

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

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



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

VOL. III no. 2

WORKERS CONGRESS (M-L)

POB 1297 Chicago, Illinois 60690

December 23, 1976

25¢

Against OL's Party Congress PREPARE THE CONDITIONS

Have the conditions been prepared to form a party according to the revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism? We don't think so, and we think it is pretense to call for a party congress without preparing those conditions or calling for a struggle to prepare those conditions. It is an opportunist approach to party building that remains mired in the circle spirit.

The October League's Organizing Committee (OC) claims that the conditions have been prepared. Here is their fundamental explanation justifying a party congress in the near future:

"When we say that the communist movement has now become prepared to build a new, vanguard party, we mean that the ideological and practical struggle has developed to the point where it is now possible to identify, and to unite the Marxist-Leninists around a general line for the US Marxist-Leninist movement. We can now clearly distinguish between Marxism and revisionism on each of the main questions facing the communist and workers movement." (Declaration of the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party.)

According to the OC, conditions have been prepared

because the lines of demarcation have already been drawn between Marxism and revisionism.

This is a shallow view of the tasks required to build a party according to the revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism. In a very important sense, we agree with the OC that fundamental lines of demarcation have been drawn between Marxism and revisionism. In fact these lines were clearly drawn in 1963 when the Communist Party of China published a PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. This document and others by the Chinese and Albanian parties identified two basic trends - Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionist party - and succeeded in recovering revolutionary Marxism for the orientation of comrades worldwide in the face of the revisionist onslaught. The line of demarcation drawn is the foundation of our party building effort. It is essential to keep division between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism to the forefront in all our work.

But while our stance toward modern revisionism de-

fines the orientation of our movement, we disagree that lines of demarcation have been drawn adequately to overcome its confusion and vacillation or to purge it of opportunism and social chauvinism.

ECONOMISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES

Neither theoretically, politically or organizationally have lines been drawn adequately to ensure the victory of an organization of professional revolutionaries over the economist and social democratic trends in our midst.

Recall that Lenin refused to join the call for a Second Congress of the Russian Marxist party until the conditions had been prepared for the victory of the revolutionary trend among the local circles and organizations of the loosely formed Russian Social Democratic Party. (See the HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, BOLSHEVIK page 32.) The guidance he gave to the young parties in the face of the betrayal of the opportunists of the Second International can also be applied to our struggle:

"It is perfectly obvious that to create an international Marxist organization

there must be a readiness to form Marxist parties in the various countries ... The immediate future will show whether the conditions are mature for the formation of a new and Marxist international. If they are, our Party will gladly join such a 3rd International purged of opportunism and chauvinism. If they are not, then it will show that a more or less protracted period of evolution is needed for that purging to be effected." (SOCIALISM AND WAR)

We are going through such a more or less protracted period of evolution in order to form a new party purged of opportunism and chauvinism. Lenin explains in WHAT IS TO BE DONE that this is a process of recovering the theoretical, political and organizational principles of revolutionary Marxism and of overcoming the tendency to confusion and vacillation in the application of those principles to our practical work. (WHAT IS TO BE DONE, Peking Edition, p. 23.)

As a whole, our movement has taken important strides along this path. Yet the struggle begun in 1974 when communists took up party building

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

REVISIONIST SABOTAGE LESSONS OF NURSES STRIKE

The strike of the registered nurses of Cook County and Oak Forest hospitals ended Saturday, December 11. Combatting the present vicious onslaught of the bourgeoisie against public employees, the nurses bravely stayed out on strike for 38 days. In the face of a court injunction aimed at destroying their struggle, they stuck to their daily mass picketing in the freezing cold, chanting "court time, jail time, we shall not be moved". They maintained a sit-in on hospital property for the last two weeks of the strike. Though the final contract, which less than half of the 1,000 members voted on and approved by a small margin meant that the bourgeoisie had succeeded in stealing away some of the hard-won gains won by the nurses in the past, the nurses who had been most active in the strike and who had voted against the contract because they knew they would have won more if they had persisted in the strike longer, also knew that their strength and determination remains strong and that many important lessons had been learned in

the long struggle. ONWARD NURSES!

INTERNAL CAUSES ARE DECISIVE

The nurses losses in the strike were the result of the direction and tactical decisions their leadership made during and before the strike. The most active and advanced nurses had not adequately prepared for the strike, leaving those essential tasks up to a leadership which was dominated by reformist, opportunist, revisionist ideology. These leaders, more experienced in trade union activity than the honest forces, were happy with the results, and happier yet that they had been able to contain the rising new forces which when consolidated, will throw them out of power.

The nurses had inspired working and progressive peoples throughout the hospital and city of Chicago in their ability to maintain a 38 day strike. They were united, but united around the wrong line. This enabled the traitorous leaders of the Illinois

Nurses Association (INA)--running dogs of the bourgeoisie--to sell out the strike.

But many of the nurses blame the state INA leadership as the primary reason for their loss. This is wrong. In this situation, the state INA which withdrew from the strike, was an external factor and not decisive. As Mao Tsetung teaches us, "the basic cause of the development of things does not lie outside, but inside them, in their internal contradictions". (ON CONTRADICTION) The army of the nurses went into the battle with the bourgeoisie last November 3 and developed a hard core of over 150 fighters willing to make sacrifices, including going to jail, in order to insure victory. But this core had not been developed until the strike began. Their leader, an honest president with little organizational experience was overwhelmed and capitulated to the treacherous revisionist CPUSA and CLP and petit-bourgeois elements around her who assumed control of the strike, in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and led the troops

to defeat:

"Two armies engage in battle one is victorious and the other is defeated. Both victory and defeat are determined by internal causes. One is victorious because of its strength or because of its correct command; the other is defeated either because of its weakness or because of its incompetent command. It is through internal causes that external causes become operative." (ON CONTRADICTION)

Comrades and friends, strikes and other skirmishes with the bourgeoisie will never be successful until the opportunist and revisionist line such as existed within the nurses association is defeated. This defeat can only come about when the advanced forces are organized, and working with communists. At that point the advanced will be in the position to win over the vast majority who are intermediate.

Tactical mistakes of Communist movement

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Because of the staunch activity of the militant core of nurses, a certain number of concessions were won from the Health and Hospitals Governing Commission. The HHGC wanted to take away the nurses' compensating day for working holidays. (This means if a nurse works a holiday she or he gets another day off.) The nurses kept this. There was also a gain on insurance. In the past nurses had to pay 50% of the premiums for their family. Now the HHGC will pay 75% of the premium for the first year and all of the premiums for the second year.

The economic losses of the nurses contract are a reflection of the dominant bourgeois line of the leadership. The most important issue was sick time. For almost 20 years RNs, like most other employees in the hospital had gotten paid for one sick day per month. The bourgeoisie's plan across the country is to maximize their profits by pushing workers' wages to a minimum. Part of wages are benefits, all of which were won as concessions from the capitalists by the struggles of the working class and its allies. During this present period, the capitalists are concentrating on stripping away benefits as much or more as actual salary. The HHGC wanted to strip nurses of their sick pay completely. They succeeded in forcing nurses to give up 75% of their first sick day (or \$400 a year) and having those six hours of no pay be counted up as "unexplained leave of absence." Overall, including all workers at County, the plan of taking away sick pay will save the HHGC \$1.5 million. They succeeded over a year ago in ramming this plan down the throats of Local 46 which has over 2,000 workers. They pushed the plan over on hundreds of merit system (no union) employees last August. They did it to the LPNs in September and now they have succeeded in grabbing all but 25% of the sick pay of RNs.

SPECIALITY TRAINING

The second most important issue to the nurses was speciality training. For years nurses from general wards with little or no specialty care training have been thrown into intensive care units to take care of patients on continuous heart monitoring, respirator machines, etc. In the last 3 years since the capitalists have been increasing their attacks on the masses, this situation has gotten worse. It's like working in a factory and being thrown on the most complicated machinery in the place without training, endangering the nurses and especially the patients. The bourgeoisie is increasingly endangering the lives of the working and oppressed people that use County because it will not take part of the profits we create in order to hire enough speciality nurses! What the nurses got in their contract is a promise to 'orient' nurses to these units. We know what this will amount to: "Good morning, this is intensive care unit, you are working in that corner."

Comrades and friends, we know through our life long experience we can't be vague in our agreements with the capitalists. We will have to fight if this "orient" is to mean anything.

WAGES

The third issue was wages. In capitalist society nurses sell their labor power as a commodity like any worker. Like all hospital employees,

the value of the health care they produce is greater than what they are paid. Since the last nurses' contract of July, 1974, nurses received an 8% raise. Yet during the same period, the cost of living has gone up 25%. The present settlement calls for a 14% raise over 2 years, which like the rest of the contract, wasn't retroactive. The collusion between the revisionists and trade union bureaucrats proved strongest on this issue. Using the excuse that a retroactive contract (to July 1) would pay the scabs extra for working, these running dogs got the negotiating team to agree to a starting date of Dec. 1. More important than the 5 month loss in salary is that for the first time the RNs are now divided from their closest allies, the LPNs. Ever since both unions existed, their contracts have come up at the same time, and twice they have gone on strike together. Now they are divided by 5 months. This is exactly why we say that the union bureaucrats are social props of the bourgeoisie. Their role, supported by revisionist ideology is to further divide and weaken the working class and its allies.

DIRECT THE MAIN BLW AT THE REVISIONISTS

Within the labor movement, the parties of reformism and revisionism work hand in hand in collusion with the bourgeoisie. They are the agents of the ruling class in the working class and the main social props of capitalism. The revisionists masquerade under the symbol of communism but they work hand-in-hand with the various opportunist and reformist forces lending their party's historical and organizational experience to this joint collusion.

This is what they did before and during the nurses strike. Although one of their members was picked as alternative president, the CPUSA did not expose itself in the same way it had during the doctors' strike. Rather, they mobilized their forces behind the leading petty bourgeois opportunist who tried to take command of the strike every step of the way.

First, we must understand that the stand of the revisionists and our opposition to it is a particular manifestation of the two line struggle in the world trade union movement. The newest and now most powerful opportunist line is that of revisionism with its center in the Soviet Union. This line says that imperialism has changed, that it has opened up new paths for the people, paths which will allow the gradual, peaceful transformation from capitalism to socialism instead of revolution. This revisionist trend denies the leading role of the working class and has brought capitalist tendencies into the trade unions of all revisionist countries.

All this has brought apathy among the masses of workers and degeneration of the trade unions as mass organizations. Within capitalist countries including the US, revisionist parties like the CPUSA, follow the same line, policies and methods as their revisionist models in power.

First the revisionist CPUSA and CLP made sure they got on the negotiating team. From this position of power which had no mass base, they supported the line of state INA bureaucrat, Doug Taylor, and

with him pushed for fact-finding and arbitration as the "reasonable, peaceful way" to settle things. Our comrades in the Party of Labor of Albania warn that in capitalist countries like the US: "labor disputes are settled by the organs and institutions appointed by the local bourgeois government, such as industrial courts, conciliation and arbitration commissions and so on...by accepting and supporting these mechanisms of the bourgeoisie, the reformist and revisionist trade union leaders wait for the bourgeoisie to settle these labor misunderstandings and disputes." And in waiting they do everything to disarm the masses from going into battle with the capitalists.

The revisionists and reformists failed to prevent the strike by attempting to settle things at the top. From the beginning, the masses of active nurses had told the negotiating team they wouldn't be sold out by fact finding and arbitration like the 2000 workers of Local 46 had been. Also the local president, who originally combatted the line of the revisionists, consistently opposed both fact-finding and arbitration from the beginning.

Secondly, once the revisionists knew the strike was inevitable they did everything they could to insure the least amount of mass activity, hoping to create no disturbances, and trying at every turn to keep things within bourgeois legality. They failed to stop mass activity. The nurses inspired the entire working class and professional sectors at CCH with their consistent picketing at 6:30AM, there were many creative songs and chants putting forward a spirit and determination which struck fear into every revisionist and reformist. The revisionists did stop a massive sit-in initiated by the rank and file in the lobby of the hospital when hundreds of nurses showed up willing to go to jail, and were diverted to a secondary less important site. But even this sit-in and two more that followed in front of the offices of Haughton and the Personnel Office occurred because the revisionists had to concede to the masses militancy. The same is true for the several demonstrations and rallies at the hospital and downtown.

Third, the revisionists did everything they could with their opportunist friends in the lead to stress that RNs were professionals, 'who should act and be treated like professionals'. This meant first and foremost an attempt to limit all contact with the working class in the hospital. This succeeded in preventing any meetings with the workers until an attempt was made during the last week. And only two leaflets were issued directed at workers, but most of the militant core of strikers did much to talk to workers about the basis of unity and saw the need for one union of all workers and strata at the hospital. Despite the revisionist attempt to sabotage a meeting with workers, including telling nurses not to go, over 150 nurses attended the meeting and were anxious to begin the building of long-term unity with the hospital workers.

The revisionist attempt to narrow the nurses view of the strike also failed when many nurses increased their understanding of imperialism through the work of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP). Filipina nurses and other

nurses from the Third World could clearly see the relation of oppression in the US to the oppression of the Third World.

The view of weakening the unity and solidarity of the working class and its allies meant that the revisionists did everything they could to hold back unity between the nurses and doctors. Although most doctors were sympathetic with the strike, the revisionists succeeded in limiting the housestaff to almost no active support. It is obvious that once the revisionists and reformists have failed to prevent strikes they do everything they can to limit and cripple them.

Fourthly, the revisionists did everything they could to create the illusion that the state, represented by the bourgeois courts, HHGC, County Board, Mayor Daley, were impartial. When the nurses got hit with an injunction by Judge Dahl of the Circuit Court and a \$10,000 a day fine, the revisionists worked hard to tell the nurses that he was just a bad judge. Two days before the final settlement forced upon them by the state and the trade union bureaucrats, the leading opportunist got up at a demonstration and gave the nurses the impression that the new judge, Berg, would be favorable to their side. Depend on the courts, not on your strength was her line. Most of the nurses active in the strike clearly understood what class the courts represented by the end.

Fifth, the revisionists tried to spread the same illusions about the bourgeois press. When the nurses were attacked by the entire bourgeois media at the beginning of the strike, the revisionists and reformists told the nurse they had to continue to do everything they could to get good press, for that was the only way the "public" would find out the truth. They tried to gear all their tactics along the lines of good press coverage, opposing anything that would appear 'unprofessional'.

While the revisionists did nothing to mobilize the nurses to broaden and intensify the strike by rallying the support of workers and community groups in Chicago around their just demands, they did mobilize other trade union bureaucrats from the city, including Robert Johnson of the UAW who had just successfully sold out the

thousands of workers in his union. With his \$1,000 per week bribe money, Johnson tried to convince the honest forces on the negotiating team to accept fact-finding and give up the strike. The revisionists and opportunists were very clever. Instead of putting forward the line of fact-finding themselves, they waited for Johnson to put this defeatist line out, then supported "his" proposal. Very few nurses showed up for their much publicized trade union bureaucrat meeting - less than one-third the number that came out for the workers' meeting the night before.

Since the basis of the revisionist ideology is based on making peace with the capitalist class, they did everything they could to stop a direct attack on the capitalists by the nurses. They opposed all efforts to show the connection between the strike, the conditions at CCH and the capitalist crisis. Here was a clear example of the two-line struggle between the revisionist and the proletarian line. During the strike progressive forces continually pushed for exposure of the role of the whole class of capitalists

Need comparison to private hospital

to

Court Backs G.E. Attack On Women

Last month the US Supreme Court continued its reactionary assault on popular democratic rights with a decision that permits employers to exclude pregnancy related disabilities from coverage under employer sickness and accident benefit plans. **This decision is a set-back to the struggle for women's rights, is part and parcel of the general attack on the US working class, and demonstrates the necessity for us to step up our organization of rank and file women workers and of the whole working class to take up the militant struggle for women's rights in the workplace. We also need to build a mass movement to support the Equal Rights Amendment and create an offensive in the struggle for women's democratic rights in the face of intensifying attacks.**

SECOND-CLASS STATUS OF WOMEN DRAGS DOWN ENTIRE WORKING CLASS

Statistics released by the Labor Department show that the earnings gap between men and women workers has increased, not decreased, in the last decade. As this inequality in wage levels is on the rise, the real wages that workers receive for their labor is on the decline. **The present attack by the US bourgeoisie on our standards of living is aimed at the working class as a whole - but a focus of the attack is on the sectors of the working class that have been historically vulnerable - national minorities and women. Women make up an increasingly greater part of the workforce. As we explained in Vol. II No. 12 of THE COMMUNIST, the bourgeoisie will allow women into the workforce as long as it is in a second-class status, as this results in dragging down**

the wage level of the working class as a whole. The fact that women will not get paid for maternity leave is an attack on the entire working class - it means increased hardship for many working class families. It forces a choice between necessary income and having children. So much for the supposed concern of the capitalist class for the family!

The attack on women's maternity benefits is tied to the general attack on their working conditions. GE denied benefits to one of the women who brought the suit for an illness that was not even related to pregnancy only because she was on pregnancy leave. This woman delivered a stillborn baby and when she returned from the hospital, suffered a blood clot in her lung which was unrelated to the pregnancy. She was rehospitalized but GE refused to cover her expenses because they claimed the pregnancy leave ended her eligibility under the plan until she returned to work.

BANKRUPTCY OF BOURGEOIS FORMAL EQUALITY

The Supreme Court's decision is a good exposure of the bourgeoisie's bankrupt idea of equality. The exclusion of women from the employer disability plan - the employer in this case was GE - was not sex discrimination according to the court because to them the plan treated women the same as men. Here is the principle they relied on in approving GE's plan: "There is no risk from which men are protected and women are not. Likewise there is no risk from which women are protected and men are not." GE's plan, the court claimed, "does not exclude anyone from benefit eli-

gibility because of gender but merely removes one physical condition - pregnancy - from the list of compensable disabilities."

This is totally stupid. These monumental morons, the "highest court in the land", are so blinded by the formal logic of bourgeois equality, that they cannot even see that pregnancy is related to gender! More importantly, they purposefully ignore the basic point regarding the exclusion of pregnancy from employer plans. Capitalists can exclude maternity pay and get away with it because the bourgeoisie wants to perpetuate women's subordinate status in the labor market. That is the real issue behind this decision. It shows the state's consistent support of the bourgeoisie's policy of attacking and degrading women's right to play a full role on equal terms in the labor force. GE's plan is a perpetuation of a long standing capitalist policy of paying women workers less than men and excluding women to a greater or lesser degree from sickness, accident and other employment benefits.

By emphasizing formal equality, the court pretended that men and women are treated alike. That is the effect of the illusion of equality - men and women are protected from the same risks - it obscures the deep rooted social inequality of women at work.

Bourgeois formal equality ignores the very real material conditions of life that women in particular face as a result of their oppression, that prevent women from participating in all facets of society on an equal footing with men.

BOURGEOISIE USES POOR EXCUSE FOR ATTACK ON WOMEN

The court pretended that the cost of providing these benefits would be too high and that it would be "inequitable" to GE to require it to provide this extra benefit to women. But paid benefits during pregnancy are commonplace even in capitalist countries other than the US. **In the socialist countries of China and Albania there is not only paid leave but close attention is paid throughout pregnancy and nursing to the needs of the mother and child.** Benefits for pregnant and nursing mothers in Albania are described in a reference article on this page.

Communists can take leadership of the fight for women's rights because we do not rely on bourgeois courts to "defend" our rights. **Our task now is to take the initiative and to include the demand for pregnancy benefits in every workplace benefit plan through militant struggle on the shop floor.** In addition we need to step up our exposure of all such forms of discrimination at the workplace which occur in a thousand different forms. In this way the struggle of the entire working class against the present brutal attacks by the capitalist class and for socialism can be strengthened.

Comrades and friends should pay close attention to the actions of the US Supreme Court (and all judges and courts of the capitalist state) because it has become a reactionary spearhead of the bourgeoisie in its move to take back, narrow and restrict the gains made in the struggle for democratic rights in recent years.

Working Mothers In Socialist Albania

The recent Supreme Court decision depriving women of maternity benefits demonstrates the brutality of the rule of the bourgeoisie. In order to gain benefits and raise its standard of living, the working class has had to pit its strength against that of the capitalists - this constant class struggle is a daily reality and necessity. We can see how the bourgeoisie hypocritically uses formal "equality" to further attack us, using their state apparatus to maintain and deepen the oppression and exploitation of women and the entire working class. Only when the state power of the bourgeoisie is smashed and the dictatorship of the proletariat established, can the resources and social wealth of society be used for the benefit of the working class and all oppressed people. As the most thorough and completely democratic class, the working class will remove all obstacles in the way of the complete participation of women in society. This is in complete contradiction to the present practice of the bourgeoisie which is to put more obstacles in the way of women.

SOCIALIST ALBANIA

A good example of how the dictatorship of the proletariat carries out its tasks in establishing the social equality of women in fact, and not just in words and formal equality - the bourgeoisie does, is an example of social-

ist Albania. The policy of Albania is described in a pamphlet "Social Insurance in Albania", published in 1969. Even seven years ago the social program of relatively undeveloped Albania puts the social conditions under the rule of the US capitalists to shame. It concretely shows how a socialist economy is indeed geared toward the well-being of the masses. Socialist Albania not only compensates women workers for time lost during pregnancy and childbirth, but also is taking steps towards the socialization of childcare and household duties.

MATERNITY LEAVE

In terms of maternity leave, women workers who have been employed up to 5 years receive 75% of their income; over 5 years, they receive 95%. **Pregnancy and childbirth leave lasts 12 weeks - 35 days before and 49 days after childbirth.** If difficulty develops in the pregnancy or childbirth, or when a woman gives birth to 2 or more children, the leave is extended to 13 weeks - 35 days before and 56 days after. All related medical care is free.

OTHER TYPES OF CARE AND ATTENTION GIVEN WOMEN

All aspects of childbirth, the health of both the woman and the new-born child, are given attention. **Pregnant women or suckling mother**

workers are not allowed to be sent on missions, to work in night shifts or out of normal worktime. Women who are breast feeding have a right to a break after three or four hours of labor to go and feed their babies. The time is not limited but depends on how far the woman needs to travel, etc. These breaks are paid for. Also, **during pregnancy, lighter workloads are given women when necessary** - and the possible difference in wage is made up by social insurance. A stipend is paid to the mother (or father if the woman is not working) to take care of related expenses to childbirth such as cribs, bottles, etc. Managers of enterprises that refuse to hire or that fire a woman due to her pregnancy are punished by law.

CHILDCARE IS A SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

The Albanians, in contrast to the US bourgeoisie, do not view childcare as the sole responsibility of the single family unit. **As the reproduction of children is a social necessity, the responsibility of children is a social responsibility.** The socialist state provides creches (childcare centers for infants) and kindergartens so women can enjoy their full political and social rights. Children are kept in creches until the age of three, and in kindergartens from the age of 3 to 7. This has the dual

benefit of raising children in a friendly and social environment and providing them with early education, and at the same time women are able to return to work and a full productive life.

USE THE EXAMPLE OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO DEMONSTRATE THE BANKRUPTCY OF CAPITALISM

The listing of the various social benefits that women receive under working class rule in Albania materially demonstrates the value the Party and people of Albania place on women's role in socialist production and in society as a whole, and the value they place on children - "the future builders of communism". There is none of the oppressive formality that so restricts the rights of the working class in this country from participating fully in society and enjoying full and productive lives. In the present struggle of the US proletariat for socialism, the examples of the socialist countries can be used to demonstrate the bankruptcy of capitalism, its inability to meet the needs of the masses and the limitations it places on the democratic utilization of social wealth and resources. At the same time as the necessity for socialist revolution is raised, so too must be the struggle for the complete democratic rights of women - for these struggles are inseparable.

PREPARE THE CONDITIONS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

as the central task has never been fully or adequately unfolded. There has been no consolidation on the need to prepare the conditions for a party. Instead there has been a hasty search in one direction after another for a party congress or organizing committee.

CORRECTLY PREPARE CONDITIONS FOR A NEW PARTY

Comrades, what is the barrier to accomplishing the tasks required to build an organization of professional revolutionaries, firm and stable in principle, disciplined in method and deeply fused with the workers' movement? The obstacle to accomplishing these tasks and consolidating the struggle to prepare the conditions for a new party according to the revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism has been a failure to take up and pursue the struggle against primitiveness, economism and social democracy.

Our movement took its resurgence in a period of mass anti-imperialist upsurge sparked by the national rebellion of the Afro-American people and by the struggle against the Indochina War. It was not until 1974 that party building was broadly recognized and fought for as the central task of communists. We can say that the struggle to defeat the stubbornly rooted social democratic tendencies which have historically plagued the American movement has begun, but by no means has it been fully unfolded. There has not been the ideological, political or organizational consolidation which would lay the basis for the defeat of these tendencies at a Party congress. That is why we say the conditions for a party congress have not been prepared. Without the consolidation of a victory over primitiveness, economism and social democracy in our ranks, the lines of demarcation we draw between modern revisionism and Marxism-Leninism are hollow.

ROOTS OF REVISIONISM STILL REMAIN

Some comrades think that the struggle against primitivism, economism and social democracy is outdated because today the main form of opportunism is modern revisionism. These comrades think that Stalin's statement in FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM that the defeat of the theory of tailism or bowing to spontaneity is a preliminary condition for the creation of truly revolutionary parties no longer applies. They limit the struggle today to drawing superficial lines of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism.

These comrades are wrong. Modern revisionism is the highest, the most concentrated and the most dangerous form of opportunism that has ever existed. But there are forms of opportunism that pave the way for modern revisionism, regardless of the intentions of the individuals or organizations that allow them to persist. As we said in a recent issue of THE COMMUNIST, our movement has not grasped the truth that it is through the right opportunist tendencies of primitiveness, economism, liberalism and all forms

of bowing to spontaneity in our midst that the influence of modern revisionism penetrates our ranks. It is because of this relationship between the effort to Bolshevize our organizations and our ability to defeat modern revisionism and all reaction that we have called for a stand consistently rooted in orthodox Marxism-Leninism and for a struggle based on the lessons of WHAT IS TO BE DONE. The theory of tailism or bowing to spontaneity is the logical basis of all opportunism and the struggle summed up in Lenin's polemic is the ideological foundation of every genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

Ideologically, the OL/OC's failure to prepare the conditions for a revolutionary party built on Bolshevik lines has its roots OL's line that "left" opportunism was the main danger to the Communist movement. For years OL covered its own right opportunist errors on party building, trade union work and the united front with the line that "left" opportunism was the main danger to the communist movement and in particular to the task of party building. "Leftism" and sectarianism were the barriers to our unity.

OL's failure to repudiate its line on this question is no small matter. Marxist-Leninists remember very well that it was the revisionist parties during the 1960's and still today - which slandered as "leftist" deoratism and sectarianism the efforts of young Marxist-Leninist organizations to recapture the revolutionary heritage of orthodox Marxism-Leninism. OL's line on this question was not isolated but part of an international chorus.

Not only has OL failed to repudiate that line, instead they continue to maintain that the struggle against these errors prepared the conditions ideologically for the present party forming effort.

OL'S LINE A DIVERSION

It is evident this line did not prepare, but diverted comrades from the tasks required to build a party purged of primitiveness, economism and social democracy. OL's line that "leftism" was the main danger was fundamentally incompatible with the struggle to recover the revolutionary heritage of orthodox Marxism-Leninism and to prepare the conditions for a new revolutionary party by professionalizing our ranks ideologically, politically and organizationally. The effect of this line was to undermine some of the correct positions OL put forward in 1973 regarding party building as the central task.

For example, while OL made reference in 1973 to the importance of factory nuclei, they did not grasp the central role of nuclei to developing our work nor grasp the obstacles to this task raised by our primitiveness and backwardness. As a result, in 1974 their resolution on Communist Labor Work does not mention factory nuclei or the task of building factory nuclei. The whole emphasis was on building the mass struggle of the unions, rank and file caucuses and city-wide solidarity

committees. There is no recognition of the fact that some of these things can be accomplished without stable Marxist-Leninist cells in the large mills and factories and that Marxist-Leninist nuclei could only be built on the basis of the fiercest struggle against amateurishness and bowing to spontaneity. Instead OL counterposed one incorrect form of caucus building to another. Criticizing the Revolutionary Union's (RU) intermediate worker organizations as showing a tendency to dual unionism, OL distorted the principle that communists must work in reactionary trade unions and launched a call to build the left-wing of the labor movement and to move trade unions to the left, supporting Miller of the United Mine Workers and the "progressive" labor bureaucrats in order to "stem the fascist tide". And although OL has criticized some of these positions, they have never gone to the heart of the question - recognition that overcoming the errors of amateurishness and economism is the key to building factory nuclei and building factory nuclei is the key to stable, consistent and revolutionary work in the labor movement. OL's newspaper, THE CALL, still fails to give practical guidance on the tasks of building factory nuclei so badly needed by our movement.

NEW LINE BUT OLD ERROR

Furthermore, the OC's position now that right opportunism is the main danger is not based on a thorough repudiation of these erroneous positions. Explaining why right opportunism is the main danger, the OC argues that important ideological struggles have done much to isolate and discredit "left" opportunism in our movement - thus perpetuating OL's bankrupt line - and that the growth and development of the movement have brought us into more direct conflict with the CPUSA - a stance which belittles the pervasive influence revisionism has long had on our work, especially in the anti-imperialist movement, and belittles the spontaneous tendencies to revisionism that emerge in our ranks. They also explain the importance of a "centrist" trend that is conciliating with revisionism in power under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism. They conclude:

"Finally, our movement has begun to increase its work of mass agitation - particularly in beginning to give communist leadership to the developing mass upsurge against the conditions of capitalist crisis. This is a sign of our maturity and represents the process of breaking with the old propaganda circles that initially characterized our movement. At the same time, the motion towards increased mass agitation heightens the danger of right opportunism." (Declaration of the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party.)

DISTORTION OF OUR PAST

Unfortunately for this neat little scheme, it falsifies our history, as every comrade knows. OL, RU, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, the Black Workers Congress, etc. were not propaganda circles divorced from mass agitation. The main error of these organizations was consistently bowing to the spontaneity of the mass movement, character-

ized above all by the line that our chief task was to build the mass movement. This was also true of the OL, even though it put forward formally, but never fought for, the line that party building was the central task.

REVISIONISM IS THE MAIN DANGER

We will prepare the conditions to annihilate the influence of revisionism on the revolutionary movement of the working and oppressed masses, and create a new Marxist-Leninist party, by stubbornly fighting to overcome every tendency to bow to spontaneity which is the logical basis of all opportunism. While we must guard against "left" dogmatism and sectarianism, it is the right opportunist errors of economism, liberalism and petty bourgeois democracy which are the primary paths by which revisionism penetrates our ranks. These are the main errors which justify our primitiveness, backwardness and narrowness. Without a fierce fight against these tendencies we will be unable to consolidate an organization of professional revolutionaries capable of defeating modern revisionism and all reaction. The OL/OC lacks clarity on this fundamental principle of party building.

UNPRINCIPLED METHOD OF STRUGGLE

OL's line on the main danger also accounts for their inability to struggle in a principled way for unity. To analyze our fragmentation and disunity in terms of "left" sectarianism did not identify the main errors in our work, which had to be overcome in order to unite, and the OC does no better today. A year ago OL spoke of a dozen Marxist-Leninist publications and the need to unite them into one. A year later the OC has reached none of them. No national communist organization has joined the OC. They boast in THE CALL about the extra miles they are going to walk in pursuit of unity, but they do not take one step. When asked at a public forum why they have been unable to win any national communist organizations to their unity trend, they mumble about being on with the WC. But the OC has taken no single initiative in this respect at any time. The only "on with" involved here is our initiative in setting up a pair of meetings with OL in the face of obvious procrastination and delay on the part of these mile-walkers. Yet while OL has consistently avoided principled discussion with national leadership for more than a year, they have actively maneuvered to seek our local contacts.

Their idea of preparing a party congress is opportunist maneuvering rather than an open and principled struggle to unite. Rather than seizing on points of unity with various organizations and relying on these points to overcome differences in an open and above board manner, they rely on intrigue, searching for weak links to break off and bring into their ranks. Unity with others is sought on the basis of weaknesses rather than a conscious and determined struggle based on strengths. Rather than investigation and open polemics, the OL/OC relies on slavishness and subjectivity. OL does this with

the justification that breaking down democratic centralism is a "good thing" at this time. We also think that breaking down the democratic centralism of smaller organizations to build the democratic centralism of larger Marxist-Leninist organizations is a good thing, but it must be done in a conscious and principled way. The OL/OC's practice in this regard is just another example of their failure in practice to break with opportunism and social democracy.

Other activity of the OL/OC also shows that it has not unfolded the struggle to unite. There is no evidence of struggle in the OC and no evidence of struggle over the fundamental principles of party building. When one of the members of the OC wrote an article attacking one of the OC's essential "principles of unity" - win the advanced to communism - OL ran it in CLASS STRUGGLE without any editorial qualifications.

OL's party building forums are a joke. They present a couple of vague speeches about how badly we need a party and then take some questions. A party building forum should discuss in a formal way the burning questions of our movement. Majority and minority views on the national question, on social-imperialism, on the united front, on trade unions, etc. need to be fully exposed. The OL/OC's party building forums are little more than pep talks.

FAILURE TO ANALYZE BARRIERS TO OUR UNITY

OL's inability to struggle to unite is based on their failure to make a materialist analysis of the barriers to our unity. They do not give any analysis of the emergence of circles in our movement or the road to overcoming this stage of our struggle. They say this stage is coming to a close. But they do not say why. Comrades in the OC should not confuse a bigger circle with the end of the circle period.

OL argued we could not unite because of our dogmatism and sectarianism. This they attributed to the petty bourgeois origins of the movement, ignoring that the petty bourgeoisie is also a potent source of right opportunism, especially in a large industrialized country with strong liberal traditions. Their analysis of the barriers to unity showed an idealist approach that ignored the material basis for fragmentation and disunity.

On a number of occasions we have spoken to the basis for fragmentation and disunity in our ranks (cf "ISKRA Policy" THE COMMUNIST, v. II, #8). Under capitalism the working class is divided by trade, sex, nationality, industry, skill, wage level, geography, etc. The contract of employment is an individual one and struggles limited to a single plant or industry reinforce the fragmentation of the class. These conditions can be overcome; nevertheless, the consciousness of the need for revolutionary struggle grows up in these conditions. In an industrial country like the US, bowing to the spontaneity of the mass movement perpetuates these divisions. Primitivism perpetuates the heritage of limited and partial struggles which do not take up the task of forging the revolutionary unity of the whole of the working class and its allies

in the struggle not just against this or that employer or group of employers, but against the entire class of capitalists and the government that supports it.

Preparing the conditions for a party congress means taking up squarely the task of overcoming this fragmentation and disunity. This task is determined by the struggle against amateurishness and bowing to spontaneity. And, as we have emphasized, for reasons put forward by Lenin in WHAT IS TO BE DONE which are valid in our conditions today, this struggle is indissolubly linked to the struggle for a single, common newspaper that will lay a common line for U.S. Marxist-Leninists.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Proof that the OL/OC's unity trend is not the result of a struggle required to prepare the conditions for a party congress by purging our ranks of opportunism and social chauvinism is demonstrated by the lack of a consistent and thoroughgoing Marxist-Leninist analysis on a question which is decisive for our revolution - the national question.

We have already spoken to the October League's fundamental error on the Black National Question. While correctly adopting the position that the Black Belt South, the historic homeland of the Afro-American people, constitutes a nation entitled to the democratic right of self-determination, OL, like the RCP before it, cuts the heart out of this position by saying that they oppose secession at this time.

Why is defeating this position essential to the process of purging our movement of opportunism and social chauvinism?

Our revolution is made in a rising storm of resistance to national oppression. The struggle of the oppressed nationalities in the US is an essential component of our assault on the monopoly capitalist state. We place no obstacle in the path of that struggle. Where the storm of national liberation breaks out in the revolutionary demand for secession, that demand weakens our common oppressor - it does not weaken the revolutionary ranks. It is the US bourgeoisie, not the multi-national US proletariat, that fears a genuinely revolutionary movement for the secession of the Afro-American Nation.

On the other hand, for OL, the conditions of national oppression imposed on the Afro-American Nation by the imperialist bourgeoisie can be opposed only to a point. For OL the Afro-American Nation should not call into question the boundaries or state integrity of the US state.

OPPOSITION TO SECESSION IN GENERAL IS SOCIAL CHAUVINISM

Does a correct position on self-determination mean that communists must support any secessionist movement that arises in the Black Belt South? No. On the contrary, we are duty bound to oppose particular secessionist movements and weaken the revolutionary forces. That however is not OL's position. OL does not raise the call to oppose particular secessionist movements. They oppose secession in general.

The position of the Comintern on this question is very clear. In resolutions adopted in 1930 under the guidance of Stalin on the Black National Question in the US, the Comintern said that while reactionary nationalist movements such as Garveyism must be opposed, communists can never come out in opposition to secession for the Black Belt South as long as there is capitalism in the US.

OL recognizes that this view is in conflict with their position on the question and says that the CI was wrong. In doing so they attempt to drive a wedge between Lenin's writings on the national question and the position of the CI. But OL cannot use Lenin against the CI in this way. By calling for self-determination but opposing secession they have fallen into the classic chauvinist position of Springer and Bauer which was criticized by Stalin in MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION - they refuse to call into question the boundaries of the multi-national US state.

On this question the program of a genuinely revolutionary party built according to the revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism will reaffirm the revolutionary principles of the Comintern: we call for self-determination for the Afro-American nation in the Black-Belt South up to and including the right of political secession. As US communists we will not come out against secession in general as long as there is capitalism in the US. We will, however, oppose every secessionist movement that strengthens the forces of revisionism and reaction and weakens the revolutionary forces.

CHICANO NATIONAL QUESTION

The consistency of OL's opportunism on the national question is exposed in their position on the Chicano National Question. Once again, just as with the Black National Question, OL refuses to call into question the boundaries of the US multinational state. They arrive at this result only by fundamentally distorting the science of Marxism-Leninism.

OL says that the Chicano people in the Southwest do not constitute a nation but are a national minority. If this is the case, the correct demand there, as throughout the US, is for equal rights. However, for OL equal rights is not enough. They say that regional autonomy is a solution for the national question for national minorities. But according to the principles developed by the Bolshevik Party, regional autonomy, like political secession, is the political choice of a definite people on a definite territory which constitutes a nation. It is a solution for the national question for a nation that does not want to secede but chooses to remain within the framework of a multinational state. It is not the solution for the national question for a national minority. In other words, in order to call for regional autonomy, OL must adopt the position that the Chicano people in the Southwest constitute a nation. This however they refuse to do. We suppose the major reason is that this would again threaten the boundaries of the US state.

OL's call for regional autonomy - lacking a basis

in Marxist-Leninist science - is a call for pie in the sky without practical revolutionary significance. OL tells the Chicano people what it will do for them after the revolution. It does not raise the demand that will mobilize their movement for liberation and revolution under capitalism. If the Chicano people in the Southwest are a nation, they are entitled to the full democratic right of self-determination, without that right being watered down to regional autonomy only. If the Chicano people in the Southwest are a national minority, they are entitled to equal rights. These are the demands that mobilize the revolutionary struggles of oppressed nations and national minorities. Regional autonomy is essential to the solution of the national question for nations which decide not to secede but instead choose to remain within the framework of the whole.

Stalin's REPORT ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION delivered to the Seventh All Russian Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in April, 1917, makes this relationship between self-determination, regional autonomy and equal rights very clear:

"Thus, our views on the national question can be reduced to the following propositions: (a) recognition of the right of peoples to secession; (b) regional autonomy for nations remaining within the given state; (c) special legislation guaranteeing freedom of development for national minorities; (d) a single, indivisible proletarian body, a single party, for the proletarians of all nationalities in the given state."

OL's longstanding confusion on the questions of the main danger, their long standing confusion on the national question and their failure to link the struggle against revisionism with a clear cut struggle against primitivism and bowing to spontaneity, the logical basis of all opportunism, demonstrates that opportunism and social chauvinism, confusion and vacillation on the principles of Marxism-Leninism have not been purged from the party building movement. The OL/OC has failed to prepare the conditions for a party of professional revolutionaries and has failed to lead the struggle against backwardness and amateurishness in our movement. In short, they have not prepared the conditions for a decisive victory over the economist and social democratic tendencies in our ranks. Our movement stands on the lines of demarcation drawn between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism on the fundamental questions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the role of a vanguard party, armed revolution, class struggle and the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. But we have not carried out the thoroughgoing struggle required to ensure our victory over the economist and social democratic tendencies that cripple us in the fight against modern revisionism.

There is no short cut to that effort. No doubt OL also will declare itself a party. The struggle to prepare the conditions for a party of professional revolutionaries will be waged nonetheless. We call on comrades to join us in that struggle.

what are the leftism plus or minus from? sectarianism & dogmatism

Revisionism Is The Main Danger

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has unfolded a mass campaign to consolidate the whole party, the whole army and the people of the country around the victory over the "gang of four". The "gang of four" were four leaders of the Communist Party of China (CCP) who degenerated into an anti-Party clique. Every comrade should study carefully the issues involved in this struggle and staunchly support the Central Committee of the CCP.

The "gang of four" wanted to oppose Chairman Mao's fundamental teaching that revisionism is the main danger throughout the historical period of socialism. Ultimately, the purpose of this was to attack the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead the "gang of four" tried to substitute the slogan that empiricism is the main danger and wanted to make the struggle against empiricism the main link. They did this in an effort to attack veteran cadres with rich revolutionary experience in the class struggle of the proletariat.

Mao repudiated this one-sidedness masquerading as Marxism. When the slogan was raised to take empiricism as the main danger, he wrote:

"It seems the formulation should be: oppose revisionism which includes empiricism and dogmatism. Both revise Marxism-Leninism. Don't mention just one while omitting the other."

By making empiricism the main danger and anti-empiricism

the key link, the "gang of four" repudiated the correct position that revisionism is the main danger and that class struggle is the key link. In doing so they negated the basic line of the Chinese Party.

In addition the "gang of four" engaged in bourgeois factionalism and attacked the centralized leadership of the party. They worked contrary to party leadership and attempted to set up their own independent ties, seeking to establish their own system within the party, and they engaged in sectarianism and splittism. Chairman Mao repudiated these actions also. He wrote:

"Don't function as a gang of four. Don't do it anymore. Why do you keep doing it? Why don't you unite with the more than 200 members of the Party Central Committee? It is no good to keep a small circle of a few. It has always been no good doing so."

The "gang of four" ignored these instructions and worked to undermine the unity of the party. Attacking the centralized leadership of the party, they attacked an essential foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

RAISING FALSE CONTRADICTIONS

The "gang of four" sought to sow confusion concerning the principle of "grasping revolution, promoting produc-

tion" by attacking every effort to promote production as an example of the theory of the productive forces. They created false contradictions such as saying that they "would rather have socialist trains late than revisionist punctuality". The idea here is that politics is the important thing and that any emphasis on punctuality is an attack on the principle of placing politics in command and is a productive forces theory. But there is no necessary conflict between revolutionary politics and punctuality. With this argument the "gang of four" show their contempt for proletarian discipline.

The theory of the productive forces is a revisionist theory that one-sidedly emphasizes the role of the productive forces and ignores the role of revolutionizing the relations of production. Therefore, in the relationship between revolution and production, revolution is the principal aspect of the contradiction and plays the leading role. To reverse this relationship is to fail to place politics in command and to negate the principle that class struggle is the key link. The "gang of four" wanted to undermine these principles by creating confusion.

For example, they said "production will automatically rise when revolution is carried out well". This is an idealist and economist view. Only a representative of the non-producing classes could think that production happens

automatically. If revolution is not carried out well then production definitely suffers, and grasping revolution is the principal aspect of the contradiction and plays the leading role. The key to developing production is taking class struggle as the key link. But production cannot be carried out without planning, effort, care and hard work. Any other view is not a materialist one, but an opportunist bowing to spontaneity.

WAVING THE RED FLAG TO DEFEAT THE RED FLAG

Over all the "gang of four" failed to heed Chairman Mao's teaching "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." As a result they undermined the two line struggle in the party and the campaign against Teng Hsiao Ping and against the right deviationist wind which sought to reverse correct verdicts. They sought to wave the red flag to defeat the red flag.

A decisive manifestation of their counter-revolutionary campaign was their effort to do away with the principle that orients the work of Marxist-Leninists at the present time: Revisionism is the main danger.

Every comrade should carefully study the polemics against the "gang of four" according to the science of Marxism-Leninism and staunchly support the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

NURSES-FROM PAGE 2

and the capitalist state. We worked to show how the attack on the nurses was part of an overall capitalist plan to cutback service at CCH because it is a public hospital. On the other hand the revisionists resisted every effort to broaden the scope of the strike and opposed a demonstration directed against the Chairman of the Governing Commission who is one of Chicago's leading capitalists, resorting to red-baiting and saying it had nothing to do with CCH, and that the public and press wouldn't understand it.

Lastly, the most important matter determining the outcome of the strike was the collusion between the revisionists and reformers inside the nurses' union and the state INA bureaucrats. After the INA pulled out of the strike in only eight days, the revisionists pushed the line that the INA's retreat was merely a tactical decision. They had been successful in stopping preparation by the honest forces, including the local president, for the INA pull-out. This lack of preparation meant no independent legal assistance and no mobilization of the nurses to deal with the effect that the pull-out would have on the wavering forces. The pull-out, coupled with deportation threats by the HHGC to the non-citizen nurses and legal threats of all sorts to all the nurses (such as sending mailgrams to all the nurses demanding they return to work) resulted in a weakening of the strike with about 10% of the nurses returning to work. Within a few days the strength of the rank and file brought forth a tightening of the ranks, but not until after definite damage had been done. From the time that the INA pulled out, the leadership never once openly criticized their decision even though the INA

did nothing to build any form of support state or nationwide. In fact, strike funds that were accidentally sent to the downtown INA office after the pull-out were never given to the CCH nurses though the CCH-OFH Nurses' Association, their local, was the official bargaining unit.

The HHGC and the revisionists were waiting for the moment to re-involve the INA. When negotiations resumed one week before the strike ended, Haughton demanded that Ann Zimmerman, president of the INA be present in the negotiations. When the leadership didn't oppose this, the militant fighting nurses began to realize they had been tricked. This is consistent with the world-wide stand of the revisionists to be bureaucratic, elitist leaders, making their deals behind closed doors with the bourgeoisie. The effect of the role of the INA was demoralization by many of the nurses. This was demonstrated by the fact that less than a majority voted on the final contract after 90% had previously voted to go on strike.

However, in spite of the losses in the final contract, the staunch core of nurses knew they had made some progress. Not only had they gained organizational experience - since it was they who literally ran the strike every day - but their class consciousness had been raised through their exposure to the objective conditions of the strike and the two-line struggle waged between the proletarian line and the reformist-revisionist line.

As communists we know that strikes can only be successful where they are led by class conscious workers and communists deeply integrated with the rank and file. Lenin put forward these criteria for evaluating a strike:

"Strikes can only be successful where workers are sufficiently class-conscious,

where they are able to select an opportune moment for striking, where they know how to put forward their demands, where they have connections with socialists and are able to procure leaflets and pamphlets through them....Only a socialist workers' party can carry on the struggle by spreading among the workers a true conception of the government and the working class." Lenin, ON STRIKES.

While the nurses' strike was not a victory in communist terms, the acceptance and respect the militant core of nurses showed for communist and anti-imperialist forces who had done persistent work in the strike shows the basis for building a solid nucleus of class conscious forces to lead the coming battles.

It is important to add that the October League (OL) sums up the nurses' strike as a victory. In a banner headline they put this economist line forward and say the hospital authorities retreated on most major issues. It is true that the nurses won more by going on strike than if they had capitulated to the revisionist/reformist line of fact-finding and arbitration. But overall the bourgeoisie did not retreat on major issues or suffer a defeat in the strike. Materially the nurses were pushed back - particularly on the question of sick time. OL's analysis is weak even in trade union terms.

Moreover, the OL says Haughton would never have negotiated with the nurses or recognized their union, that because he did, the strike was a victory. The fact is, Haughton never did negotiate with the striking nurses' local association. This association was formed on an emergency basis when almost 500 rank-and-file nurses voted to continue the strike after the INA pulled out, intimidated by the threat

of a court-imposed fine. When court supervised negotiations got under way, Haughton demanded and got Ann Zimmerman, state president of the INA, at the negotiating table. Haughton is always willing to negotiate with bourgeois agents like Zimmerman who will sell out a struggle but then return to ink a contract.

Secondly, OL overestimates the general class consciousness of the nurses. The activity of the rank-and-file reflected the best traditions of the working class: self-sacrifice, discipline, persistence and loyal unity. This was an inspiration to nurses around the country, all public employees and the proletariat in general. But these staunch characteristics are not enough. OL makes the classical economist error of equating militancy with proletarian consciousness. As we have seen, for communists, the successful outcome of a strike depends on a fusion of communists with class conscious workers. While there was communist activity in the nurses' strike, it is idealism to pretend that we had the kind of connections or provided the kind of leadership that would allow us to sum up the strike as a victory according to Lenin's rigorous criteria.

The same is true of OL's evaluation of the nurses organization. The high level of activity maintained by the militant core of progressive nurses proved to be the backbone of the strike. This was a good and powerful step forward. But there was no Marxist-Leninist nucleus at the head of this organization able to guide it in its work. While the steady day to day work of communists in the strike developed the class consciousness of a number of nurses who were open to communism, this force is not yet consolidated.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

Armed Struggle Key To Negotiations

The conference in Geneva, Switzerland called together to attempt negotiation of Black majority rule in Zimbabwe has broken off until after the Christmas holidays. Both the representatives of the fascist Smith regime and the representatives of the Black Africans, Robert Mugabe, Josua Nkoro, Rev. Ngabaniqi Sithole and Bishop Abel Muzorewa have left Geneva. The sham imperialist version of a plan for implementation of majority rule, which had been negotiated between the US imperialists and the Smith government was met with staunch and unyielding resistance by the Zimbabwean leaders. They rejected this so-called "Kissinger plan" which had four major points:

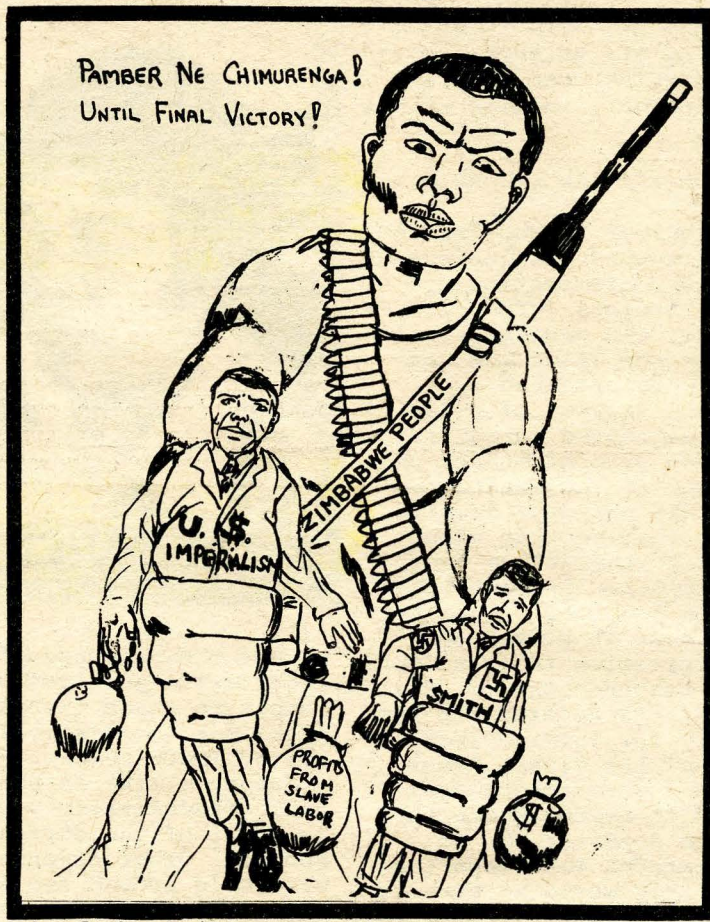
1. Rhodesia agrees to majority rule within two years.
2. Representatives of the Rhodesian government must meet with African leaders to form a biracial temporary government, forming a council of ministers with an African chair, and a supreme body - a council of state - with half African, half settler membership with a white chairman. The defense and law and order ministries would continue to be headed by Rhodesians during the transition.
3. Economic sanctions against Rhodesia are to be lifted and armed guerilla activity is to be stopped.
4. The establishment of an internationally financed trust fund, to stabilize Rhodesia during the transition period of two years.

LIBERATION FORCES REJECT IMPERIALIST SHAM PLAN

This is the plan that the revolutionary forces rejected, fully aware that the plan represents no real change from the Smith regime as it is. In fact, the plan was drawn up with the destruction of the armed liberation forces in mind. Robert Mugabe, a leader of the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU), announced on arrival to the Geneva Conference the rejection of the "Kissinger plan" for Rhodesia, saying that they had come to Geneva to negotiate majority rule within months, not years. Also he vowed that guerrilla war would not be stopped against the Smith regime.

Zimbabwean leaders then put forward their demands which were to be presented at the conference. Those demands were:

- 1.) Release all political prisoners in Rhodesia with arrangements for some to attend the conference.
- 2.) Rhodesian forces must desist from acts of genocide.
- 3.) A British cabinet minister must come to Geneva to chair the conference.
- 4.) Representatives from Rhodesia's white government, which broke away from British rule in 1965, must be consi-



dered part of the British delegation.
5.) Britain must pay the expenses of all members of the African delegations.

So far Britain has agreed to the first two demands, but we must remember that Britain also supports the "Kissinger plan".

IMPERIALIST INTERESTS OF THE US MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS AT STAKE

It must be understood clearly that the role of the US imperialists in setting up the negotiations is not based in any way on concern for a just settlement for the African people in Zimbabwe. What is at stake for the US imperialists is the strategic, economic, political and military control of Southern Africa. The natural resources in Zimbabwe are vital to US industry and technology. For example, Zimbabwe has 67% of the world's chromium, which makes stainless steel resistant to corrosion. Chromium is a primary reason for the Kissinger plan, which would officially open trade with Rhodesia - although the US has consistently violated the embargo in the past. A major investor in Zimbabwe is Union Carbide Corporation, with net assets of \$25.8 million dollars. Another major investor in Zimbabwe is Mobil Oil which feeds Rhodesia's military forces with gasoline, oil, lubricants and special aviation fuels. All this was done through various dummy corporations to mislead and conceal its transactions with the Rhodesian and South African governments. These corporations plus others in Southern Africa have more than 1.6 billion

dollars invested. Their exploitation of the vast labor force in Africa adds an additional padding to their imperialist super-profits. These US corporations have for years supplied the nourishment for the racist Rhodesian regime, while all along feeling quite contented with apartheid. But now, in the name of maintaining their interests, the US must try to draw up a plan for majority rule. This is despite the fact that only a few years ago Kissinger relayed to Nixon that majority rule will never happen in that part of the world.

Because of his weakened position, Smith has agreed to the plan put forward by the US imperialists, while at home he has resorted to more desperate attempts to crush the rising liberation forces. This can be seen in the increased attacks into Mozambique where the fascist Rhodesian forces kill and murder, wiping out entire villages in the name of trying to stop the armed liberation movement. But this has not stopped the Zimbabwean people, whose message of resistance can be heard nightly over the Mozambique radio. They broadcast that the war will continue until final victory. This is the spirit which went to Geneva and which stopped Smith from implementing the sham plan of the imperialists. This is why discussions didn't get much beyond the discussion of the date for majority rule. It is in the interests of the Smith regime to buy two years of time for procrastination and delay so it can make a last ditch effort to consolidate its government in the foolish ambition of overcoming

the liberation forces.

UNITY OF ARMED LIBERATION FIGHTERS THE KEY ELEMENT

This is not the first time that Smith has tried to use the tactic of sham negotiations. He has tried to negotiate favorable conditions around majority rule at various times since Rhodesia broke with Britain and declared itself independent. But now Smith faces a united front of the Zimbabwean people clearly led by the armed liberation fighters, a people who have no interest in capitulating to Smith or US imperialism. The revolutionary armed forces are now united in ZIPA, the Zimbabwe Independent People's Army, under the political leadership of ZANU. These armed liberation fighters, who have persisted in their struggle despite great difficulties and sacrifice, are the rock-hard core around which the present Patriotic Front is built. No longer does the situation exist where one or another leader separately attempts to negotiate with Smith. The unity of the liberation forces, welded by the armed struggle, has been maintained despite Smith's attempts to promote contradictions and divisions.

OPPOSE BOTH SUPERPOWERS' PRESENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

This unity of the liberation fighters was a contributing factor to the briefness of the Geneva Conference. Smith and his imperialist allies were up against a united front of both the liberation forces and other African countries as well. US imperialism, as well as the fascist Smith regime, claim that their continuing presence must be maintained in Zimbabwe to prevent Soviet encroachment in the area. This is a sham argument that must be rejected by the US people - we cannot rely on one imperialism to fight another. It is true that the Soviet Union is striving to gain hegemony in Southern Africa and this must be staunchly opposed. But the desire of the US imperialists and the Smith regime to remain in the area has nothing to do with guaranteeing the independence of the African countries. That is the responsibility of the African peoples. The US imperialists and the Smith regime want to determine the affairs of the Zimbabwean people, manipulating them for their own gains, for the blood-soaked profits gained from the land and labor of the Zimbabwean people. The Zimbabwean people will certainly remain firm in their struggle for complete liberation from both western imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Nothing can hold back the struggle of the Zimbabwean people for national liberation and independence.

NURSES-FROM PAGE 6

OL's economist and inaccurate evaluation of the strike is consistent with their inability to provide correct leadership throughout the course of the strike. (We described their practice in detail in the last issue of THE COMMUNIST.) OL's economist evaluation of the nurses' strike comes from confusing trade union success with success evaluated from the perspective of Marxism-Leninism. (Though even their trade unionist analysis was unconvincing to the militant rank and file at the hospital.) OL's economist work during the

strike comes from their failure to grasp the difference between preparing the conditions for trade union success and preparing the conditions for communist success.

Subscription rates are \$4.25 per year.

Send to: The WCML can also be contacted at:
WCML
POB 1297
Chicago, Ill. POB 11713
60620 L.A., Ca. 90011

Suscribe To THE COMMUNIST

The Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) is a multi-national communist organization which takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse tung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking. Our fundamental aim and program is the complete overthrow of the US monopoly capitalist class and all other exploiting classes as part of a world-wide united front against US imperialism and social-imperialism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the triumph of socialism over capitalism and the ultimate realization of communism. We are striving to build THE COMMUNIST as an instrument of the Leninist trend, to be used as a weapon in the struggle for a single common Iskra-type organ and the eventual formation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. While we discuss questions from our own definite point of view, we open our columns to polemics among comrades. We call on all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers to join with us in building THE COMMUNIST and call for reports and correspondence on factory and political exposures, etc.

Two Recent Chauvinist Attacks

In his recent campaign for the presidency, Jimmy Carter gave many speeches where he called for a "new moral order in US foreign and domestic policy. But as US imperialism's "morality" is based on a voracious appetite for super-profits from Third World countries and intensification of the exploitation of the working class here at home, Carter's words are just one more example of imperialist demagoguery. As two recent incidents here in the US demonstrate, the present preparations of the US imperialists for war mean intensification of ruthless oppression, an increase in capitalist gangsterism. Here in the US the state is resorting more and more to open brutal force in an attempt to drive a wedge between the revolutionary movements of the Third World and the proletarian movement here in the US.

In the last two months, police have attacked members of the Iranian Students Organization in the US (ISAUS) and the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP). These organizations are composed of Iranian and Filipino revolutionaries, some members of the oppressed national minority here in the US and many members of their oppressed nation that have been forced to flee their homeland due to severe repression. Here in the US these militant fighters have been active in the anti-imperialist movement - opposing the war in Vietnam, fighting in the defense of the democratic rights of all oppressed people, taking a place in the ranks of the proletarian movement and organizing broad movements against imperialism and social imperialism and the reactionary regimes that presently exercise fascist rule in their own countries. Because of their determined and courageous work, the US imperialist class has come to fear these revolutionaries and, in league with police agents from Iran and the Philippines, have consistently spied on these groups and harassed them. Indeed, the imperialists fear their message of proletarian internationalism!

FILIPINO DEMONSTRATORS ATTACKED

On October 10, in front of the Philippine Consulate in San Francisco, police attacked members of the Anti-Martial Law Coalition. The Coalition was protesting the sham referendum held in the Philippines on October 16. The present dictatorial regime, headed by Ferdinand Marcos, holds these fixed elections regularly to create a pretense of support for its fascist rule. Bayonets and machine-guns guarantee a yearly "unanimous" vote for Marcos and those who oppose the undemocratic character of the referendum are jailed and tortured. The protesters at the consulate held a picket line outside while a delegation was sent in with a statement of protest.

But these protesters, opposing the open fascist dictatorship in the Philippines, were met by the San Francisco police, whose job is to help maintain the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the US. As the Coalition members were shoved back, one of the delegates, Ric Rocamora, turned to ask why they were being mistreated. His answer was to be beaten viciously over the head with nightsticks until he was covered with blood. As usual, the

victim was hit with criminal charges by his attackers. But the Philippine community and supporters have rallied in his defense.

ATTACK ON IRANIAN STUDENTS

On November 3, the French police arrested six leaders of the World Confederation of Iranian Students (CISNU). Nader Oskoui, the Organizational Secretary for CISNU and Reza Takbiri were arrested on trumped-up charges of conspiracy and attempted murder in connection with an attack on an attache of the Iranian Embassy. This was done despite the fact that another group admitted to the action and gave conclusive evidence that they were involved. These two are now held in prison and face deportation to Iran. Four others, Parveneh Oskoui, Reza Arefi, Firouz Sedarat and the Secretary for International Affairs of the CISNU, Kazem Kardevani, were immediately deported to Sweden where they also face deportation. If these comrades were deported to Iran they would be sure to face imprisonment, torture and even death. This was a clear case of the French bourgeoisie working hand in hand with the SAVAK, the secret police of Iran, to destroy CISNU. After the arrests, the French government started an immediate campaign of chauvinist propaganda and harassment against the Federation and its members.

WORLD-WIDE PROTEST

But the Iranian students did not take this attack sitting down. They organized world-wide demonstrations in protest. Here in the US, on Monday, November 10, in Houston, hundreds marched in front of the French Consulate demanding the release of their comrades. From the onset they were met by police attack. On Monday one demonstrator was arrested for "jaywalking". A few hours later, an Iranian photographer was attacked by the police, but was rescued by a militant response from the demonstrators. The protest continued to the next morning. Then, as the chants rang through the air, Houston police, FBI, and SWAT team members, numbering in the hundreds blocked off the street and attacked the demonstrators. Despite their militant self-defense, the ISAUS members were overpowered by the armed police who proceeded to hold them down and kick and beat them with gloves with iron strips sewed in and with brass knuckles. Fifteen students were badly beaten and 91 were arrested. The bail was set impossibly high - over 180,000 dollars. Another ISA member who went to place bond for a few of the comrades was subsequently arrested, raising the total to 92.

Immediately the bourgeois media and press started a campaign of vile great nation chauvinism, labelling the ISA members as "foreigners" and "troublemakers". The police chief was given time on television where he stated that the police were opposed to the activities of the ISAUS because "they have nothing to do with the American people". He also stated that similar attacks were planned for the future - "We have drawn our line." Adding to these threats the US Department of Immigration gave orders to hold the students for investigation and 13 still face possible deportation.



Ric Rocamora, shown a day after the assault, was severely injured. His right eye was swollen shut, requiring nine stitches. AK photo

But the response of the progressive and revolutionary people to these fascist attacks was immediate. The arrested ISAUS members went on a hunger strike in protest. Daily demonstrations were held in front of the courthouse in Houston. Other demonstrations were held around the country, such as one held in Chicago where 500 people marched. These actions forced the capitalists to drop the felony charges, though 13 deportation charges still remain. The CISNU leaders in France still remain imprisoned. In early December, 9 Iranian students were attacked and arrested in Chicago. The SAVAK members continue to work with the CIA and other US police agencies, hoping to stifle the active organizing of the ISAUS.

THE ROLE OF SAVAK

Because of the strength of the ISAUS there is a high concentration of SAVAK agents in the US. The Washington Post, September 6, 1976, reported, "SAVAK was created in 1956 with the help of the American CIA and Israeli intelligence. ...It has developed into one of the world's more formidable and feared secret police forces, with agents and informers estimated to number in the tens of thousands - more than 100,000..." There is close cooperation between the SAVAK and the CIA despite Henry Kissinger's denials. There is even danger that the SAVAK will turn to assassination of ISAUS members here in the US. Jack Anderson, in his daily column, October 26, 1976, wrote, "Dr. Richard Cottam, a political science professor at the University of Pittsburgh, told our associate, Jack Spear, that a trusted State Department source had warned him that Iranian hit squads are on their way to the US... 'I was told by someone I completely trust,' alleged the professor, 'that SAVAK had made the decision to send assassination squads into Europe and the US. The guess within the government is that any executions will be designed as muggings.'"

US GOVERNMENT COLLUSION

This plan to eliminate Iranian revolutionaries goes hand in hand with the governmental policy to discredit and ban the ISAUS in the US. Representative Larry McDonald, on May 22, 1975, read a statement to the House of Representatives claiming that ISAUS and its members are "threats to the internal security of this country and are potentially a serious threat to the security of Iranian governmental leaders. There is no

legitimate excuse for allowing these revolutionaries to remain in this country... Additionally the visas of many ISA members must be renewed each year. I suggest that concerned fellow members of Congress and citizens join in demanding that the State Department enforce the laws of the US which especially exclude this category of individuals."

So, while the war criminals of Vietnam are given sanctuary and governmental assistance in the US, the US borders are closed to those who fight for the democratic rights of the oppressed. Already the government is attempting to implement the reactionary plan of Representative McDonald. The US bourgeoisie is free to roam the world in its bloody pursuit of profits, where it has violated national boundaries at the point of a gun, but it calls on the sacredness of its own national boundaries when it seeks to attack Mexican immigrants and revolutionary fighters from other countries. The stand of the working class is proletarian internationalism. In this spirit we welcome with open arms our revolutionary allies from other countries and with clenched fists we oppose the government's deportation schemes.

SUPPORT OUR IRANIAN AND FILIPINO COMRADES

Our Iranian and Filipino comrades are part of the world wide movement against imperialism and social-imperialism and all reaction that will be victorious. As both superpowers gear up for imperialist war to further their hegemonic ambitions, they will continue to be met head on by the revolutionary peoples throughout the world. Here in the US, the proletariat must take up the struggle of the oppressed masses as their own. We call on all comrades and revolutionary workers to do their utmost to oppose the present attacks on our Iranian and Filipino comrades.

ISAUS has asked for letters and telegrams of protest to be sent to the following places:

Minister of Justice
13 Plice Vendome, 75042
Paris, Cedex 1, France

Minister of Interior
Plice Beauvau, 75800
Paris, France

Human Rights Commission
UN Plaza, UN
New York, NY

Amnesty International
55 Theobald's Road
London, WC1X 8sp, England

Pappy Bond
Head of Police Dept.
Houston, Texas

Head of Immigration and Nat.
Houston, Texas

Defense Fund Contributions can be sent to:
ISAUS
Account No. 354-878-9
Lake Shore National Bank
605 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Letters of protest about the attack on the Anti-Martial Law Alliance can be sent in care of:
ANG KATIPUNAN
PO Box 23644
Oakland, Ca 94623