

# THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

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



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

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## STEEL IMPORTS HOAX

The biggest steel companies in the U.S. have announced plant closings, layoffs, and shortened work weeks for thousands of steelworkers in recent months, and at the same time have mounted a big campaign, enlisting the help of the government, to blame these actions on imports of foreign steel. Without much difficulty they have succeeded in gaining the support of the leadership of the United Steelworkers of America for their chauvinist appeals to combat the so-called unfair advantage foreign steel producers, and particularly the Japanese, have over U.S. production.

The hypocrisy behind these claims is exposed by the layoffs at Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company in Youngstown, Ohio. In the midst of laying off 5,000 steelworkers on Monday, September 19, and blaming these layoffs on foreign imports, it was revealed that Youngstown had purchased 350,000 pounds of Japanese steel and had concealed the origin of these steel cylinders by painting over the containers the steel was delivered in. Why did Youngstown buy this foreign steel? Because, as their plant superintendent William Rehn said, "there is a price advantage to do so." The U.S. steel manufacturers desire to limit foreign imports not in order to save U.S. jobs, but in order to increase profits. Where profits are to be gained from imports, they use them without any scruples about anybody's job. The U.S. steel industry is whipping up chauvinist sentiments against foreign imports not to preserve jobs but to preserve its own monopoly position.

There is intense competition going on today among the steel industries of the U.S., Japan, and Western Europe (and to a growing extent with steel producers from Taiwan, South Korea, and the Philippines). At this point, Japanese steel is produced more efficiently and more cheaply than U.S. steel. Thus in the struggle for world wide markets--and for the U.S. market as well--Japanese producers are getting an increasingly larger share.

The crisis is a classic example of the anarchy of production that characterizes the capitalist system. Monopoly capital in every country seeks maximum profits--not merely a return on investment, but the highest possible return. In the drive for maximum profits each manufacturer expands its capacity to produce and struggles to secure a higher percentage of the market. Each must expand or die. But industrial demand, which depends on the possibility of making a profit, not social need, can fall without diminishing the capacity to produce. In other words, periodically "too much" is produced and cannot be sold. Because more can be produced than can be sold, capitalism leads to

crises of overproduction. For example, today the U.S. steel industry is operating at about 74% of capacity, Western European steel at about 60% of capacity and even the Japanese are cutting their production targets.

Since crisis means smaller markets in relation to capacity, it also means sharper and more intense competition by the industry of each country and by each individual capitalist concern to secure its position. This competition is a source of trade restrictions, trade wars and, ultimately, imperialist wars.

Why has the U.S. steel industry fallen behind Japanese steel in its competition for markets at home and in foreign countries? The steel companies complain that Japanese steel is sold more cheaply because Japanese workers get lower wages and because the Japanese government subsidizes the export of steel. In other words, the Japanese steel companies are guilty of "dumping"--selling their products in the U.S. market at a price below what they cost in Japan, or even below what they cost to produce.

While it is true that the Japanese government makes a greater effort than the U.S. government to maintain full employment in times of slack demand, essentially these explanations are nothing but strawmen in a chauvinist campaign to divert attention from the crisis of the U.S. steel industry and of U.S. monopoly capitalism as a whole. The fact is that foreign steel is able to undersell U.S. steel because the monopoly position of U.S. steel over the years has led to stagnation and decay in the U.S. steel industry. In his basic text POLITICAL ECONOMY, Leontiev explains the difference between the incentive to technological advance which characterizes free competition and the tendency to block technological progress which characterizes capitalism at its monopoly stage:

"Capitalist monopolies inevitably give rise to a tendency towards stagnation and decay. They tend to establish monopoly prices and maintain them at a high level. With free competition every capitalist tries to increase his profits by cutting down his outlay on production, and in order to cut down his outlay all kinds of technical improvements are introduced. Monopolies, inasmuch as they can maintain high monopoly prices, are not interested in the introduction of technical innovations. On the contrary, they frequently fear technical innovations more than anything else, since they threaten to undermine their monopolist hold on production or to make their tremendous capital

investments valueless. Monopolies thus frequently delay technical progress artificially!"

In other words, through technological improvements free competition leads to lower prices, greater sales and greater profits. Since monopolies maintain high profits because of their monopoly position, they are not interested in technical innovations.

Because of a monopoly position worldwide, U.S. steel was for a time able to sell on domestic and international markets without introducing technological innovations or investing in new plants

and facilities--in other words it did not need to reinvest in order to maintain its dominant position and could use the profits usually required for modernizing production for other purposes. As international competition began to destroy its dominant position, however, the failure of the U.S. steel industry to modernize and to keep pace with advances in steel production came home to roost. In fact some bourgeois economists now think that the U.S. steel industry is not economically sound over the long term. They point out that while U.S. steel companies have only one

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### US PULLS OUT FROM ILO

On November 1, the Carter administration announced US withdrawal from the International Labor Organization (ILO), an United Nations agency. The US claims that ILO has become too involved in politics, abandoning its original purpose of monitoring labor practices and promoting better labor standards. However, it is not the presence of politics itself that has driven the US to take this step, but the anti-imperialist politics that third world countries have brought into the organization in recent years.

Carter is carrying out the threat made in 1975 by Kissinger that the US would leave the ILO in two years if changes did not take place in the organization's political direction. For example, the US claims the ILO hasn't applied labor standards equally among all nations. The latest example occurred last June when the annual ILO convention refused to take up a report condemning labor practices in the Soviet Union and various third world countries. The US has also objected to recent political positions taken by the organization including a 1974 resolution condemning Israel for racism and occupying Arab lands and a 1975 decision giving observer status to the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

Although the US claims that politics have only been introduced into the ILO recently by the Soviet Union (masquerading as a friend of the oppressed peoples) and third world nations, the labor organization has never been apolitical or neutral. It was founded in 1919 (along with the League of Nations) under the control of the US and its allies. The imperialists, fearing the inspiration and leadership of the October revolution in the Soviet Union, backed up the efforts of the opportunists and trade union reformists to seize control of the growing working class movement. The founding of the ILO was part of this effort to spread reformist illusions in the working class that its problems could be solved through collecting statistics, holding talks, and passing resolutions. Between its founding and 1971, the ILO passed 134 conventions and none was implemented!

The imperialists have always tried to use the international trade union movement, including the ILO, to promote their interests in the third world. Today it is especially the two superpowers who want trade union leaders who will cooperate with imperialist exploitation of their countries and a trade union movement that will narrow its activities to the economic struggle and reformism. For example, the ILO helps subsidize the Afro-Asia Institute of Trade Union and Cooperative Studies in Israel which by 1970 had trained more than 2,500 trade union "leaders" to go back to their countries well versed in class collaboration. The imperialists and social imperialists want to stop the growing anti-imperialist unity in the ILO which is linking the trade union struggle in the third world with the national liberation struggle. While in the ILO the US has openly objected, the Soviet Union's tactic in their struggle for hegemony has been to pretend to support anti-imperialist politics as long as this furthered its own imperialist ambitions to expand and supplant US imperialism as the chief neo-colonialist in every corner of the world.

Another reason raised by the US for withdrawing from the ILO was that the AFL-CIO, the official labor representative from this country, already decided to boycott the ILO along with the business representative, the US Chamber of Commerce. The Carter administration said that if it continued to belong to the ILO alone it would make a mockery of the US concern over the weakening of the three part character of the ILO delegation. Each delegation is made up of a government representative (with 2 votes), a

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# STAND FIRM ON PRINCIPLE

In the anti-Bakke movement as in every other democratic struggle, communists must ensure that work unfold on a sound basis of principle.

In this case, the starting point, from which there can be no deviation, is the policy of equal rights--no national privileges and no national inequality.

Since the Bakke case also represents an attack on the democratic rights of women, it is also necessary to raise the principle of the absolute equality of the sexes.

If our leadership is not based firmly on principle, it is easy to limit the struggle of the masses for democracy to the narrow practicality of bourgeois reformism. If we fail to unfold our work on the basis of principle, how can we distinguish our positions from the positions of the bourgeoisie? Suppose for example the bourgeoisie "overtakes" the Bakke decision? What is the perspective of our struggle in that case?

The criteria for evaluating the struggle in Bakke must be what best prepares the conditions for the class struggle of the proletariat. Imperialism is reaction all down the line and the democratic struggles of the masses can be mobilized as a powerful force to weaken the imperialist system and strengthen the struggle of the proletariat. We can build mutual confidence and solidarity among the working people, both men and women, of all nations only if the whole working class takes up the struggle for equal rights.

It is the struggle for equal rights that exposes bourgeois hypocrisy about "reverse discrimination". The call for equal rights is not a call for privileges for any nation. Imperialism rests on the superexploitation of oppressed nationalities and women. The struggle for equal rights is aimed at the heart of national and sexual inequality by attacking this double oppression. It is a demand that oppressed nationality workers and women have every right and privilege, economic, political and social, that white workers have. Thus it is not a struggle that calls on the laboring masses of any nation to give up anything but inequality and national privilege. It is a struggle that prepares the conditions for taking exploitation out of our lives. Workers of every nation support the just struggle for equal rights, and particularly workers of the oppressor nation. No nation is free that enslaves another nation. The oppressor nation working class must take the lead in the struggle for equal rights in order to prepare the conditions for its own emancipation from exploitation.

What are the tendencies in the anti-Bakke movement that undermine our firm stand on the principle of equal rights?

Some forces talk a lot about "equal rights" but they completely oppose the revolutionary democratic content of the slogan and apply it in a bourgeois reformist way which emphasizes formal equality and ignores national oppression. The stand of the CPUSA against "racism" and "poor education" is an example of that. Openly reformist in character, these forces promote reliance on the bourgeois state through the courts, civil rights commissions etc.

In the same fashion, the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke decision isolates the question of racism from the question of national oppression and writes: "racism against whites is no more tolerable than when practised against minorities". This is a "reverse discrimination" line all over again. Putting whites and national minorities on the same plane, it obliterates the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nationalities. Both racism and national chauvinism are tied to imperialism and represent the ideological superstructure erected by the bourgeoisie to maintain national oppression.

Some who identify the question of national oppression still fail to take up the struggle for equal rights as a matter of principle. On the one hand there is a tendency to counterpose the national struggle to the class struggle. Ignoring the struggle for equal rights, this position says that since the source of national oppression is the capitalist system itself, what we need is to develop unity between whites and national minorities in order to overthrow capitalism. Since there can never be full equality under capitalism the oppressed nationalities should throw their full energies into the struggle for socialism.

This trend forgets to ask what is necessary to develop unity between whites and national minorities. Staunch support for the struggle of oppressed nationalities for equal rights is the sole basis. Isolated from the revolutionary struggle (though not necessarily from the mass struggle), opportunists do not appreciate the contribution the struggle for equal rights makes to preparing the conditions for class struggle of the proletariat.

Another chauvinist tendency fails to recognize the connection between the struggle for equal rights and the struggle for the self-determination of oppressed nations and make this connection a matter of principle. In failing to make this connection, they cannot identify the source of national inequality and end up talking about "human rights" and "equality for all". These concepts are easily used for all sorts of bourgeois demagoguery about the rights of the individual and are a way to liquidate the fundamental question of the inequality of whole peoples as oppressed nationalities.

In the same way chauvinists on the woman question fail to draw the connection between the struggle for equal rights and the second class status of women caused by the condition of domestic slavery in the monogamous family based on private property.

Proletarian revolution is impossible if communists don't work to develop the democratic struggles of the oppressed masses. Mutual confidence and class solidarity between working and oppressed people of the oppressed and the oppressor nations and between the male and the female sex will not develop if we fail to take up the struggle for equal rights. We must defeat not only bourgeois reformists who seek only this or that reform and ignore the source of inequality, but also social chauvinists who pretend to use the "class struggle" to cover up their unwillingness to take up the struggle for equal rights.

The proletariat is a consistent, vanguard fighter for democracy. As Lenin says, there is only one solution to the national problem and that is consistent democracy, "just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

While great nation chauvinist errors are the main opportunist tendency in a struggle like Bakke, we must also oppose narrow nationalist and national exclusive tendencies. It is the duty of communists of both the oppressed and oppressor nationalities to put forth the demand for equal rights.

The tendency to national exclusiveness seeks to limit the Bakke struggle to minorities only and to only this or that minority at that, and seeks national privileges, not equal rights. National privileges however do not benefit the laboring masses of the oppressed nation. They are attempts by the bourgeoisie of the oppressor nation to bribe the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation into containing the national democratic struggle.

This point can be illustrated by the example of the special admissions programs under attack in the Bakke case. We support those programs and demand that they be maintained and expanded. But special admission programs can function either as a tool in the struggle for national privileges and national exclusiveness or in the struggle for equal rights, depending on the leadership of our struggle. If we are successful in overturning the Bakke decision and we have not connected the struggle to the struggle for equal rights, we risk promoting bourgeois reformism. If we have developed that struggle on the basis of a principled stand for equal rights, we have laid the foundation for continuing and broadening the struggle. Bakke itself is only a drop in the sea of national and sexual inequality.



By equal rights we mean the abolishment of all forms of economic, political and national or sexual oppression and social exclusion in every sense of the word. By demanding equal rights we demand that all the oppressed nationalities and women enjoy all the rights and advantages of the working class of the oppressor nation and other strata of the population. The significance of the struggle for equal rights is that it attacks both the main barrier to building the democratic struggle of the masses and the class struggle of the proletariat, great nation chauvinism, and at the same time the petty bourgeois deviations of national exclusiveness. By our firm support connecting concrete demands such as the demand for special admissions programs to the struggle for equal rights and connecting the struggle for equal rights and self-determination to the class struggle of the proletariat we create the basis for class solidarity and mutual confidence of the workers of all nations. It is in this way that we support the stand of the proletariat for consistent democracy.

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Hsinhua News Agency reported that the Soviet Union has recently demanded that the Main-Danube Canal, undergoing construction in West Germany, be "internationalized". This call for "internationalization" of the canal, is just one more example of social-imperialist interference in the internal affairs of a country.

Most of the rivers in West Germany are linked by canals. But the canal cut in 1846 to connect the cities of Bamberg on the Main river and Kelheim on the Danube river has gone out of use because it is too small for passage of large ships. But the Main-Danube Canal will allow for the easy navigation of ships over 200 tons. For this reason the building of a new large connecting waterway is important for the German people. The new canal will not only link two rivers but also provide an easier access to the Atlantic. The demand for "internationalization" by the USSR is a bold attempt by the superpower to extend its tentacles to the Atlantic.

This outrageous demand is covered by the fact that both the Danube and Rhine are international waterways. The social-imperialists claim that the canal is an "inter-oceanic connection" which must be "internationalized" like the Suez Canal and the Panama Canal.

This argument further exposes the degenerate aims of the social imperialists. The "international-

## USSR GRABS FOR GERMAN CANAL

alization" of the Panama and Suez Canals was a product of imperialism and based on unequal relationships between oppressor and oppressed nations.

The new czars go on to demand that "all sections of the waterways extending across the continent from Rotterdam (in the Netherlands) to the mouth of the Danube where it enters the Black Sea must be open to vessels of all countries without discrimination and on the basis of equality".

But the real intention of the Soviet social-imperialists is not for equality but for hegemony. It is poking its nose into the affairs of West Germany in order to be able to gain easy reach to the Atlantic coast through the canal in pursuit of its hegemonic ambitions.

Moscow's aggressive demand has aroused indignation and concern in West Germany. A newspaper is quoted as saying, "Why does nobody hear that the Soviet Union is ready to place the White Sea-Baltic Canal, built in 1933, under the same (internationalized) regime?"

The Main-Danube Canal, which is presently being redug and enlarged, has existed since 1846. It had been constructed entirely

within West Germany and entirely by the German people. Although both the Danube and Rhine rivers are both internationally used, no one has ever challenged Germany's exercising sovereignty over the canal. Now that work is near completion, the Soviet Union has stepped in with its demand for free use of the canal.



A canal is a country's inland waterway. International law claims that a country's inland waterways are entirely within its sovereignty and under its jurisdiction. It states that a coun-

try is not obligated to allow its waterway to be internationalized, even if the canal is directly linked to the sea. This is the case with the Main-Danube Canal which is 171 kilometres long and located entirely in West Germany.

But the new czars have systematically shown their disregard for national boundaries and national sovereignty. They are like a bully that tries to take what he wants even if it doesn't belong to him. By putting the Main-Danube Canal on the same level as the Panama and Suez Canals, the Soviet social imperialists demonstrate the same robber baron attitude as the old-line imperialists.

Like all oppressor nations, to the USSR, the rights of other nations mean nothing. Like all oppressor nations, the USSR desires privileges for itself it will not bestow on others. But the aggression and expansionist strivings of the social imperialists are going against the tide of history. The people of the world are awakening in opposition to the hegemonism of the superpowers.

The development of the USSR's war preparations will mean increasing aggression against the second world countries. The case of the Main-Danube Canal is a clear example where the sovereignty of a second world nation must be defended against the hegemonic ambitions of a superpower.



# The Theory of Three Worlds

# A GREAT STRATEGIC CONCEPT

In his speech to the United Nations on September 29, 1977, Huang Hua, the Chairman of the delegation of the People's Republic of China pointed out that the world has entered a new historic period in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is essential that every comrade grasp the significance of this point and its consequences.

## A PERIOD OF HISTORY IN THE CONTEMPORARY ERA

A period of history is a stage in the development of the contemporary era. It reflects what Stalin calls an historic turn. These concepts are presented by Stalin in his essay CONCERNING THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS. We reprinted substantial excerpts of this text in our article "Stalin on the Main Blow" which appeared in THE COMMUNIST, v. III, no. 12, June 20, 1977.

Stalin points out that "a party's strategy is not something constant, fixed once and for all." Instead, it "alters in accordance with the turns in history, with historic changes." In other words a new historic period, reflecting a separate historic turn requires a new disposition of forces and a new strategic plan for the direction of the main blow against the principal enemy of the revolution. Stalin writes:

"These alterations in strategy find expression in the fact that with each separate turn in history a separate strategic plan is drawn up corresponding to that turn, and effective during the whole period from that turn to the next. . . Naturally, a strategic plan suitable for one period of history which has its own specific features cannot be suitable for another period of history, which has entirely different specific features."

It is important not to confuse a new historic period with a new era. We are in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is an era in which are combined as Lenin says, civil war by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in advanced capitalist countries with a whole series of democratic and revolutionary movements including national liberation wars in the oppressed nations. These features are common to the entire era and to every historic period within the era.

Yet while there are underlying features in common to the entire historical epoch, there have also been several historic periods within that era, each with its particular features. As a result, while communist strategy throughout the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution has common features -- namely the united revolutionary front of proletarian revolution with the liberation movement of oppressed nations and peoples -- nonetheless, particular features of this overall strategy, as expressed in the disposition of forces drawn up for a specific historic period, can vary with each historic turn. For example, in the context of the united front against fascism, the Communist International in 1935 recognized the possibility of a government of an anti-fascist People's Front -- a government of struggle against fascism and reaction. While this possibility was appropriate to one period in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, it would be completely incorrect in another.

If changes in historic periods are confused with a change in the contemporary era, then every change in the strategic plan for international struggle would mean a new era. Of course this is wrong.

## FEATURES SPECIFIC TO THE PRESENT PERIOD

There are common features which persist in every historic period of the contemporary era. But there are also features specific to the present period. The main ones are:

- 1) The main enemy is the two superpowers, the US and the USSR, who are the chief international exploiters and oppressors and the main source of war. The laws of their nature drive these two imperialist great powers to a rivalry for hegemony. This contention is bound to lead to war. Of the two superpowers, the USSR is the more dangerous.
- 2) The third world, composed of the developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere, constitute the main revolutionary force in the struggle against superpower hegemonism.
- 3) The second world, composed of Europe, Japan, Canada and other countries is an intermediate force which has a dual character. On

**"The world has entered a new historic period in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The new historic period of international struggle against superpower hegemonism can only be grasped on the basis of Chairman Mao Tsetung's penetrating analysis three worlds."**

the one hand it is bullied by the superpowers; on the other hand it has relations of exploitation with the third world. It can be allied with to a certain extent in the struggle against superpower hegemonism.

4) The strategic plan for this historic period is to form the broadest possible united front against superpower hegemonism based on the alliance of the socialist countries and the proletariat of the world with the oppressed nations and peoples, unity with the third world and with all countries subjected to aggression, interference or threats of superpower hegemonism, and for the united front to direct its main blow against the hegemonism of both superpowers. This united front is a component part of the united front against imperialism. It reflects the correct orientation in the present stage of development of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

## THE HISTORIC TURN OF THE PRESENT PERIOD

The new historic period of international struggle against superpower hegemonism can only be grasped on the basis of Chairman Mao Tsetung's penetrating analysis of three worlds. That is the significance of Chairman Mao's theory. It is based on a profound sum up of the development of the basic contradictions of our time

**The historic turn of the present period rests on three fundamental changes: 1) Restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the disintegration of the socialist camp 2) The decline of US imperialism and the disintegration of the western imperialist camp 3) The rise of the third world**

and of the changes in political forces. It reflects three fundamental facts: Occurances

- 1) The restoration of capitalism in the USSR, the emergence of the USSR as a social imperialist power, and the disintegration of the socialist camp;
- 2) The decline of US imperialism and the disintegration of the camp of US imperialism;
- 3) The rise of the third world. This is reflected above all in the victories of the peoples of the third world in armed struggle for national liberation in Indochina, in Africa and in the Mideast most notably, in the overwhelming number of third world nations achieving political independence and playing an important role in world affairs, and in the steps taken to consolidate national sovereignty and economic independence, as for example with the 200 mile limit to territorial waters, raw material cartels, nationalizations, the new international economic order, etc.

These three facts, taken together, constitute the historic turn giving rise to the new historic period. Mao's strategic concept of the three worlds gives correct orientation to the international struggle in these new conditions. In light of the changes which have taken place in the international situation, it enables us to identify who are our enemies and who are our friends, a decisive question for the world revolutionary struggle.

## HISTORIC PERIODS SINCE OCTOBER 1917

The significance of this new historic turn can be appreciated by reviewing historic turns which have occurred since October 1917. While the question of identifying

historic turns demands a great deal more study throughout our movement and can only be approached tentatively, four broad periods seem undeniable:

- the defense of the Soviet Republic after the October Revolution and the extension of the operation of the revolution;
- the united front against fascism and the period of the anti-fascist war;
- the emergence of the socialist camp after World War II and the Cold War;
- the present period of the struggle against superpower hegemonism.

1) The era of imperialism and proletarian revolution begins with the first imperialist war and the October Revolution which was "history's most radical turn." The first historic period of the era reflected the life and death struggle to defend the victorious socialist revolution and to extend its operation to other countries. Lenin explained the particular focus of political forces in this historic period in his message to the Second Congress of the Communist International:

"World political developments are of necessity concentrated on a single focus -- the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Republic, around which are inevitably grouped, on the one hand, the Soviet movements of the advanced workers in all countries, and, on the other, all the national liberation movements in the colonies and among the op-

pressed nationalities. . . ."

The contradiction between socialism and capitalism played the major role in this period and the USSR was the main force in the world revolutionary movement.

2) The second period reflects the consolidation of socialism in the USSR, the collapse of the imperialist order installed after World War I (the Versailles and Washington treaties), and the rise of fascism and the anti-fascist war. These constituted a historic turn marked by Dimitrov's report to the VII Congress of the Communist International on the united front against fascism. The particular features of this period were that the Soviet Union had grown in strength and the world bourgeoisie had to accommodate itself to Soviet power. Soviet entry into the League of Nations in 1934 and the mutual aid pact with France reflect this, as well as the leading role of the Soviet Union in

the struggle against imperialist war. In addition, the aggressor imperialist countries were contending with the old imperialist powers for a new division of the world. This contention was the source of the second world war. While the contradiction between socialism and capitalism intensified during this period and continued to be the basic contradiction, the Soviet Union gathered around itself all the oppressed peoples and nations subjugated by the fascist aggressor and the antagonism of the war developed broadly as one between fascism and all the democratic and freedom loving nations and peoples for their liberation with the Soviet Union as the main force.

3) The third historic turn comes with the defeat of fascism and reflects the vast gains for socialism after World War II, including the victorious Chinese revolution. The socialist countries composed of Albania, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and eventually Cuba, made up a vast camp around which were grouped the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the revolutionary proletariat of the advanced countries and other peace-loving democratic forces. The major contradiction of this period was between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp headed by US imperialism, and the main force was the socialist camp. Without doubt, the forces of world reaction were preparing a third world war during this period and the danger of war existed. However, the democratic forces of the world, grouped around the socialist camp, had surpassed the reactionary forces and were capable of overcoming the danger of a new world war.

4) The fourth historic turn of the contemporary era gives rise to the present historic period and is marked by (1) the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the disintegration of the socialist camp which emerged after World War II, (2) the decline of US imperialism and the disintegration of the western imperialist camp headed by US imperialism, and (3) the rise of the third world. The two superpowers are the main enemy and the focus of struggle is between the oppressed nations of the third world and the two superpowers contending for hegemony and the extension of national oppression. The main force in international struggle is the third world and the main blow of struggle is directed against both superpowers.

The source of war in this period is the contention of the superpowers for the extension of hegemony. As long as the system of imperialism and social imperialism exists, war is inevitable and this is independent of man's will. While the struggle against superpower hegemonism in the present period cannot in itself eliminate the inevitability of imperialist war, it is possible to put off that war until a revolutionary situation arises in the heartland of imperialism and social imperialism. What the Chinese comrades said in 1963 remains valuable:

"The center of world contradictions, of world political struggles, is not fixed but shifts with changes in the international struggles and the revolutionary situation. We believe that, with the development of the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Western Europe and North America, the momentous day of battle will arrive in these homes of capitalism and heartlands of imperialism. When that day comes, Western Europe and North America will undoubtedly become the center of world political struggles, of world contradictions." (APOLOGISTS FOR NEO-COLONIALISM)

If in the meantime war does break out in this period, the

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# Strategic Concept

united front against superpower hegemonism will put the world's people in the most favorable position to wage a just war against aggression.

## FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARY ERA

Comrades are familiar with the four contradictions which characterize the whole era of imperialism and proletarian revolution:

- 1) the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries;
- 2) the contradiction between the socialist countries and imperialism;
- 3) the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism;
- 4) the contradiction among the imperialist powers.

These four contradictions are a common feature of the entire era. Each is fundamental and each characterizes every historic period of this era, including the present period. None can be resolved except by the complete overthrow of imperialism and social imperialism. None alone is adequate to characterize the era at any time.

It is important to uphold the correctness of these four contradictions and their application to the present historic period. It is particularly important to oppose every attempt to argue that Chairman Mao's thesis on the three worlds ignores these contradictions or substitutes for them. The Chinese Communist Party has repeatedly emphasized that Chairman Mao's thesis represents a summing up of these basic contradictions and of the historic changes and developments which have taken place as a result of their operation.

**"The theory of three worlds emphasizes the major role played by the contradiction between the oppressed nations of the third world and the great imperialist powers."**

What is true is that the present historic period reflects a shift in the contradiction among these four which must be seen as playing the major role at this time.

In ON CONTRADICTION, Mao Tse-tung teaches that we must distinguish between the principal and non-principal contradictions at each stage in the development of a thing. It is the change in the relationship of contradictions which characterizes its growth. Stages in the development of a process overall are marked by shifts in the relationship of major and minor contradictions.

This is true even of the four fundamental contradictions which characterize the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. While all four contradictions remain fundamental and influence every stage in the development of the entire era until the process is completed, at different stages each will vary in its influence. At one point one will play a major role; at another point another will take its place. Thus the relationship of the four contradictions is not fixed and unvarying in their connection with one another or in their operation in history. In particular, they do not determine equally, or "to the same degree and to the same extent," the course of development of the era in each historic period.

A great deal of theoretical confusion has its source in muddling these points. Opportunists in our movement claim the theory of three worlds "ignores" the fundamental contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie or ignores the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism.

Marxist-Leninists do not ignore any of the four contradictions of the contemporary era nor their application to the present period.

The source of this opportunist attack on the theory of three worlds lies in the superficial use some have made of the four basic contradictions. They are unable to make a theoretical analysis of the relationship of these contradictions to each other or to apply them to a concrete analysis of concrete conditions.

In the first place, one contradiction is a class contradiction. It is the fundamental class contradiction of the whole era and it is the main contradiction of internal class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries of the first and second worlds.

Capitalism, however, is a system which brings forward not only the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but also contradictions among nations -- is developing capitalism that brings the nation state into being. Three of these contradictions are fundamental to the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution: the contradiction between socialist countries and capitalist countries; the contradiction between oppressed and oppressor nations, and the contradiction among imperialist countries. These contradictions reflect and are determined by internal class struggle in each nation. The contradiction between countries where the proletariat has seized state power and the imperialist countries is the best example of that.

Without a doubt it is a feature common to every period of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution that the contradiction between labor and capital is the fundamental class contradiction. Because it is the main contradiction in every advanced capitalist country, proletarian revolution is on the agenda in these countries right now. But plainly it is not at this time the main contradiction of international struggle and it is Trotskyism to think so. The proletariat is at the center of world history in the contemporary era, but its historical mission is completed as the result of a lengthy process of development. Proletarian revolution, said Marx, "is thoroughgoing... It does its work methodically."

**A TEACHER BY NEGATIVE EXAMPLE**  
We have confronted a blatant example of opportunist confusion on these points which, it seems to us, goes to the heart of the errors being made in the attack on the theory of the three worlds.

In volume 5 of the SELECTED WORKS of Mao Tse-tung (p. 361), Chairman Mao analyzes the relationship of political forces in the Suez incident of 1956. He explained that there were two kinds of contradictions operating (between the biggest imperialist power and the second rate imperialist powers and between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations) and three kinds of forces (the biggest imperialist power, the second rate imperialist powers, and the oppressed nations).

When we pointed this passage out to certain comrades in our movement, we were arrogantly told that Mao Tse-tung was wrong. He supposedly "consciously forgot" the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Our agreement with this "incorrect" analysis was a clear example of our own "slavishness" or so it was suggested.

This foolishness, which reduces Mao Tse-tung to a revolutionary nationalist, reflects a failure to grasp the operation of the four contradictions in the contemporary era and an inability to make a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. The greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time did not "forget" the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but recognized that internal class struggle in that region was reflected through the contradictions of nations.

In the same way, Mao's theory of the three worlds does not "forget" the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries, but provides orientation in international struggle. While the contradiction between labor and capital in the first and second world countries is the fundamental contradiction of internal class struggle, it is not the main focus of international struggle at this time.

The same theoretical shallow-

ness applies to the explanation of the other contradiction which the three world theory is supposed to "ignore". When we say that the socialist camp which emerged after World War II collapsed with the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and other countries, this neither ignores nor eliminates the contradiction between socialist and capitalist countries. This is not a play on words, but a matter of historical fact. Certainly socialist countries still exist, the leading role of socialist countries in the united front is still fought for and still exists and the struggle of the proletariat world wide for socialist revolution still exists. But 13 once mighty socialist countries which followed a common line in world affairs based on the science of Marxism-Leninism and

tions to the present historical period makes clear that the strategic conception of the three worlds is an orientation for international struggle. It is not a prescription for the conduct of internal class struggle in any country whatsoever.

The tasks of working out the strategy and tactics of revolution in any particular country depend on the Marxist-Leninist party of that country applying the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation of that country.

The theory of the three worlds shows the orientation of the class struggle in every country, at whatever stage of its development, in relation to the international struggle against superpower hegemonism. The theory of the three worlds does not tell

**"The strategic conception of the three worlds is an orientation for international struggle. It is not a prescription for a conduct of internal class struggle in any country whatsoever"**

proletarian internationalism were betrayed by bourgeois elements which seized power in a number of these countries and restored capitalism. That is the historical experience summed up in the position that the socialist camp which emerged after World War II has ceased to exist.

When we say that the world is divided into three parts or worlds (not blocs), we do not ignore the operation of any one of the four fundamental contradictions. We do provide orientation to their operation in the concrete conditions of a new historic period.

What is true of the new historic period as compared with the former period is that the collapse of the socialist camp, together with the other factors which constitute an historic turn, have resulted in a shift of the contradiction among the four fundamental contradictions which must be considered as the focus of international struggle. It can no longer be considered to be the contradiction between the socialist camp and imperialism, but must be taken to be the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism and social imperialism, in particular the contradiction between the oppressed nations of the third world and the two superpowers. This shift of focus is not a matter which can be established or refuted with abstract arguments. It is a matter of actually summing up what is going on in world affairs.

## MAO TSETUNG'S GREAT STRATEGIC CONCEPTION OF THE THREE WORLDS

The brilliance of Chairman Mao's great strategic conception of the three worlds is that in summing up the development and changes in the basic contradictions which have taken place in our time, it grasps clearly this shift in the fundamental contradiction which is the major focus of international struggle and expresses simply and straightforwardly its application to the actual world situation by indentifying

three parts or worlds internationally in the present period. The other contradictions which are fundamental to the whole era of imperialism and proletarian revolution do not cease to exist, but it is the contradiction between the oppressed nations and the superpowers which plays the major role.

To pretend that the major focus of world political struggle at this time is between the socialist countries and imperialism is to fail to make a concrete analysis of the actual changes which have taken place in recent years.

## A STRATEGIC ORIENTATION FOR INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE

A good understanding of the application of the four contradic-

the revolutionary party of any third world or second world country not to make revolution or to put off revolution until some future time under the guise of, for example, promoting third world unity. A country where the revolutionary movement is strong will make a greater contribution to the struggle of the third world than one in which the revolutionary movement is weak. A country where the proletariat is in power will make the greatest contribution. This stands to reason.

Major errors in interpreting the three worlds theory have been the result of organizations dogmatically applying the lessons that hold good for international struggle of the world's people to internal class struggle in this or that country. These struggles are necessarily linked and there must be a proper relationship in every situation between what is primary and what is secondary, but it is opportunist to argue that because the theory of three worlds promotes unity in the struggle against superpower hegemonism with corrupt reactionary forces belonging to the third world such as the government of Pinochet or the Shah of Iran, that we must not oppose the Shah, for example, in his reactionary policies toward the people of Iran. This trend claims that we must not support the internal class struggle of the people of Iran under the guise that this would weaken third world unity.

Third world unity would not be weakened, but strengthened by the popular overthrow of the Shah of Iran. The contribution of Iran to the struggle of the third world against hegemonism is directly related to the strength of the genuinely national democratic movement in Iran.

Another example of the same error would consider the principal contradiction in a European country such as France to be the contradiction between the two superpowers and the French nation, instead of between the proletariat

**"The struggle of the third world against superpower hegemonism provides a mighty impulse to the intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the heartlands of imperialism and social-imperialism"**

and the bourgeoisie. This trend would therefore liquidate the class struggle of the French proletariat for proletarian revolution under the guise of unity with French monopoly capital against the superpowers, and especially the USSR, in the struggle for national independence. This also is an opportunist interpretation of the three worlds theory. Not only does it liquidate the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but it ignores the fact that it is the class struggle of the proletariat which is the best guarantee of the independence of the French nation. That is the lesson of the Paris Commune.

In both second and third world countries, there is nothing inconsistent in the efforts of revolu-



tionaries to mobilize the people for the overthrow of a particular government and at the same time for the revolutionary party of that country to support particular stands of the government which contribute to the struggle against superpower hegemonism.

In particular, reactionary regimes such as Chile depend on superpower support. Actions by third world countries which undermine superpower influence in the long run undermine the props on which these regimes rest.

#### THE MORE DANGEROUS SUPERPOWER

An additional remark needs to be made. Marxist-Leninists hold that the USSR is the more dangerous of the two superpowers. The reasons for this may be summed up in four points:

1) The USSR is a latecomer to the imperialist banquet. As Mao says, "The US wants to protect its interests in the world and the Soviet Union wants to expand. It is the Soviet Union which must seek a redivision of great power spheres of influence."

2) Owing to its relatively inadequate economic strength, the Soviet Union must rely to a great extent on military strength to pursue expansion. As we have pointed out in THE COMMUNIST, the total foreign trade of the USSR in 1973 hardly equalled US trade with Europe alone.

3) The Soviet Union's highly concentrated state monopoly capitalist economy and its political regime of fascist dictatorship make it easier to militarize its national economy and state apparatus.

4) The USSR disguises itself as socialist.

To call both superpowers the same danger to the same degree and the same extent is wrong from the point of view of dialectical method and reflects a failure to make a concrete analysis of the concrete changes which have taken place in recent years.

The entire history of the imperialist era is characterized by unevenness, not evenness among imperialist powers. In particular, the history of two imperialist wars teaches us to pay close attention to the uneven development of the economic, political and military relationships between imperialist great powers. There is no example of such relationships being characterized by evenness.

The significance of this point is that differences in development among imperialist powers can only be resolved by force. To abandon the law of uneven development, therefore, makes it impossible to trace concretely the development of those factors which must sooner or later give rise to imperialist war.

It is correct to defend the position that both superpowers are together the main enemy of the world's people and that the revolutionary masses worldwide must be mobilized to direct their main blow against both superpowers. But it is not necessary to abandon the law of uneven development in order to defend this fundamental strategic position.

There is another matter concerning the characterization of the USSR in the present period. Mao called the Soviet Union social fascist -- he called its political system fascism of the Hitler type. Some forces in our movement have used the attack on the theory of three worlds to "reevaluate" whether the USSR is in fact fascist.

This tendency reflects a dangerous and unscientific view of fascism. Hitler fascism was not the fascism of a particularly brutal individual personality, but the open terroristic rule of the most chauvinist and reactionary section of German finance capital. Hitler faithfully executed the long-standing ambitions of German imperialism.

In the USSR the level of consolidation of state monopoly and finance capital exceeds that of Hitler Germany. There is an all embracing political dictatorship and pervasive militarization of the economy and the people. These are the bases for calling the USSR fascist and there can be no confusion on the point.

#### ERRORS WHICH CHARACTERIZE THE OPPORTUNIST ATTACK

A clear understanding of the present stage of the contemporary era is decisive for correctly ap-

plying the science of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete tasks of revolution in the US and for fulfilling our duties to both US and world revolution. The issues raised and the character of the present struggle make clear that it will mark our work for a long time to come. While in one sense the divisions that have arisen represent a setback, it is far more important that they represent an opportunity to purge our ranks of error, confusion and vacillation.

What are the errors which characterize the opportunist current in our movement which has attacked the theory of the three worlds?

First and above all, this current is characterized by a failure to make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions which, as Lenin said, is the living soul of Marxism. It raises the four basic contradictions of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution as the foundation of its analysis, but makes no analysis of the actual operation of these contradictions historically over the recent period or how they have developed. As a result, the significance of factors giving rise to a historic turn are ignored. Specifically, there is no concrete analysis of differences among imperialisms or of the significance of the third world.

Second, this current fails to distinguish principal and non-principal contradictions. Instead of identifying the contradiction which plays a major role in the present historic period, there is a dogmatic application of the concept of the fundamental contradiction relating to the entire epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. There is no recognition of the principle that the major contradiction in the development of a thing can change at various stages in its development. In other words, the failure to identify the change in the relationship of principal and non-principal makes it impossible to analyze the particularities of this historic stage of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. As a result, the lessons of an earlier stage in the development of the era are dogmatically applied.

Also, failure to distinguish between the principal and non-principal aspects of a contradiction leads to treating both superpowers as dangerous to the same degree and to the same extent. As we have pointed out, this view abandons dialectics and makes it impossible to trace concretely the development of factors giving rise to war.

Third there is a failure to pay attention to the need to resolve qualitatively different contradictions in a qualitatively different manner. The contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism must be resolved

**The entire history of the imperialist era is characterized by unevenness, not evenness, among imperialist powers**

differently from the contradiction between socialist countries and imperialism. Also, contradictions in international struggle must be resolved differently from contradictions in internal class struggle.

Fourth, problems are approached one-sidedly. In particular, the dual character of the second world and of other intermediate forces is not grasped, nor the need for a revolutionary dual policy to deal with them. While this current sees the 1000 threads which link the ruling classes of capitalist third world countries to imperialism, it ignores the struggles for political and economic independence which oppose these same forces to imperialism.

Finally, this current does not provide a strategy and tactics for international struggle based on the theory and program of Marxism. Errors of method inevitably lead to this result since strategy and tactics can only be developed on the basis of a good grasp of contradiction and of a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. While the attack on the theory of three worlds raises a call for revolution, there is no specific guidance for the struggle either

nationally or internationally. While there is a general analysis of common features of the contemporary era, there is no specific analysis of the particular features of the present historic period on which specific guidance depends. In essence there is a failure to adapt to an historic turn in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The lessons, analysis and strategy of one period are applied to the very different conditions of a new period.

This leads to a tendency among some forces in our movement to encourage a dogmatic application

**"Revolutionary strategy and tactics demand an accurate assessment not only of the main features of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution in general but also a concrete assessment of the specific feature of the present historic period in particular"**

of the lessons of one historic period to the very different conditions of another. The question of non-alignment is a good example. What was a correct evaluation of non-alignment in 1960 is no longer correct today. In an earlier period non-alignment represented an effort to stand between socialism and imperialism without taking sides or being aligned. There is no such thing. Today it is non-alignment as between two superpowers. That is the main aspect and the basis on which the non-aligned movement should be supported.

#### REVISIONISM IS THE MAIN DANGER

We need to characterize the attacks on the three world theory coming forward in our movement as "left" opportunist in the sense in which Stalin described the Narodniks, the Anarchists and the Social Revolutionaries in DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM. There is a call for revolution without precise, specific and concrete analysis of the present historical stage in the development of the revolution. This kind of error, Stalin writes, is one "which does not recognize the primary role which the conditions of material life of society play in the development of society, and, sinking to idealism, does not base its practical activities on the needs of the development of the material life of society, but, independently of and in spite of these needs, on 'ideal plans' and 'all embracing projects' divorced from the real life of society."

While the emphasis on revolutionary phrase mongering without an analysis of concrete conditions characterizes "left" opportunism, it is important to see the tendency for "left" opportunism today to lead to conciliation with modern revisionism. This has already appeared in our movement in at least three respects: (1) a division of third world countries into progressive and reactionary, (2) an attack on European unity in the face of social imperialist threats of aggression, and (3) an attack on the line that the USSR is the more dangerous of the two superpowers. In other words, an attack on third world unity against superpower hegemonism, an attack on second world unity against superpower threats of aggression, and an effort to obscure the actual character of the relationship of force in the first world which will give rise to war. The result is inevitably a drift toward modern revisionism reflected once already by the political trajectory of an organization that earlier attacked the three worlds theory -- the Communist Labor Party.

What this makes clear is that revisionism remains the main danger. It is necessary to emphasize that. For that reason we can appreciate the significance of class collaborationist or social chauvinist errors in "defense" of the three world theory which fuel the opportunist attack. We have already mentioned the opportunist tendency which refuses to take up the internal class struggle in second or third world countries under the guise that this would undermine unity in the struggle against the superpowers.

To this we can add an opportunist presentation of the main blow. In plain contradiction to the united front against the hegemonism of both superpowers, the Communist Party (ML) calls in its party program for the main blow

internationally to be directed against the Soviet Union. This is a social chauvinist position that has provided excellent cover for opportunists to attack the theory of the three worlds, which they claim leads inevitably to the CPML's bankrupt position, and which can be cured, they claim, piling error upon error, by treating both superpowers as equally dangerous to the same degree and to the same extent. This position also evades the fundamental lessons of revolutionary strategy brought forward by Stalin in his explanation of the main blow. Instead of relying on what is

correct to attack what is incorrect, opportunists use the cover of what is incorrect to attack what is correct.

Our own explanation of the direction of the main blow at this time, and our exposure of the position of the CPML on this issue are available in our pamphlet, THE MAIN BLOW IN THE PRESENT HISTORIC PERIOD.

#### ACCUMULATE REVOLUTIONARY STRENGTH

The attack on the theory of the three worlds appeals generally to the characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution at the expense of a specific evaluation of what is required in the present historic period. Therefore, it cannot provide adequate guidance for today's revolutionary struggle. In sum:

1. Revolutionary strategy and tactics demand an accurate assessment not only of the main features of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution in general, but also a concrete assessment of the specific features of the present historic period of the contemporary era in particular. Practice which is revolutionary in one period, may not be revolutionary under the different conditions of a different period. It is the job of Marxist theory to identify the social conditions and forces operating not only for the era as a whole, but also for each historic period within it.

For the entire era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the proletariat and the countries of proletarian state power are at the center of world history and determine its direction. Only proletarian revolution and the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat can overthrow imperialism and social imperialism and guarantee socialist construction. In the present historic period, while the socialist countries and the revolutionary proletariat must fight for and play a leading role, it is the countries and peoples of the third world which are the main force in the struggle against superpower domination. In the era as a whole, the liberation struggles of oppressed nations are a reserve of proletarian revolution. As the main force of the present period, the struggle of the third world against superpower hegemonism provides a mighty impulse to the intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the heartlands of imperialism and social imperialism.

2. The theory of the three worlds is based on a Leninist analysis of the characteristics of the contemporary era, and also on a Leninist analysis of the specific features of the present historic period of the contemporary era. Taking into account the four fundamental contradictions which together determine the development of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the theory of the three worlds shows their actual operation and application in the present period.

While each contradiction continues to play a decisive role in world affairs, including the contradiction between socialist countries and imperialism, the theory of the three worlds brings out the major role played at this time by the contradiction between the oppressed nations of the third world and the superpower drive for hegemony. In addition, the theory of the three worlds identifies the framework of national contradictions in terms of which the fundamental class contradiction of the era

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USSE is the more dangerous country in relation to starting a war.

How does this argument coincide with the relationship of the peasantry of the pre-revolutionary Russia???



The Kampuchean Communist Party and Government Delegation visited the People's Republic of China on September 28. This visit had particular importance because it marked the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Democratic Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) and came on the eve of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Upon arrival in Peking, Pol Pot, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean Communist Party and the entire delegation were greeted by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng along with over 100,000 people. The greeting was joyful and warm, marked by dances and songs. This rousing welcome was vivid testimony of the great fraternal solidarity between Democratic Kampuchea and the People's Republic of China, two socialist countries and revolutionary base areas for the struggle of the world's people against superpower hegemonism.

The militant friendship between China and Kampuchea has a long history. Both countries stood up and successfully waged wars of national liberation. In both countries, the socialist revolution was carried out and the dictatorship of the proletariat established. Both Kampuchea and China share common experience and common tasks with other third world countries. Based on their revolutionary leadership they stood at the forefront of the united front against US imperialism and all its running dogs. Their successful revolutions sparked a tidal wave of struggle throughout the third world.

These words of Pol Pot on the significance of the Chinese revolution hold true for the Kampuchean revolution as well:

"This brought about an earth-shaking change in Asia and the world as a whole, and particularly, it constituted a great encouragement and spur to the revolutionary movement for national liberation and people's liberation for the oppressed people the world over."

Today they stand as revolutionary beacons guiding the united struggle of the world's people against the hegemonism of the two superpowers.

#### KAMPUCHEA -- ROLE OF THE PARTY

The central factor that led to the victories in the Kampuchean revolution was the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Formed only 17 years ago, it grew and became "the force at the core" leading the people in their just struggle. At all times "the force at the core" was guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tsetung Thought. It was in combining the science with the concrete conditions of the Kampuchean revolution that the path to victory was guaranteed.

An example of this application was the Kampuchean Party's use of the lessons laid down by Chairman Mao on the new democratic revolution. Pol Pot characterized these lessons as "mainly teaching on building the Party into a solid leading core, on the establishment of a powerful united front, on the building of a heroic revolutionary army as well as those on the analysis of classes in society, on contradiction, on practice, on the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas, on revolutionary violence, on the strategy and tactics of people's war, on revolutionary culture, art and literature, etc." "Our people and the revolutionary people of the world," stated Pol Pot, "deeply believe that

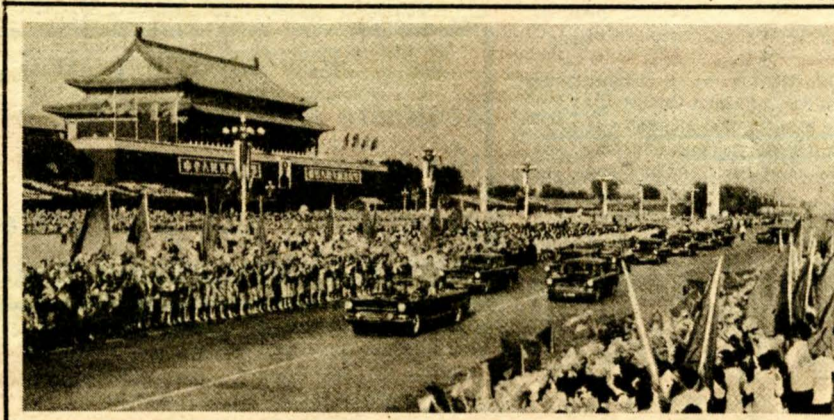
# SOCIALIST KAMPUCHEA

Mao Tsetung Thought is always efficacious, sharp and victorious".

Guided by a path based on revolutionary theory, the Kampuchean people rose up against US imperialism at a time when US imperialism appeared strong and looked like a real tiger: On the basis of uniting all that could be united to defeat US imperialism and

get adequate rice for a healthy diet and Kampuchea has been able to export tens of thousands of tons of rice in 1977. A large scale project of irrigation canals and dams has been carried out so that people no longer fear either excessively dry or rainy seasons.

This year, the first year of the 4 year plan for the eradication of malaria, 70 to 80% of the



Comrade Pol Pot receives a rousing welcome in Tien An Square

its lackeys, the Party built a long lasting alliance between the working class and peasantry. Unity was built firmly among the oppressed nationalities and tactical alliances with sectors of the national bourgeoisie. With this strategy, they fought a people's war, relying on the mass revolutionary movement and the people's army the Khmer Rouge.

With the rallying of all patriotic and revolutionary forces, Kampuchea was able to withstand the tons of bombs dropped on Phnom Penh and other cities, was able to withstand the damage done to crops and land by vicious chemical warfare of US imperialism. The Kampuchean people withstood and overcame these obstacles even the betrayal by the USSR revisionists who supported the traitorous Lon Nol regime - and won victory. By their efforts, they showed the people of the third world countries how to deal merciless blows at US imperialism, proving that a small country can defeat a big country and that US imperialism was in essence a paper tiger. The victory of the Kampuchean revolution showed the world that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is an invincible weapon in the hands of the oppressed people of the world.

#### SOCIALIST KAMPUCHEA - AN EXAMPLE FOR THE THIRD WORLD TO FOLLOW

In a speech at a dinner, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng pointed out that not only were the Kampuchean people able to destroy the old society, but that they were also successful in building a new one.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Democratic Kampuchea is able to play a leading role in the third world through the example of socialist construction. The development of its economy is without aid from either superpower and is based totally on self-reliance. The speed of its development is remarkable given the devastation US imperialism's war of aggression wrought on the land and the people.

Since liberation, industry and handicrafts are beginning to emerge throughout the entire country. Because of this they have been able to put the people to work.

In 1976, 80% of the plan for grain production was fulfilled. On this basis the people are able to

objectives have been realized. Most diseases left over from the old society have been done away with. Each farm cooperative has its own medical clinic and pharmacy. Democratic Kampuchea looks to the well-being of its people and hopes to increase its population from the present 8 million to 15 to 20 million in the course of the next ten years.

Outstanding results have been gained in the field of culture and education. When the country was liberated in 1975, 75% of the peasants in the countryside and 60% of the working people in the cities were illiterate. Now illiteracy has been wiped out by 80 to 90%. Under imperialist rule, only 500 Kampuchean actually worked in the field of science and technology. That number has been increased to the tens of thousands. Primary importance has been given to education in the field of

#### THREORLD THEORY Cont'd from pg.5

operates in this period.

3. The three world theory therefore does not ignore class analysis. Based on a summing up of the development and changes of the four fundamental contradictions in this historic period, it provides strategic orientation in worldwide revolutionary struggle. It is not, however, a strategy for revolution in any country whatever. Strategy for internal class struggle is the task of the Marxist-Leninist party of each country.

But it is an opportunist distortion of the three world theory to argue that international struggle can be developed without deepening the class struggle in each country. The contribution any country makes to the united front against superpower hegemonism will necessarily reflect the degree to which its struggle for national liberation or proletarian revolution is developed.

4. Nor does the theory of the three worlds absolutize imperialist contradictions. Instead it emphasizes the major role played in this period by the contradiction between the oppressed nations of the third world and the great imperialist powers.

The theory of the three worlds does recognize the dual character of the weaker imperialist powers of the second world and calls for an alliance with them in the struggle against superpower hegemonism to the degree that they unite with the third world on the basis of equality and mutual respect and to the degree that they oppose superpower domination. It is false to argue that the imperialist bourgeoisie of the second world can never to any extent become allies of the third world in this period, just as it would be false historically to argue that the imperialist bourgeoisie could never to any extent become allies of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In neither case does the question of alliance depend on the motives of the ruling bourgeoisie. Thus it is not anti-marxist to call for an alliance with weaker imperialist powers to oppose stronger ones. On the contrary, to fail to make use of any ally, even a temporary or vacillating one, is anti-marxist. The correct policy to be applied toward second world?

politics--"revolutionary patriotism and revolutionary internationalism". Pol Pot stated:

"Our people firmly stand on the side of the poor people and on the side of the revolutionary movement in the world. We have clearly distinguished between friends and enemies of our country and people as well as between friends and enemies of the revolution for national and people's liberation in the world".

The foreign policy of Democratic Kampuchea is based on proletarian internationalism with the theory of three world as its orientation. It is currently victim of a border dispute with Thailand, but while it will resolutely resist any aggression, it has refused to raise this dispute to a primary contradiction.

Democratic Kampuchea holds that its primary task is to build unity with the oppressed people of the world in a race against time with the superpowers' preparations for war. Pol Pot stressed:

"We are in dire need of time and have to mobilize the energies of our peoples' living standards as quickly as possible."

On this basis, he continues, "it is imperative for us to have a relationship of mutual respect, for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity with countries far and near."

Democratic Kampuchea seeks to build up its material and political base so that it can continue to play a leading role in world affairs, serving as a revolutionary base area providing example and material support to the oppressed peoples and nations.

Together with the People's Republic of China, with whom they "have maintained a fundamentally identical, correct Marxist-Leninist stand", Democratic Kampuchea promotes the development of the international situation in a direction favorable to the people of the world so that the struggle against hegemonism will be carried through to the end.

countries is what Chairman Mao called a revolutionary dual policy. We support them to the extent they contribute to our struggle, but remain vigilant and oppose them when they try to suppress it.

5. The US and the USSR are both the main enemy of the world's people and we direct our main blow against both superpowers. It is an opportunist distortion of the theory of the three worlds to claim that the people of the world must ally themselves with US imperialism to defeat Russian social imperialism only.

6. The theory of the three worlds does not deny the existence of socialist countries or ignore their leading role in international struggle. In 1941 Mao claimed that the new democratic revolution in an oppressed nation cleared the path for capitalism, but cleared an even broader path for socialism. That China is a socialist country of the third world is proof of this thesis.

Historically China was a nation oppressed by imperialism. Its unity with other nations oppressed by imperialism is not undermined by the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, but strengthened.

While if China became a superpower its unity with the third world would be broken, as a socialist country, its solidarity with other third world countries fighting oppression is based on the vanguard role of the proletariat in the contemporary era. China and other socialist countries today constitute revolutionary base areas in the worldwide struggle against imperialism and social imperialism.

7. Let there be no mistake. In the US our task is to make proletarian revolution. The growing danger of imperialist war means we must prepare to make revolution in conditions of war--that is, we must prepare to turn imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Our task now is to accumulate revolutionary strength. This is completely consistent with our responsibility to give concrete aid and support to the countries and peoples of the third world and to all peoples subject to superpower domination in a common struggle against superpower hegemonism.

#### US PULLS OUT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

representative of employers (with 1 vote), and a labor representative chosen by the government (with one vote). The US claims that this important principle is being undermined because workers and employer representatives from the "communist bloc" and elsewhere are in practice subservient to their governments. This concern for "human rights" is only part of the effort to spread bourgeois illusions that the state in capitalist countries is above classes and can play a mediator role.

In reality, both the US government and the AFL-CIO have been trying to protect the bourgeoisie's interests. "Now the world knows that the US does not make idle threats", said Ernest A. Lee, the AFL-CIO's director of international affairs speaking for US imperialism, "The countries that want us back are going to have to make a decision now on making the rules changes needed to depoliticize the ILO. And the Soviet Union, the Arabs and the countries in the so-called Group of 77 are going to have to make a decision on whether they want to be left in sole possession of a worthless organization." The US' withdrawal from the ILO, including its annual \$20 million contribution which makes up one-fourth of the ILO budget, is a desperate attempt to regain hegemony in the organization. It is one manifestation of the intensification of struggle internationally. On the one hand, the two imperialist superpowers, the US and the USSR, are competing for hegemony and on the other, the third world is the main force in the anti-imperialist struggle against the hegemony of the two superpowers.



Steel CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1  
plant that can be called modern, Japanese steel companies have few which are not modern. For example, 81% of Japanese production is in basic oxygen furnaces, which is the basic modern method of steel production, as compared to 62% of U.S. production. (As much as 18% of U.S. steel is still produced by the outmoded open hearth process.) More modern facilities in Japan account for the 50% greater productivity of Japanese steel labor and this difference more than accounts for the 30% cost advantage which Japanese steel now enjoys. Thus while the Japanese steel industry reflects the tendency of imperialism to develop the productive forces, the U.S. industry shows the tendency to retard their development. Both these tendencies coexist under imperialism and show the operation of the law of uneven development.

There is another reason behind U.S. monopoly capital's chauvinist campaign to blame foreign steel for production cutbacks. In fact foreign imports are not much above what has been expected. What is unexpected is domestic demand. While demand for steel used in consumer products, including automobiles, is strong, demand for steel in heavy construction, machinery and capital equipment (over 2/3 of the total demand for steel) remains low. What this reflects is the continuing inability of U.S. monopoly capital to drag itself out of the worldwide depression of 1974. Rather than expose the inability of the system to provide jobs and prosperity, both government and the corporations have sought a scapegoat in foreign imports. Steelworker union bureaucrats haven't lost a step in slavishly crawling on the bandwagon.

The steel industry's campaign to blame foreign imports for its crisis is actually an effort to maintain its monopoly position at the expense of working people. Import restrictions, "voluntary" or otherwise, mean higher monopoly prices for working people. In other words, the cure for the disease brought on by artificially high monopoly prices is even higher monopoly prices. Ultimately this must lead to more elaborate trade barriers and trade wars.

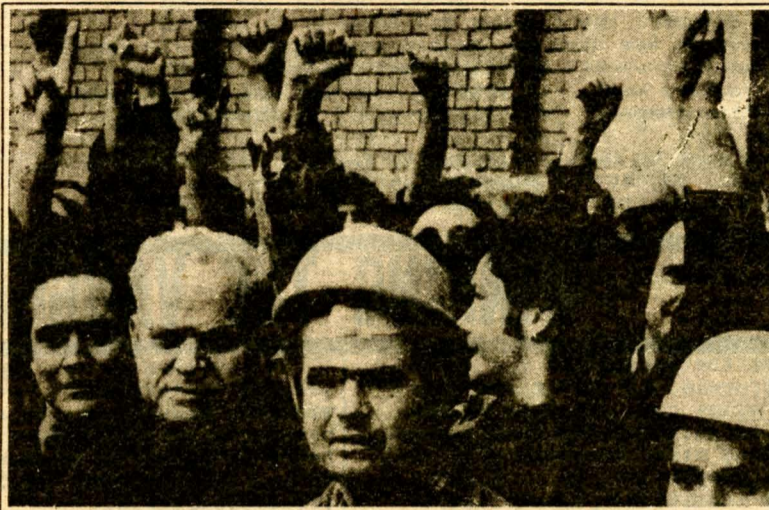
There is another way in which steel seeks to push its difficulties onto the backs of working people. Steel is basic to the imperialist system and the domestic industry must be sustained, particularly in view of the growing danger of inter-imperialist war. Since modernization is too expensive for private industry to undertake alone at a "satisfactory" rate of profits, the government must bail out the industry through tax credits, depreciation allowances, lowered pollution standards and health and safety regulations, and other gifts which amount to a redistribution of income from working people through increased taxes to the steel monopolies. This shows how the obstacles monopoly capital creates for itself are resolved within the framework of capitalism by a higher and higher level of state monopoly capitalism. Furthermore, increased concentration of capital and government control increases the tendency toward fascism and war. Greater centralized control of the industry and the workforce are a result, and the ENA, the productivity clauses, and the joint production efforts proposed by Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps all reflect this motion.

In response to the steel rivalry the Carter administration's tactic is at this point to resist U.S. action to restrict steel imports unilaterally. The U.S. has vested interests to defend throughout the world from its chief adversary in its contention for hegemony, the USSR. In this situation, U.S. imperialism cannot afford to encourage a general deterioration of the world capitalist economy, particularly within its own sphere of influence. In other words, struggle with Japan and other steel producing countries, must take place within a minimum framework of cohesion essential to the defense of U.S. imperialist interests against the expansion of Soviet social imperialism. As a result, the Carter administration has attempted to pressure the Japanese into "voluntarily" limiting steel imports to the U.S. The basis for this pressure lies in Japan's own special vulnerability as an imperialist power.

Although it is competitive in steel, electronics and other industries and although it is

the third largest economic power in the world after the U.S. and the USSR, Japan is seriously dependent on imports for oil, other natural resources and food. More importantly, Japan has had little development of its military forces since World War II and is militarily dependent on the U.S. The situation is obviously unstable. On the one hand, trade rivalry reflects

Sadlowski and others have sometimes muttered a few phrases about how this foreign import issue was a hoax, they are essentially lieutenants of the capitalist class in the working class and seek to foment national divisions among working people rather than build class conscious solidarity with the working and oppressed masses throughout the world. They apologize for the capitalist sys-



The leadership of the bureaucrats means defeat and betrayal for all workers. Communist leadership will bring forward the revolutionary will and determination of the working class in the political struggle for state power.

the disintegration of the imperialist camp headed by U.S. imperialism before the Indochina War, but on the other hand the effort at accommodation shows U.S. imperialism's struggle to preserve its influence in its more fundamental rivalry for hegemony with Soviet social imperialism.

#### THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRACY

For years the leaders of the USWA have collaborated with the steel millowners to make steelworkers and the public think that steel employment was dependent on the profits of the steel industry. What's good for capital is supposed to be good for the US working class. Thinking like this has led to USWA endorsement of the productivity drives of steel companies, the no-strike ENA agreement, the consent decree and the easing of pollution standards. Although they don't benefit the working class, imperialist profits are good for the bribed sector of the working class. The result has been a real attack on the living standards of steelworkers in terms of wages, health and safety, job security, continued racism and sexism in the mills, speed up and so on. If we want to save our jobs, the companies claimed, we had to work harder for less, suffer more injuries, more discrimination and more pollution in the process. Union leadership collaborated and collaborates at each step.

The chauvinist support of the union leadership for the industry on the question of foreign imports is another example of this. The assumed underpinnings of the ENA and the productivity agreements between the basic steel manufacturers and the USWA was that if production can be guaranteed with fewer workers (meaning speed up) the US steel companies would be able to compete with foreign imports and workers jobs would be saved. This is a lie, as we have seen. No level of speed-up can make up for the failure of US steel monopolies to modernize their plants. The result, predictably, has been disastrous: a cut in steelworkers living standards and working conditions has been coupled with continuing layoffs anyway.

In addition, the union's rhetorical concern about layoffs has not been matched by any programs or policies which could have been established a few years ago when imports were not an issue. Even modernization of the mills means greater productivity and fewer jobs. In the last 20 years while US steel production has gone up, 100,000 basic steel jobs have been eliminated.

It is impossible to struggle against the current layoffs if we allow union leadership to pursue its longstanding policy of class collaboration with the steel industry or to limit the struggle to the narrow sphere of a particular plant, corporation or even industry. The trade union bureaucrats, including Sadlowski and his allies, who concede to the capitalists the right to manage, to invest wherever they want, to make profits and to exploit steelworkers to the maximum, also concede the continued subjugation of the working class to capital. While

tem and defend it rather than educate and mobilize steelworkers against it. At best they seek top level negotiations between industry leaders and themselves over immediate issues. Objectively they take from us the ability to improve our lives either in the short or long run. Instead they mobilize the class in the interests of big steel.

For example, John Chico, who ran successfully with Sadlowski support (and RCP support) for union president of Local 65 (Sadlowski's home local) was at first skeptical of the steel industry's focus on foreign imports when huge layoffs were announced at Chicago's South Works. But refusing to lead the class in the fight for its own interests, he was reduced to pleading for the assistance of various senators and representatives, endorsing phony legislation supposed to guarantee full employment, and uniting with a company effort to mobilize the South Chicago community to keep the plant open.

As Marxist-Leninists, we must expose this type of treachery by the trade union bureaucrats. For it is mainly through these class collaborators that the bourgeoisie holds back our struggle by telling workers to rely on the company and the government, and by arguing that the fight against layoffs and all other manifestations of class oppression can be successfully conducted on the limited basis of this or that plant or industry.

It is only through such exposures that we develop working class consciousness and mobilize the entire class in its own genuine interests as we show that it is the whole of the modern political and social system which is at the root of unemployment and all factory abuse. To succeed at this task we will have to struggle resolutely against every form of narrowness which seeks to limit the struggle of the working class for political power, whether it comes from the trade union bureaucrats or the narrow policies of the revisionists and other opportunists.

In its struggle for political power, the working class has nothing to rely on but its organization. But trade union organization alone is not enough. The struggle in steel and every other industry can only be mobilized and coordinated by the organization of the class conscious vanguard of the working class into a genuine revolutionary communist party--the highest form of the class organization of the proletariat.

At this time the building of that party is our central task. In steel we will carry out this task by raising the class consciousness of the vanguard by connecting the struggle against layoffs, against the ENA, against speed-up, against deteriorating working conditions, and against the attempts to whip up national chauvinism with the source of all class and national oppression--the capitalist system itself--and with the need for proletarian revolution.

## Poison Is Good For You!

CAPITALISTS SAY: "POISON IS GOOD FOR YOU". That's the message from the National Peach Council, issued in response to a new Federal emergency restriction on the use of a pesticide in agriculture.

According to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Food and Drug Administration, DBCP is a highly dangerous poison which has caused sterility in humans and cancer in laboratory rats. This chemical has been in wide use, particularly in the peach industry, since the 1950's. During this time its effects on insects and worms were investigated, documented and advertised. But its effects on people were ignored and hidden. Dow Chemical, one of the manufacturers of DBCP, knew that it caused sterility as early as 1961, but covered this up. And the Federal government's agencies charged with the health and safety of workers belittled the danger until a story broke in the press that 14 out of 27 employees of Occidental Chemical Company in California were found to be sterile. Fear of bad publicity, rather than any concern for workers' health, prompted the government to act.

But the government's restrictions, however late, were too harsh according to the capitalists who used DBCP in their industries. Robert K. Phillips, of the National Peach Council, said that instead of banning the chemical from use, people who did not want children could work with it. "While involuntary sterility caused by a manufactured chemical is bad, it isn't necessarily so. After all, there are many people who are paying to have themselves sterilized!"

The idea is powerful, the logic is impeccable. Capitalist logic, that is, which means death and hardship to the working class. According to this monopoly spokesman, poison can be good for you!

Mr. Phillips did not say whether those workers who have already been "accidentally" sterilized, would have to pay the cost of this "benefit". But his idea, followed in other instances, would provide countless other "opportunities" to the working class. For example, people who have trouble paying their food bills can "benefit" from working with lead--it cuts down on your appetite (with only minor side effects like brain damage and kidney failure).

Phillips argument also reflects some popular bourgeois myths about life under capitalist rule. Such as that workers have complete freedom to choose where they work--only those who want to be poisoned will work around poisonous chemicals!

Capitalism is a wonderful system! It works wonders in turning the misery of many into the profits of the few. Or, as Mr. Phillips so reasonably put it, "We do believe in safety in the workplace, but, there can be good as well as bad sides to a situation."

## THE MAIN BLOW IN THE PRESENT PERIOD

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The following article sums up the experience of a local collective on the task of winning the vanguard to communism. It is important in speaking to common errors that have been made in this work and in bringing out the protracted nature of the struggle and its all-sided character.

As the article points out, "winning the vanguard to communism" has been confused over the past period by a false debate which counterposed the slogans "Marxist-Leninists Unite" and "Win the Advanced," meaning advanced workers specifically. While individuals and organizations vacillated in seeing one or the other of these slogans as primary, the dispute did nothing to advance our tasks. One slogan was used to isolate the tasks of party building from the workers movement; the other was used to justify a narrow scope of factory work. In neither case was the slogan used by Lenin and Stalin grasped: "Win the Vanguard to Communism."

The vanguard must be Marxist-Leninists and the best elements of the proletariat. As the San Diego Organizing Committee emphasizes, the struggle for Marxist-Leninist unity develops in

the course of going deeper into the industrial masses. "Win the vanguard to communism" sums this up very well and for that reason we stand by it.

Over two years ago SDOC declared its unity with the ISKRA plan of our organization in an article for THE COMMUNIST called "SDOC Joins the Iskra Effort." Since that time our organizations have struggled hard for ideological unity within the framework of a plan to build a single, common Iskra type newspaper for our movement. SDOC has consistently contributed local, national and international exposures in a reliable way and our regular work to build a common newspaper has provided a good basis to carry out the struggle over our differences. As ideological unity grew we took up in a step by step way the task of transforming ideological unity into the material unity of organization. The San Diego Organizing Committee has been liquidated and its members have joined the Workers Congress (M-L). In the next issue of THE COMMUNIST we will carry an article summing up the lessons of our struggle.

## WINNING THE VANGUARD TO COMMUNISM

In order to meet the demands of the deepening spontaneous struggle, our first step must be to develop the class consciousness of the vanguard. We must consolidate the vanguard leadership of the working class ideologically, politically and organizationally. We must sink deep roots in the industrial proletariat, where the conditions bring forward advanced workers more rapidly, and further, we must wage a relentless struggle against opportunism within the ranks of the working class movement.

From the outset our organization was committed to carrying out these principles. With each step we took to carry out these tasks we were confronted with new questions around how to push forward these principles in our day to day work. In the movement as a whole we had seen retreat after retreat on questions of principle, over who the advanced were, over the struggle against opportunism and over the character of propaganda and agitation. But we chose to hold firm to these principles and deepen our theoretical understanding of the questions by relying on orthodoxy, not "creative" formulations, to push us forward. The economists of our movement, on the other hand, when confronted with the task of applying orthodox principles, failed to remain firm and backed off from the correct path.

### WIN THE VANGUARD TO COMMUNISM

Within our movement the slogans "Win the Advanced" and "Unite Marxist-Leninists" were raised as two different tasks and spread confusion among many honest forces, as to how to proceed in carrying out our central task in this period, the building of a new communist party. This separation was a false debate, and in essence was a cover for retreating from our main task. This line spread confusion in our own ranks, which pointed to the fact that we needed to push forward our understanding and grasp of these principles.

We began by studying Lenin's definition of an advanced worker in A RETROGRADE TREND OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY:

"The history of the working class movement in all countries shows that the better-situated strata of the working class respond to the ideas of socialism more rapidly and more easily. From among these come, in the main, the advanced workers that every working class movement brings to the fore, those who can win the confidence of the laboring masses, who devote themselves entirely to the education and organization of the proletariat, who accept socialism consciously, and who even elaborate independent socialist theories... At a time when educated society is losing interest in honest, illegal literature, an impassioned desire for knowledge and for socialism is growing among workers, real heroes are coming to the fore amongst the workers, who despite their wretched living conditions, despite the stultifying penal servitude of factory labor, possess so much character and will-power that they study, study, study and turn themselves into conscious Social-Democrats, 'the working class intelligentsia'."

When we first grappled with the question of the advanced, we did not grasp the concept of the vanguard. We were confused by the counterposing of advanced workers and Marxist-Leninists. We tended to apply Lenin's definition in a mechanical and dogmatic way. Within our movement there was an idealist view that there were some absolutely precise characteristics that perfectly defined all advanced individuals. This view created the tendency to look for the "perfect advanced worker"--a ready-made Marxist-Leninist. This undialectical approach led to demoralization within the ranks of our movement, especially when comrades found that workers from the class did not "live up to" their expectations. This demoralization was fertile ground for strengthening the economist tendencies within the movement.

These economist tendencies took the form of wanting to lower the level of our propaganda and agitation to appeal to more average workers. It also capitulated to the petty bourgeois tendency to evaluate who was advanced on the basis of how well an individual could read, articulate and answer questions. In essence this approach saw the vanguard as those individuals with backgrounds in the radical intelligentsia.

But whether it was appealing to the more average workers or to the radical intelligentsia, the result was the same--following the path of least resistance. This reflected the tendency to shy away from the difficult task of winning the advanced from among the industrial proletariat.

It was only through deepening our study and practice that we were able to expose these tendencies. Critical to this development was the Workers Congress' article "Win the Vanguard", which appeared in THE COMMUNIST, v. II, no. 11. Applying that article to our own experience, we saw our failure to grasp Lenin's definition of an advanced worker in a dialectical and common-sense manner. We saw that Lenin brought forward in A RETROGRADE TREND OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY three categories of advanced workers. First, there are leading theoreticians who advance independent socialist theories. Secondly, there is the great bulk of practical party workers who have devoted their entire lives to the education and organization of the working class. These advanced would correspond to the cadres of the communist organizations in our movement. Thirdly, Lenin includes among the advanced those individuals who, despite being subjected to the stultifying penal servitude of factory labor, come to the forefront from among the workers. Unlike leading theoreticians and rank-and-file cadre, these workers do not yet necessarily consider themselves communists, but they are willing to "study, study, study" and turn themselves into communists.

### THE BETTER SITUATED STRATA

Through our work we had also come to more firmly grasp that when Lenin says that advanced workers in the main come from "the better situated strata", he has in mind the more concentrated and socialized workers, especially members of the industrial proletariat. The task of winning over the vanguard is therefore a task of going to the decisive sectors of the proletariat and winning over the advanced in those situations. For this reason we united behind the slogan of the Workers Congress (M-L) "Deeper into the Industrial Masses!"

As the Workers Congress (M-L)'s resolution on factory nuclei states:

"We base ourselves in the industrial proletariat in the large factories and mills as the decisive sectors of the revolutionary proletariat in regards to numbers and concentration, breadth of outlook and influence, and strategic position and fighting capacity to overthrow monopoly capitalism. At the present time our whole task must be to go lower and deeper among the working masses and to consolidate our position in the working class."

We had come to realize that winning the vanguard from among these decisive sectors of the working class was critical if party building was to be a step in fusing communism with the workers' movement. At the same time, we recognized that testing the leadership of the great bulk of practical party workers and their actual ability to play a vanguard role, also meant going lower and deeper among the working masses.

In this light we understood why the debate over "Marxist-Leninists Unite" and "Win the Advanced" had caused such confusion. Both slogans reflected a retreat from the tasks of party-building. By counterposing uniting Marxist-Leninists to going lower and deeper among the industrial masses, the slogan "Marxist-Leninists Unite" isolated the tasks of communist collectives like ourselves from the task of developing work in the workers' movement.

"Win the Advanced", on the other hand, showed a tendency to back off the job of taking Marxism-Leninism to the class and seeking to consolidate the advanced on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It became a justification for narrowness and economism in factory work, isolated from the broad national and international responsibilities we needed to take on as Marxist-Leninists, and promoted sectarian attitudes towards working with other Marxist-Leninists.

Evaluating our experience, we were convinced of the correctness of the slogan "Win the Vanguard to Communism" and of the position of the

Workers Congress (M-L) that the struggle for Marxist-Leninist unity develops and can only develop in the course of going deeper into the industrial masses. In other words, we saw the ultimate source of the abstract and one-sided squabbling over "Win the Advanced" and "Marxist-Leninists Unite" as being the result of the failure to take communism to decisive sectors of the industrial proletariat. An advanced worker must become a Marxist-Leninist and a Marxist-Leninist must be an actual leader of the class.

### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

In the struggle to win the vanguard, we must never belittle the struggle against opportunism. The bourgeoisie, through super-profits reaped from its gross exploitation of the peoples of the third world, has been able to bribe the upper strata of the working class. This bribed strata, the labor aristocracy, is the chief social prop of the bourgeoisie in the working class. Through these agents the bourgeoisie attempts to divert the working class away from revolutionary class struggle. It is the opportunist leadership of these class collaborators that has split the working class in a thousand and one different ways, and undermined the revolutionary class consciousness by promoting only the most narrow economic interests of workers.

The heavy influence of bourgeois ideology and organization in the working class can never be spontaneously overcome. Only if we systematically take socialist ideology to the workplace can we defeat opportunism and lay the basis to weld the class conscious vanguard of the proletariat into a Bolshevik core capable of giving revolutionary leadership to the struggle of the working and oppressed masses.

### AN ALL-SIDED STRUGGLE

When we first took up the struggle to win the vanguard to communism, we did not at all grasp the protracted nature and all-sided character of the task, nor the demand for consistent leadership required of us. For a comrade, from whatever background, to become a communist, means making changes in a whole way of life. It requires a consistent struggle against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology in all aspects of life. We learned that we have to be better prepared to give direction and establish communist policies for all the varied questions and contradictions in peoples' lives.

For example, in our work with the advanced, many contradictions arose around the woman question, particularly with respect to the role of the family. Many times we were inadequately prepared to provide correct communist leadership to advanced contacts about their relationships with their spouses, who often were not advanced, about their children--especially in the case of divorced parents, to the role of courtship, proletarian morality, etc. In the process we found the same contradictions existed in our own organizational ranks and that weaknesses on these questions held back our work in winning the vanguard.

The struggle against opportunism, in other words, was not limited to other opportunist forces. To win confidence in our leadership, it was necessary for us to struggle with opportunist tendencies in our midst that limited our ability to act as vanguard leadership of the class in all aspects of our lives and work.

In summing up, it is true that we still lack experience, that our movement is still characterized by amateurishness, and that winning the vanguard is hard work. But the experience we have gained, and the success we have achieved on this question, does give us confidence in the lesson of Lenin that:

"Revolutionary experience and organizational skills are things that can be acquired provided the desire is there to acquire them, provided the shortcomings are recognized."

We can confidently guard against backsliding on our central task by putting Marxist-Leninist politics in command and conscientiously applying the slogan to go deeper into the industrial masses.