



Celebrate International Workers Day

May first and the American labor movement

by William F. Dunne

On May 1, 1886, the American working class rose up, demanded, and heroically fought for an 8-hour work day through a general strike involving 1/2 million workers. May Day has now come to represent the international solidarity of workers in the common struggle for universal freedom and equality and an end to the system of imperialism.

This history of the labor movement in the U.S. is rich with lessons. The following article was written in May 1934 by William F. Dunne. It describes the significance of May Day, which marked the emergence of the American proletariat as a class, the beginning of the American trade union movement as an instrument of the working class, and its struggle against corruption by capitalism. Dunne was a founding and charter member of the Communist Party U.S.A. and a candidate member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the 1920's. In September of 1946, Dunne was expelled under the charge of "left-sectarianism. Dunne however, put forward the stand that the leadership and policies of the Party were revisionist.

The thoroughly revisionist CPUSA recently attacked New Dawn on its coverage of Soviet social-imperialism's aggressive role in Angola. (Turn to page 6 and 7 of this issue.)

"On the one hand, the enormous ceaseless stream of men, year after year, driven upon America leaves behind a stationary sediment in the east of the United States, the wave of immigration from Europe throwing men on the labor market there more rapidly than the wave of emigration westwards can wash them away. On the other hand, the American Civil War brought in its train a colossal national debt, and, with it, pressure of taxes, the rise of the vilest financial aristocracy, the squandering of a huge part of the public land on speculative companies for the exploitation of railways, mines, etc., in brief, the most rapid centralization of capital. (Marx, Capital, Vol. I, P. 874. -Kerr Edition, 1919).

May Day became an international fighting day for the working class as a result of the struggle for the 8-hour day in the United States, which culminated in the general strike on May 1, 1886, centering in Chicago, the arrest of eight leaders of the workers in Haymarket Square while a huge mass meeting was being held. The explosion is commonly believed to have been the work of an agent-provocateur and was used as an excuse by the capitalist class and its agents to revenge themselves upon the workers and check the growing mass movement.

The struggle for the 8-hour day was the answer of the working class on a national scale to the developments described by Marx in the above quotation and marked the definite emergence of the American proletariat as a class.

The panic of 1873 which followed the demobilization of the armies of the North and South, throwing thousands of soldiers on the streets and into the ranks of the unemployed, the celebration by the capitalist class of the North of their victory over the landholding ruling class of the South by an orgy of bribery and corruption in government and business administration, the looting of the public lands and other natural resources, the squeezing out of small capitalists and the beginning of the consolidation of ownership and control in the hands of new powerful combinations—the beginning of the end of the "golden days" of individual capitalist enterprise, were accompanied by mass unemployment and starvation wages. The two decades from 1866 to 1886 were a period of rapid capitalist consolidation carried on without mercy at the expense of the working class—a period of capitalist accumulation and concentration in which bribery and banditry played a big role.

Strikes were of frequent occurrence and already, as in the Pennsylvania railway strike and the steel strike (Homestead, 1877), had taken on a militant character and brought large numbers of workers into open conflict with the armed forces of the capitalists and the government.

During the Civil War the trade unions, such as there were, had practically disappeared. The working class found itself confronting greater concentration of capital with little trade union organization and that of a decentralized character. It was forced into action as a class and with the 8-hour day as its central demand entered the struggle on a national scale, a struggle which in spite of all its confused characteristics clearly bears out Marx's description of the causes and the development of such struggles:

"Large scale production brings together in one place a mass of persons not previously acquainted with one another. Competition severs their interests. The defense of their rate of wages, giving them a joint interest as against their employer, plucks them out of their isolation, and consolidates them into a group. Animated by a general idea of resistance, they form a union. These unions, isolated to begin with, are themselves forced into

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New Dawn clarification

The sensationalizing of terrorist activity by the media has created a certain amount of confusion over the relationship of the Berkeley "New Dawn Collective", who was recently arrested, to the J-Town Collective and its newspaper, New Dawn.

The "New Dawn Collective", on the one hand and the J-Town Collective on the other, represent two entirely different trends within the U. S. revolutionary movement. Though we firmly uphold that the basic interests of the American people and oppressed people the world over lie in overthrowing the monopoly capitalist system, we condemn the recent acts of terrorism as harmful to the building of the revolutionary movement in the U. S.

The U. S. government and police force have spared no effort in using these acts to strengthen their own rule. Posing acts of terror against "constitutional order" and "democratic society," the state has turned the question of violence away from themselves. It is U. S. imperialism, based on greed and exploitation, that has been the source of all forms of violence from the plunder of Indochina to the system of wage slavery that has driven millions of working people and oppressed nationalities to poverty and hunger.

Believing that building a revolutionary struggle means "exciting the masses" through bombings and death threats, the terrorists belittle the tasks of advancing revolutionary consciousness through scientific analysis and systematic development embodied in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The J-Town Collective does not see developing revolutionary consciousness through a few isolated terrorist acts or by promotion of them.

The J-Town Collective, therefore, draws a clear line between itself and the terrorist trend that the "New Dawn Collective" pursues.



JACL LEADERS ATTEND THE SIGNING CEREMONY OF THE HOAX RESCINDING OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066 "ERASED"

E.O. 9066

On February 19th, President Ford "formally rescinded" Executive Order 9066, the order which sent 110,000 Japanese Americans into concentration camps during WWII. Ford proclaimed the signing as an act to "erase a sad day in American history," and a "promise" to never allow this injustice again, and to "restore faith" in the government.

The rescinding of Executive Order 9066 is a hoax. While the government is "promising" that this will never happen again, they turn their heads away from the resurging KKK movement in the South. In Congress today is legislation such as the completely repressive S-1 Bill. The S-1 Bill, coming directly in response to the mass anti-war and civil rights movement of the 1960's, would criminalize those same demonstrations or actions today. It would make wiretapping and frameups legal, the desire to change the government an act of treason and give federal officials the right to make an arrest without a warrant.

The only people applauding this hoax are certain leaders of the Japanese American Citizens League, who attended the signing ceremony. The JACL leadership in the past actively

aided the FBI in singling out "trouble makers" in the camps. When work stoppages and protests arose against the oppressive conditions and in some cases murders of inmates at the hands of camp guards, the JACL collaborated with the War Relocation Authority who ran the camps. Now that the movement in the Japanese community to expose the injustices of the camps is growing, we find these leaders of JACL again trying to divert this progressive movement into acceptance of this fraudulent gesture to "restore faith" in a decaying government.

The rescinding of E. O. 9066 is a meaningless ploy, 30 years late.

March-April canceled

We regret the cancellation of the March and April issues of New Dawn.

New Dawn, through the course of its several years of publication has reported on a variety of struggles, striving to bring out the significance of each struggle; the methods and tactics implemented and the problems encountered. Through the advances and setbacks of each struggle, New Dawn has attempted to extract lessons that would be of practical value, turning each experience into a common experience of the entire movement.

The tasks shouldered by the revolutionary press requires a serious and professional attitude reflected both in the content of articles and by the efficiency and style of work. Our failure to maintain a strict adherence to a production schedule resulted in our press date being postponed three times during March, and finally in the cancellation of both the March and April issues.

This manifestation of amateurishness in our practice must be completely eradicated in order to avoid any such setbacks in the future.

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BLACK WOMEN WORKERS AT A GARMENT FACTORY IN NORTH CAROLINA

of a working class almost entirely lacking organization in the decisive industries.

The recent rapid process of rationalization which has brought such misery to the masses, and upon which the rulers of all other capitalist countries look with envious eyes is thus seen to have one of its principle roots in the betrayal of the early mass struggle for the 8-hour day, and the subsequent corruption of the movement by the leaders of the labor aristocracy. The trade union movement, with the exception of the revolutionary minorities inside and outside the A. F. of L. unions, became an instrument of the capitalist class.

The revolutionary logic of the class struggle has made the Communist Party of the United States the bearer of all the militant traditions of the early labor movement. The blood of the Haymarket martyrs mingles with that of Ella May and Steve Katovis. Our Party alone carries forward the brave traditions of the general strike for the 8-hour day, raises as the American Section of the Communist International, the slogan of the political strike of May Day, 1930, for the unconditional release of all class war prisoners, against unemployment, for Work or Wages, for social insurance, for the 7-hour day and the 5-day week.

7,000,000 workers have no jobs. Millions more work part time for miserable wages. Under the leadership of our Party hundreds of thousands of workers have demanded "Work or Wages". Hundreds of thousands will renew this demand on May Day. Masses of American workers demand "the right to work." This alone shows that the working class is throwing off the

May Day CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

combination as a means of defense against their employers, who on their side are steadily consolidating their forces for attack. In time, the defense of the unions comes to seem to the workers even more important than the defense of their wages. . . In the struggle (the extant form of civil war) there are unified and developed all the elements of the coming general engagement. Having reached this point, the combination assumes a political character." (Poverty of Philosophy)

The determined attempt by the trade unions to conduct the fight for the 8-hour day on a national scale is to be seen from the fact that it was authorized and the date set two years in advance in 1884, at the Fourth Convention of the Trade Unions and Labor Organizations. The class political character of the conflict was evident to the capitalists from the very beginning, as shown by the literature of the period, and their bloody suppression of the movement. As in all such struggles the implications were far more significant than the mere demand for the 8-hour day would indicate.

The American trade union movement began in this period as a definite class instrument.

From this period also dates the organized attempts of the capitalists, through their agents in the movement, to confine the activities of the trade union movement to purely "economic" questions, to prevent it from basing itself on the class struggle, to strip it of all working class political character.

It was Samuel Gompers who made the Haymarket bomb explosion the excuse for rejecting the class struggle, for rejecting political action by the trade union movement, except as an appendage to the political parties of the capitalist class, who began at this time the systematic corruption of the trade unions which later made him the outstanding figure among the agents of imperialism in labor movement.

The Knights of Labor, with its mass form of organization and its confusion of the interests of industrial workers

with those of farmers, was superseded by the American Federation of Labor based on the labor aristocracy. But the movement retained enough of its militant class character to produce the American Railway Union strike of 1894 led by Debs, and in the metal mining regions of the Rocky Mountain section, the Western Federation of Miners led fierce battles for ten years more.

Inside the unions the fight for class struggle policies continued but Gompers and his collection of imperialist agents remained in control.

The corruption of the trade union movement, its failure to develop revolutionary policies, enabled the ruling class to erect the gigantic trustified structure of American capitalism in the imperialist period upon the backs

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Independence anniversaries

CAMBODIA: April 17, 1975 VIETNAM: April 30, 1975



THIS YEAR MARKS THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE CAMBODIAN AND VIETNAMESE PEOPLES' NATIONAL LIBERATION VICTORIES. THEY RESOLUTELY PROVED TO THE WORLD'S PEOPLE THAT A SMALL NATION CAN DEFEAT A BIG NATION!

UGANDA

UGANDAN NIGHT MILITANTLY CELEBRATED IN SEATTLE

On February 28, a group of patriotic Ugandans abroad, Ugandan Progressive Study Group, organized a forum at the University of Washington to clarify the situation in Uganda and to build up support for the struggles of the Ugandan people. The meeting hall carried bright red banners saying "Down with Fascist Idi Amin" and "Victory to the Ugandan People." Resolute solidarity messages were delivered by African Progressive Study Group (Seattle), Eritreans for Liberation, Ethiopian Students Group and others. Almost 100 people, mostly Africans, attended this significant meeting and many participated in clarifying the situation in Uganda.

The main speaker from Uganda Progressive Study Group gave a detailed analysis of the historical development and current conditions in Uganda. He pointed out that Uganda was an artificially created state carved out of East Africa by European imperialists in 1896. He pointed out that it was the British colonialists who penetrated Uganda using missionaries carrying the flag of "civilization." But the real interests of these colonizers were to exploit the natural resources of the country (such as coffee, cotton and

copper) as well as to exploit the cheap labor power of the Ugandan people and to use Uganda as a dumping ground for expensive British commodities. He clarified that with the establishment of imperialist relations of production, a working class started to emerge in Uganda. And right from the beginning both the workers and peasants, constituting the majority of the population, struggled against the foreign exploiters and their local lackies. The on-going and continuous struggles of the Ugandan people along with the general anti-colonial African revolution following World War II, led to nominal political independence for Uganda in 1962.

"But", he raised the question, "what benefits has independence brought the Ugandan people? There may have been some improvements for the masses immediately following independence and the white faces of the oppressors may have been replaced with black faces. But the essence of the matter has not changed at all. The majority and most oppressed sections of society, the workers and peasants, have continued to suffer abject poverty, starvation wages and political repression. The foreign banks and insurance companies have remained. Real independence, that is, a complete break with imperialism, is yet to be attained in Uganda."

Today the Ugandan people suffer the most extreme barbarity. Idi Amin, a

worshipper of Hitler and backed up largely by U. S. imperialism, in 1971 staged a military coup and immediately assumed dictatorial powers. He has abolished parliament, abolished the right to demonstrate, has jailed thousands of political prisoners, and has brutally gunned down innocent workers for striking. Arch-fascist Amin has slaughtered nearly 300,000 people since coming to power, nearly half the number of Cambodian people murdered by the U. S. imperialists. But, the speaker emphasized, the Ugandan people will inevitably overthrow the fascist rule of Amin and all his backers, U. S. imperialism, British imperialism, Israeli Zionism and Soviet social-imperialism. The Ugandan people, he stressed, must apply the lessons learned from the victories of other peoples, such as the Chinese people, Mozambiquean people, Vietnamese people, Eritrean people and many others. These lessons include the need to build a genuinely revolutionary party to lead the struggle, the building of a broad united front of all patriotic Ugandans opposed to fascist Amin, and the building of a People's Liberation Army to wage a protracted people's war.

For more analysis on the Ugandan situation and to receive the Uganda Progressive Study Group Newsletter, "Cheche" (Spark), please write to: U. P. S. G., P. O. Box 22386 Seattle, Washington 98122

SANRIZUKA

SANRIZUKA PEASANTS UNITE WITH THE PEOPLE OF LIBERATED INDOCHINA

In an interview in AMPO, Tomura Issaku, the 64 year old president of the Hantai Domei Sanrizuka Peasants' Opposition League clearly outlined U. S. imperialism's intent to maintain its military foothold in Asia along with the economic expansion of Japanese monopoly capital into Southeast Asia. He pledged solidarity with the people of Asia fighting U. S. and Japanese political and economic aggression.

The plan for the new airport was conceived during the Vietnam war. "In fact, during the height of the war, almost 50% of the traffic at Haneda was U. S. military personnel. . . Haneda is really a disguised military base. Even today, after the Vietnam war is ended, U. S. troops continue to use the airport." Sanrizuka, site for the new Narita International Airport was chosen primarily for additional military air space. After the war, the U. S. bases that were returned to Japan were turned over to the Japanese Self Defense Force (SDF). "SDF recruits are now trained for use as a force for domestic repression in the name of 'public peace' and for the personal protection of Japanese capital as it advances overseas."

"This summer while traveling throughout Southeast Asia in Bangkok, I was shocked to be confronted whenever I went with the advance of Japanese enterprises. It is obvious that

Japanese monopoly corporations produced too much and saturated the narrow Japanese market and now they badly need new outlets throughout Southeast Asia."

"In order to understand the Sanrizuka struggle, we must look at it in this context. The new airport represents a bolstering of Japanese imperialism's transport division and becomes a support facility for the invasions of Asia. The 4,000 meter runway could be used by U. S. Phantom jets and other large planes as has already been shown at Haneda."

10 YEAR STRUGGLE-CLASS STRUGGLE

His recent travel through Southeast Asia lent support to other peasant struggles by sharing lessons learned from the 10-year history of the Sanrizuka anti-airport struggle. Recounting the violent clashes with the riot police, Issaku stated, "All the farmers who have fought through these 10 years and are still fighting today have experienced this bitter struggle and know well how vicious state power is. These experiences brought about the concept of struggle based on the fighters' own force, which itself expresses the essence of the Sanrizuka struggle today."

"In the farmers' struggle we must ceaselessly create new means of fighting in order to continue day by day. The Sanrizuka struggle is a class struggle being fought with the combined forces of farmer, workers and students. I emphasized that in this effort, we must absolutely maintain our deep solidarity with the people of Asia."

"Government propoganda reads, 'Na-

rita International Airport: Gateway to the World.' The Sanrizuka struggle responds, 'We will not allow the construction of a base for aggression against Asia.' We are Asians fighting in solidarity with the people of Indochina. Looking at the 30 year history of the Vietnamese peoples' liberation front, the 10 year struggle at Sanrizuka has only begun. If we look at our struggle in terms of farming, we have plowed the land, spread the fertilizer and sown the seeds--ten years of loyal effort. We have yet to see what form our victory over the giant forces of state power will take."



STUDENTS, IN DEFENSE OF FARMERS AT SANRIZUKA, SUCCESSFULLY PUSH BACK THE POLICE'S ATTACK

At U.N. Security Council China's stand on question of Angola

A U.N. Security Council resolution "condemning the racist South African's intervention and aggression" in Angola was passed recently. China, a member of the Security Council, did not participate in the vote. Distortions and incomplete reporting regarding the debate and China's refusal to participate have been aimed at causing confusion and slandering China's stand on Angola.

In a statement by China's U.N. Representative, Huang Hua, prior to the vote, China expressed unity with many points raised in the resolution but put forward that China would not be participating in the vote because of certain major disagreements in the resolution.



SELF-DETERMINATION FOR
THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE!

The statement said, "The Chinese delegation strongly condemns the South African racist regime's aggression against Angola, demands respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola by all states and condemns South Africa for the utilization of Namibia to mount provocative or aggressive acts against Angola or any other neighboring African State. The people of Angola are entitled to demand compensation of the damage caused by all foreign aggression".

Huang Hua continued, "However, it must be pointed out that the draft resolution has failed to condemn Soviet social-imperialism and its mercenaries for their intervention and aggression against Angola, nor has it reflected the just demand for their complete and immediate withdrawal from Angola."

SUPERPOWERS THE MAIN DANGER

Speaking to the importance of condemning Soviet social-imperialism, he said, "The serious situation in Angola was created by the fierce rivalry between the two hegemonic powers. Now, their rivalry has been brought to Southern Africa and is growing in intensity. We are duty bound to stress that the aggression by Soviet social-imperialism and its mercenary troops against Angola is a serious event unprecedented in world history of African national liberation movements since WWII. This is a component part of its fierce rivalry with the other superpower for world hegemony and for the South Atlantic, and it constitutes an important plan for realizing its global offensive strategy."

China's representative also pointed out that the resolution failed to demand the complete and immediate withdrawal of all troops and personnel from Angola. While putting forward the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the resolution at the same time puts forward that there is "the inherent and lawful right of every state in the exercise of its sovereignty, to request assistance from any other state or group of states". In the context of the debate over the Angolan situation, the Chinese put forward that the inclusion of that statement negated the more important non-intervention clause as that part of the resolution is, "bound to be used by the Soviet social-imperialism to legalize its aggression and intervention in Angola. This will bring serious and unfavorable consequences to the just cause of the Angolan and other African peoples in achieving their liberation, de-



REPRESENTATIVE TO
U. N. SESSION, HUANG
HUA

fending their state sovereignty and national independence, and opposing superpower intervention. This has set a dangerous precedent for the superpowers to create pretexts to commit aggression and intervention against other sovereign states."

The pretext of South African invasion as the "reason" for Soviet intervention has been widely publicized by the Soviet Union and their supporters. But in fact it was only after the Soviet social-imperialists intervened that the South Africans had the opportunity to send their troops in. While the South Africans have continually looked to initiate their plans of aggression, expansion and sabotage to prop up their reactionary racist rule in Southern Africa, their intervention in Angola must be seen within the context of the counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet social-imperialists.

As the facts are presented this "reason" for intervention is exposed as a lie. The Soviets saying that not one single soldier went into to Angola until South Africans intervened is untrue as in January 1975 over 100 Soviet advisors arrived in Angola, the arms shipments followed in March. In July the Soviets began their campaign causing the civil war which resulted in 150,000 civilians being massacred. In September under pressure from the Soviets, Cuban mercenaries began to arrive. From September to October 23, Soviets sent 5 shiploads of arms and over 3000 mercenaries to Angola. South Africa intervened in Angola in October 23, 1975. The Soviet attempt of shouting opposition to the South Africans is only a clumsy trick to divert attention from themselves.

As Huang Hua said at the U.N., "The facts have proved and will continue to prove that the nature of Soviet social-imperialism will not change. It can deceive people and run amuck for a certain period but cannot remain successful for long. It can be said with certainty that its aggression and expansion in Angola are bound to meet with the strong resistance of more and more Angolan people and of the African countries and peoples. It will come to a more ignominious end than the old colonialists."

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good & welfare

Left meets Right

SAN FRANCISCO

ACCORDING TO *New Dawn*, newspaper of the J. Town Collective, the main danger in the current struggle in Southern Africa is the "Counterrevolutionary role of the Soviet Union." According to this group the Soviets are responsible "even more so" than U.S. imperialism. According to *New Dawn*, the Soviet Union "has proved to be a more accomplished saboteur of Angolan independence and freedom." The Soviets, the paper says, "singlehandedly" created the Angolan "civil war."

As if simply stating these utterly foolish propositions was not itself a sufficient assault on the truth, the newspaper announced in its February edition that "a wide range" of organizations in the Bay Area have come together in a coalition to wage a "six to eight-week campaign" to convince other people that the moon is made of green cheese.

Someone apparently has not got the message that the versions of the situation in Southern Africa, as described by *New Dawn*, are counter to the understanding of the Angolan revolutionary forces and the views of every other national liberation movement in the world.

It may seem silly for me to put forward the following proposition but I'm going to do so anyway because some silly people don't seem able to grasp it:

I am involved in a fight on the street. A friend stops to help me. A third person comes up, proclaiming himself to be my ally, and attacks the one who has come to my aid. I can only conclude that the third party is not only my enemy but must sustain a strong suspicion that he is in league with my attacker. Whether he is consciously or not, I may never know but if I'm at all wise I will never trust that person in life.

WHAT HAVE the Angolans said about the situation? Agostinho Neto, president of the People's Republic of Angola and chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), said in a Feb. 23 interview with the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia*:

"Nobody doubts now that the progressive forces of the Angolan people will win an ultimate victory. It is evident already now. Life is returning to normal in the liberated areas, the population supports everywhere the measures of our party and government. And we say once again today: the heavy sacrifices that our people made in the 15-year struggle for national liberation were not in vain.

"Of principal significance is the fact," Neto went on to say, "that our struggle was supported by all the progressive forces in the world. From the very outset, the united front of Angola's anti-imperialist forces received unconditional support from the Soviet Union. Both on the days of victories and those of bitter defeats we invariably had the political and material support from the countries of the socialist community. When international reaction sent against the People's Republic of Angola the regular army of the South African Republic, and mercenaries and fascists of different kinds, the Soviet Union gave us effective aid. Its support contributed to the strengthening of our young state. It is thanks to it that we could repel the imperialist aggression and liberate the greater part of the Angolan territory. No strings were attached to the fraternal aid that was given to us.

"It is the more strange to hear accusations by imperialist powers against the Soviet Union, which, allegedly, has some special interests in Angola," the President said. "We stress that not in a single field of our activity—party, state and diplomatic spheres—has the Soviet Union ever brought pressure to bear on us. The Angolan people is proud of the firm bonds of disinterested friendship with the Soviet Union sealed in the joint struggle against imperialism."

ALL THIS *New Dawn* nonsense about Angola will quickly be exposed. The people of Africa are learning from day to day experience who their friends are and who their enemies are — both on the continent, in the world and in the United States. Struggling people in the United States already know from long years of experience that anyone who says they are your ally while undermining your position is a fraud. The problem here is much more fundamental than what affects the immediate situation.

There is something developing which is of critical importance during this election year. Strange alliances are being formed, both the spoken and unspoken kind. The fact that different groups and forces arrive at the same position from different starting points is not nearly as important as the fact that they have arrived at the same position. A formerly hazy — now becoming much clearer — picture is emerging, internationally and domestically, of a 1976 alliance between the anti-Soviet forces on the Left and the anti-Soviet forces on the Right; between the social democrats and Zionists on one hand and the ultra Left and Maoists on the other.

According to this little collection of Bay Area grouplets, U.S. imperialism "is declining and clearly on the defensive." What's more "its true nature has been unmasked to Third World people and Third World people have been steered in the struggle against imperialism." However, "Soviet social-imperialism in on the rise and is the main danger."

ONE DOES not have to be a political wizard to figure out that once you have declared the nations of the socialist world the main danger, the possibilities opened up to you for new alliances are fantastic, even if you end up shooting at your joint enemy from different trenches. For oppressed and revolutionary people this is a serious matter. It will be very hard to wage the struggle in Southern Africa when the liberators are being attacked from two directions. Either way they turn, somebody's shooting them in the back.

—CARL BLOICE

Response to the Communist Defenders of Soviet just ground

Staunch opposition to the interference of the two superpowers in the internal affairs of the Angolan people, particularly directed at exposing the role of the Soviet Union, has resulted in sharp differences and struggle throughout the U.S. and the world. One such organization in the U.S. standing in the front ranks to defend the treacherous role of Soviet social-imperialism has been the Communist Party U.S.A.

"People's World," official newspaper of the CPUSA, has launched an attack against *New Dawn* and the Coalition For Angolan Self-Determination (CASD) for standing firmly against superpower intervention in Angola and for upholding the Angolan people's right to self-determination free from foreign interference. The CASD, representing a wide range of progressive and communist organizations and individuals in the S.F. bay area, has put forward a broad eight-point analysis of the Angolan situation pointing out that superpower contention in Angola is rooted in their struggle for world hegemony, that this contention poses a serious threat of world war, that the Soviet Union is the more aggressive and dangerous of the two superpowers, and that the threat of war posed by the two superpowers, and Soviet social-imperialism in particular, faces a growing opposition from the broad masses of working and oppressed people in the world today.

BRAZEN SOVIET AGGRESSION AGAINST THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE

"People's World" decries the exposure of Soviet social-imperialism as "foolish nonsense" aimed at proving that the "moon is made of green cheese." However, showering their argument in such abusive talk only goes to show that when it comes time to defend the new tsars of Russia, the CPUSA has no just ground to stand on.

Soviet aggression against the Angolan people has been of the most brazen type and no amount of invectives can refute this. Turning Angolan against Angolan, the Soviet aggressors have trampled underfoot the sovereignty of the Angolan people, opening the door for all manner of foreign interference while using the opportunity to gain dominance and influence over U.S. imperialism in their contention for a strategic foothold in southern Africa. The rotten deeds of Soviet aggression include the dual tactic of claiming to be the "supporter of African national liberation movements" while transporting large quantities of personnel and arms by sea and air over a distance of more than 6,000 miles resulting in the massacre of more than 150,000 Angolan people. This is further proof that Soviet social-imperialism is the most deadly enemy of the Angolan people and of the whole African continent.

EGYPT-SOVIET TREATY ABROGATED

Recent history bears out the decadent features of Soviet social-imperialism. The recent breaking off of the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and cooperation" by the Egyptian people under the leadership of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is a sharp repudiation and exposure of Soviet "aid" as nothing more than an instrument of neo-colonialism and a club to bully the Egyptian people into accepting an imposed state of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East.

The Kampuchean (Cambodian) people will never forget that the Soviet Union, dreaming up the alibi of "fratricidal war," opposed the just war of national liberation waged against U.S. aggression and the Lon Nol regime in order to frustrate the Kampuchean people's struggle for independence. In 1971, the Soviet Union instigated the forceful dismemberment of Pakistan for the purpose of worming its way into the Asian

Response to the Communist Party U.S.A. Defenders of Soviet aggression on just ground

Staunch opposition to the interference of the two superpowers in the internal affairs of the Angolan people, particularly directed at exposing the role of the Soviet Union, has resulted in sharp differences and struggle throughout the U.S. and the world. One such organization in the U.S. standing in the front ranks to defend the treacherous role of Soviet social-imperialism has been the Communist Party U.S.A. "People's World," official newspaper of the CPUSA, has launched an attack against New Dawn and the Coalition For Angolan Self-Determination (CASD) for standing firmly against superpower intervention in Angola and for upholding the Angolan people's right to self-determination free from foreign interference. The CASD, representing a wide range of progressive and communist organizations and individuals in the S.F. bay area, has put forward a broad eight-point analysis of the Angolan situation pointing out that superpower contention in Angola is rooted in their struggle for world hegemony, that such contention poses a serious threat of world war, that the Soviet Union is the more aggressive and dangerous of the two superpowers, and that the threat of war posed by the two superpowers, and Soviet social-imperialism in particular, has a growing opposition from the broad masses of working and oppressed people in the world today.

RAZEN SOVIET AGGRESSION AGAINST THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE

"People's World" decries the exposure of Soviet social-imperialism as "foolish nonsense" aimed at proving that the world is made of green cheese." However, showering their contempt in such abusive talk only goes to show that when it comes time to defend the new tsars of Russia, the CPUSA has no just ground to stand on.

Soviet aggression against the Angolan people has been of the most brazen type and no amount of invectives can refute this. In opposing Angolan against Angolan, the Soviet aggressors have attempted to undermine the sovereignty of the Angolan people, opening the door for all manner of foreign interference while giving the opportunity to gain dominance and influence over the continent of Africa. The rotten deeds of Soviet aggression include the dual tactic of claiming to be the "supporter of African national liberation movements" while transporting large quantities of personnel and arms by sea and air over a distance of more than 6,000 miles resulting in the massacre of more than 150,000 Angolan people. This is further proof that Soviet social-imperialism is the most deadly enemy of the Angolan people and of the whole African continent.

1971 SINO-SOVIET TREATY ABROGATED

Recent history bears out the decadent features of Soviet social-imperialism. The recent breaking off of the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and cooperation" by the Egyptian government under the leadership of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is a sharp repudiation and exposure of Soviet "aid" as being more than an instrument of neo-colonialism and a tool to bully the Egyptian people into accepting an imposed "no war, no peace" in the Middle East. The Kampuchean (Cambodian) people will never forget that the Soviet Union, dreaming up the alibi of "fratricidal war," instigated the just war of national liberation waged against U.S. aggression and the Lon Nol regime in order to frustrate the Kampuchean people's struggle for independence. In 1971, the Soviet Union instigated the forceful dismemberment of Afghanistan for the purpose of worming its way into the Asian

subcontinent and carving out spheres of influence. All this further exposes the treachery of Soviet social-imperialism.

These truths of the extreme belligerence of Soviet social-imperialism, its policy of sabotaging the national liberation struggles of oppressed peoples and nations and its fierce contention with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony are truths that dearly offend the Communist Party U.S.A.

SOVIET MASK FOR NEO-COLONIALISM

In defending Soviet aggression in Angola, the CPUSA lays claim to the falsehood that Soviet "aid" was crucial in combating South African intervention. It is true South African intervention in the internal affairs of the Angolan people must be thoroughly condemned and opposed. However, it is Soviet aggression---by splitting the three Angolan liberation organizations and fomenting a state of civil war---that created the long-awaited opportunity for South African intervention. Using "aid" as a means to split the three liberation organizations and then using "opposition" to South African intervention to divert attention away from its own criminal deeds, Soviet social-imperialism has interfered in Angola in a big way.

The withdrawal on March 27 of South African troops from Angola, prompted by the extreme opposition from the people of Angola, the peoples of Africa and the entire world, has left Soviet interference in Angola in an awkward position. On the day the South African troops withdrew from the Angolan border town of Calai, it was reported that a mass demonstration was held there denouncing all foreign interference as the demonstrators shouted: "No Russian-Cuban intervention in Angola--Angola for the Angolans!"

DEMAGOGUES--WORST ENEMIES OF THE WORKING CLASS

In their frenzied defense of Soviet aggression in Angola, the CPUSA accuses New Dawn and the CASD with having joined an "alliance" with "anti-Soviet forces on the Right." This bit of trickery is truly contemptible and outright demagogery. The "anti-Soviet" opposition by CASD is precisely anti-imperialist opposition, it is opposition to all imperialism, aimed particularly at the two superpowers and as such stands thoroughly opposed to both U.S. imperialism as well as Soviet social-imperialism. The U.S. "anti-Soviet Right" on the other hand represents an integral part of the U.S. ruling class, an integral part of U.S. imperialism in sharp contention with the new tsars of Russia for world hegemony. The "anti-Soviet" opposition of the U.S. "Right" is precisely inter-imperialist rivalry between the two world superpowers that strives to maintain the exploitative system of imperialism under its own rule and for its own profit. The so-called "alliance" between anti-imperialist forces and imperialist forces, between CASD and the "anti-Soviet forces on the Right" is utterly absurd.

By conjuring up such accusations, the CPUSA attempts not only to obscure the imperialist essence of the Soviet Union today, but tries even harder to mislead the mass opposition to U.S. imperialism against the very forces that stand opposed to the two imperialist superpowers. This kind of demagogery earns only bitter contempt.

The treachery of the CPUSA attack further lies in spreading their degenerate influence among the growing sectors of the American people that are daily being drawn into spontaneous struggle against increasing capitalist exploitation. Exploiting this mass sentiment against U.S. imperialism, the CPUSA feigns "anti-imperialist" opposition to U.S. imperialism in Angola to ride the crest of mass support while masking the danger of Soviet social-imperialism.

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THE TWO SUPERPOWERS--WORST ENEMIES OF THE WORKING CLASS

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The treachery of the CPUSA attack further lies in spreading demagoguery among the growing sectors of the working class and the people that are daily being drawn into spontaneous struggles against increasing capitalist exploitation. Exploiting the anti-imperialist sentiment against U.S. imperialism, the CPUSA uses its "anti-imperialist" opposition to U.S. imperialism in order to ride the crest of mass support while masking the CPUSA's opposition to Soviet social-imperialism.

New Dawn, the CASD and other forces in the U.S. workers and communist movement as well as other progressive sectors of the American movement have become sharply aware of the necessity to deepen and further the exposure of Soviet capitalist restoration and Soviet foreign aggression. A resolute struggle against the CPUSA and their like can serve as a sure means to beat back the dangerous influence of these social-imperialist worshippers.

CPUSA'S CAPITULATION TO MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

Owing to its total capitulation to U.S. imperialism and in its utter worship of Soviet social-imperialism, the CPUSA represents a most dangerous and backward trend within the international and U.S. workers and communist movement. Their preachings of a "peaceful transition" to socialism and reliance on the "parliamentary road" are basic revisions of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Using such revisions in an attempt to obliterate the irreconcilable antagonism of interests between workers and oppressed people on one hand and the whole of the monopoly capitalist-imperialist system on the other, the revisionist CPUSA substitutes the line of class collaboration in place of class struggle by contriving the absurd theory of reliance on the monopoly capitalist class for social revolution while spreading the revisionist fallacy that the monopoly capitalist state can serve as a bargaining agent for the working class and oppressed people. Such a reactionary theory, running counter to the historical experience of class struggle, would condemn the working class to passivity and is of the greatest service to the rule of U.S. monopoly capital that directly controls the state apparatus.

The revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought consistently point out the historical necessity to establish the all-round independence of the working class and its vanguard Party in order to triumph in the world historic struggle to overthrow the capitalist state and establish socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Reveling in their role as the direct U.S. sounding board of Soviet revisionist policy, it is no wonder that the CPUSA is bound to capitalist politics.

The revisionist CPUSA is an excellent teacher by negative example. Clinging to their "Communist Party" label, the CPUSA's complete degeneration has served as invaluable learning material by negative example for the growing anti-revisionist workers and communist movement in the U.S. This latest CPUSA attack on New Dawn and the CASD reveals only more clearly their counter-revolutionary role and heightens vigilance to deepen the exposure of modern revisionism.



CHINESE SHIPYARD WORKERS CRITICIZING REVISIONISM

REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

"Soviet Social-Imperialism, the Most Dangerous Source of War" from the Hsin Hua News (February 2, 1976) is an in depth analysis, showing the USSR as the more aggressive and eager superpower in the contention for world domination. While the danger of war is growing with both the SU and US cranking up their war machines, China clearly states that "World war will not necessarily break out at once--but it is important and helpful to the people throughout the world to bring out the truth about the situation so they can be on their guard and get prepared."

SOVIET SOCIAL- IMPERIALISM most dangerous source of war

(PEKING, JAN. 3, 1976, Hsinhua)- With the two super-powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, locked in an ever fiercer contention for world hegemony, the danger of a new world war is visibly growing and they are bound to go to war against each other some day. The wildly ambitious Soviet social-imperialism is precisely the most dangerous source of war today.

Soviet social-imperialism is engaged in unbridled aggression and expansion abroad and is contending for world hegemony and this will inevitably lead to war. This is first of all determined by its social system.

The Soviet Union, once a socialist state in the world, has degenerated into a social-imperialist state as a result of the renegade Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique's usurption of party and state power, pursuance of a revisionist line and restoration of capitalism in an all-round way. As it has slid down to the ranks of imperialist states, it is necessarily subjected to the basic law of imperialism and buffeted by multiple inherent contradictions of imperialism. Social-imperialism

is, therefore, identical with capitalist imperialism in nature. Lenin pointed out on many occasions that imperialism is war itself. He noted: "Modern war is born of imperialism." Certain characteristics of the system of Soviet social-imperialism make it more rapacious and truculent in its aggression and expansion abroad.

The political system of Soviet social-imperialism is in essence brutal fascist dictatorship. Chairman Mao points out: "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type."

This scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's has profoundly exposed the class nature of Soviet social-imperialism and its reactionary character. The Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie represented by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique which is utterly reactionary, inveterately hostile to and morbidly afraid of the people can only rely on the most barbarous fascist dictatorship to buttress its reactionary rule. The hands of the state usurpers, Khrushchov, Brezhnev and their followers, are stained with the blood of the people of all nationalities of the Soviet Union. They even dispatched military police forces, tanks and armoured cars in sanguinary suppression of mass strikes, demonstrations and uprisings in Tbilisi, Chimkent, Kharkov, Dnieprodzerzhinsk, Kaunas, Tallin, Minsk, Leningrad, Novosibirsk and other places. A host of decrees, rules and decisions have been promulgated, and organs of dictatorship established and amplified since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique took power. In particular, military police and special agents are persecuting and keeping under close surveillance the broad masses of the people, cadres and soldiers throughout the country. The new tsars' oppression of national minorities is even more ruthless. Today, all those who show any discontent with or resistance to the dark rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, and even those under such "suspicion" will be subjected to persecution. Millions of people have been put in jail, "psycho-neurological hospitals" and "labor camps" and even sent into exile. The Soviet Union of today has been reduced to the "prison of nations." While exercising fascist dictatorship at home, Soviet social-imperialism is pushing hegemonism abroad. In recent years, the Brezhnev clique has trotted out an assortment of imperialist "theories" including the theory of "limited sovereignty," the theory of "international dictatorship," the theory of "big community" and the theory that "our interests are involved" to feverishly seek world hegemony.

The economic base of Soviet social-imperialism is state monopoly capitalism which came into being after the Soviet revisionist renegade clique usurped political power. Lenin pointed out: "The deepest economic foundation of imperialism is monopoly." This has found the most striking manifestation in Soviet social-imperialism. In capitalist-imperialist countries, "private and state monopolies are interwoven" with private monopoly as the main form and with the presence of big financial groups. In essence, state monopoly means that private monopoly groups use the state machine as an instrument to grab maximum profits. In the social-imperialist Soviet Union, state monopoly capitalism directly takes the form of ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, with a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists represented by the Soviet revisionist leading clique controlling the state machine and directly manipulating the national economy as a whole as well as all economic lifelines. The state of the dictatorship by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class becomes "the ideal personification of the total national capital" and all the monopoly capital of the Soviet Union is completely controlled by such a centre. As a result, compared with capitalist-imperialist countries, state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union has more exclusive control, a higher degree of concentration and tighter state control. A handful of Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly ca-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM MOST DANGEROUS SOURCE OF WAR

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

expansion, the Soviet social-imperialists pursue a policy of war adventure, ready for both nuclear and conventional wars with their strategical key points very prominent.

As latecomers at the feast of world imperialism and discontent with the present situation, the Soviet social-imperialists have gone all out in an effort to redivide the world, taking the offensive in their global contention with the U.S. imperialists. Over the past years, apart from carrying out political control, military occupation and annexation in some former "fraternal nations" within the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance," they have tried to make their way into and undermine the U.S. imperialists' spheres of influence while carrying on feverish penetration and expansion in both the Second World and the Third World. Soviet revisionist leaders have clamoured repeatedly about the need for the Soviet Union to take an "historic offensive" on the "entire front of global confrontation" and "backed by its military might," to "start an extensive and real general attack" abroad. At a recent Moscow meeting, Brezhnev arrogantly declared that the Soviet Union will "start an active offensive on the international arena" in the wake of its "strengthened economic and defense capabilities."

The Brezhnev clique has laid stress on the necessity to be "ready to fight a war with any weapons," "with nuclear weapons or otherwise" and "under certain conditions, probably only with conventional weapons."

The Soviet revisionists have become increasingly unrestrained in making a show of force and threat of force. They advertised that "in all circumstances, the Soviet Army and Navy will use or will not use nuclear weapons to carry out combat tasks in great depth and at a high speed, and successfully accomplish their tactical and strategical missions on whatever scale," that "the role of a surprise attack has become a factor of strategic importance and that the Soviet armed forces are required to be prepared at all times to "fulfill offensive tasks."

Europe, a land of contention among imperialist powers in history, was made the main battlefield in the last two world wars. To date, it is also the key point of Soviet-U.S. contention. Placing Europe in the "central position" of its global strategy, the Soviet Union declared that its "fate depends on how developments evolve in Europe." Having kept eastern Europe in its firm grip, the Soviet Union is trying to swallow up western Europe, a piece of juicy meat. It deploys three-fourths of its troops in Europe (including the European part of the Soviet Union proper), constantly renews their weapons and equipment and increases the number of its soldiers. A total of more than half a million Soviet troops are now stationed in East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The Soviet Union is now arrogantly stepping up military deployment in the southern and northern flanks of Europe in a bid to outflank the continent. Meanwhile, the Brezhnev clique resorts to "deten-

te" and war preparations, and intensifies its political expansion and economic infiltration into western Europe, trying to split and disintegrate it and squeeze out the United States. However, numerous facts after the conclusion of the "European Security Conference" masterminded by the Brezhnev clique with painstaking efforts, indicate that far from being a "milestone" of European security, the conference was a new starting point of the Soviet social-imperialists towards war. "Historical experience merits attention." It was precisely amidst the lullaby of "peace," "security" and "disarmament" that Hitler abruptly unleashed a "blitz war" and the iron heel of the Nazi fascists trampled on nearly the whole western European continent. Several years ago, Brezhnev and company suddenly sent troops to occupy Czechoslovakia while holding talks with Czechoslovak leaders and issuing joint statements of "friendship." These facts are most useful for the people to see clearly the present European situation and the policy of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Soviet social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of war. This is stark reality. Against this, the revolutionary people and many nations the world over are heightening their vigilance and making preparations. In history, past and present, those who start an aggressive war all come to no good end. At present, profound changes have taken place in the world situation. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution -- this has become an irresistible trend of our time. Despite their truculence and ferocity, the Soviet social-imperialists are strong only in appearance but brittle inside; they are beset with difficulties at home and abroad and threatened by crises. At home, class antagonism and national contradictions are sharpening day by day with deepening political and economic crises. The resistance of the people of all nationalities is growing in depth and the new tsars are sitting on a volcano. Internationally, the vast third world nations and people have seen more and more clearly the true features of Soviet social-imperialism in their struggle against the two superpowers. The struggle of the second world against the superpowers, the Soviet social-imperialists in particular, continues to surge forward. The tendency of the western European nations to combat hegemony in unity grows unabated. Chairman Mao points out that "imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are -- paper tigers" and that "revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too." The Soviet social-imperialists are doomed to be destroyed for good should they dare unleash a new world war. "It is the people who will win the war, win the peace and win progress."

May Day

influence of imperialism's agents, preparing for mass struggles having a clear political character.

"The right to work, in the bourgeois sense, is a contradiction, a miserable wish, but behind the right to work looms up the power over capital, behind the power over capital the expropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the organized working class, therefore, the abolition of wage labor, of capital and of their mutual relations. Behind the "right to work" stood the June insurrection." (Marx, The Class Struggles in France).

Behind the slogan of "Work or Wages" is the demand of the proletariat for the "right to work". Behind the "right to work" is the rapidly sharpening class struggle, the revolutionary trade unions of the Trade Union Unity League rallying the workers in the decisive industries, challenging, exposing and defeating in action the agencies of imperialism in the ranks of the workers—the fascist A. F. of L., the social-fascists of its Muste wing and the Socialist Party.

The Communist Party of the United States marches at the head of the work-

ing class battalions on May Day 1930. In open class conflict, under the leadership of the World Party of Lenin, it has won the right to preserve for the class of which it is the most conscious and disciplined section, the fighting traditions of the worker-warriors who on May Day, 1886, christened with their blood and gave to the working class of the whole world its international fighting day.

An economic crisis grips American capitalism and involves it ever deeper in the world imperialist conflict. Its lies about permanent prosperity, its insolent claim to have refuted the Marxian law of the insoluble contradictions of capitalism, are shattered. It is unable to stop the process of disillusionment among the masses, it can no longer marshal them under the black banners of its fascist agents to starve in silence.

For the first time our Party is able to speak to and rally hundreds of thousands of workers for struggle against rationalization and mass unemployment, to show the connection between the preparations for attack on the Soviet Union, for war between the imperialist powers, and the drive against the economic, social and political status of our class, to secure wide mass response from and establish a broad base among thousands of workers.

In 1886, in the infancy of the trade union movement, the clear line of the class struggle had not been carved

deep enough by capitalist development to make it impossible for its agents among the masses to obscure it.

Today its crimson furrows are to be seen on the bodies of millions of workers.

Work or Wages, the "right to work," the struggle against imperialist war, defense of the Soviet Union, are linked inseparably today and are synthesized in the revolutionary slogan of "class against class."

The organization of our class, the building of the revolutionary unions under the leadership of our Party as the mass base of proletarian power is the main task facing us on May Day, 1930.

"Communists fight on behalf of the immediate aims and interests of the working class, but in their present movement they are also defending the future of the movement." (Communist Manifesto).

The correct connection of the immediate aims and struggles of our class with the revolutionary struggle for proletarian power, with our revolutionary objectives, is the key to the winning of the majority of the decisive sections of class for Communism—the task that cannot be separated from the building of the class struggle unions.

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