics.

Tactics are the forms of struggle and the corresponding forms of organization that we utilize in order to overcome the obstacles that prevent us from accomplishing our tasks. Thus tactics are a part of and not separate and distinct from our overall strategy for revolution -- they are subordinated to our strategy and they serve it. While a strategy remains unchanged throughout the stage of the revolution, the forms of struggle, as well as the forms of organization for the particular form of struggle, we employ do change according to the flow or ebb of the movement, the rise or decline of the revolution.

With respect to our central task, the Leninist trend of our movement has made the initial (though still fragile) break with opportunism; we are at the point where we must decide how we will carry out the task -- what tactics we must employ.

Stalin says that there are two principal conditions that ensure correct tactical leadership. First, it is necessary to "put into the forefront those forms of struggle and organization which are best suited to the conditions prevailing during the flow or ebb of the movement at a given moment, and which therefore facilitate and ensure the bringing of the masses to the revolutionary positions..." (Stalin, STRATEGY AND TACTICS) Overall, the point of our tactics

must be to enable the masses to realize from their own experience the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. The key is that our tactics must correspond to those objective conditions that define the "experience of the masses." THE MAIN LINK

Second, Stalin says that we must single out the "main link" or the main task, "...the particular immediate task, the fulfillment of which constitutes the central point, and the accomplishment of which ensures the successful fulfillment of the other immediate tasks." (IBID) The main link must prepare the conditions for achieving strategic success -- accomplishing the central task.

The key point with respect to the confusion that presently prevails in our movement is that the main link is a tactic -- not ideology, political line or organization. The content of all our tactics is our ideology and political line. But, in order for ideology and political line to become a material force in practice they must assume a form, they must be organized.

With respect to the first condition that Stalin laid out, the Leninist trend has ideological unity that propaganda must be the chief form of activity. The concrete conditions are that our movement is confronted by a

highly centralized reactionary bourgeois state, which is capable of and willing to carry out organized terror to maintain its existence, but who has even more relied on spreading its ideology in the working class -- opportunism with which to divert the proletariat away from revolution. Ideologically, the movement still reflects its long history of right opportunism. In addition the communist movement is fragmented and characterized by a lack of coordination in its work. The movement displays a tendency to vacillate on matters of principle which reflects the inadequacy of its grasp of the science of M-L. On some fundamental questions where unity will be needed to form the party, disunity still prevails. And, in sum, we have yet to consolidate our position in the working class by uniting communism with the workers movement -- by taking the science of M-L to those class conscious workers striving spontaneously against imperialism.

These are the concrete conditions that separate us from our central task of winning the vanguard to communism. The main obstacle they present -- the main obstacle our tactics must address themselves to -- is opportunism, primarily revisionism economism and right opportunism

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# Shirley Du Bois Dies, A Heroic Fighter Is Lost

On Sunday, March 27, 1977, Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois, wife of the late William DuBois, died of metastatic breast cancer in Peking. February of last year, Mrs. DuBois came to China for medical treatments, but she failed to respond to any treatment. Mrs. DuBois was a great friend to the people of China and to the cause of socialism world wide. She had visited China five times before her death, was in the process of gathering information for her upcoming book on women in China, which had been a project that she had wanted to do for many years.

During the sixties, Mrs. DuBois and her husband emigrated to Ghana during the administration of Dr. Nkrumah. There they took citizenship and residence until the military coup in 1967. Later she became a citizen of Tanzania.

Mrs. DuBois was a noted biographer of famous Afro-Americans, a composer and writer of radio plays, in addition to teaching music before her marriage to Dr. DuBois.

In 1970, she was denied re-entrance to the United States by the Attorney General at that time, John Mitchell, and by the Justice Department. Later that year she was denied a non-immigrant visa which she applied for in order to lecture at Fisk University. This freedom fighter was denied entrance into the land she was born by the same corrupt government that was murdering thousands of

Vietnamese abroad and that was using American workers as cannon fodder in the pursuit of their imperialist aims. The government clearly feared the revolutionary teachings that Mrs. DuBois would have provided.

The lives of Dr. and Mrs.



DuBois will remain as burning examples of the struggle against national oppression, and the struggle for democratic rights, in the US. They also represent the rising forces of the third world, and the increased unity in that struggle against worldwide imperialism, and social imperialism.

Amateurishness is raised in connection with a narrow character of organizational work. Lenin describes as amateurish the (pre-Iskra) Marxist Party in Russia which was actually a loosely connected federation of local organizations which had carried out little mutual political support, sharing of resources contacts, etc. In the local organizations amateurishness was reflected in an inability to protect the organization and the continuity of work from police raids, inability to fully utilize contacts and resources, inability to expand political activity beyond local work and local concerns, etc. Fundamental to Lenin's analysis of this lack of organization is that amateurishness of the different separate groups of the Party was primarily something that could not be overcome without taking on the amateurishness and lack of organization of the movement as a whole.

The connection between amateurishness and economism is that, "The character of any organization is naturally and inevitably determined by the content of its activity. Consequently, the Rabocheye Dyelo, by the assertions analyzed above, sanctions and legitimizes not only the narrowness of political activity, but also the narrowness of organizational work. In this case too, as always it is an organ whose consciousness yielded to spontaneity. And yet worship of spontaneously developing forms of organization, failure to realize how narrow and primitive is our organizational work, what amateurs we still are in this important sphere, failure to realize this, I say, is a veritable disorder from which our movement suffers." (Lenin's Collected Works, WITBD, our emphasis)

What Lenin is clearly putting forward is that there is a dialectical relationship between the character of an organization and the content of its activity-between organization and political line. He repeats this in "Retrograde Trend" when he points to the amateurishness of the movement as the main cause for the growth of economism among social-democrats:

"...the spread of their agitation brought the social-democrats into contact with the lower, less developed strata of the proletariat; to attract these strata it was necessary for the agitator to be able to adopt himself to the lowest level of understanding, he was taught to put the demands and interests of the given moment in the foreground and to push back the broad ideals of socialism and the political struggle. The fragmentary amateur nature of Social-Democratic work, the extremely weak connections between the study circles in the different cities, between the Russian Social-Democrats and their comrades abroad who possessed a profounder knowledge and a richer revolutionary experience, as well as wider political horizons, naturally lead to a gross

In the memorial speech given by the president of the China friendship association with foreign countries, the Chinese sum up Mrs. DuBois' contributions:

"Mrs DuBois was born a US citizen. She emigrated to Africa in the sixties and died a Tanzanian

citizen. She was an outstanding Black woman and a well-known writer. For many years, like the late Dr. DuBois, she sought progress, upheld justice, resisted oppression and unwaveringly dedicated herself to the just struggle of the American people and the Black people for emancipation. She loved the African people and

exaggeration of this (absolutely essential) aspect of Social-Democratic activity, which could bring some individuals to lose sight of the other aspects, especially since with every reverse the most developed workers and intellectuals were wrenched from the ranks of the struggling army, so that sound revolutionary traditions and continuity could not as yet be developed. It is in this exaggeration of one aspect of Social-Democratic work that we see the chief cause of the sad retreat from the ideals of Russian Social-Democracy." (Lenin's Collected Works, V.4, pp.279-80)

The lesson here is that organization is also an ideological question, not a stage which comes after the ideological break has in the main been completed. Without the correct organizational application of our line, even a correct political line will fail; it will stagnate and degenerate as pointed out by Lenin in "Retrograde Trend".

That is why Lenin developed the ISKRA -type newspaper, not only a collective propagandist and agitator with which to confront the economism and revisionism in the revolutionary movement, but also a collective organizer which overcomes its amateurishness.

## commentary

As we pointed out on page one, the key point in the article above is to dispel the confusion accumulated around the slogan "political line is key". Forces in our movement have run with this line for well over a year now and it has led to frustration and demoralization. It has not promoted an understanding of our tasks or guided efforts to move on them. SDOC clearly identifies the reason -- the main link in carrying out our central task is a tactic, not political line, ideology or organization set apart from the full scope of our work. The main link is a form of struggle and a form of organization necessarily involving at all times aspects that are ideological, political and organizational. The effort to isolate this or that aspect of our work and hold it apart in a particular party building "stage" is mechanical and one-sided from the standpoint of method. Political line is decisive because it guides our work, but in itself it is only plan or policy and not a form of struggle. A tactic must be guided by a correct political line, but if it is to accomplish a revolutionary task, it must be unfolded in terms of corresponding forms of organization and struggle.

Lenin in TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION, says:

"By the Party's tactics we mean the Party's political conduct, or the character, direction, and methods of its political activity." (LCW, v.9, p.22)

The significance of Lenin's Iskra plan is exactly this -- it is a tactic for party building.

deemed it her sacred duty to support their cause

of liberation; she worked and fought energetically for this cause and made valuable contributions to the unity of the African people and the third world against imperialism.

As a true friend of the Chinese people, Mrs. DuBois esteemed Chairman Mao, loved new China and sympathized with and supported China's socialist revolution and construction. She visited China five times and each time she warmly praised and widely propagated the achievements and progress the Chinese people had made, and did a lot of work in enhancing the friendship and understanding between the Chinese people and the people of the United States and the third world. What particularly moved us is, even when she was gravely ill this time, Mrs. DuBois never forgot for one moment to collect material for a book on new China. Such friendship for the Chinese people and her staunchness will be engraved in our hearts.

Mrs. DuBois has left us forever. The Chinese people have lost a close friend, and the people of the United States, Africa, and the third world have lost a heroic fighter. We are fully confident that the cause of emancipation of the oppressed people and the oppressed nations for which she fought all her life will eventually triumph."

It speaks to the character, direction and method of party work necessary to overcome fragmentation and circle narrowness, amateurishness and ideological confusion. It proposes forms of organization and struggle to carry out the fight for stability of principle in defense of orthodox Marxism, laying the foundation for party organization.

The contribution of SDOC is a good example of how local communist collectives can work to overcome the fragmentation of our movement and gather the resources of the Leninist trend. Fragmentation has too often given rise to local passivity. Though active in local work, many circles and collectives have not grasped the national scope of their responsibilities. Instead they have adopted the habit of following, but essentially waiting on national developments rather than pushing them forward.

This passivity is a manifestation of the circle spirit, which contrary to illusions spread in our movement -- will not be magically overcome with the formation of a party or, all the more so, simply by joining a national organization. Circle narrowness must be defeated through a day to day struggle to rise above the parochial limits of local work and meet our national tasks. It is a struggle that involves every local collective.

Concretely this means that comrades must participate actively and publically in the polemics on the burning questions of our movement. Local collectives must not fail to speak to questions of policy and program which shape the development of our work. We are weakened and the process of our consolidation is held back when local collectives do not submit their views to the test of national debate.

Secondly, comrades must see the importance of summing up and generalizing local work, submitting this too publically to the test of the national movement. A good example is "Communist Factory Work" in v. III, no. 1, Sum up of work allows us to confirm its correctness or identify error, to take wider and fuller advantage of our common mistakes and to add to the store of our common experience. All of this is lost if the lessons of our work are only summed up for the benefit of local workers. Furthermore, the training essential to professionalize the style of our work is also lost.

Finally, comrades must see the necessity to take up the task of submitting topical political exposures on international and domestic issues. This also, as Lenin emphasizes in WHAT IS TO BE DONE, is a question of training ourselves as professional revolutionaries. There is no other way, he writes, to train the masses or ourselves, except by means of topical political exposures. Here too collectives rise above local and circle narrowness

SDOC CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

in general. For these reasons we tactically put propaganda in the forefront in this period.

It is on Stalin's second condition for correct tactical leadership, the determination of the main link, which will define our overall plan for party-building, on which Marxist-Leninists are still fundamentally divided.

In contrast to those forces who put forward abstract categories such as "political line" as a main link to party-building the Workers Congress has put forward the "Iskra-type newspaper for the Leninist trend as the main link in the fight to prepare the conditions for a new communist party..." SDOC unites with this call for an Iskra-type newspaper because it reflects the correct application of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics - it is a form of struggle and a corresponding form of organization that we can utilize to overcome the obstacles to party building in this country. The ISKRA-type newspaper is a scientific tool developed by Lenin to overcome conditions that generally correspond to our own objective situation - a highly centralized reactionary bourgeois state and a communist movement ideologically and politically dominated by opportunism, economism and organizationally characterized by scatteredness and fragmentation, by amateurishness. Moreover, it is a tactic whose successful accomplishment would ensure successful fulfillment of the other immediate tasks.

## THE RELATION BETWEEN ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL LINE

The struggle for unity on a main link to party-building has been held back by the confusion created by those forces in our movement who have counterposed political line to organization. They do this by putting "political line" and "organization" in different succeeding stages of party-building.

In WHAT IS TO BE DONE (WITBD) Lenin lays out the correct relation between organization and political line when he writes about the connection between economism and amateurishness. In that work he defines economism as a narrow scope of political activity. In this polemic against economism he begins by looking at groups that have narrowed political activity to trade unionist politics and shows how it reflects a broad right opportunist trend. The basis of economism is "bowing to spontaneity". Failing to grasp fully the transforming and organizing role of revolutionary theory the economists inevitably overestimate the restrictions that objective conditions place on the scope of our work. Thus economists bow to what is possible rather than do what revolutionary theory says is necessary.

under capitalism

Concrete examples of work of Iskra newspaper

# "MORAL" IMPERIALISM

In recent months the US government has launched a vigorous sales campaign to promote its supposed concern for "human rights" around the world. The bourgeoisie, through its political mouthpieces in the government, is again asserting that it will play the role of moral guardian in the world. Why are "human rights" being so loudly championed by the US imperialists? How is all this demagoguery connected to the US foreign policy and preparations for war?

As history has shown us, "The governments of the imperialist countries, though they are engaged in counter-revolutionary activities everyday, had never told the truth in their statements or official documents, but had filled or at least flavored them with professions of humanity, justice and virtue." (Mao, Selected Works, page 442, Vol IV). The present cries about human rights by the imperialists are a complete sham. They cannot cover up the reality that "Both in home and foreign policy imperialism strives towards violations of democracy, towards reaction." (Lenin, Collected Works, p. 43, Vol. 23) As the working class and oppressed nationalities here in the US have experienced daily, the continued rule of the US capitalist class has meant intensified exploitation, misery and want. The finance capital of the US exported overseas still sits like a giant octopus strangling the lifeblood out of the peoples and countries of the world, and attempting to suppress the vigorous movements of the third world for national independence and sovereignty. The only morality that imperialism knows is the vicious exploitation and repression necessary in its pursuit of maximum profits.

But many obstacles have arisen to the US imperialist quest for world-wide hegemony. On one hand have been the rising tide of national liberation struggles and movements for economic and political sovereignty in the third world which continue to wage blow after blow against imperialist domination. On the other hand, a young and powerful imperialist rival has emerged on the world scene - Soviet social imperialism. Now these two superpowers are locked in a life and death struggle for hegemony. The Soviet social-imperialists attempt to hide their striving for hegemony under the banner of "socialism", exploiting the once proud history that the Soviet Union legitimately claimed before the restoration of capitalism and the rise to power of the new czars. Under this hypocritical cloak the Soviet Union has been able to make gains in its contention with the US. The true character of US imperialism has already been widely exposed to the people of the world. The present campaign around "human rights" is an attempt to regain some of that lost prestige. The "moral" imperialism of the US has been created to counter the "social" imperialism of the Soviet Union and this intensification in the contention between the two superpowers in the ideological sphere is part and parcel of the overall intensification in contention in all spheres as the superpowers prepare for world war.

Consistent with its war pre-

parations, the US imperialists recognize the need to create the ideological conditions to rally the US people around its sinister plot. The resistance to the war in Vietnam, the mass uprisings of Black people against oppression, the growing strength and class consciousness in the workers movement demonstrate a growing awareness that the interests of the masses and the interests of the capitalists are diametrically opposed. But to wage a war, the US capitalist have to create a sense of "national cause" and "national unity". Carter has been groomed as a leader to accomplish this task. Arriving on the national political scene under the tutelage of the monopoly capitalists who run the Tri-lateral Commission, this racist millionaire has been carefully given the image of "man of the people", "noble Christian" and "moral statesman." We have recently seen the "dial a president campaign" the re-birth of the "fireside chats", and a presidential visit to New England town meeting, all of which promote the illusion that Carter is in touch with the people. He is attempting to utilize the democratic aspirations of the US people to get them to take the side of the US imperialists against the Soviet Union. The catchwords of "freedom" and "liberty" in the mouths of bourgeois politicians have always been used in the past to whip up great nation chauvinism and to justify US imperialist aggression.

But the present human rights campaign is not just directed to the American people, it is world-wide in scope. It is also directed at the second world countries of Europe, those under capitalist and those under revisionist control. It is the consistent stand of the Chinese and all genuine Marxist-Leninists that Europe is the center of contention between the two superpowers; therefore it is an area of great strategic importance. With the countries under capitalist control, the US seeks to regain the "moral" leadership it once claimed during and shortly after the 2nd world war, and to consolidate its alliances with sectors of the West European bourgeoisie. In the revisionist controlled countries, the US is attempting to play on the spontaneous strivings that arise in revisionist societies for bourgeois liberties and bourgeois freedom. The betrayal of socialism by the revisionists in these countries has meant the restoration of bourgeois social relations and bourgeois aspirations. This is reinforced further by the reality of fascist rule in the Soviet Union. Some people in the revisionist countries, rather than seeing the need to overthrow the fascist rule and re-establish socialism, see the alternative of bourgeois democracy as exercised by the US as the answer. Carter recently asked Congress for about \$50 million in order to increase the transmitting power of Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and Voice of America broadcasts into eastern European countries. The US imperialist will use these broadcasts to spread openly pro-US imperialist propaganda, and increase bourgeois democratic illusions. Again we can see in this direct contention with the Soviet

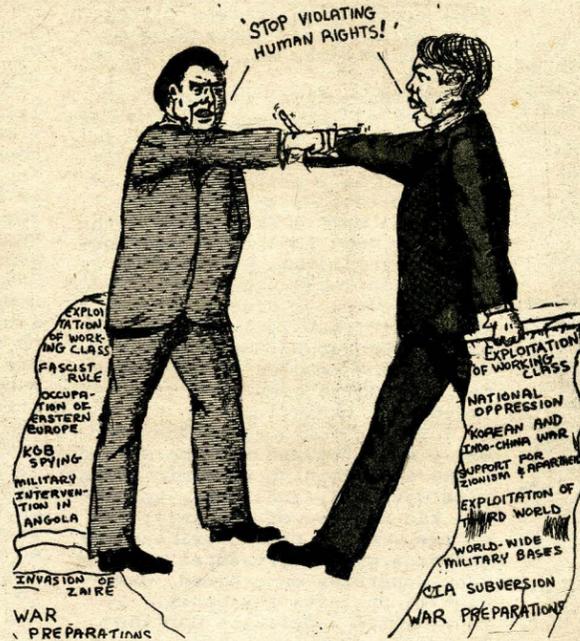
tionaries" who allow to pass in silence US military aid and intervention in contention with social-imperialism under the guise of directing their main blow at the Soviet Union. These forces fail to supply a Marxist-Leninist policy to guide the US proletariat and lead inevitably to a policy of social chauvinism.

The people of Zaire will certainly repulse the Soviet-backed aggression. Relying on their own efforts, and with the staunch support of the peoples of Africa, of the third world, of the genuine socialist countries and of the revolutionary proletariat everywhere, their struggle will move forward the anti-hegemonic struggle against the two superpowers on the African continent. The social-imperialists have picked up a rock to drop it on their feet.

Union. The Soviet Czars are able to utilize the revisionist parties in capitalist countries as their agents "behind the lines", relying on the spontaneous strivings of the masses for socialism to win people to their side. The US is also seeking to develop their own fifth column and utilize "human rights" for this purpose.

The US imperialists are also using their human rights campaign in regards to third world countries. Imperialist domination of the economies of third world countries is still the main obstacle to the progressive development of the societies in the third world.

By "criticizing" certain governments in the third world, the US



is trying to divert attention from the reactionary role that it continues to play. But this attempt is falling flat on its face. All the Third World knows that the U.S. imperialists have a mountain of crimes against human rights at home and throughout the world to account for and that their campaign is sheer hypocrisy. Continuing military bases in Korea, the Philippines, and continuing military support of Zionist aggression--all this is evidence. Carter in fact became very nervous when it appeared that Congress had misunderstood the human rights slogan and actually was going to pass legislation that would deny military aid to countries that are still strategically important to the interests of US capital. This quick overdose in human rights just reveals the shallow and hypocritical way this campaign is being used. As long as it strengthens the US imperialists' position in the world over that of Soviet social-imperialism then it is acceptable, but when the interests of the US imperialists are challenged, the lines must be drawn.

What the US bourgeoisie and Carter are really protesting, and what they are trying to prevent, is not any violation of human rights, but the growing influence and strength of the Soviet Union. Therefore the human rights campaign is best understood in the context of growing contention with the Soviet Union. The US is very aware of the USSR's increasing

military capabilities. The Soviet Union surpasses the United States in the numerical strength of nuclear weaponry while technologically inferior to the US. The US spends about one-half as much of its gross national product (GNP) on military expenditures as compared with the military spending of the USSR. Recently, the US government made a decision to trial produce three different versions of the cruise missile (where it is years ahead of the Soviet Union), the B-1 strategic bomber and the Trident missile. The human rights campaign is an acceleration of contention in the sphere of ideology, but this same acceleration can be seen in the recent breakdown of talks between Vance and Gromyko on the Salt II

agreements. As both superpowers only seek to limit each others' capabilities while strengthening their own, the facade of detente grows thin. Following the breakdown in the talks, Carter made the statement: "If we feel at the conclusion of next month's discussions that the Soviets are not acting in good faith with us, and that an agreement is unlikely, then I would be forced to consider a much deeper commitment to the development and deployment of additional weapons." On his part, Gromyko stated, "Very grave problems exist in relations between the two countries."

The human rights campaign of the US government is a cover for war preparations. As contention heightens and the thin cover of

detente is lifted more and more, the human rights issue is used by the US to give moral justification to its military build-up. In the US News and World Report of March 1977, the Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, stated, "The dignity of the individual and the protection of those rights is a very sacred right that is of great importance to Americans, and therefore it is something which should be of importance to us in our domestic lives and in the conduct of our foreign policy." But the reality of life for the masses of workers and oppressed peoples in this country and around the world prove his words to be only lies. The "dignity of the individual" that he trumpets is merely the right of the individual capitalist to oppress and exploit, to reduce the millions of individual workers to wage slaves. To maintain this right and gain hegemony in the world these capitalists will lead us into war. We must expose the government's lies about concern for human rights by which they seek to create support for their blood-thirsty war efforts.

The WORKERS CONGRESS (MARXIST-LENINIST) is a multi-national communist organization which takes Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse tung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking.

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by taking up this responsibility in a disciplined and sustained way.

The Iskra plan put forward by our organization is a party building tactic which speaks to the conditions of circle narrowness and the means to overcome it. Speaking regularly through the pages of a national communist newspaper is the first step. Therefore we open the pages of THE COMMUNIST to polemics, exposures and other contributions from comrades. We encourage every collective to recognize the national scope of the tasks it must take up and use THE COMMUNIST as a weapon in the struggle to prepare the conditions for a genuine revolutionary party.

SDOC can be contacted at P.O. Box 1332, San Diego, Cal., 92112. They have published a collection of articles from Peking Review entitled THE GROWING DANGER OF WAR--THE IRRESISTIBLE TREND OF REVOLUTION which can be obtained for 25¢.

# PART 2: Two Lines in World Trade Union Organizations

The following article is Part II in our series on the book by Filip Kota, a comrade in the Party of Labor of Albania, called TWO OPPOSING LINES IN THE WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

Right from the time the trade union movement came into being as a center of resistance against the bourgeoisie, there appeared two antagonistic trends separated from each other by an unbridgeable gap: the working class line of class struggle which represents and defends the interests of the proletariat and the revisionist and reformist line of class collaboration which expresses and defends the interests of the bourgeoisie. This is the battle of Marxism-Leninism with modern revisionism and all other reformist and opportunist tendencies.

This two line struggle has necessarily characterized the life of the international trade union organizations at every stage in their development. Kota emphasizes that the fundamental dialectical law of struggle of opposites also operates in the trade union movement, both on a national and international scale.

International unity is an objective necessity for the working class growing out of the economic conditions of capitalism. Workers regardless of nationality and wherever they live, are subjected to ruthless exploitation and oppression. Faced with the international character of capital and capitalist exploitation they must organize and unite in the struggle against a common enemy. Thus internationalism is a fundamental principle of working class struggle. Kota says, "the fundamental principle of internationalism is militant solidarity among different workers, the collaboration, backing and support they should extend to one another in the joint struggle against capitalism, the establishment of firm relations among them and the combining of class struggle against the bourgeoisie with national liberation and revolutionary struggles." This is the basis for the formation of international trade union organizations of the working class

## THE FORMATION OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS

The first international trade union organization to reach beyond the framework of a single trade was the result of a meeting of European and American trade union delegates in 1902 that set up an International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers and which later became the International Trade Union Federation. From the outset this organization was dominated by the ideology of trade unionism and right wing social democracy. It did not promote a platform of struggle or encourage solidarity in struggle. Instead, on the eve of the first imperialist war it promoted chauvinist and nationalist tendencies. It labeled the imperialist war a "political matter" and, confining itself to economic tasks, took no stand against the war. Yet when the war started, working class traitors like Gompers of the AFL, Jouhaux of France and Legein of Germany suddenly took politics seriously and became the most ardent supporters of their "own" war-mongering bourgeoisie, occupying important official posts in "their" governments.

Proletarian revolution in Russia brought radical changes to the world trade union movement. It inspired workers everywhere. On the one hand, therefore, it caused the bourgeoisie to step up its efforts to set up reformist and opportunist trade union organizations in order to prevent the influence of the revolution from gaining control of the world trade union movement.

Thus the "Amsterdam International" was established, an international trade union organization based on reformism, class collaboration and opposition to the ideas of October. This organization pretended to be outside of politics but in fact depended on the Socialist International.

On the other hand, the October Revolution gave birth to an openly revolutionary international trade union organization. Under the ideological and political leadership of the Comintern, the Red International of Trade Unions was founded based on the revolutionary principle of class struggle and a program of abolishing capitalism,

replacing it with socialism, combining the economic with the political struggle, and exposing the reformist trade union leaders, especially of the Amsterdam International. The Red International openly declared its collaboration with the Comintern.

The basic principles of the Red International remain guideposts for us today in our trade union work.

## THE WFTU AND THE ICFTU

Under the new conditions created by the Second World War and the anti-fascist coalition, there arose plans for a broad, democratic organization of the world trade union movement. First put forward by the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee in 1941, the proposal for a world trade union federation gave rise to a preparatory committee including Soviet, British and U.S. trade union leaders. After the war the World Federation of Trade Unions was set up in Paris in 1945.

The resolutions of the first Congress of this organization were a good start. The main task of the trade union movement was declared to be a political, not an economic task -- to put a speedy and final end to facism. Also the Congress took up the struggle against colonialism, proclaiming in one of its resolutions: "It would be an incomplete victory indeed if full use of the right to self-determination and national independence of the peoples of the colonies and territories of all countries were denied them."

Thus the founding of the WFTU was a step forward for the working class in combining economic struggles with political ones, upholding the defense of the interests of the working class, bringing together a wide representation from many countries on a broad, democratic, anti-fascist basis. It represented a definite working class and anti-imperialist trend in the world trade union movement.

On the other hand the opportunist leaders of British and American unions sought to sabotage the WFTU from the start. On the pretext of insisting on a meeting to discuss the Marshall Plan for postwar European reconstruction, these lieutenants of the capitalist class in the workers movement threw out a series of ultimatums and demands designed to destroy the WFTU. When they could not destroy it they called a conference to set up an independent trade union organization, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). This organization was founded on the direct instigation and backing of the imperialists and was part and parcel of U.S. imperialism's plan to establish hegemony throughout the postwar world.

The two line struggle therefore ripened into a split between organizations: on the one hand the WFTU, an organization representing the working class and anti-imperialist trend; on the other hand the ICFTU, a pawn of U.S. imperialism. The principle task of the ICFTU was to give active support to the Atlantic pact and other positions of U.S. imperialism and to frustrate the influence of communists and progressive forces in the unions. This was done with the direct collaboration of U.S. trade union bureaucrats and the CIA. George Meany is very explicit: "when the communist menace was great in France and Italy during the post war years, the trade unionists with free tendencies were aided by their American colleagues stationed at embassies who gave them material aid in establishing anti-communist trade unions." The ICFTU became the center of a rabid anti-communist campaign in the world trade union movement and also the center of support for post war attacks by capitalist governments on the living standards and democratic rights of the working class.

Kota points out that far from weakening the WFTU, the secession of the British TUC and the American CIO to establish the ICFTU gave energy and impetus to the development of the WFTU. The WFTU grew strong and gained prestige among the masses for its working class and anti-imperialist stands. It exposed the ICFTU, the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact as building blocks in the drive of U.S. imperialism for world hegemony. It took a firm stand against the divisive activity of the Yugoslav Trade Unions and expelled them from its leading bodies.

THE TWO LINE STRUGGLE IN THE WFTU  
The rise to power of modern revisionism in the USSR fundamentally altered the character of the struggle in the world trade union movement and unleashed a fierce struggle in the WFTU between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism.

Just as the opportunist positions of the ICFTU were part and parcel of a whole policy of US imperialism determined by its aggressive striving for hegemony, so too the transformation of the working class and anti-imperialist line of the WFTU was part and parcel of the efforts of the Kruchevite revisionists to revise the whole line and policy of the Soviet Union. This is why the Soviet trade union leaders, as Kota emphasizes, are directly responsible to the international working class and trade union movement, for breaking the unity of that movement and causing a split in the WFTU.

The change in the correct positions of the WFTU was covered by a revisionist appeal to "new conditions". Because of the "spirit of Camp David", (following an Eisenhower-Kruchev meeting), for example, WFTU documents were supposed to remain silent on the question of US imperialism. The Soviet trade union leaders attempted to impose their revisionist views of peaceful coexistence on the WFTU and sought to substitute the economic struggle against monopolies for the political struggle against imperialism. At the 5th Congress of the WFTU in 1961, the president of the organization, an Italian revisionist, attempted to throw out the report prepared on "The Draft Program of Trade Union Action" which reflected working class and anti-imperialist spirit because, according to him, it was "overloaded with the party spirit". Instead, at the instigation of the Soviet revisionists, he proposed the following guidelines: (1) US imperialism should not be mentioned specifically, (2) in order to preserve peace, primary importance should be given to meetings and negotiations with heads of state, (3) capitalism will be transformed into socialism by means of "structural reforms."

These proposals were defeated in spite of revisionist efforts and the Congress approved the Trade Union Program of Action. However this victory for the trade union movement was sabotaged by the revisionists who used their positions of leadership in the WFTU to carry out their aims in spite of the decisions of the Congress.

The change in line of the WFTU was accompanied by efforts at rapprochement with the ICFTU and other opportunist trade union centers. Kruchev wanted the different trade unions of the world indiscriminately to "sit around the same table" and "speak a common language." But this is not the language of Marxism-Leninism.

In fact he succeeded so well that at an international conference of miners organized by the WFTU in Moscow in 1964, only 26 of the 67 delegations were from organizations affiliated with the WFTU and at the 7th Congress of the WFTU only 63 of the 135 delegations were members of the WFTU.

Yet while calling for unity and dialogue with the reformist and opportunist trade union centers, the Soviet revisionists at the same time began an all out campaign of slander and attack against the principled stands of the Chinese and Albanian trade union delegations in the WFTU. While not making any mention whatsoever of the struggle of the trade unions against imperialism, the revisionists called for a campaign against "dogmatism and sectarianism" in the international trade union movement, pretending that this was the principal obstacle to unity. Thus the line that dogmatism and sectarianism is the main danger was spread throughout the international workers movement to cover the revisionist betrayal of the interests of the proletariat.

The Chinese and Albanian trade union centers fought bitterly against the revisionist schemes to change the working class and anti-imperialist policies of the WFTU and to make it a pliant tool of Soviet revisionism. As the WFTU leaders implemented more and more fully the line of the Soviet revisionists, the trade unions of Albania carried out activity to correct these errors in a class spirit, along principled lines,

through the open confrontation of views and constructive polemics. Kota insists: "Abiding by the principle that on questions of principle there can never be any 'middle road', that contradictions cannot be ironed out by concealing them but by bringing them out into the open and fighting against them, the TUA waged a determined battle."

At the 6th Congress of the WFTU the TUA fought in this fashion, stating, "it is now known that there are divergences of principle within the WFTU. To hush up these divergences is dangerous to the cause of the workers; on the contrary, their causes should be pointed out. . . . The cause of these divergences is the implementation by certain leaders of the WFTU, of the erroneous line dictated by the leaders of the Soviet Trade Unions, which has also led to the violation of the principles of democracy and equality."

For a time the Soviet revisionists tried to cover up their vicious attacks and splitting tactics within the WFTU under the demagogical slogan of unity. After Kruchev's fall they switched tactics, acting more conciliatory, saying that misunderstandings were subjective, not matters of principle, etc. By trying to conceal contradictions and evade open polemics they tried to foster the idea that differences could be resolved by the passage of time.

The fact is, however, that at the 6th Congress of the WFTU every pretense of following the norms of trade union democracy was abandoned. Following Soviet leadership, the officials of the WFTU resorted to devices like cutting off microphones, mistranslating speeches, organizing stamping of feet, yells and insults, as well as fascist violence to prevent the Marxist-Leninist views of the Albanian and Chinese delegations from being heard. The revisionists arbitrarily denied the Chinese delegation the right to take part in the proceedings. When a delegate from the trade unions of Albania attempted to protest this decision he was forcibly removed from the microphone by the Bulgarian secret police.

In short, the WFTU had turned into an appendage of Soviet policy. Recognizing that there was no possibility of fighting within the WFTU, the Trade Unions of Albania no longer took part in its meetings, but continued the battle from the outside.

Today the WFTU is torn by factions and contradictions. Polycentrist tendencies have emerged to weaken the organization as the revisionist leadership of the Italian and French trade union confederations attempt to escape Soviet dictate and set up a single trade union center in the West European countries. Furthermore the WFTU has completely lost its broad representative character (over half of its officials are European) and there has been built up a bureaucratic caste and swollen apparatus of functionaries who are picked for their loyalty to the policies of the Soviet revisionists.

Weakened by disunity and rivalry the WFTU is therefore no different on this score than the ICFTU. This latter organization too has become completely degenerate. Even though it has long served and still serves as a tool of US imperialism throughout the globe, justifying the stand of US imperialism on all fundamental international issues and backing US interventions and aggressions on every front, rivalries and contention have led to the secession of the AFL-CIO from the ICFTU.

The disunity and weakened character of these two international labor organizations is the result of the fact that they are nothing but appendages of bourgeois dictatorship and obedient tools of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. They serve superpower policies of collaboration and contention for hegemony. Their goal is not trade union unity but trade union domination on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

\*TO BE CONTINUED\*