

# Getting Together

POLITICAL ORGAN OF I WOR KUEN



Countries Want Independence, Nations Want Liberation, People Want Revolution

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MAY DAY 1976

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## China Defends Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The current struggle in China against the revisionist Teng Hsiao-ping who attempted to restore capitalism brings out once again the truth that the cardinal question in the international communist movement today is how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism.

"Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of

Marxism is to be tested." (Lenin, *State and Revolution*)

The Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party currently are providing us with tremendous lessons in theory and practice of the necessity and nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are showing us that socialism can only be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and that the dictatorship is the class struggle carried out by the proletariat with state power as its instrument, with the class struggle against the bourgeoisie even more intense.

In this article we will try to respond to the questions of what is the dictatorship of the proletariat and why is it necessary? Why is

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## Union Bureaucrats Sellout

### N.Y.C. HOSPITAL WORKERS PROTEST MASSIVE LAYOFFS

On June 4, 1976 the strike of city hospital workers in New York City planned for June 7, 1976, was once again called off by the trade union bureaucrats of DC 37. The bureaucrats proclaimed a 'temporary peace' as they agreed with the city government to have a three man panel make non binding recommendations for a settlement. The three man panel consists of former State Senator Basil A. Paterson; Walter Eisenberg, dean of graduate studies at Hunter College; and Martin Horwitz, president and chief executive officer of UV Industries, a "concern" involved in mining, oil, gas, and manufacturing of electrical equipment. The agreement gives the panel one week to develop recommendations supposedly to hold off layoffs and the strike.

The DC 37 bureaucrats have

repeatedly stated that if any layoff notices are issued, a strike would immediately be called. Meanwhile, layoff notices have gone out to workers, nurses and doctors in Gouverneur Hospital and to workers in many other public hospitals.

The trade union bureaucrats' stalling and treachery in postponing the strike to June 11 takes the pressure off these union "leaders" by relying on a "panel" of representatives favorable to capitalist interests, such as the city government and the EFCB. Their strike calls and militant talks have only been to camouflage their submission to the layoffs and the destruction of the municipal hospital system and their betrayal to the working class.

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## EDITORIAL

### Soviet Social-Imperialism and the International Situation Today

Pivotal to understanding the world situation today is grasping the nature of the Soviet Union. Is it an ally of national independence, national liberation and revolution or is it a mortal enemy? Do we extol the Soviet Union as an example of socialism or expose it as a fascist and imperialist superpower?

The stand of IWK on these questions is unequivocal: the Soviet Union, once ruled by the proletariat, is now under the rule of a monopoly capitalist class that has fully restored capitalism. The Soviet Union is fascist at home and social-imperialist abroad, socialist in words and imperialist in deeds. It is a superpower and contends with the U.S. for the domination of the world. Everywhere the Soviet social-imperialists are enemies of the masses of people.

In this editorial we wish to outline our view of the Soviet Union as a capitalist superpower, the significance of this development for the people of the world and then finally, the tasks for the Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S. on this question.

#### How Did the Soviet Union Become an Imperialist Superpower?

From the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 to the 1950's, the people of the Soviet Union under the leadership of their communist party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) led first by V. I. Lenin and then Joseph Stalin made momentous strides in building the first workers' state. The Soviet people set a shining example to the whole world of what economic, political, cultural and moral progress the laboring people can make when they throw off their exploiters and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviet people and the CPSU valiantly defended socialism and fought against the many attempts of international capitalism to overthrow or subvert the Soviet Union. Right after the revolution, the capitalist powers invaded Russia to attempt to destroy socialism. But all the various attempts of the imperialists failed — the most outstanding example is that of the successful Soviet resistance against Nazi aggression in World War II.

At the same time that the Soviet people defended socialism from external imperialist aggression, they conducted a sharp battle against an even more dangerous enemy. The revisionists, capitalist elements masked under Marxist words, represented a mortal threat right within socialism. Their objective, like the foreign imperialists, was to overthrow the

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- A representative of IWK spoke at a rally held on May 6, 1976 in front of Gouverneur Hospital in New York City. This rally was sponsored by a variety of communist, community and worker organizations. The purpose of the rally was to protest the massive layoffs that are currently threatening the existence of Gouverneur Hospital and several other hospitals in New York City. Several hundred persons attended the rally.
- Gouverneur Hospital is located in the Lower East Side of New York City and is the only public hospital which services this area. In particular it is the only hospital available to the New York Chinese community, whose residents have historically fought along with other oppressed nationalities in the struggle first to build and now to defend Gouverneur Hospital.

# Letters to Getting Together

We will be reprinting letters, statements or comments from our readers. While we have no particular space limit, all material sent to us should be concise, to the point, and should further the struggle for principled unity. Please send us three (3) copies of all articles submitted.

## Getting Together:

Welcome back! Your paper was very sorely missed.

As far as the Soviet Union's actions in Africa go, why did the Soviets increase its trade with South Africa after the UN embargo in 1963? It involved low visibility items like tools, electronic equipment, replacement parts, explosives and fuel. As of 1969 (the year I was locked up) they were still at it. Gold addicts are as amoral as drug addicts.

Thank you very much for sending me your paper.

Still fighting,  
A prisoner in Wisconsin

## Getting Together replies:

We greatly appreciated your letter, and especially your insights about Soviet Social Imperialism. *Getting Together* will continue to expose the nature of Soviet Social Imperialism in this and in future issues. Please continue to send your views on the articles in *Getting Together*.

## MORE ON CAMPS

### To *Getting Together*:

As a person who used to read *Getting Together* regularly, I am really glad to see it coming out again. The articles in the May 1976 issue contributed to my understanding of several issues facing the movement today. In particular, I found the criticism and review of "Farewell to Manzanar" put forward a clear analysis of this television program which has sparked a great deal of interest and discussion about the camps and that whole period in the Japanese American communities.

As a Sansei [third generation Japanese American—ed.] I have been trying to understand and unravel that period of history in order to grasp the present situation for Japanese Americans. Even now there are contradictions amongst Japanese Americans that stem from that period. One of the most difficult issues to resolve is the position that individual Nisei [second generation Japanese Americans—ed.] took on the Loyalty Oath. The Loyalty Oath was part of a plan of "processing" Japanese Americans in the camps for resettlement and enlistment in the army. The two crucial questions are:

"Question 27: Are you willing to serve

## GETTING TOGETHER

*Getting Together* is the political organ of I Wor Kuen, a Marxist-Leninist organization dedicated to building the revolutionary movement and to the formation of a new, anti-revisionist communist party here in the United States.

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## LIBERATION SCHOOL EXPOSES MISO

To the Editor—

We're writing this letter from the perspective of a group of people who take seriously the task of making proletarian revolution and see the central task in this period as the building of a new, genuine non-revisionist Marxist-Leninist communist party to lead the revolutionary struggle. For a number of years we were involved in running the Liberation School in San Francisco, a "political education project" which saw itself as uniting people to learn and study history, political economy, etc. from a socialist perspective and simultaneously using these lessons to further the revolutionary struggle in this country. In the course of our work and the accompanying development of our politics we became engaged in a sharp struggle with the proponents of mass intermediate socialist organizations (MISO) which locally has become consolidated into the organization Northern California Alliance. We have come to see this specific struggle as part of the larger struggle in the communist movement and our intention in writing this letter is to raise some of what we see as the ideological roots of this tendency, how our understanding of this tendency has developed and what we see as the likely implications of this path.

in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?

"Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization?"

Signing the oath one way or another—yes, yes or no, no—has developed attitudes and divisions among the Nisei and Sansei. Yes, yes'ers are presumed to be naive 200% Americans. No, no'rs are supposed to have been pro-Japanese fascists. I feel that the *Getting Together* criticism of the CPUSA begins to clarify the situation at that time, and makes a contribution towards understanding the complex questions from that period.

The movement needs more analysis of that period and the activities of the CPUSA. In the interest of taking up this task, I would like *Getting Together* to take up this question of the Loyalty Oath more fully in the future.

R.L., New York

### *Getting Together* replies:

Thank you for your letter. The points and questions you raised in your letter have also been raised by other readers of *Getting Together*. In answer to your questions here is a preliminary answer. We encourage others, especially those Japanese Americans who were directly a part of this situation, to write us so that out of this struggle we can begin to answer the many questions which have persisted over the years.

Because of the lack of scientific analysis of the prison camps and this whole period of US history by the revolutionary movement coupled with the attempts by some forces in the Japanese American movement to gloss over the camps as just an isolated event or as just a question of "discrimination," there is still much to be learned about this issue.

It has been held by some in the Japanese American movement that voting 'yes-yes' meant acquiescence to the concentration camps, to the trampling of

In order to better understand the roots of our position and that of the MISO we'd like to provide a better historical perspective of who we are, who the MISO is. In 1973 a small group of primarily white ex-students who had been involved in the movements of the 60's, civil rights, anti-war, student and women's movements, came together to form the Liberation School. The group was united by the belief that capitalism was at the root of the problems of this society and that one thing which was sorely needed was a way to define more precisely who the enemy was, how the system of capitalism worked and how to best carry on the fight against it. A school was formed in response to this as a way to organize people in this fight. We guided the work of the school through a political collective who were all united around the "need to build socialism." We provided classes on Marx, imperialism, labor history, political economy, and many other topics we felt helped expose people to the true nature of capitalism. Starting small with borrowed space and a few people in each class we grew to the point of renting a good sized storefront and attracting 300-400 people to our classes each term. The school became an important part of the political life of a section of the "left" in San Francisco. It was clear the thrust of the school was speaking to the concerns of a large number of people. In evaluating this effect, however, we must also look at the context in which the school operated.

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human rights, etc. and that voting 'no-no' was an act of resistance. Others in the Japanese American movement have held that the "no-no's" were mainly supporters of the Emperor and of Japanese militarism. These views have divided many in the Japanese American community.

From our preliminary struggle, analysis and investigation on this question, we believe it is wrong to idealize or categorize all the 'yes-yes' or 'no-nos' as being total sell-outs, courageous resisters, militarists or valiant fighters against fascism. We believe that amongst different people there were different reasons for their answers to the oath.

Initially there was a great deal of confusion over the purpose of the loyalty oath and what the War Relocation Administration (WRA) planned to do with the questionnaires. When the WRA ordered that everyone must answer the questionnaire, heated struggle developed within the camps.

Some answered "yes-yes" because they genuinely believed in the importance of the international struggle against Fascism and militarism. Others answered yes-yes because lacking any correct leadership they developed misconceptions about the nature of US Imperialism and the need to prove their loyalty to their oppressor. Others, however, such as the JACL, incorrectly promoted the need to prove 'loyalty' to the US by enlisting.

Most of the Nisei who answered 'no-no' did so because they were outraged at the historic oppression faced by Japanese Americans which culminated in the fascist incarceration of Japanese in the US into concentration camps by the US capitalists, and refused to swear allegiance to a government which had systematically and brutally enforced its rule over them and denied them their basic rights. Some answered 'no-no' as an act of defiance against US Imperialism and because of strong ties to Japan. Many Japanese Americans were led to believe that the Japanese militarists were genuinely concerned with the masses of Japanese Americans. (In reality, the rise of Japanese militarism came through the brutal repression of the workers move-

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## WHO IS CHINESE WELFARE COUNCIL TRYING TO FOOL ?

*Getting Together* Introductory Remarks:

In issue #21, 1972 of *Getting Together*, an article in Chinese commenting on the "Confession Issue" mentioned the Chinese Welfare Council's involvement with issues of immigration. (The "Confession Issue" involved Chinese immigrants to the U.S. who did not have legal papers. The U.S. government enticed Chinese immigrants to sign "confessions" in return for legalized immigration status. As a result, the U.S. government obtained identities and backgrounds of many Chinese immigrants, some of whom were subsequently deported.) *Getting Together* criticized the Chinese Welfare Council's role of non-action — its self-proclaimed expertise in taking care of immigration problems is actually defunct.

Recently, this same Chinese Welfare Council advertised in Chinese newspapers all over the U.S., claiming that they want to help people who have relatives living in China to bring them here to be reunited with their families. This is attracting a great deal of attention in the Chinese communities. The May 24th issue of the San Francisco newspaper, *World Journal*, published the following announcement for the National Chinese Welfare Council:

"This Council wants to help Chinese Americans, or Chinese permanent residents, to have their relatives now in China come to the U.S. at the earliest date and without delay. We have received President Ford's special assistant, Dr. Mass's [re-translated from Chinese—Ed.] promise to find ways to reunite separated Chinese American families. The Council took this opportunity, consulted with legal experts on immigration, and in accordance with the guidance given by Dr. Mass, composed a document and forms. These are to be filled out by our Chinese people to be delivered to Dr. Mass to be processed..."

National Chinese Welfare Council  
64 Wentworth St.

San Francisco, CA 94108

(Translated from Chinese,  
original address in English only.)

*Getting Together* has received several letters concerning this recent trickery of the "Welfare" Council, which is trying to assist the U.S. government to collect data of the Chinese people in the U.S., and which is trying to capitalize for its own purposes on the growing interest in the People's Republic of China. The following is one of several letters translated from Chinese, condemning the recent actions of the "Welfare" Council, and exposing its connections to the U.S. government and to the reactionary KMT (Nationalist Party of Taiwan).

### Dear *Getting Together*:

After reading the National Chinese Welfare Council's short announcement, I have many doubts, including the following:

1) The action taken by the Welfare Council is based on the reply of President Ford's special assistant to some questions. According to the announcement, the official remarks were aimed at "Chinese Americans." Yet the Welfare Council claims it wants to "help" both U.S. citizens and permanent residents. Obviously, the latter are Chinese nationals, not U.S. citizens, and the U.S. has no right to handle the problems of other citizens or to negotiate over their lives with China. This point in the announcement is misleading, if not outright lies.

2) Regarding the remark of wanting to "unite separated families," Dr. Mass [re-translated from Chinese—Ed.], representing the U.S. government, only "promises" to find "ways" of doing so. To make such promises before finding any definite "ways" is just "diplomatic" talk. In our class society, the officials cannot help but to play on people's hope with empty talk in order to appear "virtuous." This kind of talk is very common in the U.S.

Talk was cheap for the U.S. government during the 20-odd years of U.S. embargo of China. Although the U.S. government always claims to be the "good guys," facts have shown that the U.S. has not done anything to help the Chinese people in this country to unite with their separated families.

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# MAY DAY 1976

Many events were held this year throughout the country to commemorate International Workers Day. In San Francisco, the largest celebration of International Workers Day by forces in the anti-revisionist communist movement took place. On May 2, 1976 at the Chinese Cultural Center a celebration sponsored by the Chinatown Committee to Celebrate 5/1, a committee of over 10 organizations representing various Marxist-Leninist, community, worker and student organizations, was held. Over 700 persons attended the event. Approximately 75% of the audience were from the working class and oppressed nationalities with a particularly strong turnout from the Asian nationalities.

The program included a keynote speech representing the sponsoring

Soviet Social Imperialists are attempting to subvert the national liberation movement. The speech also soundly condemned US intervention. It exposed detente as an illusion and that the danger of world war is a mounting reality, and called upon the people to be prepared.

The speech went on to talk about the brilliant victories of the people in socialist countries. In particular the speech hailed the victories achieved under socialism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat in Socialist China. The speech concluded with the struggles of the working class in the U.S. and with a concrete account of the oppression of Chinese and other oppressed nationalities. The speech called for the unity of the working class and oppressed peoples and ended with the call to dare to

society and the establishment of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The speech hailed the recent struggle in the People's Republic of China against the counter-revolutionary line of Teng Hsiao Ping. It pointed out that under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the broad masses are uniting around the slogan of "Class struggle is the key link" and has beaten back the right deviationist line of Teng Hsiao Ping and the other class traitors.

The speech continued to call for the unionization of those sectors of the working class which is not yet unionized. At the same time the speech clearly pointed out the danger of the labor aristocracy and called for their expulsion from the trade unions and the working class movement. The speech emphatically upheld the right to self-determination of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South including the right to secession. It called for full equality of status for all national minorities.

Finally the speech talked about the necessity for a new genuine Communist party and called for the building of a communist party as the central task of all Marxist-Leninists. The speech pointed out that "party building is fundamentally an ideological question—Our new party must be firmly grounded in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and staunchly uphold and apply it to everything. Building the party is more than a group of people declaring themselves to be a new party, and requires the living application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of US society. It requires a correct line and program around which revolutionaries can unite. This must be done in closer relationship to the masses. Chairman Mao stated, 'The correctness or incorrectness of

ideological and political line determines everything.' Our new party must have a correct political line, one that flows from correct ideology, enriches Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and is tested in the course of the class struggle. It must also earn and demonstrate its leadership, and in such a way, lead the working class and oppressed peoples to victory, revolution, to socialism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . ."

## Lively Skits and Poetry Readings

The skit which depicted a unionization struggle in a noodle factory, was especially well received. The skit laid emphasis on exposing the nature and role of the labor aristocracy in a concrete and lively style. The slide show presented sharply and clearly the historical and ongoing oppression and resistance of the Chinese national minority in this country. The slide show pointed out the oppression of Chinese both as a people and as workers. The slide show concluded with a call for the unity of the working class and oppressed nationalities in the common struggle against imperialism.

Poems were read in both English and Chinese. Chairman Mao's poems, "Two Birds" and "Ching-kangshan Revisited," were read to the accompaniment of guitar music. These inspiring poems pointed out sharply the necessity to intensify struggle, to persevere in battle and exposed revisionism. Langston Hughes' poem concretely and beautifully called for the unity of all nationalities in common struggle against oppression.

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Group singing of the Internationale.

coalition, poems from Chairman Mao and Langston Hughes, a skit, a speech representing the Marxist-Leninist forces within the coalition, a slide show, solidarity speeches from CANE and the Molders' Union, and singing of 'Bella Ciao', 'Solidarity Forever' and the 'Internationale'.

## Speeches

The keynote speech talked of the history of May Day, its internationalism and its spirit of class solidarity. It spoke of the world situation and characterized the present era as one of "great disorder under heaven" and the situation being excellent for the peoples of the world. The speech hailed the victorious struggles of the three Indochinese peoples and expressed solidarity with the struggles of the African, Latin American, and Asian peoples against superpower aggression. The speech condemned the two superpowers — U.S.I. and S.S.I. — and pointed out the fact that the Soviet Social Imperialists were the most dangerous force opposing the peoples' struggles. It gave the example of Angola where the

struggle, dare to win, to unite and to fight for a better world.

The other speech of the evening was the one given representing the various Marxist-Leninist organizations and individuals within the Coalition. The speech reiterated strongly opposition to the two superpowers and called upon the people to be prepared to wage revolutionary struggle against the danger of a third world war. It put forward that the struggle of countries for independence, nations for liberation and the people for revolution is an irresistible historical tide moving all of society forward and that whether revolution presents war, or war gives rise to revolution, revolution is the main trend in the world.

The speech then focused on the necessity to organize and give leadership to the struggles of the working class and oppressed nationalities. The speech dealt a direct blow at those elements within the working class and oppressed nationality struggles which attempt to divert the struggles of the working class and oppressed nationalities into channels of reform and away from our goal of the elimination of bourgeois



Reading Chairman Mao's revolutionary poetry calling for class struggle.



May Day skit: Workers struggling with a union bureaucrat.

## ON AGITATIONAL WORK

# Organizing the Rank and File at Gouverneur Hospital

We are reprinting here the contents of an agitational leaflet which was distributed by IWK to workers in Gouverneur Hospital. This leaflet was distributed in English, Chinese and Spanish to over 1,000 workers at Gouverneur. The leaflet was well received and is only one of a series of both propaganda and agitational leaflets which we have been distributing in Gouverneur. In these leaflets we seek to take up the concrete tasks of presenting a Marxist Leninist analysis of the concrete situation at Gouverneur and to attempt to give direction and leadership to the struggle there.

Agitational articles seek to illuminate one or a few ideas of an issue in such a way as to raise the consciousness and arouse the indignation of the masses from a clear proletarian view of the question. We seek to combine our agitational work through leaflets with concrete participation in the day to day struggles of the workers at Gouverneur. Concretely in this agitational leaflet we seek to arouse the workers to take a concrete stand on the particular situation facing them. In particular we tried to place attention on the role of the trade union bureaucrats who are daily and actively trying to sell out the struggles of the workers. We try to point out a definite direction which the workers must take.

We recognize that we are all just beginning to take up the tasks of propaganda and agitation and learning how to take up this task well. We hope that readers of Getting Together will write us and give us criticisms of both this leaflet and ideas as to how to better write agitational articles as well as how to concretely take up this important task of propaganda and agitation.



(Explanatory Note: As stated earlier this leaflet was intended primarily for distribution to the workers at Gouverneur. Therefore knowledge of certain things are assumed. For our readers who are not familiar with some of the things referred to in this leaflet we are printing here brief explanations.)

**Taylor Law.** New York State law which restricts the right to strike of all public employees. It includes a stipulation that all striking workers will lose two days' pay for each day on strike.

**Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB).** The Board is now running New York City. It is composed of representatives of the major banks and industries of New York City. It approves all budgetary matters. Governor Hugh Carey is Chairman of the EFCB.

**DC 37, Local 420, Local 1549, Lillian Roberts and Gotbaum.** DC 37 is a District Council of the American Federation of State and Municipal Employees. Local 420 includes nurses aides, housekeeping and dietary workers. Local 1549 includes all city clerical employees. Lillian Roberts is the Associate Director of DC 37 and Gotbaum is Executive Director of DC 37.

**Sydenham and Belvis Hospitals.** Sydenham Hospital is located in the black community of Harlem. Belvis is located in the Bronx.

**Regionalization and merger.** Two terms used by the trade union bureaucrats to cover for their basic unity with and acceptance of the more blatantly worded "Three Year Plan" of the EFCB to close down essential hospitals and lay off workers. The Three Year Plan calls for the elimination of 13 of the present 18 municipal hospitals, leaving only 1 hospital per borough.



Police and security guards try to intimidate hospital workers who are struggling against layoffs and closing of N.Y.C. hospital services.

### IWK LEAFLET

## Expose the "Truce"! We Need a United Strike!

The strike by Local 420 against the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) and the City's plans to lay off more workers and close badly needed hospitals and services has been held off. In spite of the strike vote taken by over one thousand hospital workers, the DC 37 leadership has conciliated once again to the Health and Hospital Corporation (HHC) without the membership's consent. This, and other actions aimed at undermining our strength in the face of the EFCB and the City's attack, show us that the rank and file must begin to regain control of our union. We must organize ourselves to take a more active role in union affairs, including the negotiations, and press all the locals of DC 37 in all the hospitals to strike at once against the layoffs and the closings and to fight for better health services in working class and oppressed nationality communities.

Exactly what is the union leadership's strike plan? They have refused to tell us, the rank and file members, on grounds that it is a "military secret." Even more of a mystery is what is being negotiated. All we have been told is that a "truce" has been agreed to with the HHC as long as no pink slips are handed out and the negotiations are taking place.

If we look past the union leadership's militant rhetoric ("This is Pentagon stuff") we can see that their strike plan is to capitulate to the City government and the EFCB. First of all, the union leadership has never taken a forthright stand against the Taylor law, but rather, has held up the Taylor law as an excuse not to strike. This is one reason given to us why Local 1549 will not call for a strike itself but will merely honor its sister local's picket line. The union leadership's strike plan is really not to strike at all. But if they are forced to, their strategy is to wage the weakest strike they possibly can. Lillian Roberts has repeatedly mentioned a "rolling" strategy and a "sporadic" strike. What this means is that all of the hospitals will not be on strike at the same time, but only one or two, leaving the rest of us powerless. This capitulationist strategy serves to divide us and greatly undermines our fighting ability. A component part of this divisive strategy is to split DC 37 along craft lines. Although several locals are being affected by the actions of the EFCB and the City, only Local 420 was allowed to take a strike vote. When the demand for a strike was raised in Local 1549 by rank and file members, they were told that a strike vote will not be held and that 1549 is not on strike but will give "full support" to 420. This means that 1549 members must honor 420's picket lines but will not receive any strike benefits. Lastly, if we look at the date set for the strike, May 24th, we find that it comes 3 days after the date set by HHC to close services at Gouverneur, Sydenham and Belvis. In order to really fight the layoffs and closings, the rank and file must call for a strike to begin immediately in all locals and in all the hospitals. We must also call for the repeal of the Taylor law.

On May 19, the union leadership postponed the strike arbitrarily pending the outcome of "negotiations." A look at what is being "negotiated" reveals that we have nothing to gain either way. Central to the union leadership's position in the negotiations is the question of "merging" the hospitals and "regionalization" of services. According to the union leadership, Gouverneur, Sydenham and Belvis can be kept open if they are "merged" with other hospitals and that specialized services, such as obstetrics and intensive care become "regionalized" by boroughs. This proposal, under the guise of upgrading patient care and providing better medical facilities, actually helps to implement the EFCB's three year plan to close all municipal hospitals. When you "merge" two hospitals into one, you have to close one down and lay off workers. Under "regionalization" people from working class and oppressed nationality communities will have services taken away from them. "Merger" and "regionalization" are attacks on working and oppressed nationality people, and the fact that the HHC's very own special committee report fully backs the union leadership's plan shows this. If the HHC can agree with the union leadership's proposal there will be no strike, but there definitely will be more massive layoffs.

These "negotiations" are being used by the leadership to give us the illusion that they are opposing the closing of hospitals. In actuality, they are bargaining for a position where the layoffs and the closings can be disguised, thus getting themselves off the hook.

Why does the union leadership capitulate to the City and the EFCB? The reason is that they have nothing in common with the rank and file workers. The leadership is actually in the service of the City and the capitalist class and work in their interests. The capitalist class needs agents inside the working class to weaken our fighting strength and divert our struggle away from themselves. Because of the huge salaries and privileges which they receive, the union leadership is part of a bought off sector of the labor movement — the labor aristocracy. It is their task to sell out the workers, to keep us confused and disorganized and keep us from controlling our own unions. The union leadership will use every means at their disposal to accomplish this. One of their main ways is to deny us of any union democracy.

There is no democracy in our union because the leadership is afraid of the rank and file workers. If workers are organized and active in the union, the leadership cannot easily sell out the rank and file. Gotbaum and Roberts have said that they will not tell us what their strike plan is until it is being implemented. They want the rank and file to give all authority to the officers to decide what actions to take or not take. They are doing everything they can to hide their treacherous and capitulating plan from the workers, to stifle discussion and to take the initiative away from the workers. We cannot rely or trust the union leadership because their strike strategy is not a fighting or a winning strategy. If their proposal is won, the workers and the oppressed nationalities will have taken another defeat. The union leadership is not fighting for our interests.

But, the unions belong to us. They are our basic organization in our fight with the capitalist class. We must organize ourselves to fight and regain control of our unions so that they will be democratic and fighting unions which will be able to stop the layoffs and keep the hospitals open. The unions must staunchly fight these attacks against the working class and oppressed nationality communities. We must support the call for a strike and demand that our unions take this action in all of the locals, in all the hospitals at the same time and immediately. We must organize ourselves and take an active role in the union and struggle for rank and file initiative in strike preparations, negotiations and in all phases of our struggle. We need to have a united strike in order to win.

# Sharing Lessons from S.F. City Strike

During the San Francisco craft workers strike, the workers of the San Francisco Municipal Railway (Muni) were exemplary in their staunch support of the strike and in their attempts to explain the real issues of the strike to the people of San Francisco. In the San Francisco Chinese community, Chinese workers of Muni cooperated with various community organizations to continue essential transportation facilities to the people of Chinatown using their own cars. In the course of their work, they have united to write the following statement which was extensively leafleted in the community, and to include some of the responses they received from Chinese workers.

Statement of the Chinese Muni drivers:

In putting out this leaflet to the Chinese community, we want to express some of the comments of the people we came into contact with while distributing it. Some examples:

1. A Chinese cook said that initially he did not support the strike because he felt that the craft workers were making too much money already. After reading the leaflet, we followed up on him and his response had changed. He realized that the actions of the City were an attack on all workers which would affect all workers and in particular would have a bad effect on attempts by the workers in Chinatown to unionize.

2. A worker in a Fish market said that he saw the strike as an inconvenience in terms of no transportation but that he could see the importance of fighting for the long term interests of the workers. He said that in each struggle there will be unavoidable sacrifices, but that we should not respond to the immediate inconvenience of no buses, and that we should understand what the strike is actually about and support the workers.

Generally, people felt that this leaflet was positive in trying to bring out the issues of the strike and the importance of workers to understand and support each others' struggles, while recognizing that within the struggle there are particular issues that must be raised.

For us Chinese Muni drivers, we feel it is a significant step to try to bring us workers closer together in terms of clarifying the strike and its concrete relationship to the struggle of Chinese people. In particular we feel that it clarified more the role of the union and pointed out even more clearly the importance of this issue to the concrete issue of unionization in the Chinese community.

## Chinese Muni Drivers' Position on the City Strike

In an attempt to break the unions in the City, the Board of Supervisors have launched a campaign to isolate the craft workers as the cause of the City's financial problems. They proposed Proposition B to limit "unreasonable" pay increases by eliminating the old pay formula won by craft workers in 1946.

Demanding the right to strike, no pay cuts, and to maintain what they've won thru the years, City craft workers went out on strike in response to the Board's campaign. The striking unions are the Carpenters, Laborers, Plumbers, Machinists, Construction, and Electricians.

When Proposition B passed, the Board passed an ordinance which established a new pay formula. This formula was based on a survey done of private industry in the State. An average of wages paid for a particular craft was taken as the base pay for that craft in the City's employment. However, the Board surveyed non-union private industry for its figures. For example, the survey took the wages of 1500 non-union gardeners for the sample while ignoring 15,000 union gardeners in the State. This new formula would cut workers pay by an average of \$3,000 a year.

In addition to the pay cuts, the Board tried to force the unions to accept an agreement to continue negotiations until June 30, 1977, accept a no strike clause if negotiations broke down, and no honoring of other picket lines. This would mean that the craft workers would work without a contract and would not be allowed to strike. The agreement also included worsening of working conditions.

These conditions were unacceptable so the craft workers went out on strike. The striking craft workers include mechanics and electricians working at Muni. WE ARE NOT ON STRIKE OURSELVES, BUT WE ARE SUPPORTING AND HONORING THE PICKET LINE! Seeing this as a union busting attempt by the Board, the drivers overwhelmingly expressed their solidarity with the craft workers at two general meetings.

These are the reasons that we Chinese drivers also support the strike. Although we are facing financial problems, and hope to return to work soon, we have stayed out to defend the rights workers have won historically.

Taking into consideration the hardship facing elderly people in Chinatown, some of us, in cooperation with "Self Help for the Elderly" have been driving people to and from hospitals and places of work.

We recognize the question of higher pay, discrimination, and narrow interest put forth within the craft unions do exist. But we see the main issue of the strike is that the Board is attempting to break the unions.

As unionized workers, we've learned that while there are shortcomings within the unions, we feel that the unions are important and is one form of workers' organization where workers can struggle for their demands. As for the union leadership that does not always fight for our interest, we workers must unite together in the unions to struggle with them to ensure they uphold our interest.

The right to unionize is a basic right won by working people many years ago, and yet today the majority of Chinese workers are still denied union protection. This is an example of the discrimination we, as Chinese in America, have faced in our daily lives. For Chinese workers, although we have always been a part of the laboring people in America, we have never really been equals. This is why we must unite with other workers and continue to struggle for this basic right and look to the workers of Jung Sai and the Mandarin Restaurant as an inspiration.

And so in this strike, the craft workers are fighting to preserve the rights won over the years by workers, and we see these issues are important for Chinese workers in their struggle for unionization. For if the strike fails, the impact will not only affect the strikers, but will set the precedent to break the unions in private industry and will make it even more difficult for Chinese workers to unionize.

This is why we feel it's important for Chinese workers and for the Chinese community to understand and support the craft workers, and for craft workers to also support the just demands of Chinese workers against discrimination and oppression we have faced.

by a group of Chinese Muni drivers



## International Hotel Fights Eviction

The International Hotel located on Hearn Street in San Francisco's Chinatown/Manilatown area is once again under the threat of eviction. The International Hotel houses mainly elderly Filipino and Chinese residents as well as several community organizations which serve the Asian communities.

The Four Seas Corporation which has purchased the International Hotel is attempting to evict the residents and tenants.

There is a great shortage of low rent decent housing in the Chinatown/Manilatown communities and the International Hotel has fulfilled

this need. The struggle to preserve the International Hotel has been waged for many years and has consistently won the support of thousands of progressive minded persons from the various oppressed nationality communities and the working class of the Bay Area.

The various previous attempts by the large landowners to evict the International Hotel have all failed. This latest attempt will also fail. These attempts have and are bound to fail because the International Hotel has always been supported by the masses of people. We must rely on the masses, dare to struggle and dare to win.

## Third World Construction Workers Fight Inequalities

Boston has recently become the scene of a growing struggle waged by oppressed nationality workers against job discrimination in the construction industry. Recent actions called by the TWWA (Third World Workers Association) have mobilized much support as well as vicious retaliation by police, the trade union bureaucrats, and reactionary white racist organizations.

The TWWA has organized a series of demonstrations since December last year, raising their demand for equal hiring of Black, Latin, Asian and Native American workers. These actions have mainly been at construction sites in the oppressed nationality communities of Boston such as South End, Roxbury and Chinatown. Through struggle, they have opened up 75 jobs for oppressed nationality workers.

During a series of demonstrations in May this year, TWWA and their supporters faced brutal attacks and

counter-demonstrations by bureaucrats and goons of the historically exclusive and discriminatory building trades unions, as well as by racist vigilante groups such as the South Boston Marshals and Charlestown Powderkeg. The Boston Police lined up right alongside the trade union bureaucrats, hired goons and vigilantes, arming themselves with attack dogs, rooftop sharpshooters, and horses, to defend the system of exclusion and oppression in the construction industry.

TWWA is continuing their struggle, consistently pointing to the racist construction industry as their enemy, not the white workers. Their struggle is all the more crucial and intense in Boston because of the active racist counter-campaign of the same reactionary forces which launched racist attacks on Black school children who were being bused to schools in white neighborhoods.



Third World Workers Assoc. demonstration, May 10th, Madison Park, Boston.

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proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. (The article in this issue of *Getting Together* on the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping in socialist China elaborates on this topic.) The battle between the two roads, that of socialism or that of capitalism, is not decided once and for all with the overthrow of the rule of the former exploiting class, but rather remains throughout the entire historical period of socialism.

The CPSU scored major victories against the revisionists to keep to the socialist road. Trotsky was soundly defeated as well as a whole pack of careerists, opportunists, bureaucrats, self-seekers and other bourgeois elements who were right within the party and government aiming to return capitalism to the Soviet Union.

In 1945, the Soviet Union emerged triumphant from the Second World War, and was in an unprecedentedly strong position. However certain circumstances arose which facilitated the rise and eventual triumph of revisionism in the CPSU; under these conditions the socialist Soviet Union turned into its opposite, a monopoly capitalist state.

The external source of revisionism in the Soviet Union was the surrender to imperialist pressure, while the internal source of revisionism was the existence of bourgeois influence. These are the political and ideological source of the new bourgeois elements. Externally the U.S. imperialists threatened nuclear blackmail of the Soviet Union, invoking the fear of atomic destruction. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists promoted reformist illusions, that capitalism could be peacefully transformed. Capitulation to these pressures leads to a general abandonment of revolutionary ideals and principles.

Within the Soviet Union, the revisionists took advantage of the death of Stalin in 1953 who had led the many fights against revisionism in the Soviet Union. These revisionist elements inevitably emerge under socialism; the revisionists and the bureaucrats in the government, careerist in the party, unreformed bourgeois intellectuals and technicians, corrupt administrators, militarists in the armed forces are produced because of the remaining inequalities in socialism that are inherited from bourgeois society. These inequalities exist right in the economic basis of socialism. In the areas of ownership, relations among people, and distribution, there still exists bourgeois right which gives certain material privileges to some. New capitalist elements are engendered from the soil of bourgeois right.

These elements found their political representative in the person of Khrushchov who by 1956 launched an all out offensive against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He attacked the record of Stalin and the whole history of socialism in the Soviet Union in order to overturn the advances made by the working people. He promoted the "theories" of the "state of the whole people" and "party of the whole people" to destroy the workers state and workers party. Led by Khrushchov, the revisionists soon took over the entire leadership of the party. "Nearly 70% of the members of the central committee of the CPSU who were elected at its 19th Congress in 1952 were purged in the course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses held respectively in 1956 and 1961. And nearly 50% of the members of the Central Committee who were elected at the 20th Congress were purged at the time of the 22nd Congress" (*On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism, Peking 1964*).

The triumph of revisionism in the Soviet Union, the seizing of state power by the revisionists means that the bourgeoisie controls state power and not the proletariat. And what do the revisionists do with state power in their hands? They restore capitalism in an all-round way.

Mao Tsetung has incisively summarized this experience and drawn a very important lesson on the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said as early as 1963:

"Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will forever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and become corrupted and demoralized, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour." (from "*On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism, p. 72*")

### SOVIET UNION TODAY

The Soviet Union today is not the red color of revolution but is counter-revolutionary through and through.

At home, there is state monopoly capitalism. Brezhnev openly advocates operating on the profit motive. He proclaims that the Soviet capitalists should "allocate each ruble to the place where we can be compensated by two, three and even ten rubles tomorrow. . . . All of us, from the central to local organizations, must learn the complex art of money making. That is nothing to be ashamed of." (Brezhnev, *On Basic Problems of the CPSU Economic Policy at the Present Stage*) The salaries of the managers of the big enterprises are 15-20 times higher than those of the average workers.

Wage slavery prevails in the Soviet Union and is legally authorized and enforced. "The Regulations Governing Socialist State Productive Enterprises" published recently in the Soviet Union openly stipulates that a manager of an enterprise "has the right to recruit and dismiss personnel" and "has the right to fix the workers' rates of wages and bonuses." This is an unabashed confession that wage labor is bought and sold in the Soviet Union today.



The economic situation in the Soviet Union is becoming critical with widespread unemployment, shortages, and rising prices.

There is widespread unemployment, as with any capitalist country. It is reported that there have been 6 million industrial workers without jobs every year since 1970. There is increasing taxation: in 1960 state employees paid an average of 84 rubles in taxes. This increased to 158 rubles by 1973. According to Soviet yearbooks, the retail prices are also soaring. For example, between the years 1970-73 state retail prices of meat and poultry rose 29%, animal oils by 28%, vegetables by 23% and flour by 48%. These are all common characteristics of capitalist society.

In order to serve its imperialist ambitions, the new capitalists in the Soviet Union have militarized the economy: 60% of industry is directly or indirectly related to the military. In 1960 the Soviet revisionists spent 13.1% of its national income on military expenditures, but by 1974 this had increased to 19.6%. This proportion surpasses pre-war Nazi Germany (19%) as well as U.S. imperialism even at its periods of conducting wars of aggression in Korea (15%) and Vietnam (10%).

The Soviet military itself is immense. It has 4.2 million personnel in active service, almost twice the number of the U.S., and has another 25 million in reserves. It has close to 800 submarine guided nuclear missiles and over 1600 land-based ICBM's. Its naval forces too are close to, if not surpassing those of the U.S. It has close to half a million men occupying countries in Eastern Europe.

These military forces are not those to fulfill the defense needs of a socialist country, but rather are the forces of a mighty imperialist superpower aiming for domination of the world.

Some may ask, does the USSR have any profit interests in its foreign expansion. It certainly does. It bleeds dry the Eastern European countries, just as the U.S. does in the Western European countries. The USSR in the third world too is aiming to make money. It is establishing "joint stock companies" that are no different than the US monopoly capitalist corporations. (See the reprint from *Peking Review* in this issue on this topic)

From its so-called foreign aid and arms deals too, the Soviet Union makes huge profits. The Soviets use "foreign aid" as an imperialist tool just as does the U.S. bourgeoisie. The chairman of the State Foreign Economic Relations Committee of the Soviet Union, S. A. Skachov, bluntly stated that "the Soviet economic assistance is no charity," that "the technical assistance of the Soviet Union to the developing countries has served to promote the growth of our foreign trade and increase our equipment export," and that "this has added to the possibility of meeting the increasing requirements of the Soviet national economy." In other words, the purpose of Soviet aid is not to assist the developing countries but to help propel Soviet capitalists needs.

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Missiles in Red Square reflect expanding military expenditures in the Soviet Union's quest for hegemony.

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This is clearly seen in the terms of Soviet "foreign aid": Soviet loans for example must first of all be used to buy Soviet machinery and equipment, usually at prices 20-30% higher than in the world market. Furthermore, products turned out by Soviet-aided projects must first of all be used as debt repayments — usually at prices 10-15% lower than the world market. Therefore a Soviet loan can often produce a huge profit of 4-5 times more than the original loan. By the time that India has cleared all its present debts to the Soviet Union, Indian journalists estimate that she would have paid back 565.9% of its original loan.

The Soviets have also conjured elaborate imperialist theories to justify their exploitation of other countries. Brezhnev propounds that all countries should "take part in the international division of labor" which means that the Soviet Union, which is developing "the material basis for Communism" build industry while other countries subordinate themselves to the Soviet Union's economic plan. (Brezhnev, "The Triumph of Soviet Democracy") This amounts to industrialized Russia and underdeveloped Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Soviets also have rationales to interfere and subvert national liberation struggles. They humbly proclaim that "it is universally recognized" that "without the assistance of the USSR" the national liberation forces will not achieve "success." (B. N. Ponomarev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, "Following Lenin's Course Towards Socialism," April 22, 1974).

What we are dealing with then with the USSR is a superpower, under the mask of "socialism." The revisionist leaders of the CPSU run state monopoly capitalism and exploit the working people at home and internationally, aim at world hegemony.

#### The Significance of the Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union to the Present World Situation

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union has serious implications for the people of the world. The Soviet Union is a big country with a large population and highly developed economy with international connections. It is more than a capitalist state for it is one of the two superpowers in the world. Contending with the other superpower, the U.S., it strives to gain domination over all other peoples, including lesser capitalist states. The two superpowers are the enemies of the people of the world.

The world's peoples already know much of how a superpower operates. Following World War II, the U.S. became the number one exploiter and oppressor of people everywhere. It attacked the third world and bullied even its own 'allies' such as Japan and western Europe. Objectively, a broad united front of forces could be forged which included the international proletariat and masses of people in the U.S., the socialist countries, the oppressed nations of the world and even the lesser capitalist powers.

But the rise of the Soviet Union as a superpower alters this situation. It is only correct now to see forging a broad united front against both superpowers, which must include all the various countries fighting for independence, nations for liberation and people for revolution. The proletariat must support whatever is in the interests of the masses of the world's peoples and helps to defeat the imperialism of both superpowers.

This means that the proletariat must support activities such as the liberation movements of the African people as in Azania and Zimbabwe and condemn the direct interference of the Soviet Union in Angola where they incited a tragic civil war. Even now several months after the end of the civil war, the Soviet Union still supports over 10,000 mercenary troops on Angolan soil.

The proletariat must also support those activities of the third world countries to defend their national independence and strengthen their economic position, for these struggles too help isolate and weaken the two superpowers. We support Egypt's decision to throw out the Soviets from their country as well as the oil exporting countries' attempt to control their natural resources. Actions should be encouraged too such as the Iranian government's attempt to make the Indian ocean a nuclear-free zone which would prohibit US and USSR atomic weapons in the area.

There are also contradictions between the lesser capitalist countries and the superpowers. The attempt of these countries to develop their ties with the third world such as at the recent UNCTAD Conference (see article in this issue) are positive steps towards breaking away from the domination of the superpowers. At the same time, the recent interference of both superpowers in the internal affairs of countries such as Portugal and Italy should be exposed.

The people's revolutionary struggles for self-determination, national liberation and socialism are all everyday winning more and more victories and must be resolutely supported.

#### Both Superpowers Are Enemies of the World's Peoples: Soviet Union Most Pernicious

Both superpowers are enemies of the people of the world and both are vicious and bloodthirsty exploiters. At the same time that we oppose both superpowers we must also recognize that of the two, the Soviet Union is an even more pernicious foe than the U.S.

Why is this?

The Soviet Union relative to the U.S. is a rising imperialist power. The U.S. suffered irreversible defeats in Indochina. It is being forced to retreat all around the globe. The Soviet Union on the other hand is even more aggressive and ambitious. It hopes to fill in everywhere the US leaves or is weakened.

At home, the US is beset with monumental economic, social and political difficulties. It finds little support for its imperialist activities. The Soviet Union is also internally weak. It is meeting more and more resistance from the people of the Soviet Union. In the economic field it is still more weak than the U.S. But it has the advantage of state monopoly capitalism which it can more directly use for its aggressive plans. It imposes a fascist dictatorship on the people at home to prevent any opposition.

The Soviet revisionists have put millions of Russians into concentration camps and 'mental asylums' to crush opposition to fascist rule. The director of Soviet internal security himself admitted that there are over

600 scientists in his bureau whose purpose is to find new ways to physically and psychologically suppress the people.

The Soviet Union furthermore is a social-imperialist superpower. It masquerades under the cover of Marxism and socialism. It pretends to be an ally of revolution, but nothing could be further from the truth.

The U.S. is like the thug on the street who you know wants to beat you over the head to get your wallet; while the Soviet Union is the backstabbing "friend" who waits to get into your home to steal your food.

#### FACTORS FOR BOTH WAR AND REVOLUTION ARE ON THE RISE

The basic contradictions in the world are sharply intensifying. The factors for both war and revolution are rising.

The contradiction between the superpowers on the one hand and the people of the world on the other is developing in a positive direction. Great victories have been won by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. The countries of the second world, the lesser capitalist countries, are also uniting against superpower subversion and interference. Everywhere, there is a growing Marxist-Leninist movement with new genuine communist parties emerging to lead the various struggles.

The world situation is excellent and is developing in a direction favorable to the people of the world. Revolution is still the main trend in the world today.

The contradiction between the two superpowers is also intensifying and the danger of war between the two increases. Imperialism means world war. The U.S. and USSR compete with one another over the robbery of the world. The objective of dominating all leads both to challenge each other. This contention inevitably leads to war and the people must get prepared for this danger. Thus we believe the best way to characterize the present, concrete situation in the world today is that the factors for both war and revolution are on the rise.



Zimbabwe liberation forces in training.

Of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union is the more dangerous and the main source of the war danger. The US is on the defensive, while the Soviet Union is more aggressive and ambitious. The aggressive nature of the Soviet Social Imperialism in contending with US imperialism is evident in such places as Angola and the Middle East, Portugal and Cyprus. The vastly aggressive nature of the Soviet Union is also evident in the fast pace of its arms buildups and war preparations. For instance, in Europe the strategic objective of superpower contention, the Soviet Union is carefully preparing for combat. Seventy-five percent of Soviet troops abroad are deployed in the Warsaw Pact countries and recent military exercises between Soviet troops and Warsaw Pact bloc troops have been noticeably on the increase.

The Soviet Union makes a lot of noise about 'detente' and the relaxation of tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, but there can be no such thing. Detente in fact is simply a cover for the real situation which is the actual increasing hostilities between the two superpowers and is used to disarm the masses, leaving them unprepared for war and allowing the imperialists to have a free rein.

The relationship between war and revolution is very close. The two world wars gave rise to the great October Russian Revolution in 1917 and the Chinese Revolution of 1949. The earthshaking revolutionary torrent in the third world during the 1950s and 1960s greatly weakened U.S. imperialism and assisted in preventing a war against the socialist countries. In this era, whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, revolution will be the final outcome.

Any force that tries to oppose or go against the tide of the surging revolutionary struggle will in the end be defeated. Without a doubt it is the millions upon millions of the people of the world who decide the future and not one or the other superpower. "To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism" (Stalin, *Economic Problems in the USSR*) and if the superpowers launch a world war, they will only hasten their overthrow.

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OUR TASKS TODAY

The U.S. revolutionary movement must fully appreciate the implications that the factors for both war and revolution are on the rise. The contradiction between the superpowers and the people of the world is sharpening and the situation is favorable for the people to advance in their struggles. At the same time the contradiction between the two superpowers is also sharpening and leading towards world war, with the Soviet Union the most dangerous source of a new war.

We believe that this situation requires heightening revolutionary work in all areas, for such work is the only way to combat the growing danger of war. Only revolution can prevent world war. There are implications for three areas we in particular wish to note:

1) in party building, the current world situation necessitates that the U.S. communist movement intensify its efforts to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism-Leninism and develop a correct line around which communists can be united. The formation of this party is the cornerstone for furthering the U.S. revolution and for getting prepared here for the growing danger of war. It is an illusion to think that qualitative advances in either area can occur without such a party.

We must push ahead our theoretical work and learn from the history and current experiences of the international working class movement and integrate these lessons with the concrete realities of the U.S. revolution. This theoretical work is particularly important in these times due to the upheaval in the world and sharpening struggle everywhere.

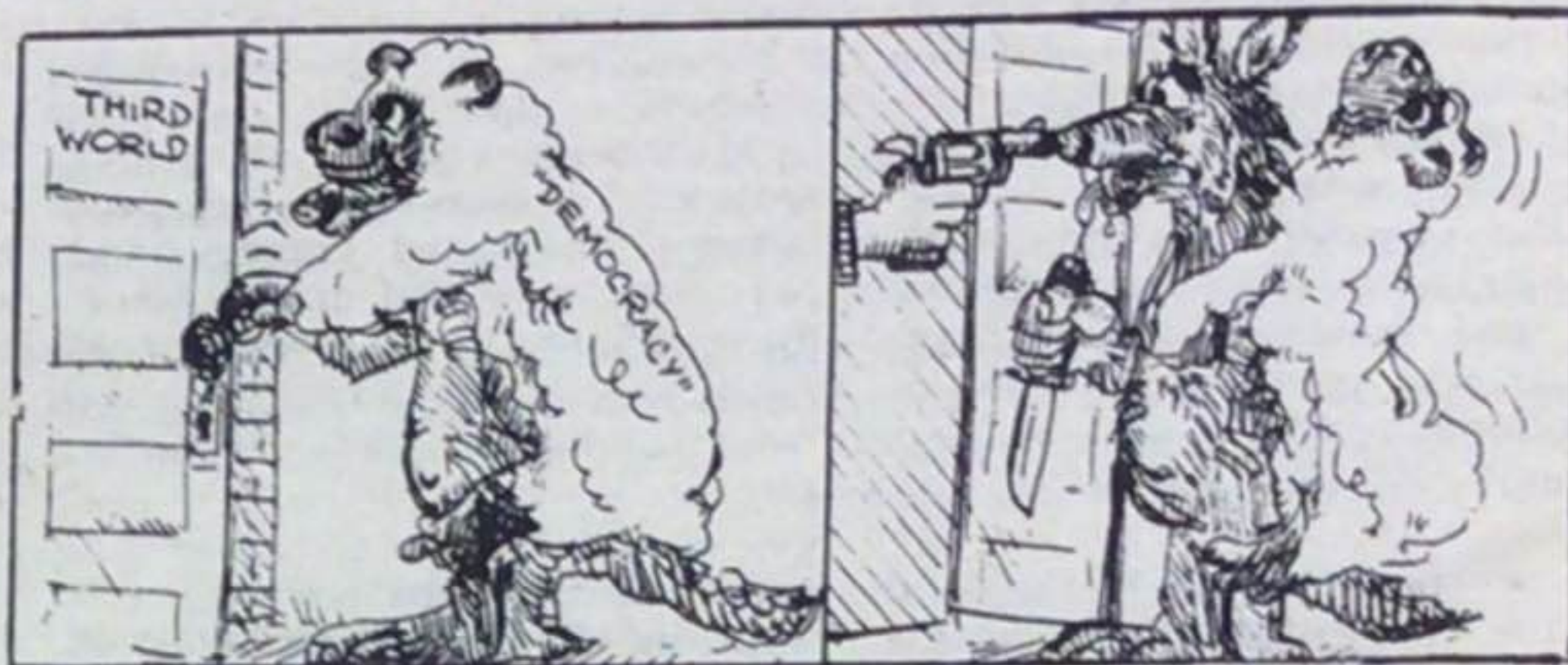
At the same time, the communist movement must deepen its ties with the working class and oppressed masses in the U.S. by bringing further their advanced elements into the ranks of the communist movement and expand communist influence over broader numbers of people.

2) in our work around the world situation, we must promote proletarian internationalism by winning the working class to support all the various struggles that weaken and isolate the principal enemy in the world, the two superpowers. This means resolutely supporting and encouraging the countries fighting for independence, nations for liberation and people for revolution.

Furthermore with the danger of a new world war on the rise, we must point out this danger, that its source comes from the contention of the two imperialist superpowers and that the only way to combat the threat of war is to persevere in making revolution.



BOTH SUPERPOWERS ARE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE.



WHILE REPELLING THE WOLF AT THE FRONT DOOR...



WE MUST GUARD AGAINST THE TIGER AT THE BACK!



National liberation struggle in Southeast Asia.

While maintaining that both superpowers are enemies, we must intensify our struggle in exposing the Soviet Union. This means that in our educational work on world events we must place emphasis on exposing the fascist nature of the Soviet Union, its insidious social-imperialism and its menace as the most dangerous source for a new world war in the contention with the U.S. for world hegemony.

Special emphasis must be directed against the Soviet Union because of its particularly aggressive and ambitious nature and because it masks as an ally of revolution. U.S. imperialism is relatively well-known and it has difficulty executing its various plans, but the same cannot be said of the Soviet Union. While the people are becoming rapidly more conscious of Soviet imperialism, it is still deceptive — hence the necessity to stress the exposure of the Soviet Union's social-imperialism.

And 3) in our revolutionary work in the U.S. we must expose and defeat the counter-revolutionary role of the "Communist" Party, USA revisionists, centrists such as the Guardian newspaper, and 'liberal' appeasers who in various ways promote, apologize for or obscure the danger of Soviet social-imperialism. These opportunists mask the reality of the treachery of Soviet social-imperialism and the danger of war, thus actually assisting and encouraging Soviet ambitions. They create confusion by making enemies into 'friends.'

The Opportunist Guardian

In recent months, in the midst of growing clarity and opposition to Soviet social-imperialism, the Guardian newspaper has emerged as an especially active force covering for the Soviets and revisionists.

The Guardian is particularly despicable because it pretends to be Marxist-Leninist, anti-revisionist, anti-social-imperialist, a "friend" of China, etc. But the Guardian's actual actions speak louder than its self-proclaimed pronouncements of itself. In fact, the Guardian because of its opportunist smokescreen is able to promote Soviet social-imperialism better than such discredited and unpopular forces as the Communist Party, USA, an unabashed supporter of Soviet hegemonism.

The Guardian's stand has never been thoroughly Marxist-Leninist, but during the past several months it has mounted a systematic campaign to

support Soviet social-imperialism from Portugal to Angola behind a thoroughly dishonest and unprincipled attack on China's foreign policy. The Guardian is despicable in that in its pages it fundamentally misrepresents and distorts China's line. Not once for example during the past month's tirade against China has the Guardian even reprinted one single article from China so that the Guardian's readers could judge for themselves what is China's position. Rather, the Guardian has opened its pages to obviously Trotskyist and outright revisionist views.

The Guardian engages in demogogy (such as accusing the U.S. Marxist-Leninist movement which holds that capitalism has been fully restored in the Soviet Union as "knee-jerking" and "genueflecting" towards China, etc.) in order to obscure the basic and decisive question: is or is not the Soviet Union a monopoly capitalist social-imperialist superpower? It is the Guardian's position which holds that the Soviet Union is not capitalist superpower which is at the heart of the differences.

The Guardian bases itself on eclecticism, a usual characteristic of centrism, which attempts to reconcile two mutually contradictory stands. The Guardian in opportunist fashion asserts in one breath that the Soviet Union is "social-imperialist" and a danger and that the CPSU is a revisionist party but then in the next breath maintains that the Soviet Union is a country with socialist relations as dominant. These two views are not compatible—how can there be a social-imperialist country run by a revisionist party, a capitalist party, and be a socialist country at the same time? Such phantoms cannot exist in reality but only in the minds of opportunists such as the Guardian. The Guardian's view of the Soviet Union is nothing but a confusing cover for the Guardian's actual conciliation with and apology for social-imperialism.

Not content with slandering the Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S. as a way to shield its defense of Soviet social-imperialism, the Guardian during the past several months is trying to slander China as a further way to shift attention away from the basic question of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and social-imperialism. In particular this "friend" of China has initiated a whole debate and attack not around Soviet foreign policy but China's foreign policy.

The Guardian is thus objectively assisting Soviet aggression around the world and encouraging revolutionaries in the U.S. to unite with the CPUSA.

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The current struggle around the Soviet Union and the international situation is not around secondary issues of importance but concern fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought — such as on the dictatorship of the proletariat, scientific versus petty bourgeois socialism, nature of imperialism, war and peace, etc. And this debate is integrally related to answering basic matters of the practical movement — who are our friends and enemies, our strategy and tactics, immediate tasks, etc. It is because of all this that the struggle around the Soviet Union and the international situation takes the character of increasingly differentiating the opportunist currents in the U.S. revolutionary movement from the Marxist-Leninists striving to forge a genuine communist party.



## China Defends Dictatorship Of Proletariat

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there such intense class struggle under socialism? And how did Teng Hsiao-ping try to restore capitalism in China?

### What Is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the political rule of the working class over society spanning the entire historical era between capitalism and communism. After the proletariat overthrows the rule of the bourgeoisie through violent revolution with the leadership of its communist party, the working class must then go on to establish its rule over the entirety of society. It must do this in order to carry out its basic tasks of (a) suppressing the old and newly-generated bourgeoisie who continue to resist the revolution and plot and actively attempt capitalist restoration; (b) remould the thinking of the non-proletarian strata and revolutionize the ideology of the masses to do away with the old ideas; and (c) transform the economy for the benefit of the masses. The seizure of state power by the proletariat is only the *beginning* of the socialist revolution.

This socialist revolution must be the most thorough and profound in history for it aims not for the establishment of a new exploiting class, as had all previous revolutions in history, but for the eradication of all classes. It must wipe away all the old economic, social and ideological aspects of past exploiting societies. This must be done to prepare the conditions for the era of communism, when classes and exploitation are abolished for good.

To carry out this revolution the proletariat must use every available means to develop and defend its rule. The capitalist system functioned under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which used state power to suppress the masses and promote in every way its rule in every area of society, i.e., not just in the economic and political relations but in the educational, cultural, and scientific realms as well. And in turn, the capitalist class strives to use all these various areas for its own purposes in preserving its rule.

In a like way, the working class after seizing state power too must continue the class struggle against the bourgeoisie in every area of society and promote its system and outlook. But for the first time in history state power is used by the great majority of the population against the bourgeoisie. If the working class does not exercise its dictatorship, the bourgeoisie will very easily overturn socialism and return to the old exploitative order. It is for this reason that socialism can be nothing less than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

### To Prevent the Restoration of Capitalism

After the working class seizes state power and puts an end to the rule of the old exploiting classes, the class struggle does not end but rather intensifies and becomes more acute. The bourgeoisie tries to overthrow socialism through external subversion and aggression, but also through its use of the bourgeois elements right within socialism.

Where do these bourgeois elements come from?

They come from the remnants of the old exploiting classes themselves, but new bourgeois elements also continue to be generated even within socialist society. Under socialism there are still wage

differentials and small-scale production. There is also "bourgeois right," that is, while there is nominal or formal equality between people, actual inequality still exists. The principle of equal pay for equal work does not recognize the real inequality of individuals who have stronger or weaker labor power, greater or lesser needs. Therefore there would still be differences in income and well-being under socialism and the potential for the accumulation of larger wealth in the hands of individuals.

There remain too the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between mental and manual labor. Such differences are remnants of capitalism, where cities were the main centers of society with more access to communication and goods, and where mental laborers needed to do no physical work. It is a protracted struggle to eliminate the old exploiting class thinking and habits, entrenched through centuries of capitalism and class society ruled by an exploiting minority class.

Especially in the realms of culture and education, bourgeois ideology persists. For example, bourgeois ideas still persist and are being struggled against, as to who should go to school as well as the purpose of education. All this is ground out of which new bourgeois elements emerge and from which bourgeois influence can come to corrupt individuals in the working class and in the government and party. The danger of these new capitalist elements and capitalist restoration is very real.

Therefore throughout the entire historical period of socialism, it is imperative to recognize that there are still classes and life-and-death class struggle, and that the

dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable.

### Teng Hsiao-ping's Attempt to Restore Capitalism

Teng attempted to restore capitalism through promoting his political program "for all work" which denied Chairman Mao's correct teaching that "class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it" under socialism. Teng's opposition to taking up the class struggle against the bourgeoisie in all spheres made him the political representative of the bourgeoisie as part of their attempt to disarm the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to restore capitalist rule.

Teng preached such things as "classes have in the main been eliminated and we should not stress class struggle," "How can class struggle be talked about everyday?" In truth, under socialism, a period lasting hundreds of years, class struggle is very intense. This is why Mao has said, regarding the danger of capitalist restoration, "we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day."

A recent editorial from China's *Peoples' Daily* provides us with lessons regarding the danger of capitalist elements like Teng Hsiao-ping who reside right within the proletariat's party.

"The capitalist roaders in the Party are the bourgeoisie's main force in its trial of strength with the proletariat and in its efforts to restore capitalism. The crux of the matter here lies in the fact that these capitalist-roaders are persons in power who have sneaked into the very structure of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chieftains of the revisionist line, like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping, hold a very large proportion of the Party and state power. They are thus in a position to turn instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat into instruments for exercising dictatorship over the proletariat, and they are therefore even more ruthless in

their efforts to restore capitalism than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. They could use the power in their hands to recruit deserters and renegades, form cliques to pursue their own selfish interests, rig up a bourgeois headquarters, work out a revisionist line and push it from top to bottom. They could consolidate and extend bourgeois right, protect their own interests, namely, the interests of the 'high officials' who practice revisionism, embezzle and squander huge amounts of social wealth, energetically engage in capitalist activities, undermine and disrupt the socialist relations of production. Donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and flaunting all sorts of ensigns, they are able to mislead for a time a number of people who lack an understanding of the real situation and do not have a high level of consciousness. In short, they are political representatives of the bourgeoisie and, in their trial of strength with the proletariat, they are commanders of all social forces and cliques that resist the socialist revolution and oppose and undermine socialist construction."

Teng tried to promote his line in many aspects of Chinese society to overturn the dictatorship of the proletariat. In education, he opposed the significant advances made by the Cultural Revolution to revolutionize education. Fundamentally, he wanted to replace the leadership of the working class with that of bourgeois intellectuals. He denied that the intellectuals, many of whom still have bourgeois ideas, need to constantly remould their world outlook in order to serve the workers and peasants. He wanted the intellectuals to lock themselves up in a study (and do teaching) away from the masses and return to divorcing theory from practice. Teng slandered the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution by praising the education before the Cultural Revolution as "good" while education in China today is

cont. on p. 10



Teachers and students put up wall posters criticizing the revisionist line of the capitalist roaders.

## China

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Workers hold criticism meeting at shipyard denouncing actions of revisionists.

"unsettled" and has "low standards." His objective was to restore the old school system that fostered, rather than closed, the gap between mental and manual labor and gave privileges to the intellectuals to develop them into a new elite class over the masses.

In the science and technological fields, too, Teng encouraged the development of a new capitalist elite. He wanted to return to the academic research done removed from proletarian politics, from production and from the workers and peasants. He opposed taking research out to the factories, farms and army units and opposed integrating workers and peasants into doing research work.

Rather, Teng put forward that China's science and technology could develop only by depending on "several hundred first or second-rate scientists" and that "reliance on the workers and peasants and soldiers is only relative." He said, "Not to be socialist-minded but professionally expert is useful for the People's Republic of China," "this should be cherished and praised." These views were all part of Teng's attempt to suppress the working masses and deny that the scientists and technicians will become new capitalist elements unless they follow correct politics, and integrate with and learn from the masses. How different is Teng's view with that of Mao who has stated: the working class is the leading class and "is the most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary." "The working class must lead in everything."

In production, Teng refused to place proletarian politics in command as well. He placed "modernization" above everything else, including class struggle. He replaced what is primary, class struggle, with what is secondary — economic development, thereby liquidating class struggle. The consequence of Teng's view is that there would be no economic development benefiting the workers and peasants, but rather there would be no struggle against the bourgeoisie and capitalism would be easily restored. The exploitation and oppression and degradation of capitalism would then fall on the masses of Chinese people.

The CPC and Chairman Mao have pointed out that there can be no economic development without class struggle. The greatest productive force is the masses

themselves, who when revolutionized and liberated can perform tremendous feats in production, as has been witnessed in China. This relationship is captured in the slogan "grasp revolution, promote production." Improvement of the livelihood and well-being of the masses is fundamentally a political question.

According to Teng's logic which denies that proletarian politics must lead in education, science and production and all aspects of society, the masses in the U.S. and USSR, the two greatest exploiters on earth should enjoy a better society than socialist China.

It is natural that bourgeois elements such as Teng Hsiao-ping should emerge from socialism, since socialism is born out of the old society and still carries certain inheritances from it. There are feudal and capitalist ideas and small-scale production which fosters capitalist thinking. There is bourgeois right (formal equality but actual inequality between people) and differences between urban and rural areas, mental and manual labor and industrial and agricultural work. There are still some differences in wages. This is the ground for the regeneration of capitalism and capitalist elements. Teng is the political representative for those who wish to expand and develop these inheritances rather than criticize and restrict them.

Teng himself is actually a bourgeois democrat who never transformed his thinking to that of the proletariat. He never was a true Marxist-Leninist in his ideology. He joined the revolution and the Communist Party during the long period of the new democratic revolution which was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in character. Culminating in 1949, liberation was a great victory of the united front of workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie against the foreign imperialists and domestic feudalists and comprador capitalists.

After 1949 the character of the revolution became socialist and the principle contradiction became that between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The Chinese revolution is still in this stage.

Since 1949, many of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois democrats who had previously joined the party abandoned their bourgeois world outlook through struggle and adopted the Marxist-Leninist stand and outlook. The outlook of others such as Teng

however remained bourgeois and consequently they opposed the socialist transformation.

Teng opposed the agricultural cooperative movement in the 1950's and wanted to preserve individual peasant production. He later also opposed the collectivization movement to form the communes. Later during the early part of the Cultural Revolution, he united with Liu Shao-chi to try to suppress the mass movement against revisionism.

During the Cultural Revolution Teng was severely criticized as a revisionist and capitalist roader, but unlike Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao who refused to correct themselves and were expelled from the Party, Teng conducted self-criticism for his previous revisionist deviations and pledged not to return to the capitalist road. By 1974, he once again was occupying important government and party posts.

By the summer of 1975 however there was increasing indication that Teng had not really changed his ways and was still promoting his capitalist ideas. His self-criticism did not really change him. Throughout the country masses of people who had learned about revisionism through the Cultural Revolution raised struggle about Teng's ideas. Within the party and in society as a whole a mass campaign arose to criticize the "right deviationist" trend, as it was called.

Through late 1975 and early 1976 this criticism campaign mounted to defend the important socialist achievements of the Cultural Revolution and reject the attempts to reverse these advances. While Teng was at first not named in this campaign, the struggle increasingly



Throughout the country, people firmly support the resolutions of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

revealed that he was the chief propagator of the right deviation and revisionism.

Finally, out of desperation to oppose the criticism campaign Teng instigated the April 5 counter-revolutionary incident in Tien An Men square to attack the Party and to try to foment a movement to support the revisionism of Teng Hsiao-ping. The incident was defeated and the Central Committee of the Communist Party moved to remove Teng from all Party and government posts.

Since the incident, millions of people throughout China have rallied to support the Party and engage in further criticism and exposure of Teng's revisionism. It is no coincidence that the masses have taken up the struggle to criticize Teng in all spheres of society. Through the Cultural Revolution, the masses have heightened their consciousness of class struggle under socialism and the struggle between the two lines. Through this process, the masses have armed themselves with MLMTT and by using MLMTT

as their aid they have recognized and exposed the attempts by Teng to restore capitalism.

Under the firm leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party, the masses have been mobilized to expose and criticize revisionism. By unleashing the initiative of the masses and under correct guidance this struggle will serve to strengthen the class stand and outlook of the Chinese people and serve as an important lesson for people to learn from.

#### Conclusions for Our Movement

It is especially important for us to study well the struggle unfolding in China to defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat because it is on this question that a firm line of demarcation between genuine Marxist-Leninists and sham Marxist-Leninists is being drawn in our movement.

The betrayal of the CPUSA (Communist Party U.S.A.) into a revisionist and counter-revolutionary force and their mouthing of the revisionist outlook and theories of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) such as that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary under socialist society" has exposed them as capitalist in words and deeds. This is an out-and-out counter-revolutionary line which denies the very essence of socialist revolution — class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such revisionism must be staunchly opposed in the movement and in the working class.

There are still other enemies within the movement who claim to be "anti-revisionist," yet in reality

are only trying to reconcile mutually exclusive views to cover up their own fundamental revisionism. The *Guardian* newspaper is such a centrist force. At the core of the *Guardian's* line is their betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this is where their unity with the revisionists lies. While the revisionists like the CPUSA openly praise the Soviet Union as a socialist state, the *Guardian* tries to cover its own revisionism by stating that the Soviet Union is only *sometimes* imperialist, yet is still a "genuine" socialist country. While seeming to stand between two mutually exclusive views of the Soviet Union, the essence of the *Guardian's* position is its revisionist conception of socialism — socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism without fierce struggle between the working class and the overthrown bourgeoisie.

The *Guardian* separates socialism from the dictatorship of the proletariat and believes that

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Angry protest against the racist South African apartheid system and regime based on national oppression.

## South African Masses Intensify Struggle

### China

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socialism can be preserved apart from class struggle. There is no such thing as socialism apart from the dictatorship of the working class! Yet the *Guardian* would have us believe that somehow socialism in the Soviet Union is still functioning spontaneously under a Soviet state which, according to the *Guardian*, represents no particular class! This is certainly an attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat! This is precisely the revisionists' own theoretical justification for the existence and restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, which has turned the Soviet Union into the treacherous imperialist superpower that is today.

The *Guardian's* defense of Soviet Social Imperialism and its acts of exploitation, bullying, interference and aggression is the natural outgrowth of the *Guardian's* incorrect revisionist line on the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is concretely manifested in all facets of the *Guardian's* bankrupt line. It is no accident that the *Guardian* is so critical of the People's Republic of China's foreign policy, yet supports the role of the Soviet Union, since the *Guardian's* views are in essence one and the same as Teng Hsiao-ping-type revisionists and the CPUSA.

Thus, this question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has tremendous implications for our revolutionary struggle in the United States. Revolution can only struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment and defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To accomplish these tasks, we must have a genuine Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism and staunchly opposed to revisionism, and not the phoney "anti-revisionism" of the *Guardian*.

The *Guardian's* line must be thoroughly exposed for it actually ends up conciliating with and covering for Soviet Social Imperialism. Failure to expose the *Guardian* only aids and contributes to the strengthening of revisionism in the movement. We must draw sharp lines of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism in our movement.

We can never achieve socialist revolution without thoroughgoing opposition to and defeat of such opportunists and revisionists. China through her first 26 years of socialist construction under the dictatorship of the proletariat has taught us great lessons.

We hail the current struggle in China to oppose revisionism and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, and encourage all our readers to learn from China and to apply them to our struggle in the United States.

Johannesburg, South Africa — What began as a boycott of classes by 800 high school students in the black township of Soweto, on the outskirts of Johannesburg, soon grew to ten thousand after police in this white-ruled African country fired into the protesting students, killing and wounding many. The students were outraged at the forced use in the black schools of the hated "Afrikaans," the language

of white ruling Boers. Thousands of other black Africans joined the students in response to the killing of students by the police, to the racist policies that forced blacks to carry passes, live in segregated enclaves like Soweto and that have kept blacks in vast unskilled labor pools.

Worldwide response to the ruthless repression have condemned the killing of over 100 blacks and

the wounding of more than 1000 and have called for the South African government to end its racist policy of apartheid. For black Africans the struggle for liberation of Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Namibia (South West Africa) is receiving broader support from the second and third world countries and these struggles are bound to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism and white minority rule in Africa.

### UNCTAD Conference

## Countries Want Independence, Nations Want Liberation...

Nairobi, Kenya — On May 5th, the Fourth Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) convened with more than 2000 representatives of 153 UNCTAD members. During the month-long session, the third world countries continuously expressed their determination to strengthen their unity against imperialist and particular superpower economic control and plunder and raised specific plans to change this situation.

This is all part of the demand for the creation of a new international economic order which the third world has increasingly raised during the past several years. This is a very profound and positive demand for it directly challenges the two superpowers whose present domination is the source of the state of poverty and backwardness imposed on the third world.

The third world demands for economic independence and control of their national economies also won support from several of the countries of the second world who also are bullied and dominated by the superpowers.

#### DEMANDS

The third world countries maintained that the UNCTAD session adopt as the basis of discussion the "Manila Declaration" and the "Programme of Action" which are documents formulated by the "Group of 77" comprising over 110 members of the developing world.

These documents emphatically point out that it is necessary to "eliminate the inequitable economic situation imposed on the developing countries," that international economic relations should be established on the principle of equity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and that each country has the right to exercise complete sovereignty over its natural resources and in all its economic activities. The documents emphasize the necessity for the unity, solidarity and cooperation of the developing countries to win these demands.

The third world countries coordinated their efforts on the basis of these documents throughout the Session. As the *New York Times*

(5/30/76) admitted, the "poor countries" forged a "common front." "Certainly," the *Times* stated, "with their show of solidarity, the underdeveloped nations gained some political muscle. Their demands were taken with a serious concern missing from previous UNCTAD sessions — three over the past 12 years."

The third world called for a solution to the problem of fluctuating and low prices of raw materials (agricultural produce, minerals, fuels and foodstuffs) which account for about 75% of the total export value of the developing countries. With the steady decline of raw material prices, export earnings have decreased in a large number of third world countries whereas their balance-of-payments deficit and foreign debts have increased drastically. For example in 1970 it took 20 tons of bananas to buy one average tractor whereas today the same tractor requires the sale of 60 tons of bananas.

The delegates from the developing countries expressed that it is necessary to change these trade relations and that the developing countries cannot remain forever producers of primary products and also be a source of cheap labor power. They demanded that the conference adopt the "integrated commodity programme" put forward by the developing countries which includes a common fund to finance the buffer stock of primary materials which would help improve and stabilize the prices of raw materials.

The adoption of this programme was a major triumph of the third world.

The other main demand raised by the third world was for the solution of the debt problem of the developing countries. It was pointed out during the session that the external indebtedness of the third world countries already has exceeded 120,000 million U.S. dollars. Further discussion of this problem was demanded to take place before the end of the year in other appropriate international bodies.

OPPOSITION OF SUPERPOWERS  
Both the U.S. and USSR vigorously opposed the proposals for the development of a new world

economic order and tried to sabotage the concrete demands of the third world. Both superpowers raised counter-resolutions which were rejected by the developing countries. "This reflects the deepening stance of the third world against the superpowers who wish to preserve the old exploiting economic relations.

Several countries of the second world, however, also broke with the superpowers and supported the demands of the third world. At the session, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Denmark, Finland, Canada and Italy supported the principle of the integrated commodity program upheld by the third world countries, and their demand for solving the debt and other trade problems.

This reflects the second world's growing awareness that they must support the new world economic order and ally with the people of the third world against the two superpowers. In such a way the second world countries will strengthen their own national independence and weaken superpower control over their economic systems.

Overall, the UNCTAD session reflected that the world is indeed in "great disorder" — and what is being upset is the entire old structure of domination, hegemonism, and control of the two superpowers.

### Government Repression in Iran

Reports of massive repression in Iran tell of scores of revolutionaries and patriots being murdered by the SAVAK — secret police — and the imprisonment of thousands. By latest count over 60 workers and revolutionaries have been killed since January and 35 were killed in May alone.

This government repression is attributed to reaction against the rising intensity of the workers, peasants and students movement for democratic rights, land reform, and against economic exploitation and imperialist penetration of Iran.

Throughout the U.S. and Europe, Iranian students are calling for worldwide condemnation of the repression and have organized demonstrations to draw attention to the recent murders and to gain support for the Iranian people's struggle.

# Moscow's Transnational Corporations Go by the Name "Joint Stock Companies"

by Fei Chou

Developing countries have been striving vigorously in recent years to set up a new international economic order by which to safeguard their state sovereignty, expand their national economy and oppose exploitation and plunder by the imperialists, particularly the superpowers. It is an important integral part of the struggle of the countries and people of the third world against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism.

The Soviet social-imperialists, to keep a continuous flow of profits from their expansion and plunder abroad, have tried their utmost, including the use of counter-revolutionary dual tactics, to thwart and undermine this struggle of the developing countries. They use the same tactics in regard to transnational corporations. While hypocritically denouncing such corporations, in the same breath the social-imperialists speak highly of their "advantages," alleging that the Soviet Union fully understands that in order to obtain capital and technology a number of developing countries "might be interested in knitting ties with transnational corporations." Meanwhile, the Soviet revisionists are peddling everywhere "joint-stock companies" — transnational corporations of the Moscow brand.

What are these "joint-stock companies" so painstakingly paraded and peddled by the Soviet revisionists?

### Large-Scale Export of Capital

Lenin pointed out: "Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of capital." (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*) Since their rise to power and restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionists have exported capital on a large scale in the form of "economic and military assistance" to plunder and fleece many third world nations. At the beginning of the 60s, they started launching Soviet-run enterprises or "joint-stock companies" abroad by means of direct investment. In recent years, the Soviet revisionist authorities have set great store by such companies because they are a better means of hoodwinking people than the Soviet-run enterprises. From the granting of "aid" and loans to direct export of capital to run enterprises — this marks an important change in Soviet economic expansion in the third world. It shows how far the Soviet Union under the domination of the revisionists has travelled on the road of imperialism.

"Joint-stock companies" run by

the Soviet Union in the third world appeared as early as in the time of Khrushchov's rule and developed after Brezhnev took office. Flaunting the banner of "developing trade," the Soviet Union stepped up its expansion abroad, especially in the developing countries, in the mid-60s and the "joint-stock companies" with trade as their main business followed in its wake. From 1964 to 1969, the Soviet Union opened four such companies with local private merchants in four countries in Africa and Asia. Since the 70s, the Soviet-run "joint-stock companies" in the third world have been rapidly multiplying. Available statistics show that the Soviet Union set up ten such companies in ten countries in Asia and Africa from 1970 to June 1975.

In West European countries, the Soviet Union operates many industrial and commercial enterprises with exclusive Soviet capital or on a "joint-stock" basis. Take Belgium alone. Press reports say there are eight Belgian-Soviet "joint-stock companies" — with the

raw materials. In this way, it subjects these countries to more ruthless exploitation and plunder. This kind of "joint-stock company" is exactly the same as the transnational corporation of the Western monopoly capital. In addition, as the capital exported from the Soviet Union is owned by that social-imperialist state, the areas where the investment goes, the projects to be undertaken and the spheres of activity are all selected strictly in accordance with the needs of the Soviet Government in aggression and expansion abroad. In this sense, the "joint-stock companies," the transnational corporations of the Moscow brand, have far outstripped their counterparts of the West in rapaciousness.

From what has been disclosed over many years, people already have an idea about what the "joint-stock companies" are doing.

Firstly, they carry out political infiltration under the signboard of "enterprise." Like other Soviet operatives abroad, many of those working in the "joint-stock companies" are given special



*"...all of us, from the central to local organizations, must learn the complex art of money-making."*

— BREZHNEV

Soviet Union investing the bulk of capital — whose business covers shipping, assembling motor vehicles and tractors, food grain, petrochemicals, mineral products, diamond, optical instruments, electronic computers and other electronic equipment. As the tempo of Soviet aggression and expansion abroad keeps rising, Soviet investments in these enterprises are rapidly on the increase.

### More Ruthless Exploitation and Plunder

What are the Soviet-run "joint-stock companies" up to? Soviet publications plump for setting up production enterprises owned exclusively by the Soviet Union or jointly with local national or private capital to further raise the "efficiency of economic co-operation" with developing countries.

The form of direct investment is used by the Soviet Union to impose on the developing countries accepting its investment a situation in which the Soviet Union provides funds and technical equipment while the latter provide labor and

political tasks by the Kremlin.

Secondly, they control the production and trade of the countries where they operate and interfere in their internal affairs. As a rule, a "joint-stock company" with Soviet investment must provide its products to the Soviet Union and carry out other harsh terms. Though the company is called "jointly owned," the other shareholder apart from the Soviet Union has no right to decide on what to produce and sell. A typical example is the Erdenedin copper-molybdenum mine in the People's Republic of Mongolia. Of this so-called "joint-stock company," the share held by Mongolia is a loan granted by the Soviet Union. Therefore it should be called a Soviet enterprise. Under the contract signed with Moscow, Mongolia is allowed only to exploit ores but not to process them itself. Furthermore, the exploited ores can go only to the Soviet Union and not to any other country. Under the "joint-stock company" signboard, the Soviet Union has unscrupulously exploited the Mon-

golian labor force, plundered Mongolia's resources, and trampled underfoot its sovereignty in the process.

Thirdly, these "joint-stock companies" make it easier for the Soviet Union to export to the third world countries those machines, equipment and other industrial products which are difficult to sell on the Western markets. These companies put it in a better position to compete with the Western industrialized countries for markets.

Fourthly, the Soviet Union uses these companies to exploit cheap labor of other countries and plunder their natural resources. An African newspaper disclosed that the local workers of the "joint-stock companies" were poorly paid, the worst among those of the same trade. Take a rich fishing country in West Africa for instance. A Soviet-run "joint-stock" fishing company owns a fleet of ten vessels, on which all miscellaneous odd jobs and heavy physical labor are done by the local employees, and there are only six local apprentice technicians in all. At the same time, as the fleet uses Soviet-made closely knit fishing net, even small fish and fry cannot escape, thus seriously damaging the fishery resources there. Therefore, the people of this country fear that their maritime resources would be exhausted in a matter of a few years, if this situation continues. Moreover, the better catch by the company is all shipped away by Soviet refrigerator vessels, leaving only small and miscellaneous fish for the local people.

From what the Soviet "joint-stock companies" have done, people can clearly see that this new form of "cooperation" between the Soviet Union and developing countries is nothing but a carbon copy of Western monopoly capital's transnationals!

As the resolute struggle of the third world countries and people against the old international economic order and for the establishment of a new order on the basis of equality and mutual benefit is surging forward, the transnationals have become the target of attack by people everywhere. But Moscow is still so keen about the form of "joint-stock company" and brags about it with no sense of shame. This only reveals the nature of social-imperialism in all its greediness and wickedness. As the third world countries and people are awakening and their struggle further deepens, both the Western transnationals and the Soviet-run "joint-stock companies" will be swept into the garbage heap of history. A new international economic order based on equality and mutual benefit will certainly come into being.

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# Wage Labor System Revived in USSR

Peking, February 12, 1976 (Hsinhua correspondent) — The Brezhnev renegade clique has fully restored the capitalist system of wage labour in the Soviet Union.

Since its accession to power, the Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionist group, having betrayed Lenin's revolutionary cause and restored capitalism in the country, has substituted state monopoly capitalism for socialism, ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists and the privileged bourgeois stratum for socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership of the means of production.

The nation's means of production and social products in their hands, the Moscow revisionists ruthlessly oppress and exploit the broad masses of Soviet workers and peasants. The Soviet workers and peasants are reduced to hired labourers who get their livelihood by selling their labour because they own no means of production.

for work in enterprises, offices and organizations." They also provide that "the labour contract is an agreement between the worker on the one hand and the enterprise, office or organization on the other." This means that in essence the "labour contract" is a contract concluded between a buyer and seller of labour power and the transaction differs very little from the usual practice of labour-management contracts in capitalist countries.

"The guiding principles of labour laws" allegedly guarantee the workers "freedom to work without exploitation," what actually happens to the workers in the Soviet Union today is that they are deprived of the "freedom to work." That is, they are often subjected to lay-offs by the management under one pretext or another. These same "guiding principles of labour laws" give the management extensive powers for the annulment of labour contracts and the dismissal of

and to use the money thus left in the wage fund in any way it thinks fit. As a result those in control of enterprises, in order to increase their own pay packets, often lay off large numbers of workers and employees under the pretext that they "are found superfluous for the work" or that "the number of employed staff and workers must be curtailed." The ever wider application of the "Shchekino experience" during the past few years has made the cancellation of labour contracts and the lay-off of workers and employees in the name of "scientific organization of labour" standard practice.

The Soviet journal "Voprosy Ekonomiki" (no. 3, 1972) discloses that "in 1970 about 21 percent of the annual average industrial workers left their jobs of their own will or for other reasons." The Chairman of the State Committee for the Utilization of Labour Resources of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet



Social imperialism creates conditions for widespread poverty and unemployment.

the workers' wages and bonuses under various pretexts. Workers are fined or their wages cut if they fail to fulfill the production quota or turn out "rejects," irrespective of the reasons for these shortcomings.

"Trud" disclosed on August 10 last year that the construction-assembly administration of Kamchatka region for a long time withheld the wages of workers because its production plan was not fulfilled owing to the lack of building materials.

The revival of the capitalist system of wage labour in the Soviet Union has inevitably led to large scale unemployment, and, as in western capitalist countries, there is now a large army of unemployed workers. Soviet newspapers and journals disclose that 20 percent of the workers in Soviet industrial establishments are unemployed, in the building industry, 30 percent are without jobs. There have been over six million industrial workers without jobs every year since 1970. Every unemployed worker has to search at least one or two weeks, some take months and even years to find a job. During this period, they were actually jobless.

In all parts of the Soviet Union, advertisements on hiring and selling of labour power are on display. The Soviet newspaper "Pravda" discloses, January 29, 1973, that at some of the crossroads in Dushanbe, one can see from afar most dazzling advertisements for labour-power. Notices are also posted in many places by the "services for labour employment" for the recruitment of workers and employees. Soviet newspapers and journals disclose that the Soviet revisionist authorities have now set up markets for the hiring of labour power in cities with a population of 100,000 or over and in regional centres. These markets are labelled, "services for labour employment" and "bureaus for labour employment and information." In the R.S.F.S.R. alone, more than 116 cities have set up such organisations for the special purpose of providing those able-bodied inhabitants who are jobless with work. From 1969 to 1974, several million persons applied for jobs in the Russian and Khazak republics. At those places, a set of labour-power buyers, possessed of land, machinery, raw materials, and means of subsistence, barter with a set of sellers who have nothing to sell except their labour power, their working hands and brains. The one set continually buys in order to make a profit and enrich themselves, while the other continually sells in order to get sufficient means of livelihood. Such in essence is the present-day Soviet labour power market. It is also the epitome of "freedom to work without exploitation" blatantly advertised by the "guiding principles of labour laws of U.S.S.R."



Construction workers face economic exploitation under Soviet wage labor system.

The system of wage labour is now in full force everywhere in the Soviet Union and has long ago been legalized by the revisionists through "laws" and "regulations." "The guiding principles of labour laws of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republics," passed in 1970, provides that "workers and employees realize their right to work through the conclusion of labour contracts

workers and employees "who display any incompatibility with the position they hold or the job they are doing because of inadequate qualifications or feeble health, an incompatibility which hinders them from carrying out a particular job" or "who fail to present themselves for work for more than four months in succession as a result of a temporary disability." The management is empowered to do so even if the workers or employees concerned object to its decision.

The "regulations governing socialist state productive enterprises," published by the Brezhnev clique when it began to push the "new economic system" with profit as its motive, stipulate that the director of an enterprise "has the right to recruit and dismiss personnel" and "has the right to fix the workers' rates of wages and bonuses." This means that the workers offer their labour power for sale, and the new-born Soviet capitalists have the right to buy it and fix its price as they like.

The Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists, considering all this legislative rigmarole inadequate to completely enslave the workers, cooked up the so-called Shchekino experience. This allows the management "to lay off those who are found superfluous for the work"

Federative Socialist Republic, K. A. Novikov, has disclosed that up to June, 1973, the 292 enterprises, which applied the "Shchekino experience" had dismissed a total of 70,000 workers and employees.

In the Soviet Union today, the broad masses of workers have no guarantee of employment and those in jobs are constantly under the threat of dismissal. When employed, they are oppressed politically, exploited economically and personally humiliated. The managers of enterprises, using the power in their hands, work out regulations and rules which fleece and persecute the workers. They often unscrupulously abuse, interrogate and detain workers. The Soviet revisionist authorities are known to have thrown workers who dared to resist into "labour camps" and detained some of them in "psycho-neurological hospitals."

The Soviet newspaper "Trud" last March disclosed that Soviet worker G. A. Olenikov was forced to quit work by the director of his factory because he publicly criticized the factory management for turning out "rejects," and accused it of violating the "procedure for sending people on official trips."

Leaders of enterprises grab high salary and high bonuses and various kinds of illegal economic advantages for themselves, while cutting

## I.W.K. JOURNAL

The IWK Journal is the theoretical journal of I Wor Kuen, an organization based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. IWK Journal #3 contains:

- IWK Position on Party Building;
- A Review of Our Past Understanding of Party Building;
- Some Erroneous Lines on Party Building: On the Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Communist Party Right Opportunism on Party Building;
- On the Declaration by the OL on Party Building;
- Criticisms of Workers Viewpoint Organization on Party Building;
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## Liberation School

cont. from p. 2

Since the degeneration of the CPUSA the movement had been without genuine communist leadership. Many spontaneous movements had developed and died out, attempts had been made to reconstitute a party but none had been successful. Reflecting the rise of TW struggles internationally and the revolutionary nature of these national struggles, national groupings in this country had consolidated organizationally. The white left was divided between those involved with groups like the RU, OL, those in small collectives and project groups like the Liberation School and many who saw themselves as "independent leftists."

In this context, given the lack of clear communist leadership for the movement overall we feel that the Liberation School made significant contributions, for a time, to the developing left movement. We raised publicly and to a great many people a basic analysis of capitalism and the need for socialism, and brought together many people who, in a limited context could struggle over issues of how we would proceed in making socialist revolution. The school collective along with some teachers and students participated in coalitions, pro-China work, film series, sponsored an economics conference, etc. and generally played an active role in the "independent," mainly white left.

As the strengths and contributions must be seen in the context of the movement overall so must the weaknesses. As the struggle continued and the movement developed it became apparent that we had to make some basic changes. In the movement as a whole more and more people were seeing the need to take up the question of revolution in an active way. The study of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought became more widespread, the question of how the party would be built was being actively struggled over by many groups. Many national groups, while upholding the revolutionary nature of the national question, saw the need to develop greater multinational unity.

Most of the collective and many of the people taking classes at the school were from student backgrounds and had been politicized by the anti-capitalist counter-culture of the 60's. As a small collective engaged in a limited form of practice, our understanding of how our work related to the larger process of making revolution was correspondingly narrow. Though united around the need for socialist revolution, we did not actively take up the struggle to define what we meant by it or how, concretely, to go about fighting for it. Our assessment of our work was empiricist and subjective. We had only minimal ties with groups representing oppressed nationalities, and though most of us worked we certainly were not rooted in our workplaces as a focus of our political work. We were relatively isolated from the rest of the left and particularly from the communist movement; in fact, we saw ourselves as an "alternative" to Marxist-Leninist organizations whose politics very few of us knew much about. We did not grasp that the things we objected to about these organizations were rooted in their incorrect political lines rather than the fact that they attempted to apply the science of Marxism-Leninism.

We all knew that "something was wrong with the school," but our understanding was mechanical—not enough third world people, not enough working class people, no way to work in an ongoing way with the people who came to classes. The solutions we tried to pose eventually boiled down to making the school part of a "larger organization." What the politics of this organization should be, we were not prepared to say; we did not understand that an organization cannot be created for its own sake but can only reflect a certain political line and play a certain political role.

As the shortcomings of our work in running the school came increasingly to the fore, the contradictions in our politics became more and more critical. As our understanding has deepened we have come to see the extent to which our politics were shaped by the petit

bourgeois world outlook which is a strong factor in many movements and which will, if not actively combatted, lead to opportunist politics. Our narrowness, our lack of struggle over crucial issues of the movement and our relationship to it, our subjectivism all reflected the influence this outlook had upon our work. We were at a point in our development where failing to actively take up the struggle against it would mean consolidating around all of our bad tendencies.

The issue began to crystallize for us with the appearance of the first public document of the MISO tendency, a call for the formation of a "mass intermediate socialist organization" in the Bay Area. The document urged people to come together in rejection of not only the narrowness of project groups like the Liberation School, but the "dogmatism" and "sectarianism" which was supposed to characterize the communist movement, as a whole. It argued that the latter was not just a particular error which specific organizations had made; it was the inevitable result of any attempt that might be made to build Marxist-Leninist organizations at this time. Similarly, questions of what is meant by "socialism," what is necessary to achieve it, the role of the struggle of oppressed nationalities in this country were "deferred."

Some collective members agreed with the paper and felt that the school's problems would be basically solved if it became part of a MISO-type organization. We were more doubtful, raising a number of questions about how such an organization would be built and how it would function in practice. What we did not do, yet, was question the underlying political assumptions of the MISO paper. We were still posing the question in narrow terms — whether this was the best way to "build a larger organization."

Simultaneously, we were also involved in pro-China work. In this work we were exposed to other tendencies on the left and began to see the importance of concretely linking up our work with the larger process of making revolution. As a result of this contact and struggle with other left groups, many of them self-consciously Marxist-Leninist, we became clearer on the implications of our unstated but basic principle of unity — opposition to M-L groups. In forming this position without sufficient investigation the narrowness of our outlook had been reinforced. We could now see that vague formulations of socialism can lead to and cover for an anti-communist position if not struggled with.

With some of us armed with this understanding and seeing the need to take up the question of how we saw making revolution more correctly the struggle quickly came to a head. We were forced to realize that it was not simply the organizational form of MISO we disagreed with but the political line behind it. In line with our contention that the politics of MISO represent a natural extension of some aspects of the former Liberation School, which we were a part of, and our hope people will break with this we raise these points in hopes of furthering the struggle.

We are not questioning whether or not those who adhere to the MISO line honestly aspire to make revolution or not. This is not the question. But rather the question is what role do they play objectively in the movement today. At a time when the question of how to build the party is being actively struggled over the Northern California Alliance is still sitting on the fence. At this time they still refuse to engage in struggle openly as to how they see their work fitting into making revolution. For those within this tendency who feel they honestly don't know the answer to this it's their responsibility to struggle for this understanding.

As we discussed the petit bourgeois influence on our work with the school we see this carried on in the MISO as well. By not seeing class struggle as key political differences are not struggled out to the highest level. There is no way the outlook of the proletariat can be maintained.

At the basis of any organizational line is what it sees as the central task of the movement at a given time. According to the MISO tendency the central task is to "build a mass movement of the working class for socialism." They believe that the absence of such a movement is the main barrier holding back the revolutionary struggle in this country. They argue that only the existence of such a movement can provide an objective basis for analyzing and struggling over problems of long-range revolutionary strategy. Without it, they say, efforts in this direction cannot reflect the concrete reality of the daily struggles of masses of people, but will necessarily degenerate into hair-splitting, academic debates which substitute dogma for scientific analysis.

The MISO form of organization is supposed to be designed to carry out this task. As the MISO tendency sees it, these organizations would bring together large numbers of working class people now on the basis of a common conviction that socialism is the answer to their problems. To encourage the broadest participation possible within the context of its socialist politics, the MISO tendency spells out the concept of socialism and what it means to struggle for it only in the most general terms. A sharp distinction would be made within the organization between "essential" and "deferred" questions: the former represent "those questions which the organization must take a unified position on in order to engage in practice," while the latter are "issues and questions which do not require such organizational unity now."

The MISO does not propose that the same questions will always be "deferred"; they believe questions which are deferred today may become essential tomorrow. Their yardstick for determining whether a question is essential or deferred at a given time is whether it promises to further the unity of the organization or merely to divide it. A question hitherto "deferred" may become so pressing a concern for the people MISO hopes to organize that to keep deferring it would defeat the purpose of the organization, i.e., to "unify the working class." On the other hand, a position which is taken "prematurely" would run the risk of needlessly alienating people. As the MISO tendency puts it, "Identifying essential and deferred questions must always be related to evaluating the need of our organization's practice." The most crucial decisions about the political development of a MISO are thus implicitly determined by the demands of its day to day work.

MISO's approach to the question of party building offers a concrete application of this question; it also exposes the incorrect assumptions about theory and practice which are at the heart of MISO. The need for a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party to lead the revolutionary struggle is treated by the MISO tendency as a deferred question. A Marxist-Leninist party, they say, is "defined by its objective role in the revolutionary movement," consisting of the movement's most knowledgeable, committed, dedicated fighters. This means that if a party is to happen at all it can only be created by the revolutionary mass movement, on the basis of the leadership with which it can provide the movement. Because the task of building a revolutionary mass movement remains to be accomplished, they say, there is no way to struggle for unity over whether or not a party is necessary, for the objective conditions do not yet exist which would make it possible. To raise the issue now serves no useful purpose and can only undermine the unity of the organization. In this way the MISO tendency subordinates the question of party building to the immediate demands of its organizational practice. It is a position which goes right to the heart of our criticisms of the MISO tendency.

The daily struggle against the various abuses of this society provides us with no magic answers to the questions of making revolution. If they did, the task of making it would be a lot simpler; nothing more would be required than the dedication and resourcefulness of people who honestly desire socialism. Unfortunately, an organization which relies on its practice to give it the answers, with nothing more demanded of its members than good intentions and lots of energy, is not equipped to do anything more than put one foot in front of the other and hope that it is traveling on the proper path and in the right direction. It does not become genuinely revolutionary

until it begins consciously defining and evaluating its work in terms of its ultimate objectives, using Marxism-Leninism — the science of making revolution — to guide its efforts. Only by introducing and struggling for communist ideas can the revolutionary movement develop. Only through the existence of a genuine communist party, created specifically to carry out these tasks, can they be carried out successfully. A party cannot be built "spontaneously" any more than a revolution can be made spontaneously; both tasks are too difficult, too complex to be achieved without a conscious, systematic, determined and scientific effort.

Our experiences with the Liberation School, and our subsequent discussions with people who have joined the Northern California Alliance, have made clear to us the appeal that groups like the Alliance have for many honest, progressive people. They understand that capitalism is the enemy, see the need for revolution and are put off by the sectarian approach and incorrect stands of many organizations which call themselves Marxist-Leninist. Working in a MISO seems like a big step forward from working in an isolated project group or study group, or floating around the movement trying to participate as an isolated individual. Moreover it promises an atmosphere which emphasizes unity rather than forcing people to confront a lot of questions which, on the surface, seem as divisive as they are hard to understand. It offers a chance to do active political work with a minimum of political commitment.

We recognize that sectarianism is a big problem in many parts of the left, but we don't think opportunism—following the line of least resistance in developing your politics—is the answer. We urge people attracted to the MISO tendency to analyze the premises underlying the work they are doing and to struggle to define as concretely as possible where it is leading.

A major project of the Northern California Alliance—an organization which includes people who feel it will ultimately be necessary to build a new communist party, people who heartily oppose the whole idea and people who are unclear or undecided—is campaigning for District election of supervisors. Obviously each of these groups has a different idea of how this campaign fits in with the ultimate purpose of the organization. How far can they go in struggling over these differences when the work of the organization is determined, not the carrying out a basic political line, but by seeking out a lowest common denominator around which unity in the organization can be maintained?

The movement in this country is growing rapidly and going through some equally rapid changes. The more time that goes by without the leadership of a Communist party to guide it, the greater the danger that it will lapse into opportunism and sectarianism. But the idea of a party cannot be distinguished from the politics it would be based on. It is for this reason that ideological struggle—the effort to understand Marxism-Leninism and apply it to conditions we live under—is key in developing a genuine Communist Party, in making revolution.

Our reason for writing this has been to put forth some ideas we have as to the development of a tendency which is widespread and which we were, at one time, a part of. We have focused our attention on the MISO (Northern California Alliance) because of our specific struggle with them. In the course of that struggle we learned a lot of things, the most important of which is the inadequacy of a political perspective which is not guided by MLMTT and the importance of actively struggling for a correct line which is grounded in MLMTT. We know a lot of people in the movement are going through similar struggles; we are confident that, once they have examined the basis of their work and are clear about their class outlook many of them will find themselves coming to the same conclusions we have.

Liberation School Collective

.....  
Getting Together: Thank you for your letter. We are in general agreement with what you have stated. We urge others who have opinions on this question to write us.

## Welfare Council

cont. from p. 2

On the contrary, the turning point in relatives coming from mainland China was after the U.S. government was forced to recognize the strength and worldwide esteem of the People's Republic of China and after former Pres. Nixon's visit to China in 1972 and the publication of the Shanghai Communique.

Four years after this turning point, the Chinese Welfare Council suddenly discovers a "get rich quick" scheme to further its prestige and influence with the U.S. government and within the Chinese communities in the U.S. The Council wants to "take this opportunity," as if without doing so, they are up for great loss.

But what is really going to be lost? It is definitely not that the families in China won't be able to come to the U.S., for the following simple reason: When the U.S. government was boycotting China, people in the U.S. were unable to unite with their families. In 1972, that policy went completely bankrupt. As a result, families coming to the U.S. have gradually become a reality, without the help of the Welfare Council. In order to carry out the Shanghai Communique, the U.S. must take such steps to normalize relations with China which will definitely facilitate questions including immigration. The Chinese people in the U.S. know that the main problem has been the U.S.-imposed restrictions and the lack of normal relations between the U.S. and China, and that normalizing relations between China and the U.S. is a pre-requisite for solving the problem of uniting families in China. Canada is a good example.

3) Why was the address for the Welfare Council only printed in English? The Welfare Council is located in the headquarters of the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco. This is very strange. Why do they use so many methods to cover themselves? Concluding from the above, it is not difficult for us to deduce the "dirty trick" that the "Welfare" Council is trying to pull.

The name Welfare Council gives the appearance of a welfare agency. It originated from problems with the immigration authority 20 years ago, and has become a self-proclaimed authority in dealing with immigration problems. But its actual contributions to solving the immigration problems of the Chinese people for too long has been negligible. For example, the Welfare Council even completely ignored the "Confession Issue."

This is not surprising, noting the connections between the Welfare Council and the KMT. The fact that the Welfare Council has even obtained its headquarters in the Six Companies building as the Anti Communist League only exposes how important the reactionaries regard the Welfare Council.

The Welfare Council's publication of this announcement without overt anti-communist rhetoric implicitly recognizes the change of relationship between the People's Republic of China and the U.S., changing the rigid die-hard tone of the past KMT ruling clique. But in reality,

the Welfare Council wants to stop the process of normalization, and gloss over the inseparable connection between normalizing relations between the two countries and the question of immigration. The Welfare Council talks about immigration from China, but does not speak a single word about the normalization of relations between the two countries. This is another good piece of evidence that the Welfare Council is only trying to "help" people in appearance. In fact, in 1973, the Welfare Council's friend, the Six Companies and Chinese Benevolent Associations advertised in newspapers all over the U.S. openly opposing the establishment of the Chinese liaison office in the U.S.

Furthermore, as soon as the New York Chinese community raised a protest against the Welfare Council's despicable actions through leafleting, the June 1st editorial in the *World Journal* immediately hollered that: "This is an affair for the immediate benefit of the Chinese communities in the U.S. It was started by the Chinese people, and is not connected with politics, with economics, or with any big overall questions. How can one connect the Welfare Council's work to the KMT?"

The *World Journal* has only been in San Francisco for three months, but what are its real political ties? It has already unilaterally claimed to be the "voice" representing the community in order to fool the people. But even the American newspaper, the *S.F. Examiner*, knows the background of the *World Journal*. There was a special article in the *Examiner* pointing out that the *World Journal* was started by a direct investment of Taiwan's largest newspaper which sometime ago had set up its subsidiary in New York. It is established here to take the place of the former KMT newspaper which has lost favor with the KMT.

So after the lies of the Welfare Council were punctured, the *World Journal* jumped out to defend the Welfare Council, clamoring: "How can one connect the whole business with the KMT?" After investigating a bit, though, it is clear that the KMT's *World Journal* and the Welfare Council are harping the same tone. In their own words, the *World Journal* speaks for all three: "The U.S. State Department should place this immigration problem on par with the problem of U.S. frozen assets in China, and should regard it as an unresolved problem. Welfare Council should increase its efforts to contact and organize in the Chinese communities, preparing for action which would reflect our unwavering demand, letting the whole free world hear our appeal."

The original so-called "helping Chinese people in the U.S." has changed into an "unresolved problem" between the People's Republic of China and the U.S. in order to save the KMT's reactionary worn-out slogan of saving the "free world."

Whom can the Welfare Council cheat with their dirty tricks?

A San Francisco Chinese community resident

## Hospital Workers Protest

cont. from p. 1

The three-man panel's recommendations were announced the week of June 18th. In sum, they proposed: 1) 842 layoffs instead of 1400, 341 of them being supervisory and managerial layoffs, and the remaining 501 to be temporaries and provisional workers (clerks, technicians, social workers, etc.); 2) Sydenham Hospital to be kept open, but its obstetrics and pediatrics divisions to be at Harlem Hospital; 3) Gouverneur in-patient and Emergency Room services closed down, and replaced with a skilled nursing home; 4) Belvis Neighborhood Center to be reopened as part of Lincoln Hospital; 5) Seaview Hospital closed; 6) For the future 1700 layoffs, a panel to be set up including union "representation" to make alternative plans by July 30th.

The city government and trade union bureaucrats of DC 37 have accepted the panel's suggestions and the DC 37 strike will be held off pending the July 30th outcome. The trade union bureaucrats have once again turned their backs on the workers at Gouverneur and the oppressed nationalities and working people of the Lower East Side. They have agreed to forcing the Lower East Side and the Gouverneur workers to lose their health services and jobs. This conciliation pits one community against others, and the workers in one hospital against those in other city hospitals, and causes disunity among the rank and file.

On June 25th, many workers at Gouverneur were told it was their last day, and others are to receive termination notices effective July 2nd. Along with this, all doctors, nurses, and technicians at Gouverneur who are employed under the affiliate hospital (Beth Israel Hospi-

tal) will be leaving on July 1st.

The City and the Health and Hospitals Corporation have not made any plans for a medical staff at Gouverneur for July 1st, which means all services at Gouverneur will end on that date.

The trade union bureaucrats' betrayal of the working class is manifested in many ways. Alongside with their open class collaboration with the monopoly capitalist class these union bureaucrats attempt to smash worker participation in the trade unions because they are afraid of any rank and file opposition.

Recently at a DC 37 union meeting on June 4 after the trade union bureaucrats' sell out was made public, the union bureaucrats acted desperately to squash any opposition. They refused to allow the membership to speak or raise questions. They intimidated workers with security guards who said to a worker that there would be "a knife behind her back" if any disagreement was raised. Leaflets from rank and file and communist organizations were prohibited in the meeting. Workers were told by union hacks not to take any literature and leaflets were grabbed from workers' hands as they entered the meeting hall.

This desperation reflects their weakness and is due to growing rank and file opposition and exposures.

The workers at Gouverneur and at other hospitals throughout the City, together with community residents and patients, are continuing the struggle both to save Gouverneur Hospital and against all attacks by the City and in opposition to the union bureaucrats' sellout of the struggle.

### CORRECTION TO MAY ISSUE

Correction to article "Struggle Against Closing New York City Hospital" (Page 3).

After "anarchistic production is inherent to..." (Column 2, line 27), insert the section beginning with "the system we live under, and..." (Column 3, line 15) and ending with "trying to shut down the hospital in..." (Column 3, line 53).

## More on Camps

cont. from p. 2

ment in Japan and the imprisonment of thousands of progressives.) Thus, torn between a government which threw them into prison camps and because of misconceptions about Japanese militarism which were fanned up by a handful of reactionaries, many Nisei signed 'no-no.'

Thus, whether one answered no-no or yes-yes is a complex question but whatever the reasons, we believe that the overwhelming majority of Japanese in the concentration camps were progressive minded and only a minority were outright reactionary. The majority of Japanese Americans were outraged against the injustices and struggled against it to the extent they were able. The reactionaries were those who either supported Japanese militarism or who acted as lackeys and stool pigeons for US Imperialism.

To gain more clarity about this period in the history of the Japanese American movement, we believe that this period can be begun to be understood only if we place it within the context of two factors. One is the international struggle against

fascism and the other is the role of the CPUSA.

We believe that it was the proletarian internationalist duty of every communist and progressive during the second World War to unite all who could be united to oppose German fascism and Japanese militarism. Therefore, we upheld the decision of the international communist movement at the time of the second World War to build an International United Front Against Fascism. We therefore support the decision of the CPUSA at the time to participate in the war effort. At the same time, however, the CPUSA should have exercised their independence and initiative; class struggle must continue. Therefore it was absolutely incorrect for the CPUSA to liquidate its independence and initiative and conciliate with the fascist measures of the US bourgeoisie against the Japanese people in the U.S. The duty of communists during that period should have been, while participating in the United Front Against Fascism, to prepare for the launching of civil war against their

own bourgeoisie.

For example, during the second World War, the CPUSA explicitly forbade the organizing of communist units within the Armed Forces, for fear that this might damage the United Front.

These errors of the CPUSA were a part of the general error of the CPUSA in the 1940's of capitulation to the US bourgeoisie and liquidation of the class struggle at home. This error was manifested concretely in their actions against their Japanese American members (all Japanese American members of the CPUSA were expelled) and their condoning of the camps. The CPUSA did nothing to organize resistance in the camps, and outside the camps the CPUSA did nothing to struggle against fascist repression. This objectively left the Japanese American masses without revolutionary leadership in their struggle against the concentration camps. It objectively tailed the petty bourgeoisie forces such as the JACL and fed the pro-Japanese reactionaries.

The JACL led and encouraged the

Japanese Americans to volunteer and fight in World War II to prove themselves loyal American citizens. The pro-Japanese forces attempted to use the discontent and outright injustices of the camps to their own advantage. In the absence of revolutionary leadership, these incorrect ideas were not effectively combatted. The masses of Japanese Americans were disarmed ideologically, politically and organizationally and were unable to wage the necessary revolutionary struggle against their oppression.

We believe that the lessons of this period point to, concretely, the need for a genuine communist party. The CPUSA of that period has now completely degenerated into a counter revolutionary organization. We believe that with correct revolutionary leadership the Japanese American people in unity with the American working class and all oppressed peoples could have resisted the camps and made even greater contributions to the struggle against fascism, militarism and class oppression around the world and in the U.S.

# May Day cont. from p. 3

## Solidarity Speeches

Solidarity speeches were given by a representative of Local 164 of the International Molders and Allied Workers Union and by a representative of the Committee Against Nihomachi Eviction. The speaker from the Molders Union expressed solidarity with the gathering and pointed to the struggle of the Molders as an important struggle of significance to the entire working class. He also pointed out that a great number of the workers in the Molders Union were members of oppressed nationalities. In particular the speaker called for the upholding of the right to self-determination of the Afro American nation in the Black Belt South and the right to governmental unity, confiscation of all land presently held by the oppressor nation for the Chicano people of the Southwest.

The speaker from CANE, pointed out that this is the first time CANE has participated in such an event and its significance for CANE in building unity with workers of all nationalities. He

went on to speak about the struggle of the Japanese community here in San Francisco as a part of the overall struggle of the Japanese people against their oppression as a people and in particular against their forced dispersion under the guise of "urban renewal." He pointed out that the struggle of Nihomachi against the attempts of the RDA to evict long time community residents and small shopkeepers was a part and parcel of the historic and ongoing oppression of the Japanese people in America.

The program concluded with a spirited singing of the Internationale by a chorus of over 60 persons, with the audience joining in.

This successful program represented the culmination of several months of work and preparation. The political outlook and line of the coalition and program was developed through struggle against various incorrect stands and lines put forth. In struggling against and defeating these incorrect ideas, the coalition was able to build greater unity and deepen and sharpen the politics reflected in the May Day program.

## Struggle

Two key struggles developed in the course of the coalition. One was around whether or not there should be a speech representing the various Marxist-Leninist organizations in the coalition which would speak of the need for a new communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in order to make proletarian revolution. This was opposed by certain Marxist-Leninist forces within the coalition who argued that the entire program was already Marxist-Leninist and that it was unnecessary to specifically speak of the need for a new communist party in the U.S. They said that talking about the role of the Chinese Communist Party in the making of the Chinese Revolution would be sufficient.

This incorrect view was soundly defeated within the Coalition and the Coalition went on to develop a speech representing the Marxist-Leninist organizations within the Coalition. In the summation meeting, the speech was summarized as having played a necessary and positive role overall within the program.

The second struggle developed around the national question.

Certain forces within the Coalition argued that it was "narrow" to have specific parts of the program focus on the Chinese national minority. These forces argued that specifically talking about the national struggles would serve to "divide" the working class. This view was also soundly defeated by the overwhelming majority of forces within the Coalition. The Coalition went on to prove in the program that specifically pointing out the necessity to support and develop the struggles of oppressed nationalities in fact contributes to forging the unity of the multinational working class. During the summation, the coalition summed up that the program did build multinational unity and that upholding and supporting the national struggles is a correct stand.

This Coalition and the program which it put on represented a step forward for the movement as a whole and proved through principled struggle, keeping in mind the interests of the struggle as a whole, that incorrect lines can be defeated and that successful programs which include the presentation of revolutionary ideas in a mass and lively style can successfully take place.

# 第三世界國家要求新的世界經濟秩序

本年五月五日第四次的聯合國貿易發展會議(UNCTAD)在肯尼亞首都內羅畢開會，一百五十三會員國的二千餘代表參加了這次會議，如這個開了一個多月之久的會議之中，第三世界的國家一再堅持地表示，要加強他們反對帝國主義的團結，尤其是要反對超級大國的經濟控制和掠奪。他們擬了特別的方案，要來改變這種狀況。

這是這幾年來第三世界一再加強提出的，開創一個國際間新型的經濟秩序的努力之一。方案要求深刻積極，因為它向兩個超級強國直接挑戰。目前超級大國的操縱是第三世界貧窮和落後的根源。

第三世界要求經濟獨立，控制自己國家經濟，贏得了好幾個第二世界國家的支持，他們也是受到超級大國的操縱和威脅的。

第三世界國家主張這個會議採納「七七團體」(代表一百十幾個開發中的國家)所擬的「馬尼拉宣言」和「行動綱領」這兩個文件，作為大會討論的依據。

這兩個文件強調「消除加諸於開發中國家不平等經濟狀況」的必要性，國際間的經濟關係應該建立在平等的、不干涉他國內政的原則上，每個國家有權完全控制國內的天然資源和經濟活動。文件強調，要贏得這些要求，發展中的國家必須合作、團結一致。

第三世界在整個會議中，根據這兩個文件來調協他們的努力。如紐約時報(五月三十日)所招認的，「貧窮的國家」鍛鍊出了一條「聯合陣綫」。該報說，「未開發國家團結一致」的表現，確實的使得他們在政治上增加了力量。他們的要被認真地考慮，這是在過去十二年中的三次會議中從來就沒有有的現象。

第三世界要求解決原料(農產品礦產燃料食品等)價格低廉和變動的問題，原料約佔發展中國家輸出總值的百分之七十五，隨着原料價格的步步下降，許多第三世界國家在輸出上的收入減少，同時他們在國際收支差額上的虧空和外債却急劇地上漲。譬如說，在一九七〇年廿噸的香蕉可以購買一架普通的拖拉機，今天同樣的一架拖拉機需要出售六十噸的香蕉才可以買到。

發展中國家的代表表示，這種貿易關係必須改善，開發中的國家不能永遠是原料的供應者以及廉價勞動力的來源。他們要求大會採納發展中國家所提出的「商品一元化方案」，其中有一個辦法就是利用公共的資金來購買原料的緩沖性的存貨，這樣子會改善並穩定原料的價格。

大會的採納這個方案是第三世界的一大勝利。

第三世界提出的另一個重要的要求，是為發展中國家解決負債問題，他們在大會中指出，第三世界

所欠的外債已經超過一千二百億。他們要求在今年年底以前，在其他適當的國際機構中，對這個問題詳加討論。

超級強國的反對

美國和蘇聯竭力反對發展一個新的世界經濟秩序的建議，他們試圖陰謀破壞第三世界的具體要求，提出反對的提案，而遭遇到發展中國家的拒絕。這反映出第三世界反對超級大國立場的更進一步。(超級強國希望保留古老的剝削性的經濟關係)。

可是第二世界的若干國家，也脫離超級大國的約束，支持第三世界的要求，大會中，挪威、瑞典、荷蘭、丹麥、芬蘭、加拿大、意大利諸國，支持第三世界國家贊成的「商品一元化方案」的原則，並支持他們的要求解決負債和其他的貿易問題，這反映出第二世界與日俱增中覺醒，覺得他們必須支持新的世界經濟秩序，和第三世界的人民聯盟，來反對兩個超級大國。這樣，他們可以加強他們國家的獨立，而削弱超級大國對他們經濟制度的控制。

總而言之，這次會議反映了這個世界確實是處於「天下大亂」，亂倒的是兩個超級大國操縱、控制和霸權主義的整個固舊的結構。





# 團結報

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## “階級鬥爭為綱”

### 中國捍衛無產階級專政

上海江南造船廠工人大會。



中國目前反對修正主義分子鄧小平，企圖恢復資本主義的鬥爭，再次給我們提出今天國際共產運動中一個中心課題的真理。這課題是：如何鞏固無產階級專政，以及防止資本主義復辟。無產階級專政的理論是馬克思主義的精華。

「只有承認階級鬥爭，同時也承認無產階級專政的人，才是馬克思主義者。馬克思主義者同庸俗小資產者（以及大資產者）之間的最大區別就在這裡。必須用這塊試金石來測驗是否真正了解和承認馬克思主義。」

（列寧，國家與革命）

中國人民在毛主席及中國共產黨領導下，目前提供給我們的，是無產階級專政的必要和本質，在理論和實踐上的重大教訓。他們給我們顯示真正的社會主義祇能是革命性的無產階級專政。這個專政只能是無產階級用國家力量為工具，來實行階級鬥爭。這種階級鬥爭，在對抗資產階級的時候，尤其是激烈的。

在這篇文字中，我們試圖回答一些問題：甚麼是無產階級專政？無產階級專政為什麼必要？為甚麼在社會主義制度下，有那麼強烈的階級鬥爭？鄧小平如何企圖在中國復辟資本主義？

甚麼是無產階級專政？

無產階級專政是從資本主義社

下續（第十頁）



大埠華埠的五·一慶會。另圖見本期內

### 紐約市 醫務工人 抗議大量裁員

（紐約市高云尼醫院訊）

準備在六月七日舉行的紐約市立醫院工作人員的罷工，六月四日那天，又給行業工會當局（DC37）下令取消了，工會當局同意市政府，組織一個三人小組，由它提出不受約束的調停辦法。他們因此宣佈了「臨時性的和平」。三人小組包括前任的州參議員巴茲爾·彼得生，亨德大學研究院主任沃爾特·艾森堡，以及UV工業公司的總經理和董事長馬丁·霍爾維。UV工業是從事採礦、石油、煤氣、製造電機設備的「公司」。協議給小組一個星期的時間，去想出可以同時阻止解僱和罷工的辦法。

下續（第四頁）



戰和學代表五月六日在高雲尼醫院門前集會發表講話。

# 讀者 來信

## 日裔被禁集中營

我是團結報的長期讀者，十分高興它又跟我們見面，五月號中的幾篇東西，增加了我對目前革命運動所面臨的若干問題的瞭解，我覺得尤其是那篇對電視影片「向曼山拿告別」的批評和檢討，分析得很透澈，它在日裔社區內點燃起有關集中營和對那個時期的濃厚興趣的辯論。

作為一個第三代的日裔，我一直想瞭解那個時期的歷史，以便對目前日裔所處的境況有個正確的認識，到現在，日裔之中仍然存在着從那個時期遺留下來的爭論，最難解決的一個問題，便是每一個第二代日裔對效忠宣誓所採取的立場的問題。效忠宣誓是營內決定一種措施，其中有一處理日裔當中的一種措施，其中有兩個關係重大的問題。第七十七個問題：你願服務於美國的武裝部隊作戰，前往任何下了命令要你去的地方嗎？

第二十八個問題：你能宣誓無條件效忠美國，忠誠地保衛美國，不受國內外任何的侵犯嗎？你並且能發誓放棄任何形式的效忠或服從日本天皇，或任何其他的外國政府，

政權或團體嗎？

肯定地或是否定地回答這兩個問題，在第二代和第三代的日裔之間產生了不同的觀點和派系，作肯定回答的大概是天真的，十足道地的美國人，作否定回答的被當做親日的法西斯份子，我認爲團結報對美共的批判，開始對那個時候的情況有所澄清，在對那個時期複雜的問題的瞭解上，有所貢獻。

爲了革命運動，我們需要對那段歷史和美共的活動作更周詳的分析，爲此，我希望團結報在將來對效忠宣誓這個問題作進一步探討。

團結報的來信：

謝謝你的來信，你在信中所提出的幾點問題，本報的一些其他讀者也會經提出過，我們現在給你的僅僅是初步的回答，我們鼓勵其他讀者，尤其是那些曾經身歷其境的日裔，寫信給我們，也好使我們從辯論中對多年以來無法回答的問題，開始有些答案。

由於革命運動對於集中營和這段美國史欠缺科學的分析，加上日裔運動內的某些份子企圖把集中營的事實掩飾成祇是個別事件，不過是「種族偏見」的問題，關於這個爭端可以研討的地方還有很多很多。

日裔運動中的某些人認爲，作肯定回答的，就等於默認集中營，接受破壞人權等；作否定回答的，則是一種反抗的行動。日裔運動中的另外一些人則認爲作否定回答的，主要是天皇和日本軍國主義的擁護者，這些意見瓜分了日裔社區的許多人。

根據我們對這個問題的初步分析調查，我們相信把兩類作相反回答的人理想化或是歸類，把他們一

概當做叛徒或勇敢的反抗者，或軍國主義，或是英勇的反法西斯主義的戰士等等，都是不對的，我們相信不同的人都有不同的理由回答效忠宣誓內的問題。

開頭大家搞不清楚，效忠宣誓的目的在那裡，戰時遷徙管理局（WRA）對那些調查表格作何打算，當該局下令每個人必須填寫回答調查表時，營中掀起了熱烈的鬥爭。

有的人回答「是，是」，因爲他們真正的相信國際合作向法西斯主義和軍國主義作戰的重要性，有確的領導之下，他們誤解了美國帝國主義的本質，而認爲對他們的壓迫者有表示效忠的需要，可是另外有一些份子，例如日本公民協會（JACL），錯誤地鼓吹應徵入伍來證明他們的「忠於」美國。

大部份第二代日裔作了否定的回答，是因爲他們對日裔所遭受的歷史性的壓迫，義憤不平，這種壓迫，在美國資本家以法西斯手法禁閉日裔於集中營這件事上，達到了頂點，他們拒絕宣誓效忠於一個有計劃地、橫蠻地對他們強加管制，並剝奪他們基本權利的政府，有的回答「否，否」，把它當做向美國帝國主義挑戰的行爲，因爲他們眷戀日本，很多日裔蒙蔽，信以爲日本軍國主義者會真正的關心他們，（實際上，日本軍國主義者是通過了殘酷鎮壓工人運動，禁錮數千進步份子而興起的），一方面是一個把他們關進集中營的政府，另一方面，由於少數反動分子的煽動，對於日本軍國主義的認識錯誤，處

下續（第八頁）

## 中共政權不肯放人乎？

——希望華人福利會有所解釋

吳略

全美華人福利總會的負責人，於五月十二日，在紐約中華公所招待記者，當衆宣佈，要替旅美僑胞設法，使他們在中國大陸上的親屬，可以來美國團聚。其辦法就是彙集所有的資料，轉請美國國務院，代表華裔美人，向中共交涉。福利總會，印就了表格，要求僑胞往中華公所領取填寫。最好是盡快填好，俾於七月以前送交美國政府當局，否則，美國政府在七月以後，忙於大選，就無時間來辦理這件事。

我和其他旅美僑胞一樣，對這項新聞，都給予最大的注意。因爲來美四十年，日夕盼望在中國大陸的親人，能來美國團聚。四十年的歲月，真的不算短，一個人能有兩個四十年，已算是邀天之幸了！所以我也急急於問中華公所，領取了一份表格。在我還未着手填寫之前，却來了林老、陳老和周小姐等人，他們也拿了表格來我給他們填寫。說句坦白的话，我實在無從下手。這並不是說，我看不懂上面的中文或英文，而是我懷疑填寫了這表格之後，有什麼結果。

我拿了表格，再拿了當日各華文報刊所載福利會負責人的談話，讀了再讀。我個人覺得福利會的負責人，最少對兩個問題有解釋的必要。

第一，爲什麼不向中華人民共和國駐美聯絡處接洽？

福利會的理事長黃君裕說，他曾經代表福利總會和白宮的總統，助理及移民局交涉過。而且他亦同

時表示，所有填寫好的表格將由福利會彙集之後送交「美國國務院代表華裔美人向中共交涉」。我不知道黃君裕先生等人和美國政府官員間的談話，是否有什麼協議或默契，但美國國務院的官員却告訴過我，在中國大陸的人要離境，除了是美國籍民，美國政府必予以辦理外，至於旅美籍華人在大陸上的親人離境，因爲不是美國籍民，美國政府雖然關懷，但愛莫能助。

這事的經過是這樣。我希望在中國大陸上的親人能來美國團聚。除了向美國移民局申請入境簽證護准及將一切證件寄回中國大陸，由親人向中國政府當局申請離境出國來美外，我也想知道美國國務院對這一問題的看法，更希望美國國務院能幫一點忙。所以，我會寫了一封信給美國國務院。很快就得到了回信，署名是「中華人民共和國及蒙古事務」的主持人安斯特朗先生。其內容簡譯如下：

「關於很多美籍華人在中華人民共和國的家屬，不能得到離開中華人民共和國的出境證來美國團聚的事。美國國務院，曾收到各處來信，和美國國務院的要求，代向中華人民共和國政府交涉。基於人道的立場上說，我們表示同情。但美

下續（第八頁）

團結報是甚麼？

團結報是義和拳的政治刊物，義和拳是一個致力於在美國組織一個新的、反修正主義的共產黨的馬列主義團體。

# 鼓動性工作

## 組織高云尼醫院的基層工作



單，我們試圖以馬列主義的觀點來發表對高云尼實際情況的具體分析，希望能夠引導這場鬥爭，作出明確的指示。

鼓動性的文字試圖對某一問題的幾點詳加說明，目的在於以清晰的無產階級的眼光看問題，喚醒群眾的意識，激起他們的憤慨。我們希望用傳單來進行鼓動工作，配合實際參加高云尼日常鬥爭的工人。具體地說，這張傳單裡面，我們號召工人們對他們所面臨的特殊情況，採取確切的立場，我們特別指出行業工會官僚每天積極地企圖出賣工人鬥爭的角色。我們試圖指出，工人們須要採取確切的方向。

我們的宣傳和鼓動的工作還是很初步，只有不斷學習才可以做得好，因此希望團結報的讀者來信，對傳單批評，出主意，好使我們的工作發展起來。

我們下面轉載義和拳人員在高云尼醫院發派的鼓動性傳單一張。這份傳單分別用中、美及西班牙文印行，傳送到千餘個高云尼的工作人員手裡，獲得良好的反應。它祇是我們在云尼分發的若干宣傳性，鼓動性的傳單之一（如果你有興趣收集全部傳單，請寫信給我們，我們將樂於給你寄去。信中請註明所要的是何種語言的傳單）通過傳

「賽登漢和貝維斯醫院」賽登漢醫院位於黑人聚居的哈林區，貝維斯醫院位於布明士區。

### 「地區化，合併」：

財管臨時委員會（EFCB）公然叫囂的那個「三年計劃」，要關閉必要的醫院和解僱工人，即將市內十八所醫院關掉十三間，剩餘的剩餘五間，分佈在市內五個區裡，每區一間。上面兩個名詞，是行業工會的官僚經常用來遮掩他們接納這個計劃，與暗示市府一致的看法。

「財務管理臨時委員會（EFCB）」這個委員會現在在管理紐約市，它的組成份子包括紐約市大銀行和工商界的代表，它有權通過所有經費預算事務。紐約州長凱萊是這個委員會的主席。

### 「DC37 LOCAL 420 LOCAL 1044

莉蓮·羅伯茨，高明」DC37是美國州市員工聯盟中的區分會。LOCAL 420 包括護士助理內務和飲食方面的工作人員。LOCAL 1044 包括市府文員。莉蓮·羅伯茨是DC37的副主任，高明是DC37的主任。

# 義和拳海報

## 揭露調停內幕，

## 我們聯合罷工！

四二零分區為反對緊急經費控制委員會（緊經控委）和市政府計劃解僱更多工人及關閉社區急需的醫院和醫療服務而決定舉行的罷工已經被耽擱下來。雖然一千以上的醫院工人投票贊成罷工，但三十七區工委的領導再次在沒有會員同意便向健康和醫院公司讓步。這次的行動，以及其他針對打出我們反對緊經控委和市政府的行動，證明

我們工人必須開始重新奪回來對工會的控制。我們必須組織起來，更積極地參加工會的事務，包括談判，並要求所有醫院的三十七區工委的全部成員立刻罷工，以行動來反對解僱和關閉服務，同時並爭取在工人階級和被壓迫民族社區內的更好的醫療服務。

工會領導的罷工計劃究竟是甚麼一回事？他們拒絕告訴我們一般的會員，說成是甚麼「軍事秘密」更神祕是他們商量的內容。他們告訴我們的只是已經跟健康和醫院公司達到一項「休戰政策」暫時不會分發解僱通知，而協商則繼續在進行。

如果我們看破工會領導強硬的口號（五角大廈般的詞令）我們便能了解他們的罷工計劃實質是向市

下續（第四頁）

請

訂

閱



上接(第三頁)

政府和緊經控委投降。首先，工會領導以來就沒有採取過嚴正的立場，反對泰來法。相反，他們高舉泰來法來作爲不舉行罷工的藉口。但是，如果被迫要舉行罷工，他們的戰略是進行最脆弱的罷工。L. J. Rogers 再次觸及一套「換轉」的戰略和一次「分散性」的罷工。他的意思其實就是只讓一兩個醫院而不讓所有的醫院同時舉行罷工，以使得我們其他的人無計可施。這種屈降的戰略只會分化我們，並大大打低我們戰鬥的能力。這種分化的戰略之一便是沿着專長來分化三十七分區。雖然有幾個分區都受到緊經控委和市政府行動的影響，只有四百二十分區被批准投票決定罷工。當一五四九區的職工提出罷工的要求的時候，有人就說一五四九將不會舉行罷工投票，但會「全力支持」四二〇區的行動。這就是說，一五四九的會員必須遵守四二〇的罷工，但却不能得到任何罷工的利益。最後，如果我們看看定下來的罷工日期，五月二十四日，我們會發現這是健康和醫院公司準備關閉高云尼，士丹威和表維斯日期的後三天。如要真正解僱和關閉醫療服務進開戰門，職工們必須要求立刻在所有分區和醫院開始罷工。我們並必須要求否定泰來法。

五月十九日，工會領導隨意延遲罷工，以等待「議商」的結果。看看他們所「議商」的內容便知道我們是不會得到甚麼東西的。在議商中，工會領導的主要立場是如何「合併」醫院和「區化」醫療服務的問題。按照他們的看法，如果高云尼、士丹威和表維斯能與其他醫院「合併」而其專科服務，例如婦產科和急症室能按城「區分」的話，這些醫院是可以繼續存在的。這種建議，在提高醫療照顧水平和提供更好的醫療設備的烟幕下，實際上是在幫助緊經控委三年內關閉所有市辦醫院的計劃。當「合併」兩間醫院的時候，總要關閉一間並解僱工人。按城「分區」的話，工人和被壓迫民族社區的醫療服務將會被撤消。「合併」和「按城區化」是對工人和被壓迫民族社區的攻擊，而健康和醫院公司本身的特設委員會在報告中完全支持工會領導的計劃證實這一點。如果健康和醫院公司能夠同意工會領導的建議，罷工將不會舉行，但肯定更多的工人將會被解僱。

工會領導利用這些「議商」來給我們一個他們正在反對關閉醫院的錯覺。事實上，他們正在作台下的交易，企圖隱瞞解僱和關閉醫院的事件，以擺脫他們的責任。

爲甚麼工會領導屈降于市政府和緊經控委？理由是，他們跟一般的職工完全沒有共同點。他們其實是爲市政府和資產階級以及他們的利益服務。資產階級需要工人階級內的特務，以削弱我們鬥爭的力量，並轉移我們針對他們的鬥爭。因爲工會領導所得的龐大薪金和特權，他們已經成爲工人運動內被收買掉的一部分——工人貴族。他們的任務是出賣工人，引起我們之間的混亂和無組織狀態，並防止我們控制我們自己的工會。工會領導將用盡辦法達到這些目的，其中之一就是不讓工會實踐任何民主。

我們的工會沒有民主，因爲領導怕一般的職工。如果工人能組織

起來，積極參加工會的工作，工會領導將不能夠容易出賣一般的職工。歌吧和羅拔斯會說，直至罷工開始，他們不會告訴我們他們罷工的計劃。他們想一般的職工把所有的權都交到他們，讓他們決定採取甚麼行動。他們想盡辦法隱瞞他們出賣工人，屈降於資產階級的計劃，鎮壓討論，並打擊人的積極性。因爲他們罷工的戰略並不是一個戰鬥性和有戰勝希望的戰略，我們並不能夠依賴或相信工會的領導。如果他們的建議獲得勝利，這將是工人和被壓迫民族的另一次挫折。工會領導並不是爲我們的利益而戰鬥

但是，工會是我們的。工會是我們與資產階級展開鬥爭的基本組織。我們必須組織起來，展開鬥爭，重新奪回對工會的控制，以使工會成爲有民主，有戰鬥性的工會，這樣才能阻止解僱，保持醫院的存在。工會必須對向工人階級和被壓迫民族社區的攻擊展開鬥爭。我們必須支持罷工的號召，要求工會採取行動，在所有分區，在所有的醫院，立刻同時示威。我們必須組織自己，積極參與工會。在罷工的準備，讓商和我們鬥爭的所有過程中爭取職工的主動。要勝利，我們需要來一次聯合的罷工。



義和拳

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DC 37 的官僚們曾經一再地申明，只要有解僱的通知發出，他們就要立刻號召罷工。然而，在這同時，高云尼醫院的工人，護士和醫生以及其他公立醫院的一些工人人員都已接到解僱通知書了。解僱將於六月十八日開始，「衛生與醫院企業公司」並且公告，要把高云尼醫院改做療養院(這一點DC 37 的頭子高明表示同意)，賽登漢醫院則繼續開放，因爲哈林區內的另一家醫院，阿瑟洛根要關閉。這個「小組」代表了諸如市府及財管臨時委員會，符合資本公司利益。工會「領袖們」以它爲靠山，真個是如釋重負了。他們背叛罷工，把它拖延到六月十一日，原本那些罷工的號召，口口聲聲的戰鬥，不過是出賣工人階級，向解僱與毀掉市立醫院制度 屈服的偽裝罷了。

行業工會官僚的背叛工人階級是表現在多方面的，他們除了公開地與壟斷的資產階級合作以外，還設法瓦解工人在工會裡參政，因爲他們害怕基層工人的反對。

不久以前大家知道行業工會官僚被收買以後，在一次會議中(六月四日舉行的DC 37 工會會議)的意見，他們不準會員發言，不準提出問題，他們用警衛來恐嚇工人，其中有些警衛向工人說，如何她

提出不同的意見，就會出現「背脊見刀」。會場內還禁止基層工人及共產主義組織的傳單。工會的爪牙叫工人們不要接受任何印刷品；工人入場時，手中的傳單給強奪去。工會「領袖」害怕一般工人的反抗，怕得連本來要載高云尼醫院工人前往開會的巴士，根本就連影也不見有出現。(高云尼工人向來是反對工會官僚的合作主義的)，這種不顧一切的做法，正反映出他們的外強中乾，因爲基層工人的反抗和揭穿他們的底細，正在日漸增長。高云尼和紐約市其他醫院的人員、居民、病人等都在繼續奮鬥，來挽救高云尼醫院，來反對對市政府的打擊，來反對對工會官僚的出賣鬥爭。

今年五月六日義和拳代表在紐約市高云尼醫院前面的集會中演說，這個集會是由共產主義社區和工人團體等共同贊助的，集會的目的在於抗議大規模的裁員，因爲此舉會影響到高云尼和該市其他一些醫院的存亡，這次集會，參加的人數有數百人。

高云尼醫院位於紐約市下城東區，是該區內唯一的公立醫院。特別由於這是紐約華人社區可以利用的唯一醫院，所以無論是過去爭取建立，以至現在在保衛高云尼醫院上，華人始終擔任着積極的角色。

# 大埠市政工人

## 罷工增加了

### 大家的經驗

舊金山市行業工人罷工期間，市政交通工人堅決支持罷工，樹立了一個好榜樣。在華人社區裡，華人交通工人和社區內其他團體合作，用他們自己的汽車來幫助華埠的民衆解決必要的交通問題。在這段時期間，他們聯同寫出下面一篇在華埠流傳甚廣的聲明。(見下面)

巴士師傅們發給傳單的體會：我們發給這張給華人社區傳單時，所接觸到的人們的一些評論，例如：「一個華廚說，開頭他並不支持罷工，因為他認爲行業工人的待遇，本來就已經很高，等他讀了傳單以後，我們再問他，他的反應改變了，他瞭解到市政府的行動是在打擊所有的工人，那會影響到全體工人，對於華埠工人加入工會的企圖，尤其有不良的影響。」

(一) 一個在魚市場工作的工人說，他覺得罷工對交通方面來說，是不方便的，但是他同意爭取工人群衆長期性利益的重要性，他說，在每一次鬥爭之中，有一些犧牲是不可避免的，我們不應該對眼前沒有公共車輛的不方便起反感，我們應該明白罷工的真實性質，應該支持工人。

一般說來，大家認爲這張貼單是確實有幫助的，因爲它企圖表達罷工的爭論點，強調工人間相互瞭解、相互支持鬥爭的重要性，同時確認在鬥爭之中，必須提出一些特殊的問題。

我們認爲，傳單在闡述罷工和華商人民鬥爭的具體關係上，試圖把工人們更加緊密地集合在一起，是一個重要的步驟，我們尤其認爲，它把工會的作用說得很是透澈，並且清楚地提出，這次罷工，對華人社區內，工人加入工會這個實際問題的重要性。

市府採取種種手段想瓦解市府工人工會。首先製造言論，說市府行業工人工資是市府財政危機的根源，將他們孤立。跟着於一九七五年，藉口限制過份薪金增加爲理由，市府向市民建議提案「B」，取消了從一九四六年以來規定行業工人工資的公式。

針對市府無誠意與工會進行談判去締結合同，市府行業工人於三月卅一日舉行罷工，抗議工資削減，爭取罷工權利以及維護工人多年來贏得的權益。參加罷工的包括木匠、水傭、機械、電氣、花園及街道清潔的工人。

提案「B」授予市府全權，按照一個新的公式決定行業工人的工資。新公式規定市府必要對加省內私營行業工人的工資做個調查。將調查結果加以平均。基於這個平均數額然後去決定市府行業工人的工資。但是，市府沒有這樣做，而只片面地在一些非屬工會的私營行業作了調查。例如在規定花園工人工資的過程中，市府只拿一千五百個非工會園工的工資用作調查樣本，忽視了一萬五千個屬於工會的園工工資數目。市府現成的公式將行業工人工資大大削減，平均每人每年被減三千元。

另外，市府還強迫工會接納一個協議：工會同意繼續與市府談判，需要時可延至一九七七年六月。若果談判中斷，工會同意不採取罷工行動，也不去贊助其他工人的糾察綫。這個協議即是叫工人在缺乏合同的情況下工作，放棄罷工權利。協議還包括各種惡劣的工作條件。

在這些確實不能接納的條件下，行業工人被迫舉行罷工。

罷工的行業工人包括一些在市政交通局修理汽車和電車的工人。罷工的不是我們巴士司機，但我們支持這個罷工，拒絕跨過罷工工人的糾察綫。巴士司機工會召開了兩次大會，司機工人在會上發言譴責市府削減工人工資，指出工人罷工權利不容剝奪，並且一致表決支持罷工的工人。

基於上述的原因，我們華人巴士司機在此表示對罷工工人的贊助。雖然，經濟上受到損失，很想早日復工，但爲了維護工人階級權益，我們一貫地跟罷工工人站在一起。

考慮到華埠老年人，因爲巴士停駛面對困難，我們一些司機與「安老自助處」合作，駛車接送他們到醫院和工作地點。

我們認識到行業工人是屬於待遇優厚的階層。他們一小部份和工會的領導者是最反動的，一貫執行種族歧視和偏狹利益的政策。但是，我們認爲目前罷工主要的爭論點是市府剝奪工人生活水準和罷工權利，最後達到瓦解工會的目的。

身爲加入工會的工人，我們一方面體會到工會有很多缺點。另一方面，我們覺得工會是重要的，因爲工會是工人能夠集體進行鬥爭的一種組織。對於應付那些不是經常地替工人爭取利益的領導者，工人自己必要團結，進行鬥爭，促使領導者堅持工人的利益。

加入工會是工人基本的權利，是由勞動人民許多年前經過流血鬥爭取得的。但大多數華工仍然享受不到這種權利。這是美國華人在日常生活中碰到各種歧視的一個例子。雖然華工老早已是美國勞動人民中的一部份，但華工從來未能佔有與其他白人工人相等的地位。因此，華工還須繼續努力爭取這個權利，朝向中西、福祿壽工人的鬥爭作爲我們努力的鼓舞。

行業工人爲了維護工人權益正在鬥爭。我們認爲這個鬥爭的爭論點對華人爭取加入工會也是重要的。因爲一旦罷工失敗，而失敗帶來的打擊將不單影響到罷工的工人，還會爲其他私營企業資本家進行破壞工會開創一個先例，對華人加入工會的的努力也添增障礙。

由於這些緣故，我們認爲，華工對於了解和支援罷工工人，行業工人對支持華人反對歧視和壓迫的正義要求，這兩方面都是重要的。

一群關心的華人巴士司機啓 一九七六年五月五日

# 華人巴士司機對罷工的立場

(轉載)



福特與布列日涅夫，  
兩個超級大國的頭子。



# 勃列日涅夫的 「百倍回收」 「賺錢藝術」

(新华社北京一九七六年四月二十二日电)新华社记者述评:

勃列日涅夫前不久出版他的一本言论集时，对他以前一篇讲话中的一句话作了并非不重要的删节。在苏修党中央一九七三年十二月全会的一次发言中，勃列日涅夫在谈到苏联人民的劳动时说：“我们必须毫不吝惜地进行物质鼓励，这笔资金将会得到百倍回收”。这些话在一九七四年版《苏共农业政策问题和哈萨克生荒地的开发》一书中，还是原封不动的。可是打开不久前出版的勃列日涅夫言论集《论苏共现阶段经济政策基本问题》一看，两句话只剩下一句，“这笔资金将会得到百倍回收”一句却被抹去了。

“百倍回收”这句典型的资本家行话正是勃列日涅夫所代表的官僚垄断资产阶级阶级本性的表现。马克思在《资本论》中对资本家这种贪得无厌的本性曾经引用过一段话作了生动的刻画：“一旦有适当的利润，资本就胆大起来。如果有百分之十的利润，它就活跃起来；有百分之二十的利润，它就活跃起来；有百分之五十的利润，它就铤而走险；为了百分之百的利润，它就敢践踏一切人间法律；有百分之三百的利润，它就敢犯任何罪行，甚至冒绞首的危险。”为了三倍利润，不惜冒绞首危险；为了“百倍回收”，当然可以对一切“毫不吝惜”了。

勃列日涅夫本想偷偷删节以免过于暴露，但是弄巧成拙，反而越抹越黑。况且，“百倍回收”既然是勃列日涅夫之流阶级本性的一种反映，那么这类词句总不免要时时脱口而出，因而也是删不胜删的。就在这同一篇发言中，勃列日涅夫还说过：只能“把每一个卢布给那种明天我们可以回收两个、三个、甚至十个卢布的地方。……我们大家，不论中央还是地方，都应当学习这门复杂的赚钱艺术。这没有什么不好意思的。”这句与“百倍回收”颇有异曲同工之妙的话，就删了。

勃列日涅夫即使把说过的话抹去了，但是苏修所搞的“百倍回收”的那些人所共知的实绩，却是任何手法也抹不掉的。

在国内，他们推行的“经济改革”、“科学组织劳动”、“谢基诺经验”、“兹洛宾方法”等等，都是这种“百倍回收”的“赚钱艺术”的体现。苏联有一家阿克苏伊斯克塑料厂，被苏修当局确定为“学习这门复杂的赚钱艺术”的先进单位。据苏联《共产党人》杂志说，这家工厂的“先进”就在于，在这个厂里“作为物质奖励发给职工的每一个卢布可以回收十六卢布六十戈比”。实际上就是发给职工的那一个卢布，勃列日涅夫集团也不会白给，还要通过提高居民税和提高物价等手段进一步“回收”。据苏修自己宣布，苏联居民税总额一九六〇年为五十六亿卢布，一九七六年将增加到一百九十六亿卢布，即增加近二点五倍。据苏联历年《国民经济统计年鉴》公布的、显然大大缩小的数字，从一九六〇年到一九七四年，国营商店肉和禽类零售价格上涨百分之二十九，土豆上涨百分之十四。苏联《共产党人》杂志也不得不承认，一些企业利用各种借口“把低价商品抬高为高价商品”。苏联的新资产阶级分子，“不论中央还是地方”，对勃列日涅夫“这门复杂的赚钱艺术”运用得多么娴熟！

所谓“赚钱艺术”，所谓“百倍回收”，说穿了，不过是像马克思在《剩余价值论》中所指出的(☆)“用最小限度的预付资本生产最大限度的剩余价值”(☆)的艺术而已！

勃列日涅夫之流不仅在国内，而且在国外也同样在运用“这门复杂的赚钱艺术”。他们大肆吹嘘的所谓“无私援助”，就是这种“百倍回收”的“赚钱艺术”的活标本。

列宁在《帝国主义是资本主义的最高阶段》一书中谈到帝国主义输出资本时指出：(☆)“它要从一条牛身上剥下两张皮来：第一张皮是从贷款取得的利润，第二张皮是在同一笔贷款用来购买克虏伯的产品或钢业辛迪加的铁路材料等等时取得的利润。”(☆)勃列日涅夫集团则更进一步。除上述两张皮外，还要通过强迫受“援”国以低价出售产品归还贷款以及其他方式再剥下几层皮。据印度《经济时报》估计，由于苏修通过各种方式盘剥，到印度还清苏联贷款时，苏联共收回对印度贷款本金的百分之五百六十五点七。就是说，苏修每给印度一个卢布，最后将得到五倍半以上的“回收”。

勃列日涅夫集团当年向埃及提供“援助”时说得多漂亮，什么“国际主义”啦，“无私援助”啦，真是好话说尽。然而时隔不久，勃列日涅夫就开始“百倍回收”了。要高利息，要廉价原料，要军事基地，要控制军队，甚至要人家的主权。埃及人民稍加反抗，勃列日涅夫集团就使出歌洛克的手腕逼埃及立即还债。埃及的事例最好不过地说明，勃列日涅夫之流的“无私援助”是什么货色！

苏联《世界经济和国际关系》杂志说过，向国外贷款“不仅提供可能而且提供权利获得自己的利益”；从债务国“进口时所获得的节省能够弥补从贷款国国民经济抽出资金有关的损失，甚至还有多余。”所谓“有多余”，就是“回收”更多的钱。这家杂志是在一定程度上道出了所谓“无私援助”也是一种“赚钱艺术”。

每支付一个卢布就要“回收”几个卢布，以至“百倍回收”，这就是苏联社会帝国主义、苏联官僚垄断资产阶级的一个重要信条。他们在国内、国外都不会违背这个信条的。



社會帝國主義做成貧窮和失業。



這張蘇聯的宣傳畫，是蘇聯出版委員會出版的。畫面中心是一個盧布。宣揚有了鈔票就有了一切的思想。

# 福利總會要騙誰？

七二年本報在第二十一期「評論坦白案」中說過，福利會本來側重移民的事，但已名存實亡。最近該會在美國各地漢文報紙上刊登通告，要協助華人居住在中國的眷屬來美國團敘，頗引起聲動，比如五月廿四日刊于大埠世界日報上的「全美華人福利會通告」全文，便是這樣的：（見付圖）

我們看了這篇短短的通告之後，有很多疑點，其中包括：  
 (一)福利會今次採取的行動，是基于美國總統助理對問題的論述。就文中所提，官方的對象是「華裔籍民」。可是福利會因而要「協助」的，却包括「華裔美籍公民」和「合法永久居民」兩類。顯然，後面一類是屬於中國公民，把他們的問題交給美國政府去處理，起碼是

法理不容的。通告這一點含有欺騙性，對所說及的美國官方論點，更是有歪曲性。這是否福利會的意圖呢？

(二)眷屬團敘這個問題，馬斯博士代表美國政府「允諾」「尋求」「途徑」。在沒有確實指出什麼途徑之前，這段話只能給人一個印象，就是一句官話而已。因為時下階級社會中，為官者總不開口頭上說說願意成全人民的願望，表示其「德性」。這種話在美國聽慣了，不論何時何地政府也是說說無妨的，包括還在對中共施行圍堵政策的二十多年那個時期。事實證明，即使是一貫自稱「好人」的政府，二十多年來，竟也未見有做出帶給華人眷屬團敘半點好處的事，反而真正的轉機，却在尼克松七二年去中國發表了「上海公布」之後。

現在隔了轉機之期已有四年了，福利會突然好似拾到黃金一樣，得到「本會把握時機」的結論。雖然沒有說明來龍去脈，却使人領會到它的意思，大有不這樣做，就有什麼東西會失諸交臂似的。

到底，是怕失了什麼呢？決不會是眷屬不能來美，這是簡而易明的。美國敵視中國時候，實行圍堵政策，使華人家眷無法團敘。一九七二年，這種政策徹底破了產。僑眷來美也陸續實現，履行上海公布，自然要循着邦交正常化發展。有了邦交正常，這個問題，如中美兩國各種問題一樣，便能以國家關係的辦法得到基本解決。目前華人知道團聚問題沒有完滿地解決，加拿大是個很好的例子。

但是，福利會走的並不是這條路。它借用表格文件做政治籌碼，暗中有着使美國政府去向中共要人作用。美國政府一旦這樣做，決不會有助於邦交正常化。相反地，很可能成爲製造障礙的藉口。福利會今日趕着做事的目的倒是非常值得懷疑的。

(三)通告最後寫着「全美華人福利總會」地址，只用英文登出德和街六十四號。這真是有點蹊蹺。人人皆知，福利會在士頓街八三四號中華會館裡。既然如此，爲什麼諸多手法地來遮掩呢？

綜合以上各點，加以推敲，福利會的圖謀倒不難于推斷。福利會名義上應該是個福利機構。它的產生由移民問題而起，二十年前曾多少反映過華人對移民局不滿的願望。自從那個時候，它就

對移民問題的解決，它實在沒有什麼貢獻。近年首要的華人移民問題，如坦白案等等，它總是視若無睹，這種情形，自從國民黨滲透華埠社團的廿年來，倒不是很令人驚訝的事。福利會在大埠，與反共會同設在中華會館會址內，却顯示出反動的僑領重視它們，看出有神主牌的用場。正是這個原故，進入七〇年代以後，形勢急速地轉變，我們又見到它成了不同僑領勢力爭奪的焦點之一。一九七二年中華與寧陽兩會館與福利會決裂，哄動一時，很多華人一定還記得很清楚。因此，福利會與中華會館及國民黨有着不尋常的關係，休想用英文寫個德和街的地址能混得過僑胞的眼睛。

福利會今次一紙通告，默認了中美關係轉變的事實，一反國民黨過去統治派那派死硬作風，可能使人有點新穎感覺。華人與僑衆是贊成中美邦交正常化的，福利會沒有螳臂擋車，想給人一種歸了大隊的錯覺。其實眷屬來美與邦交有這樣密切關係的事，福利會竟然隻字不提，如果它是真意要幫助華人解決問題，這便是個很好的自供狀。

一九七三年，它的伙伴中華會館在全美各地報紙刊登廣告，抗議聯絡處成立你看反動派是何等仇恨中共，何等堅決出賣華人利益的啊！偏偏是這樣，當紐約華僑對福利會，無恥行爲發出憤怒的譴責，出傳單的時候，立刻有六月一日世界報的社論，狂叫什麼「這件關係美國華人社會切身福利的事，由華人社團自動發起的事，與政治無關，與任何大問題無關……怎麼能扯到國民黨頭上去？」

這份滿嘴「華人福利」，「呼籲國務院……」的世界日報，在大埠

出現了不過三個月，只能駝鳥式地以「僑社喉舌」的姿態來瞞住別人。它的牌底，連西報（觀察報）也知道，曾專文指出是台灣最大報紙繼在紐約設立報館以後，在大埠的投資。它在這裡樹立，踢走了失籠于國民黨的美西日報，在開業的鷄尾酒會中，還引起過一場華埠不大不小的風波。這次福利會的西洋鏡一經人家拆穿，連它也迫不及待地跳了出來，爭辯叫嚷「怎麼能扯到國民黨頭上去」了。

我們調查一下，便知道國民黨的世界日報與福利會的搬弄很成一氣。福利會通告面世的時候世界日報在社論上就圈點出：「國務院的立場，亟應把此來與美國人的財產重要的項目，視爲與中共政權間待決的懸案之一……」；「華人福利總會這方面……還須……在華人社會加強，聯繫組織的工作……準備以行動來反映大家堅強的要求……要整個自由世界聽到我們的呼聲。」

原來所謂幫助僑胞，是爲了製造中美之間的懸案，把他們推出來拯救。國民黨反動派那顆嘶力竭的「自由世界」呼聲。難怪，紐約那群「全球愛國華僑」在傳單上指出：「實際上，則係國民黨最大陰謀，不擇手段，驅趕僑胞上祭台，作爲國民黨反共陰謀的祭品」了。他們慌憊的手脚，還要騙誰呢？

## 全美華人福利總會通告

本會爲協助我華裔美籍公民，或合法永久居民，使其現居中國大陸之眷屬，早日順利來美與家人團敘，茲商得美國總統特別助理馬斯博士之允諾，設法尋求切實可行之途徑，促成華裔籍民與眷屬團敘之願望。本會把握時機，並商請移民律例專家，根據馬斯博士指示各節及有關應行注意事項，作成文件一種，並附表格，以備我僑索填，彙集送呈白宮馬斯博士，進行辦理。該項表格，填表人需已向美國移民局辦理申請手續而獲批准，並收到美國駐香港領事館通知書者，其完全未向美國移民局辦理手續或未獲批准者，不在本會此次辦理之列。

該項表格及說明文件，可向全美華人福利總會或各地區支會索取，完全係義務性質，不收任何費用，收件截止日期爲本年六月三十日。全美華人福利總會地址：  
 NATIONAL CHINESE WELFARE COUNCIL  
 64 WENTWORTH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CA. 94108  
 一九七六年五月十五日

## 全美華人福利總會啓



上接(第二頁)

在這種情況之間，許多第二代的日裔在效忠宣誓上作了否定的回答。

因此，日裔在效忠宣誓上無論作了肯定的還是否定的回答，也是一個複雜的問題。但是不管他們作某種答案的理由是甚麼，我們相信集中營內極大多數的日本人具備進步的頭腦的，只有少數是道地的反動份子，大部份日裔對不公平表示憤怒，而在他們辦得到的範圍內加以反抗，反動份子不是那些擁護日本軍國主義者，就是美帝的走狗圈子。

要想搞清楚日裔運動史上的這一段歷史，我們應該注意兩個因素：一個是國際性的反法西斯運動，另一個是美國共產黨所擔任的角色。在二次世界大戰期間，每一個共產主義者和進步份子的責任(無產階級國際主義者的責任)，是聯合所有可能聯合的人，來反抗德國的法西斯主義和日本的軍國主義，我們因此支持美共在那時候為戰爭

儘力的決定，不過，就在那個同時，美共應該獨立和主動地繼續階級鬥爭。因此美共的放棄獨立和主動，跟美國資產階級加諸於日裔的法西斯手段妥協，是完全錯誤的，那個時期共產主義者的責任，除了參加聯合陣綫反法西斯以外，應該是準備發動打擊國內資產階級內戰。

美共的錯誤之一，在於他們在二次大戰期間毫不含糊地禁止在武裝部隊裡面組織共黨單位，理由是恐怕此舉會妨害聯合陣綫。

第一類的錯誤不過是美共一般錯誤中的一部份而已，他們在四十年代向美國資產階級投降，放棄了國內階級鬥爭，這具體地還表現在他們對日裔黨員所採取的行動上(日裔黨員都給開除了)。還有對集中營採取寬恕的態度，美共在營內一點兒也沒有起來反對法西斯式的鎮壓行動，這在客觀上使得日裔群眾在他們的反集中營運動中沒有革命性的領導，美共公然地跟在日本公民協會之類的小資產階級勢力後面走，並且為親日的反動份子效勞

日本公民協會領導並鼓勵日裔志願從軍，在二次大戰中作戰，以證明他們是忠誠的美國公民，親日勢力企圖利用集中營的不公平和不滿情緒，給他們自己的利益作打算，在缺乏革命領導的情形之下，無法有效地抵制這些錯誤，日裔群眾在思想上、政治中、組織上都給解除了武裝，他們無法展開必要的革命鬥爭，來反抗壓迫他們的人。

我們相信，這個時期的教訓，確實的給我們指出，我們需要一個真正的共產黨，那時的美國共產黨，目前已完全退化，成爲一個反革命的組織，我們相信，如果有正確的革命領導，日裔跟美國工人階級以及被迫害的人民聯合起來，是能夠抵制集中營的，同時也能夠在世界各地和美國的反法西斯，反軍國主義，反階級迫害方面有了更多的貢獻。

上接(第二頁)

「中共政權不肯放人」乎？

國政府包括美國駐北京的聯絡處，在目前情況之下，却不能向中華人民共和國政府交涉那些並不是美國公民的人的離境問題。然而，我向你保證，我們非常關懷中國人家庭分隔的問題，對這項問題，我們將繼續放在腦子裡。

從這封信裡，我們很明顯的看到，事實也是如此，旅美華人在中國大陸上的親屬，如要離境，准許與否，係由中華人民共和國政府所決定，美國無從干涉，亦無權干涉。

因此，中華人民共和國駐華盛頓的聯絡處，正是最好接洽的對象。若與聯絡處的負責人員談過話後，最少可以了解一些辦理離境的手續，程序、步驟和所需要的文件等等。全 美華人福利總會的幾位負責人，在記者招待會中，並未提及這一問題，也是最重要的問題。是不是福利會的負責人，一時的忽略？希望他們能補充宣佈一下。

第二，是否有意製造新反共題材？「華人福利會」，顧名思義，應該係替華人謀福利的一個組織。全美華人福利會這項工作還未展開之前，却已成爲一項新的反共宣傳題材。說什麼「中共政權不肯放人」啦！

中共真的「不肯放人」嗎？這種反共宣傳，絕對不正確。就我個人所知，一位四十歲的阿嬌，剛於兩個月前，由廣東台山帶了三個都未滿十六歲的子女來紐約和她的丈夫團聚。另一位是我的同鄉，他的兩個女兒，一位廿歲，一位廿三歲

，一年前由廣東海南島來紐約，和她們的父母相會。事實證明，中共「正在放人」。就一般所了解，辦理離境出國，係由下而上，個別處理。由於每個人的背景不同，批覆的時間有快慢。另一最大原因，亦可能係由於中華人民共和國和美國還沒有正常外交關係。否則，離境准許的人數必大增。加拿大就是最好的例證。

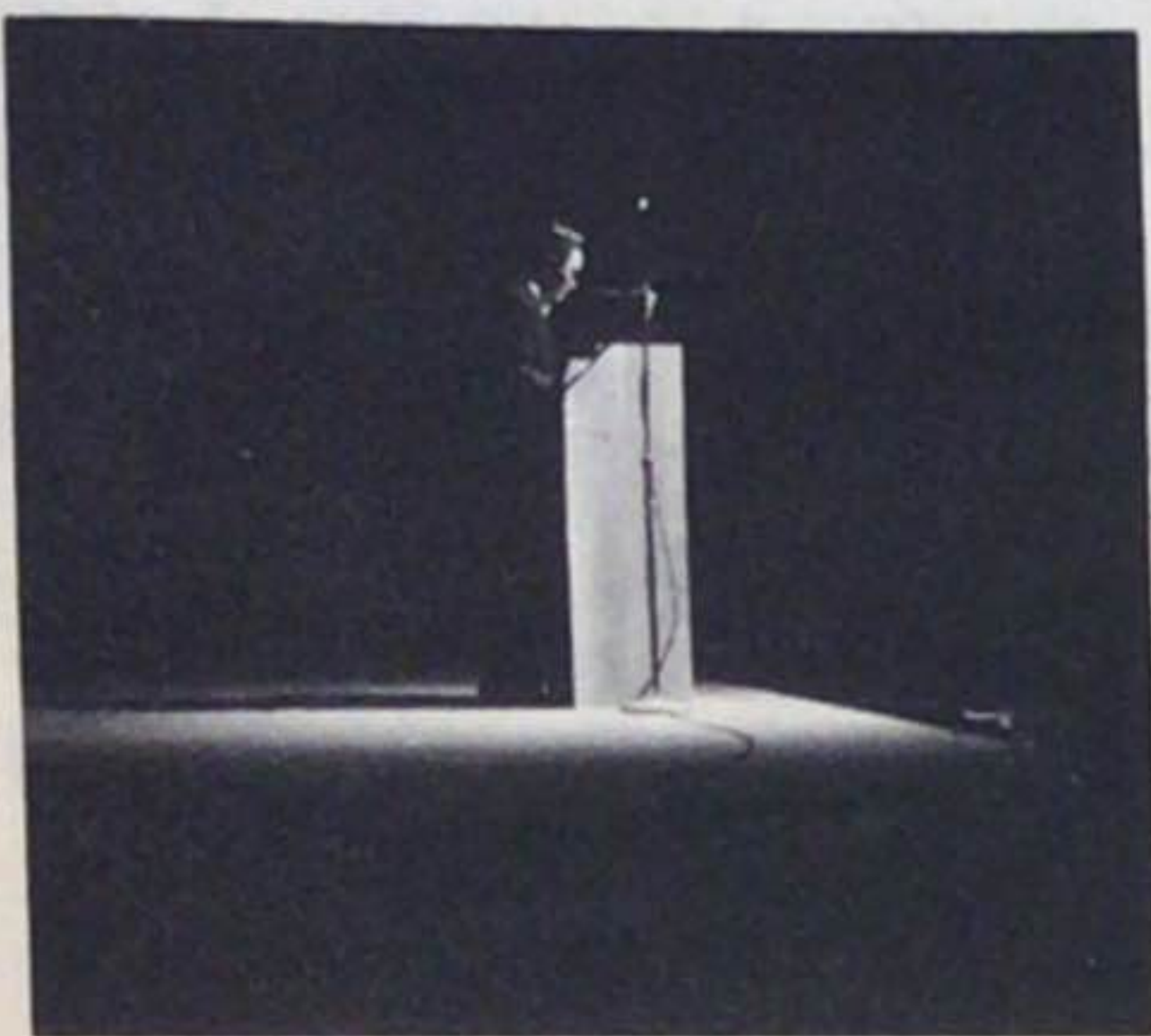
一個月以前，我個人收到由加拿大溫哥華一位同鄉的來信。他說他的兩個弟弟，弟媳婦和姪子姪女，一家七口，在廣州等了兩個月還未拿到去加拿大的入境簽證。這並不是「中共政權不肯放人」，剛好相反，中華人民共和國的離境證早已拿到，却是加拿大駐廣州的領事館遲遲未給他們的入境簽證。據說由於年來，從中國大陸去加拿大的人數太多了，加拿大政府才緊急製訂了許多項的限制辦法。例如去加拿大的人，必須在加拿大有親人，保證住無問題，食無問題，還得有專門技術能，以免失業，增加加拿大政府的負擔。

不管從那一個角度看，「中共政權不肯放人」的反共宣傳絕對不正確，何況全美華人福利會的工作根本就不應該涉及外國內政方面。所以，希望全美華人福利會對於「中共」政權不肯放人」的問題有所解釋，以免引起不必要的誤會，阻礙真正爲華人謀福利的工作！

☆☆注 意☆☆

今期稿擠，加上排字誤期，關於今年五·一勞動節慶會的報導，延至下期刊出，請讀者留意。

編者 啓





# 老、中、青三結合不容否定

南口機車車輛機械工廠職工深入批判黨內不肯改悔的走資派鄧小平

(新華社北京一九七六年四月二十二日電)北京南口機車車輛機械工廠的廣大幹部、工人在廠黨委的領導下，批判黨內最大的不肯改悔的走資派鄧小平鼓吹的「三項指示為綱」的修正主義綱領，批判他攻擊老、中、青三結合，排斥，打擊革命的青年幹部的奇談怪論，把反擊右傾翻案風的鬥爭引向深入。

反擊右傾翻案的鬥爭開展以來，南口機車車輛機械工廠的幹部、工人牢牢掌握鬥爭大方向，把矛頭直指黨內最大的不肯改悔的走資派鄧小平，集中力量批判「三項指示為綱」的修正主義綱領，批判黨內大家一致指出，有什麼樣的組織路線，必然會有什麼樣的組織路線。鄧小平鼓吹「三項指示為綱」，要害就是要否定階級鬥爭為綱，復辟資本主義，為了實現這個綱領，他必然要惡毒攻擊老、中、青三結合，攻擊文化大革命中湧現出來的新生力量，特別是反對革命的青年幹部參加各級領導班子。但是，老、中、青三結合這個社會主義的新事物具有強大的生命力，是罵不倒，砍不掉的。南口機車車輛機械工廠的事實就是對他的最好的回答。

無產階級文化大革命中，在三個廠的各級黨組織在人民解放軍八三四一部隊支左人員的幫助下，堅決貫徹執行毛主席的革命路線，同

各種錯誤思想和干擾作鬥爭，按照毛主席關於培養無產階級革命事業接班人的五條標準，大膽從工人中培養，選拔幹部，把經過階級鬥爭考驗的大批優秀工人提拔到領導崗位上來。到目前為止，全廠中層以上的領導幹部中，新幹部佔了百分之五十。全廠各級黨組織都實現了老、中、青三結合，廠黨委和百分之八十的車間黨支部，都是新幹部擔任了第一把手。各級領導班子中的新老幹部，堅持以階級鬥爭為綱，認真執行黨的基本路線，帶領廣大群眾貫徹「鞍鋼憲法」，深入開展工業學大慶的群眾運動，使革命日益深入，生產不斷取得新勝利，一九六九年以來，這個廠年年超額完成國家計劃，今年第一季度又提前完成了國家生產計劃，工業總產值比去年同期增長百分之四十三，產品產量比去年同期增長百分之三十一，鄧小平却反對老、中、青三結合，攻擊革命的新幹部是「坐直升飛機上來的」，是「火箭式」的幹部，「一般效果都不好」，「沒有經驗」，等等。工人們憤憤地說，鄧小平散布這一套謬論，實質就是要在組織路線上翻文化大革命的案，算文化大革命的帳，否定社會主義新生事物，把大批文化大革命的新幹部打下去，把一些對文化大革命一不滿意二不算帳的走資派請出來。讓他們順順當當地復辟資本主義。

南口機車車輛機械工廠的幹部、工人在批判中對鄧小平誣蔑老、中、青三結合，表示極大的革命義憤。他們指出：我們工廠的許多老幹部，經過文化大革命和批林批孔運動，進一步煥發了革命精神，認真改造自己的世界觀，熱情支持和幫助新幹部，許多人雖然不在第一把手的崗位上，但是十分認真負責，自覺地為新幹部當助手，做參謀，廣大新幹部在領導崗位上發揚敢想、敢說、敢革命的革命精神，貫徹執行毛主席的革命路線，為革命挑重擔，新老幹部努力按照毛主席的「三要馬克思主義，不要搞修正主義，要團結，不要分裂；要光明正大，不要搞陰謀詭計」的原則辦事，認真實行民主集中制，開展積極的思想鬥爭，互相學習，努力用馬克思主義、列寧主義、毛澤東思想統一認識，使各級領導班子成為帶領群眾向階級敵人進行戰鬥的朝氣蓬勃的指揮部。職工們說，這樣老、中、青三結合的領導班子，真是好得很，鄧小平顛倒是非，反對老、中、青三結合，只能說明他要否定毛主席倡導的這個社會主義新事物的，妄圖回到文化大革命以前劉少奇、林彪搞的修正主義老路上去。

南口機車車輛機械工廠的幹部、工人列舉大量事實，駁斥鄧小平攻擊參加各級領導班子的革命青年幹部是「火箭式」的幹部，「一般效果都不好」，要「一個台階一個台階地提」的謬論，職工們說，廣大新幹部走上領導崗位以後，在毛主席的革命路線指引下茁壯成長，使各級領導班子生氣勃勃，效果很好。廠黨委常委，革委會副主任王盼秋，原來是個工人，走上領導崗位以後，一直堅持學習馬列著作和毛主席著作，思想水平和工作能力迅速提高。去年，有一個車間一度問題比較多，生產任務完成得不好，在黨委的領導下，王盼秋帶領幾個幹部到這個車間蹲點，參加勞動，調查研究，發現根本問題是車間黨支部放鬆了階級鬥爭，個別壞人乘機散布資產階級思想，腐蝕拉攏青年。於是，他幫助黨支部發動群眾，狠抓意識形態領域裡的階級鬥爭，批判修正主義，很快使社會主義的正氣上升，資本主義的邪氣下降，廣大工人精神振奮，積極抓革命，使全車間出現新面貌，成為全廠比較先進的單位，象這樣的青年幹部，在南口機車車輛機械工廠是大量的。職工們尖銳地指出，對於提拔革命青年幹部的「效果」，站在不同的階級立場上，必然得出不同的結論。我們說，革命的青年幹部思想敏銳，路線鬥爭覺悟高，對階級敵人敢于鬥爭，對修正主義資本主義敢于批判，對錯誤思想敢于抵制，這正是效果很好的重要標誌，鄧小平却說「效果不好」，這就說明他是資產階級的代表，十分仇視新生力量。職工們說，按照他的「台階論」，一個優秀的青年工人要提拔到領導崗位上來，就非要經過十幾年以至幾十年不可。這樣，哪裡談得上老、中、青三結合呢！他誣蔑「效果不好」，要「一個台階一個台階地提」，說到底，就是想高築「台階」，阻擋革命的青年幹部到領導崗位上來。

這個廠的幹部和工人在批判中還揭露，鄧小平誣蔑新幹部「沒經驗」，「上去手束無策」，這是他打擊、排斥新幹部的又一個借口。工人們以建築車間黨支部書記，青年幹部黃再華為例，駁斥了這種謬論。去年八月以前，黃再華是建築車間的主任。當時，他是個剛出徒不久的青年工人，經驗確實不多。但是，他刻苦學習馬克思主義，列寧主義、毛澤東思想，虛心向老幹部學習，勇于實踐，很快就取得了領導工作的主動權，他擔任車間主任不久，廠黨委就讓他擔當了全廠一項重大基本建設工程的總指揮。一些好心的人擔心他年輕，撥拉不動人馬，完不成任務。但是，他和車間領導成員一起堅持以階級鬥爭為綱，依靠群眾出主意想辦法，把整個工程分成若干個小戰役，集力量打殲滅戰，結果提前完成了預定的計劃，廣大幹部和工人說，經驗從何而來？難道可以從天上掉下來嗎？有那一個領導幹部是在擔負領導工作之前就具備了做領導工作的經驗呢？經驗來自實踐，實踐出真知，鬥爭長才干，勇于實踐，就可以由不知到知，由知之不多到知之較多，取得領導工作的經驗，正如毛主席指出的：「要讓他們做，在做的中間得到教訓，增長才幹。」鄧小平同毛主席唱反調，借口青年幹部「沒有經驗」，要「一律下放基層鍛鍊改造」，這就清楚地暴露了鄧小平要把青年幹部統統打下去險惡用心。但是，長江後浪推前浪，革命一代更比一代強，革命的青年幹部必將在階級鬥爭的風雨中不斷湧現，在階級鬥爭的風雨中茁壯成長，這是歷史發展的必然趨勢，如同所有新生事物一樣，是不可阻擋的，一切逆歷史潮流而動的人想要阻擋，都必將以失敗而告終。

# 階級鬥爭為綱

## 中國捍衛無產階級專政



Armymen and civilians in the capital hold demonstrations acclaiming the two resolutions of the CPC Central Committee and denouncing Teng Hsiao-ping's crimes.

首都黨政軍民舉行聲勢浩大的慶祝活動和遊行，熱烈歡呼中共中央兩項決議，憤怒聲討鄧小平的罪行。

上接（第一頁）

會變革到共產主義社會的過程中，由工人階級掌握政權，在整個歷史時代。無產階級在共產黨領導之下，用暴力革命推翻資產階級的統治以後，必須進行建立它對整個社會的統治，工人階級必須這樣做，是為了要實行它的基本任務：（一）鎮壓舊的和新興的資產階級，繼續反對革命的、密謀並積極地試圖恢復資本主義，（二）改造非無產階級份子的思想；徹底改革群眾的思想方式，使他們揚棄舊觀念，（三）為了群眾的利益，改變經濟制度，無產階級的取得政權，祇不過是社會主義革命的開端而已。

這種社會主義的革命必定是歷史上最徹底，最有意義的革命，因為它不像歷史上以往的其他革命，以革命來建立一個新的剝削階級，社會主義革命的目標在於消除所有階級，它必須剷除過去剝削社會陳舊的經濟，社會制度和落伍的思想。唯有這樣做才能為進入共產主義時代準備好條件，才能葬送階級和剝削。

實行社會主義革命，無產階級必須運用各種可能的方法來加強和保護它的統治，資本主義制度適用在資產階級專政下。它利用國家的力量來鎮壓群眾，以各種方式在社會各方面加強它的統治，不但在經濟、政治關係上是這樣，在教育、文化、科學等範疇以內也是這樣，資產階級儘力利用這些不同的領域來達成自己的目標，保持統治權。同樣的，工人階級在取得國家的統治權以後，也必須在社會各方面繼續反資產階級的鬥爭，以加強

它的制度，鞏固它的前途，所不同的，這是歷史上第一次，由絕大多數人民運用國家的政權來反對資產階級，如果工人階級不施行專政，資產階級就很容易推翻社會主義，回復到舊有的剝削性的社會秩序，為了這個緣故，社會主義非有無產階級革命專政不可。

防止資本主義復辟  
無產階級取得政權，終止了舊的剝削階級的統治以後，階級鬥爭並不就此了結，相反的，階級鬥爭更形劇烈和迫切，資產階級不但試圖以外力來侵略顛覆社會主義，並且還利用就在社會主義制度裡面的資產階級份子來達到他們的目的。這些資產階級份子從那兒來的呢？

資產階級份子來自舊的剝削的殘餘勢力。但是，新的資產階級份子也不斷地在社會主義制度以內產生，在社會主義社會內，工資仍然高低小生產仍然存在，還有資產階級法權，那就是說，雖然在名義上或形式上大家都平等，實際上的不平等仍然存在。同工同酬的原理，並沒有顯得個人之間，工作能力的強弱，需要的多寡。事實上的不平等，因此在社會主義制度下，收入與福利等仍然有區別，個人累積大量財富的可能性仍然存在。

還有，工人和農民之間的差別，城市和鄉村的差別，勞心者和勞力者之間的差別，也都仍然存在，這些差別是資本主義的殘餘。比如，城市交通比較方便，貨物比較通暢，成為社會的中心，而勞心者根本用不着做消耗體力的工作。消除舊的剝削階級思想和習慣，是一種長期性的鬥爭，由少數剝削階級統治的陳舊的思想，多世紀以來，資本主義和階級社會裡長期的由少

數剝削階級統治，陳舊的思想與習慣非常之根深蒂固。尤其是在文化和教育方面，資產階級的思想意識仍然存在，例如，誰該上學校受教育，它為誰服務。資產階級的觀念，在各方面仍然在作祟（資產階級的教育，培養個人，卑視體力勞動），這些都是出現新的資產階級份子的地方。種種資產階級的影響力足以損壞工人階級、政府和黨裡面的若干人士，新的資本主義份子產生和資本主義復辟的危險，是真千萬萬確的。

在社會主義整個歷史時期裡，我們必須認清階級及你死我活的階級鬥爭。無產階級專政，因此是絕對必要的。

鄧小平企圖恢復資本主義  
鄧小平企圖通過他的鼓吹「各項工作」的政治總綱來恢復資本主義，否定毛主席指出在社會主義制度下「階級鬥爭為綱，其餘的都是目」的教導。在各個領域內展開對資產階級的階級鬥爭，使他成為資產階級的政治代表。這些人企圖使無產階級專政機械，恢復資本主義統治。

鄧小平鼓吹「階級在大體上已經消滅，我們不應注重階級鬥爭」，「階級鬥爭那能天天講？」實際上，在社會主義這個要延續數百年的時期裡，階級鬥爭是十分劇烈的，這就是為甚麼毛主席談論資本主義復辟的危險時候說，「要年年講，月月講，天天講。」

最近中國人民日報的一篇社論，關於藏在無產階級政黨裡面的資產階級份子的危險，例如鄧小平之類，對我們頗有裨益：  
「黨內走資派是資產階級同無  
下續（第十頁）

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產階級進行較量，搞資本主義復辟的主要力量。這裡，關鍵的問題在於他們是混進無產階級專政機構內部的走資本主義道路的當權派。劉少奇、林彪、鄧小平這些修正主義路線的頭子都掌握黨和國家很大一部份權力，他們可以把無產階級專政的工具變為對無產階級專政的工具，因而搞起復辟來，比黨外的資產階級還厲害。他們可以利用手中的權力，招降納叛，結黨營私，拼湊起一個資產階級司令部，自上而下地制定和推行一條修正主義路線。他們可以強化和擴大資產階級法權，保護他們這些搞修正主義的「大官」們的利益，侵吞和揮霍大量的社會財富，大搞資本主義，破壞和瓦解社會主義的生產關係。他們總是披著馬列主義的外衣，打着各種旗號，暫時蒙蔽和欺騙一部份不明真相，覺悟不高的人，跟着他們那條修正主義路線走。總之，他們是資產階級的政治代表，是一切反抗社會主義革命和敵視、破壞社會主義建設的社會勢力和社會集團同無產階級進行較量的掛帥人物。

鄧小平試圖在中國社會的許多地方鼓吹他的路線，要推翻無產階級專政，在教育方面，他否定文化大革命徹底改革教育所帶來的重大進展，基本上，他要用資產階級的知識份子來代替工人階級的領導，否認知識份子(其中許多人仍具資產階級意識)必須不斷改造他們的「世界觀來為工人和農民服務，他要知識份子和群眾脫離專門教育，關在書房裡，回到理論和實際脫節的狀態，鄧小平誇獎文化革命前的教育「好」而說甚麼今日中國的教育「混亂」「水準低」，誹謗文化大革命，他的目的在於恢復原來的學制，這種學制擴大(而不是縮減)勞心者和勞力者之間的差別，給知識份子特權，使他們形成騎在群眾頭上的優越階層。

在科學和技術方面，鄧小平鼓勵發展起來的一班新的資產階級的特權分子，他要恢復，學術研究之宮，脫離無產階級政治，脫離生產和脫離工農，他反對把研究帶到工廠，農場和軍隊中去，也反對使工農對研究發生興趣。

相反地，他指出中國的科學和技術，只要依靠「幾百個一、二流的科學家」就可以發展起來，「依靠工人、農民和兵士祇不過是相對的」他說，「沒有社會主義頭腦的專家，只有專業的專家才是對中華人民共和國有用的」，「這值得珍惜和讚賞」，鄧小平企圖壓制工人群眾，否認科學家和技術人員。如果不遵循正確的政治路線，不與群眾打成一片，向群眾學習，就會變成新的資產階級份子，上面所引他的觀點，不過是他作風的一部份而已，鄧小平的觀點和毛主席的觀點相差得太遠了，毛主席曾經說過，工人階級是領導的階級，「是最具遠見，最不自私，最具革命性的工人階級必須領導一切」。

在生產方面，鄧小平也拒絕把無產階級政治放在領導地位。他認為「現代化」高於一切，包括階級鬥爭在內。他以次要的經濟發展來代替主要的階級鬥爭，並從而使階級鬥爭瓦解，採納鄧小平觀點的後果，是沒有替工農帶來好處的經濟發展，沒有對資產階級的鬥爭，資本主義便會復辟起來。資本主義



的剝削壓迫和腐化，便會降到中國人民大眾的頭上。

中國共產黨和毛主席曾經指出，沒有階級鬥爭就沒有經濟發展，最大的生產力量就是群眾本身，革命和解放出來的群眾有無比的創造力。這些在中國已經得到證明，這種關係在「抓革命，抓生產」一句口號中體現到。改善群眾的生計和福利，因此，基本上也是個政治問題。

根據鄧小平的邏輯，否認無產階級政治必須領導教育、科學、生產及其他方面，美國和蘇聯，這兩個地球上最大的剝削者，他們的人會比社會主義中國的人民，享受一個較好的社會。

走資派的底細

由於社會主義社會從舊的社會中產生，保留了舊社會遺留下來的東西，走資派如鄧小平之類的出現不足為奇，在今天仍然有封建思想，資本主義思想和滋養資本家想法的小規模生產，仍然有資產階級法權(人與人之間形式上的平等，但實際上不平等)。都市和農村的差別，勞心者之間的差別，工業和農業間的差別，以至工資待遇也還有一些差別，這些便是資本主義和資本主義份子復活的溫床，鄧小平不是批評，限制宅一的政治代表。

鄧小平本人實際上是個資產階級的民主派，他從來就沒有改變自己的思想，成為無產階級的思想，從來就不是一個真正的馬列主義者，他在新民主主義革命(那是反帝國主義反對封建主義的革命)時期加入了革命和共產黨到了一九四九年，工人、農民、小資產階級，民族資產階級組成的統一戰綫，反對國外的帝國主義，國內的封建主義和買辦階級，使解放的勝利達到了頂點。

一九四九年以後，革命的性質改變了，進入社會主義的階段，工人階級和資產階級間的矛盾成為主要的矛盾。目前中國的革命仍是處於這個階段的。

一九四九年以後，許多參加了共產黨的資產階級和小資產階級民主人士，經過鬥爭以後，拋棄了他們的資產階級的世界觀而採納了馬列主義的看法，可是，另外一些人，像鄧小平之類，始終保留資產階級的觀點，他們因此反對社會主義的變革。

鄧小平在五十年代反對農業合

作化運動，他要保留農民的個人生產，後來並反對設立人民公社的集體運動，到了文化大革命的初期，他和劉少奇聯合，想要鎮壓群眾的反修正主義運動。

文化大革命期間，鄧小平被嚴格地批判，被認為是修正主義者和走資派，不過他不像劉少奇和林彪那樣拒絕悔改(他們給從黨中開除了)，鄧小平對他過去的修正主義傾向作了自我批評，並發誓永不翻案，到了一九七四年，他重新在政府和黨裡面掌握了重要的職位。

到了一九七五年的夏天，由於鄧小平依然沒有改變作風，他鼓吹資本主義思想，却一天天地明顯起來，他的自我批評沒有真正的使他改變。另一方面，全國各地在文化大革命中加深了對修正主義的了解。人民大眾對鄧小平的思想於是掀

下續(第十二頁)



北京大學師生員工在四月七日晚達夜遊行。 北京大學 供稿



在福建省福州市。

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起了鬥爭，黨內和社會各界大規模地推行批判「右傾份子」傾向的運動。

到了一九七五年末一九七六年初時，這個批判運動發展成爲保衛文化大革命中重大的社會主義的成就，排斥想抹殺這些成就的企圖，在這個運動中開頭沒有指出鄧小平的名字，後來慢慢地透露，他就是右傾和修正主義的主要傳佈者。最後，在絕望中來反對這個批判運動，鄧小平煽動了四月五日在天安門廣場發生的反革命事件，攻擊共產黨，並企圖激起一個支持鄧小平修正主義的運動，這個事件失敗後，共產黨中央委員會決議把鄧小平撤除了他在黨和政府裡面的職位。

這件事使全國無數人民更加團結起來，擁護共產黨，並且對鄧小平的修正主義作進一步的批判和暴露，社會各階層的群眾，從事批鄧的鬥爭，這不是偶然的，在文化大革命期間，群眾已經提高了在社會主義制度下從事階級鬥爭的革命覺悟力，以及兩條路線鬥爭的革命意識，在文化大革命中，群眾以馬克思列寧主義毛澤東思想來武裝了自己，有了這些幫助，他們看出了鄧小平復辟資本主義的企圖，於是加以暴露。

在毛主席和共產黨的堅強的領導下，群眾動員了起來，暴露批判修正主義，發動群眾的自發性並予正確的指導，這個運動將有益於加強階級立場和中國人民對前途的看法，也是一般人民值得學習的重要的一課。

### 結論

仔細研究在中國展開的保衛，鞏固無產階級專政的鬥爭，對我們特別重要，因爲它使我們在革命運動中辨別真正的和冒牌的馬列主義，在無產階級專政這個問題上，劃出了明確的分界線。

美國共產黨背叛革命，成爲修正主義和反革命勢力。他們宣揚蘇聯共產黨修正主義的看法和理論，例如「社會主義社會不再需要無產階級專政」，暴露了他們口頭上和行動上資本主義者的原形，這是激頭激尾的反革命路線，否定了社會主義革命的本質——階級鬥爭和無產階級專政。革命運動和工人階級，必須堅決反對這種修正主義。革命運動裡面還有其他的敵人，他們自稱爲「反修正主義者」，實際上祇是打算將全然相反的觀點調和起來，來掩飾修正主義的本來面目。

美國衛報就是這樣的一個中間派，衛報路線的核心是背叛無產階級專政。其實這就是他們和修正主義者共通的地方，修正主義者如美共公開讚美蘇聯是一個社會主義國家；衛報則企圖掩飾他們的修正主義，說甚麼蘇聯只有在有些時候是帝國主義，但是它仍然是一個「真正的」社會主義國家，看起來它好像是介於對蘇聯的兩種相反看法的中間，實際上從社會主義的觀點來說，它脫離不了修正主義，即是一個沒有無產階級專政的社會主義，一個沒有工人階級跟被推翻的資產階級作激烈鬥爭的社會主義。衛報把社會主義和無產階級專政分開，並且相信社會主義可以脫離階級鬥爭而生存，社會主義和工



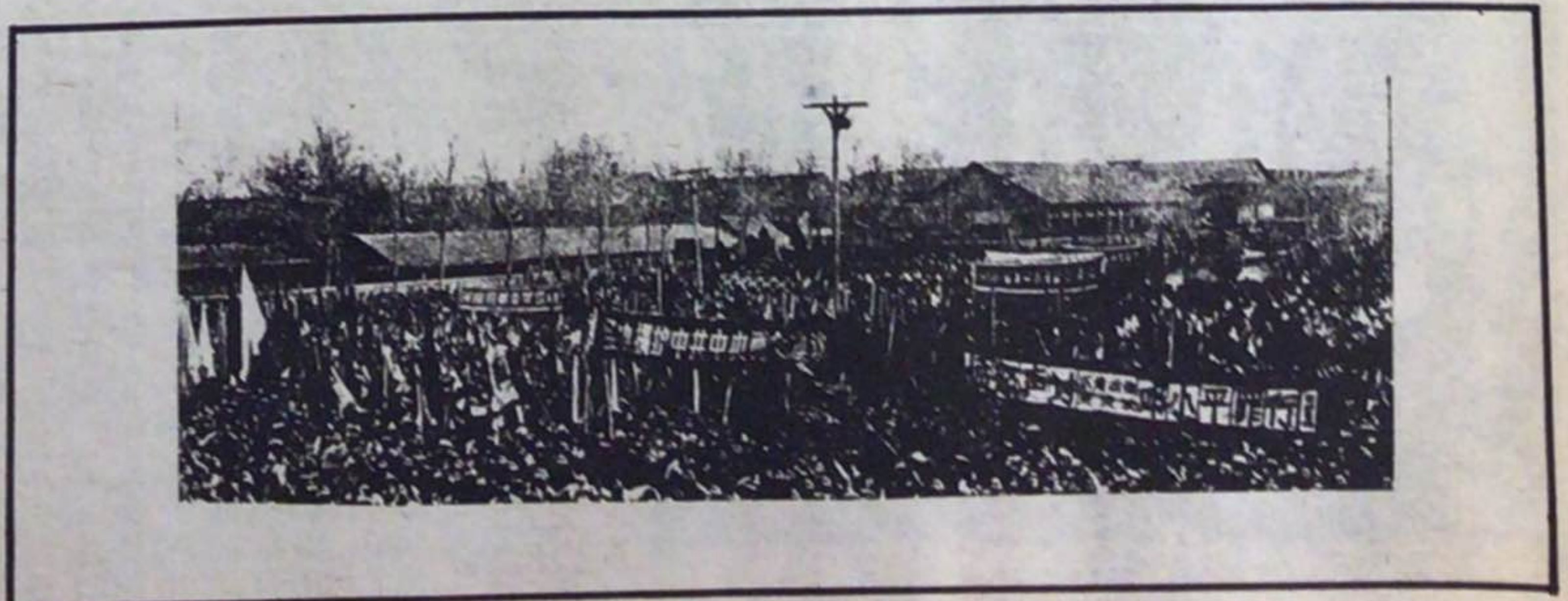
人階級專政分開這是根本就不會有的！可是衛報要我們相信，由於某種原因，蘇聯的社會主義在目前蘇修集團領導下仍然自發地發生作用，按照他們的說法，蘇聯政權並不代表某一個階級！這真正是道地的對無產階級專政的打擊！真正是修正主義者，爲蘇聯的復辟資

本主義所作理論上的辯護，真正是造成使蘇聯變成今天這樣一個奸詐的帝國主義的超級強國的原因。

衛報替蘇聯社會主義帝國主義和它的剝削、霸道、干預、侵略的行爲辯護，忽視無產階級專政，是它推行錯誤的修正主義路線的副產品，這具體地表現於該刊那條破產的路線的各方面，衛報擁護蘇聯難怪它如此嚴峻地批判中華人民共和國的外交政策，那麼擁護蘇聯的角色了，這不是偶然的，因爲它的觀點和鄧小平式修正主義者和美國共產黨的觀點是全然一樣的。

因此，無產階級專政的問題對我們在美國的革命鬥爭具有深刻的意義，革命運動唯有推翻資產階級，不斷進行鬥爭，建立並保衛無產階級專政，才能完成使命。我們必須要有個基於馬列主義，堅決反對修正主義的真正的共產黨，而不是衛報的冒牌的「修正主義」。衛報的路線必須予以澈底的暴露，因爲它在實際上竟至於博取蘇聯社會主義帝國主義的歡心，並爲它掩護。不去暴露衛報，祇會助長了革命運動中修正主義的實力，我們必須在運動之中，在馬列主義和機會主義之間，劃出明確的分界線。

不徹底反對，擊敗這些機會主義和修正主義，我們就完成不了社會主義的革命，中國在無產階級專政下渡過了最初二十六年社會



主義建設，傳授給我們偉大的教訓。我們爲中國目前反對修正主義，保衛無產階級專政所作的鬥爭歡呼，我們鼓勵讀者們向中國學習，並且把學習所得應用到在美國的鬥爭上去。