

CHALLENGE



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Fight Racist Police Terror

A Bronx judge tossed out the indictment of Killer Kop Haste who pulled the trigger that murdered Ramarley Graham.

Capitalism's *injustice* marches on!

BRONX, NY, May 20 — "Do you want to march to the precinct?" "Yes!" came the resounding reply from 200 people who rallied at the home of Ramarley Graham, a black teen brutally gunned down in his apartment bathroom by NYPD officer Richard Haste on February 2, 2012. The Graham family was joined by relatives of Shantel Davis and Kimani Gray, two Brooklyn youths shot and killed by the NYPD in the months following the Graham tragedy.

The rally became an open forum when Ramarley's family asked the community to speak out about their experiences with police in the area. One said the cops broke down her door, arrested her and left her grandchildren unsupervised. The point was made that the cops are doing their job — to terrorize working-class people. The families of Kimani, Ramarley and Shantel called for multi-racial unity, explaining how this struggle has become bigger than the fight for justice for just these particular victims of police terror, advocating the need for mass action.

The last speaker, a PLP member, boldly called on the demonstrators to "break the law" and challenge the bounds of the legal system. While previous speakers mentioned capitalism and the "system," he reviewed the historic role of communists in fighting racism and the need for a truly equal society — communism.

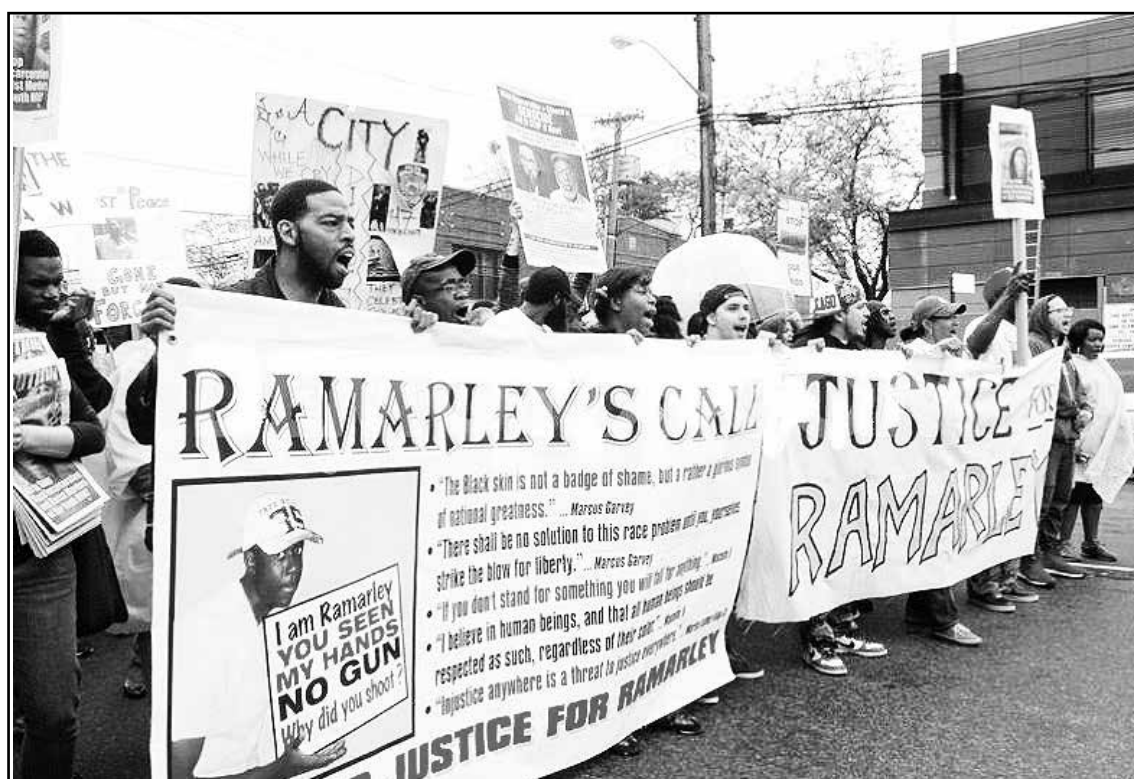
After the rally ended, hundreds took to the streets in the Wakefield community chanting, "Killer Cops, You Can't Hide, We Charge You with Genocide!" The march was enthusiastically received along White Plains Road. Hundreds of CHALLENGES were distributed along the route of the march. Just as in Brooklyn's Flatbush communities, workers are sick and tired of the police.

At the precinct, we were greeted by cops on the rooftop of their steel fortress-looking station. While some speakers said not all cops are bad, many in the crowd declared that they are ALL guilty. People started pointed to the cops and chanting, "If you see something, say something!"

We greatly admire the strength and courage of the family members of these youth murdered by the police. We invite them and all of you to join with Progressive Labor Party in building this movement to smash the system that has stolen the lives of their children and family members. We will continue to advance those ideas at these rallies and counter the politicians and preachers who seek to mislead the struggle. ☺



(from left to right) Families of police victims Kiki Gray, Ramarley Graham, and Shantel Davis rally against the kkkops.



JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL FIGHT FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

★GUATEMALA

The Missing Link: Guatemalan Genocide and U.S. Imperialism, page 3

★LA

Profit Drive Kills Garment Workers, from L.A. to Bangladesh, page 3

★MEXICO

May Day Challenges Bosses' Attacks, page 4

★SOUTH AFRICA

Miners' Wildcats Resist Apartheid, page 5

OUR FIGHT

★Progressive Labor Party (PLP) fights to destroy capitalism and the dictatorship of the capitalist class. We organize workers, soldiers and youth into a revolutionary movement for communism.

★Only the dictatorship of the working class — communism — can provide a lasting solution to the disaster that is today’s world for billions of people. This cannot be done through electoral politics, but requires a revolutionary movement and a mass Red Army led by PLP.

★Worldwide capitalism, in its relentless drive for profit, inevitably leads to war, fascism, poverty, disease, starvation and environmental destruction. The capitalist class, through its state power — governments, armies, police, schools and culture — maintains a dictatorship over the world’s workers. The capitalist dictatorship supports, and is supported by, the anti-working-class ideologies of racism, sexism, nationalism, individualism and religion.

★While the bosses and their mouthpieces claim “communism is dead,” capitalism is the real failure for billions worldwide. Capitalism returned to Russia and China because socialism retained many aspects of the profit system, like wages and privileges. Russia and China did not establish communism.

★Communism means working collectively to build a worker-run society. We will abolish work for wages, money and profits. While capitalism needs unemployment, communism needs everyone to contribute and share in society’s benefits and burdens.

★Communism means abolishing racism and the concept of “race.” Capitalism uses racism to super-exploit black, Latino, Asian and indigenous workers, and to divide the entire working class.

★Communism means abolishing the special oppression of women — sexism — and divisive gender roles created by the class society.

★Communism means abolishing nations and nationalism. One international working class, one world, one Party.

★Communism means that the minds of millions of workers must become free from religion’s false promises, unscientific thinking and poisonous ideology. Communism will triumph when the masses of workers can use the science of dialectical materialism to understand, analyze and change the world to meet their needs and aspirations.

★Communism means the Party leads every aspect of society. For this to work, millions of workers — eventually everyone — must become communist organizers. Join Us!

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WHO WRITES FOR CHALLENGE?

The fact that CHALLENGE/PLP articles are not signed grows from PLP’s criticism of the cult of the individual in the former socialist Soviet Union and China. We do not want to encourage the possibility of building up a “following” around any particular individual.

While an article may be written by one person, the final version is based on collective discussion and criticism. Many times this collective discussion even precedes an individual’s writing of an article.

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Editorial

Obama Scandals Mirror Fight Among U.S. Bosses

Three recent White House scandals — its handling of the attack on the U.S. embassy in Libya; its use of the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) against Tea Party political groups; and its spying on Associated Press reporters — reflect serious disagreements within the ruling capitalist class.

On one side is the finance capital wing, which is preparing for long-term global conflict to maintain U.S. rulers’ top-dog status. These liberal imperialists are represented by Barack Obama’s new “Defense” Secretary, Chuck Hagel, who is seeking a U.S.-led alliance to confront rivals.

In opposition is a less powerful group of capitalists, led by the billionaire Koch brothers, with a shorter-range outlook. They are seeking immediate profits from domestic investments and are less interested in paying the bills for U.S. hegemony around the world.

In addition to this fundamental split, the liberal wing has its own internal conflict. It centers on how quickly the Obama administration can move toward fascism at home as it prepares for more imperialist wars. Even as they try to round up international allies, the bosses remain a long way from the domestic unity they need for their war plans.

U.S. workers are under brutal attack from wage cuts — Obama helped General Motors slash wages in half — and from persistent mass unemployment. The bosses have accelerated their drive for maximum profits by exploiting a temporary, part-time workforce and denying them benefits. Health care costs are sky-high for workers fortunate enough to get care at all. Police terror is on the rise, with racist cops killing black and Latino youth with impunity. Expanded oil and gas pipelines destroy the environment; oil drilling contaminates water on Native American reservations. With his storm troopers from U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, Obama continues to set new records in his massive detention and deportation of immigrant workers.

In accord with the Democratic Party’s standard procedure, these fascist measures are being imposed behind a liberal façade. But “lesser-evil” Obama is not simply a repeat of Bill Clinton or Jimmy Carter. He has moved even further to the right.

Splitting over Benghazi

Many Republicans are professing outrage that Obama failed to prevent the al Qaeda attack last September 11 that killed the U.S. ambassador and his mercenary guards in Benghazi, Libya’s second largest city. In reality, this furor stems from a long-simmering dispute over strategy. On one side stand the domestically oriented capitalist wing that ascended with former President George W. Bush and his top lieutenants, Donald Rumsfeld and Richard Cheney. This camp tilted toward on-the-cheap, quick-hitting attacks on smaller foes like Libya and Iraq. Livid at the Benghazi fiasco, Sen. James Inhofe (R-Okla.) is urging Obama’s impeachment (Business Insider, 5/12/13). He’s also proposing U.S. air strikes on Iran and North Korea and opposed Hagel’s appointment because Hagel was considered soft on Iran.

But the finance capital wing, led by Obama, wants to exercise more patience. They need more time to build a coalition for a far wider clash with a potential axis of enemies led by China and Russia. Hagel moved to the Pentagon from his chairmanship of the Atlantic Council, which is funded by the Rockefeller-JP Morgan-ExxonMobil-Pentagon forces. Shortly before Hagel left, this think tank issued a report calling for a ramping up of a U.S.-led alliance including Brazil, Turkey, Indonesia, and India to be in position to challenge U.S. enemies.

The IRS Frenzy

A different antagonism underlies Obama’s scandal within the IRS, which targeted Tea Party political groups by denying them nonprofit tax status during the 2012 elections. Here it’s the smaller bosses’ reluctance to fund the U.S. war machine, even though some of them profit mightily from its actions. Tea Party funders Charles and David Koch own an energy company that buys some Iraqi oil safeguarded by the U.S. Navy. But unlike ExxonMobil, Koch Industries does not pump from contested Iraqi soil. Moreover, Koch’s energy profits are concentrated in North America, far from U.S. imperialist war zones in Asia and Africa. As a result, the Koch camp requires less protection from the Pentagon.

Consider this statement from the Koch-controlled Cato Institute (5/15/13): “Economic interests are real but rarely warrant war. Stability may be a geopolitical virtue, but does not justify a neo-imperial American global presence.” In other words, the Koch-led bosses don’t want to pay for imperialist adventures to preserve the U.S. bosses’ international control.

Obama’s forces have attacked the Tea Party-Koch faction

for their anti-Exxon heresy of opposing tax increases for war. On April 21, the New York Times, the leading mouthpiece for the arch-imperialist U.S. faction, warned of Koch efforts to buy the Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, Baltimore Sun, and other papers, “to shift the country toward a smaller government with less regulation and taxes.” On May 18, the Times sought to stir anti-Koch feeling among environmentalists with the story of how Koch Industries has built a toxic petroleum coke mountain in Detroit.

Spying on the ‘Free Press’

Obama’s third disgrace, his administration’s spying on Associated Press reporters covering a terrorist plot in Yemen, exposes the maneuvering within U.S. imperialism’s main liberal wing. At the heart of the scrap is just how openly fascist U.S. rulers should appear to the U.S. working class. Wiretapping Attorney General Eric Holder is allowing Obama to seize higher ground. The same farce played out in Holder’s earlier threat to summarily execute U.S. citizen “terrorists” with drones. In both cases, the object for U.S. warmakers has nothing to do with justice. Their goal is to gauge how much brutal state power they can win the working class to support.

Meanwhile, U.S. rulers are finding an international alliance to be elusive. Noah Feldman, a Harvard Law professor who advised the U.S. military in its Iraq invasion and occupation, writes: “The United States will...have to broaden its base of allies using the tools of ideology....India is the leading candidate for membership....” (Foreign Policy, 5/16/13). Feldman counts on the irresistible pull of the “American Way”: “The strongest argument that can be made...is that Chinese hegemony would threaten their democratic freedoms.”

But the current issue of Foreign Affairs, the top policy journal bankrolled by the finance capitalists, is lamenting India’s lack of readiness to mobilize its billion-plus population in a U.S.-led war. And Feldman pointed to a more probable union: “Russia may emerge as China’s most important geo-strategic ally.”

Workers Have No Stake in the Bosses’ Institutions

What the bosses aren’t talking about publicly is the ultimately crucial allegiance of our working class. The international working class, including U.S. workers, has no stake in protecting U.S. diplomats around the world. U.S. embassies and consulates are essentially CIA outposts intent on protecting U.S. corporate profits and the dictators who serve them. They also organize attacks and assassinations against pro-working-class forces that fight their exploiters.

For U.S. workers, the IRS is a bosses’ institution that bankrolls the rich, allowing them to move their profits to tax-free havens while forcing our class to pay for the rulers’ wars.

Finally, the crocodile tears being shed by the Associated Press and the New York Times over “protecting” reporters’ pursuit of the facts are laughable. The main role of the boss-controlled media is to steer the working class into supporting the profit system as the “best” system devised by humankind. Any progressive ideas that emerge are those endorsing reforms to a system that can’t be reformed.

While the capitalists maneuver and factionalize, our class must take only one side: the one that organizes for revolution to overthrow a profit system that spreads misery among the international working class. No bosses serve the interests of garment workers in Bangladesh or miners in South Africa. None of them are allied with immigrants toiling in the fields or workers suffering from boss-imposed austerity throughout Europe, Asia and Latin America. None of them are the friends of tens of millions of jobless youth.

Workers Are Fighting Back

Workers are not taking their oppression lying down. Not the Bangladesh garment workers who have taken their protests to the streets. Not the platinum miners in South Africa who are wildcatting against the new apartheid’s repression. Not the Peugeot auto strikers in France, or the immigrant workers from South Asia striking in Dubai. Not the teachers in Mexico opposing the rulers’ anti-worker reforms. Not the multiracial workers and youth in New York City organizing against racist, murdering cops.

Billions of workers are now suffering capitalism’s exploitation, racism and wars. But once armed with the communist ideas of the Progressive Labor Party, they have the power to destroy the tiny class that rules us. They will erect a society without bosses and profits, run by the international working class in our class interests.☸

Transit Bosses Guilty of Racist Murder

NEW YORK CITY, May 21 – NYC Transit bosses are guilty of murder, and the transit workers’ union leader is guilty of helping them cover up the crime.

Transit worker Louis Moore was dragged to his death in the tunnel in Astoria last month. He was walking to get to the platform when his tool bag caught on a gate he was trying to open. As he struggled with his bag, the E-train roared in, snagged the bag, and pulled him under the wheels.

Louis was born in Jamaica and was a single dad who lived with his teenage daughter. He had been on the job for eight years. Six years ago to the day, track worker Daniel Boggs was killed by a train at Columbus Circle and a few days later, maintenance supervisor James Knell was electrocuted after falling onto an exposed third rail.

Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 President John Samuelson, a former track worker, called Louis’ death an “accident” — but nothing could be further from the truth. These deaths are caused by a Transit Authority that years ago did away with the flagman whose job was to protect workers on the tracks by stopping trains until the workers

were clear. One former track worker said that deaths like these could be prevented that way. In fact, when outside trades workers are contracted by the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) for track work they get that protection — but TWU members do not. The MTA is more concerned with paying the big banks billions in interest profits than providing safe conditions for transit workers and riders.

This is the murderous culture of the transit bosses. Former Track Director Steve Fiel left the MTA to take the same job at Washington, DC Metro from 2006 to 2008. About six workers died on the tracks during his time there. And his refusal to recognize the failures of the Automatic Train Control System led to a major collision that killed nine people in 2009.

The TWU leadership has been passive since the defeat of their last strike and the loss of automatic dues check-off. We are working under a contract that expired two years ago. While the body count climbs, PLP is building a revolutionary movement to destroy the racist profit system. In these dangerous tunnels, PLP is at work.✪

Profit Drive Kills Garment Workers, from L.A. to Bangladesh



LOS ANGELES, May 11 — Like Bangladesh, downtown Los Angeles is filled with garment factories that the bosses have callously neglected. As one of our comrades put it during a CHALLENGE sale here, to nods from workers passing by, “In an earthquake, this old building (see photo) could collapse just like the one in Dhaka that killed over 1,100 people.”

Why did factory owners in Bangladesh threaten to withhold workers’ pay to force them to enter a building with visible cracks in its concrete walls? Why was the fertilizer plant that blew up in West, Texas built next to a nursing home, several schools, and an apartment complex? Why are garment workers in LA working in buildings that have yet to be retrofitted to meet current earthquake-safety standards?

The answer, in a word, is “capitalism.” It’s not enough for capitalists to make a lot of money — they must extract the *maximum* profit. Otherwise, competi-

tors will grab market share by investing more in equipment, research and development, and marketing, and hiring more workers. Since capitalism is a system of dog-eat-dog competition, companies that fail to maximize profits eventually go out of business.

How do companies maximize their profits? One primary method is to drive down wages, as in Bangladesh, where many garment workers make as little as \$37 a month. Another is to invest as little as possible in healthy, safe working conditions.

The day before the Dhaka building’s collapse, inspectors found dangerous cracks in the building’s wall. Police issued an evacuation order, but garment workers were threatened with a loss of wages if they failed to come to work. The building’s owner, Mohammed Sohul Rana, a politician with the country’s rul-

continued on page 7

The Missing Link: Guatemalan Genocide and U.S. Imperialism

There is a decades-long history of direct aid from the U.S. political and military establishment to dictators and military coups in Latin America. Since the CIA orchestrated one such coup against the President of Guatemala, Jacobo Arbenz, in 1954, the USA has been complicit in genocides throughout the continent. U.S. capitalists used these dictators as a bulwark in the so-called, “crusade” against communism, particularly after the triumph of the rebel movement in Cuba in 1959.

Actually this “crusade” was to maintain control over the natural resources, labor and markets throughout Latin America which the USA, and companies like United Fruit, considered to be their “backyard.” Guatemala is now again in the news with the trial of Efraín Ríos Montt, one of the USA’s front-men dictators.

Since implementing the Monroe Doctrine in the 1820s, the USA has tried to oust European colonial powers and establish U.S. hegemony. In recent decades, Russia, European nations, and China have all gained influence and some control on this continent. This has intensified the USA’s desperation to control the capitalist rulers throughout Latin America. The mass genocide was revealed in the ongoing trial of Ríos Montt (see below) ignoring a century of inter-imperialist rivalry.

The main purpose of the Guatemalan genocides was to destroy the worker-peasant movement that was fighting to protect its land and resources.

Ríos Montt on Trial: Deafening Silence about U.S. Imperialism

In 1981, U.S. president Reagan escalated the genocide against the population and the guerrillas in Guatemala, El Salvador and the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. The extermination of the indigenous population in Guatemala was so brutal that Washington tried to cover up its involvement. One example: the U.S. military sent arms via the government of Israel to Guatemala. When a military coup imposed the genocidal “Evangelical Christian” General Ríos Montt in 1982, Reagan administration officials enthusiastically embraced him as an ally. The Reagan White House received him, in person, to finalize military support.

Ríos Montt answered criticism about the mass murder of indigenous people: “It’s not that we have a policy of scorched earth, just a policy of scorched communists.” The U.S. government knew then, and we know now, that 90% of the dead were civilians. In 1983, Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State, defended the genocidal Ríos Montt, stating that he had “brought considerable progress” on human rights.

The U.S. supplied helicopters, mortars, grenade launchers, machine guns and troops. The U.S. military supplied “trainers” in the field that produced death squads who led the massacres against civilians. In the 1990s, it was revealed that the CIA had many senior military officials on its payroll, including Otto Pérez Molina (the current Guatemalan President). U.S. imperialists, through “private” dictators like Ríos Montt, are primarily responsible for these atrocities — the murder of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants.

These genocidal policies led hundreds of thousands of indigenous people to migrate to survive. They become refugees throughout Central America and the USA. Of the over one million Guate-

The Latest Atrocity

‘Guatemala’s Highest Court Overturns Genocide Conviction of Former Dictator’ (New York Times headline, 5/20/13)

On May 10,...a...tribunal found [Ríos Montt] guilty of genocide and crimes against humanity. He was sentenced to 80 years in prison....

His co-defendant, General José Mauricio Rodríguez Sánchez was acquitted. (NYT, 5/20/13)

malan exiles in the USA today, the greater part came in this period.

Yet Eliot Abrams, U.S. military officers and Reagan were hardly mentioned at the current trial of Ríos Montt, nor was the USA’s ongoing manipulation of resources and politics within Guatemala

Racism, Part and Parcel of Imperialism

Institutional racism, created under capitalism, has sentenced indigenous peoples to isolation, segregation and oppression for centuries. It facilitated the work of the exterminators, providing ideological justification for genocide in Guatemala. Mostly of Mayan descent, the indigenous peoples were labeled “violent,” a “threat to the nation” and “uncivilized.”

Under Ríos Montt, religion added to the mix since his Evangelical Christian ideology labeled them “non-believers.” His assassination of “subversives” or “trade unionists” in the Guatemalan cities became mass genocide of the rural population. A spokesman for Ríos Montt, Francisco Bianchi, ranted that he must kill the indigenous population, because they were all collaborators with the “subversives” (i.e., communists). The economic reality behind this is that the Guatemalan military took over indigenous lands in order to exploit petrochemical resources.

Testimony of the cruelty of these massacres emerged in Ríos Montt’s trial. In indigenous towns, villages, and communities, soldiers killed en masse with horror and cruelty. Many people had their hearts cut out. Women were raped. Those who were pregnant had the fetus cut out or were thrown against trees to kill the baby and then their bodies were burned. Children’s heads were cut off. Whole towns were burned to the ground. Captain Jesse Garcia, a U.S. Army officer, told a reporter from the Washington Post how they trained Guatemalan soldiers in these techniques of destroying entire villages. (As in Vietnam; see: “Kill Anything That Moves: The Real American War in Vietnam.” by Nick Turse)

Ríos Montt Was Not Alone

It was revealed that “Tito Arias,” a name used by Otto Pérez Molina (Guatemala’s current President) was one of the perpetrators of the massacres ordered by Ríos Montt. There are videos on the Internet where this sinister “Tito” explains just how effective helicopters and recoilless bazookas, designed as anti-tank weapons, are against people or thatched huts. (These weapons came from the U.S. military.)

Recently, the same President Pérez Molina ordered martial law and the sus-

continued on page 4

May Day Challenges Mexican Bosses' Attacks

MEXICO, May 22 —The labor and educational reforms, approved at the beginning of President Peña Nieto's sixth term, legalized layoffs, wage cuts, the elimination of pensions and social security. Just like that, in one single stroke, and with the backing of state violence, the capitalists destroy our lives to solve their crisis.

The recently approved telecommunications reform and the upcoming energy reform concentrate even more wealth in the hands of the mostly Mexican and U.S. billionaires.

All these changes only benefit the capitalist class, further reduce the cost of labor, and help turn education into another business. These events demonstrate that capitalist laws serve the class in power against the oppressed and exploited class.

One Class, One Party

To eliminate the root cause of all exploitation and oppression, we workers need to take power into our own hands and organize the whole society under the principle of "from each according to their commitment and to each according to their needs."

We need a society of social equality, communism. To achieve it we organize ourselves as a party, PLP. Our Party will unite the working class from around the world. We do not participate in elections because the bosses will never concede power peacefully. Organized into a revolutionary party, millions of workers, students, unemployed and soldiers could wrest the power from our exploiters through an armed insurrection.

War on the Horizon

To survive the current crisis of their system, the bosses attack the living conditions of the working class.

Competition between an important sector of the Mexican ruling class allied with the U.S., against the Chinese bosses, has led to cuts in wages and services of workers in Mexico, as well as to an increase in the length and intensity of the work-day.

Recent changes legalized these working conditions. The attack against workers has benefited a group of bosses in Mexico who in the last decade have regained market shares in the U.S. But the worst is yet to come. The rivalry between the U.S. and China for control of global resources, markets and cheap labor is getting sharper every day. It will probably be resolved through a worldwide war. The bosses will try to use workers as cannon fodder to fight in their war.

Workers in Mexico cannot remain distant from the confrontation; Mexico shares a border with the U.S. and is one of its most important suppliers of oil, labor, food, and other resources. Thousands of migrant workers, lured by the promise of getting U.S. citizenship, will be forced to fight. We must organize and unite across borders to confront imperialist war with revolutionary class war.

We have the opportunity to turn the guns around against the bosses instead of using them against our class brothers. That's the importance of an international party and this is the meaning of May Day: we must re-

alize our power as the working class who produces all the wealth in the world. The history of May Day and the revolutions of the 20th century demonstrate the potential of our class to fight for a communist world. Workers of the world, unite!

Nationalism, A Deadly Trap

The last decade has seen the largest mining of oil and minerals than any other period in history. In addition, the price of oil, gold and silver has been rising. These sales have produced billions in profits.

During the same period poverty has increased and working conditions have worsened, while the wealth and the number of billionaires has increased. This demonstrates the falsehood that oil in the hands of the state benefits all Mexicans.

As long as there is capitalism it doesn't matter which bosses' hands hold the oil or electricity. Nationalism will only benefit those Mexican bosses who want to own PEMEX (state-controlled oil company) or CFE (Federal Electricity commission). But it won't help the working class. Only in a society governed by the workers, will wealth be used for the benefit of those who produce it.

To take control of the energy wealth, the bosses will use state violence, fascism, which along with racism, nationalism and sexism, are capitalism's ideological weapons to divide and weaken workers' struggles. Historically, it's been shown that only communism can defeat fascism. Join us!🔥

Inspiring Workers to Study PL's Ideas

Each week, without exception, our PLP club meets as an active study group. We've already discussed the political economy documents and the majority of 2011 CHALLENGE editorials. A new member has transcribed "Towards a New Communist Movement." We've also discussed "Reform and Revolution."

Our objective is not only to understand and discuss the Party's ideas, but also to revise and re-edit documents to put forward revolutionary ideas clearly, in writing as well as in conversation.

We recently showed "Road to Revolution IV" (our Party's ideas) to a militant fighter focused on reformist and pro-socialist ideals and projects. He said he wasn't convinced we should reject the socialist and reformist ideas and instead fight for communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

PLP aims to destroy the entire capitalist system, that much was made clear. It's not important how intellectually equipped our opponents may be. There is no argument that can trump our Party's politics.

We invited a worker and his family to join PLP and attend a May Day forum. In a later conversation, this worker discussed his ideas and feelings about the labor situation. Most workers are influenced by wrong ideas against their class. But through our interactions at the forum and our May Day dinner, he has expressed interest in getting involved and studying our ideas to get to know PLP better.

Red Youth

Mexico: May Day Spurs Goal to Topple Capitalism

A weekend before May Day, members and friends of PLP in Mexico organized three meetings to discuss its historical and international significance. We also presented the flyer we planned to distribute at the march and briefly discussed the current situation in Mexico, in relation to the reforms pushed by the new government. (See Mexico article above)

The achievements at these dinners — which we planned since the beginning of the year — were few, but important. Four friends of the Party, all CHALLENGE readers, participated in the first one; two friends and a youth who joined during our last Summer Project participated in the second, and during the third we were joined by a comrades' family and by two CHALLENGE reader friends.

They all expressed their commitment to participate in the May Day march, since we'd be the only contingent that's an international organization promoting the overthrow of capitalism and replacing it with the dictatorship of the working class.

In the three meetings we highlighted the imperialist struggles between China and the U.S., which will probably lead to a confrontation between these bosses and their respective allies.

There is a long road before we reach our goal and there is a lot to be done. This is the only Party that fights for collective work and the destruction of the profit system that creates inequality the world over. PLP is the only Party that struggles against nationalism and sexism, and the only one that holds that the working class should direct all aspects of society.🔥

May Day: One Class, One World, One Party



CHICAGO

U.S. Rulers Directed Guatemala Genocide

continued from page 3

pension of all civil liberties in response to a protest about the environment and pollution in four mining towns. He now is requesting military aid against "narco-traffickers." (NYT, 5/13/13) This executioner will attack the working class, not the drug dealers. Terror against the civilian population is part and parcel of the "war on drugs," particularly in Mexico and Central America. Whole populations are terrorized, both by the "narco-traffickers" and by various U.S.-backed governments.

Histories like this in Guatemala shows that the fight against ideological and institutional racism is vital to the life and death of the international working class. Capitalists promote racist divisions around the world to exploit all working people and justify massacres for conquest.

Workers everywhere should remember these exterminations of whole communities that simply dared to fight for a better life. We must honor them as we fight throughout our lives to eradicate capitalism and imperialism — the true creators of these genocides against the working class — from the face of the earth.

This capitalist nightmare will not end until the working class rises up as one to destroy the capitalist and imperialist oppressors. The Progressive Labor Party is unifying all workers the world over toward this goal. Join us!🔥

(See numerous writings from Allan Nair — Guatemala Genocide Case: Testimony Notes Regarding Rios Montt www.allannairn.org; May 9, 2013: NACLA Report on the Americas, Allan Nairn)

Miners' Wildcats Resist S. African Apartheid

MARIKANA, SOUTH AFRICA, May 17 — A new strike wave is sweeping this country's minefields as thousands at the Lonmin mine here wildcatted on May 14, reacting to the murder of one of their union organizers and to looming job cuts. Lonmin is the world's third largest producer of platinum and was the site of last August's police massacre of 34 striking miners. The strikers have vowed to stop all scabs and have blocked highways, while marching to the area of last year's atrocity.

This month is the region's "strike season" when tens of thousands of workers pour into the streets demanding wage increases. The bosses and the government — dominated by the African National Congress (ANC) — fear the strike wave may reach the vineyards around Cape-town and the auto industry in Durban.

Meanwhile, a wildcat looms at Anglo-American Platinum — the world's top platinum producer — which announced a layoff of 6,000.

None of the essential demands and grievances stemming from last year's

strikes have been met. "It [our wage] is too little for us for the kind of work we do," said miner Ayanda Ndabent. "I plant dynamite...inside the mines. We can die any time," he continued. "We know the company makes a lot of money from the work we do."

The black capitalists who took power from the former apartheid rulers and promised "liberation" of the masses have joined with the apartheid-era bosses who still control large sections of the country's industries. They mirror the oppression of the racist apartheid system which was enforced by the kind of police massacres that occurred here last year. Unemployment is even higher than it was previously and workers still suffer the housing squalor that existed then.

This is the capitalism which the Mandela-led ANC maintained and used to cut out a slice of the profit pie for a small black ruling class. Liberation for the masses can only come from the overthrow of capitalism and creation of a worker-run communist society in which the miners and the entire working class will reap the fruits of their labors.✊



Peugeot Strike Ends 'The only struggles you don't win are the ones you don't wage...'



Workers protest closing of Peugeot plant

AULNAY-SOUS-BOIS, FRANCE, May 17 — The four-month strike of Peugeot workers against one of the richest and most powerful bosses in France ended today, unable to prevent the planned closing of the plant here, scheduled for 2014. The strikers received \$1.1 million in donations, indicating enormous popular support, but were weakened by the fact that they could not widen the walkout to the rest of the company's factories nor to the country's auto industry. The strike cost Peugeot a production loss of 40,000 cars.

The workers condemned the active complicity of the Socialist Party government. They fought the latter's attempt to throw a monkey wrench into the strike, hauling militant workers into police stations. A local strike leader declared, "We have been treated like delinquents whereas our struggle is... against unemployment and for jobs."

The workers did win payment for unemployed days, holidays and a bonus equivalent to a month's wages. Those choosing to leave prior to May 31 will receive 19,700 euros (\$25,400) and strikers will get 60,000 euros (\$77,400) severance pay. All other workers will receive 40,000 euros (\$51,600). They also forced the company to re-hire the four fired strikers, canceling any criminal charges.

A local strike leader said, "We didn't have the strength necessary to bring Peugeot to its knees, but we thwarted them for four months and we are finishing still standing, our heads high. The only struggles you don't win are the ones you don't wage..."✊

May Day: One Class, One World, One Party



INDONESIA



UKRAINE

LETTERS

We encourage all CHALLENGE readers to send in letters and articles about their experiences fighting the bosses worldwide.

Workers’ Songs Spur Solidarity with Bangladesh Victims

I attend my union retiree chapter meetings. During the “Good and Welfare” section at the end of the meeting, I usually raise some point about the need for the working class to struggle and then sing a labor song for the attendees. At the April meeting, after inviting everyone to the PLP May Day celebration, I sang, “May Day is a Workers’ Day.” A few months ago, I handed everyone a New York Times article on the terrible garment factory fire in Bangladesh that killed so many workers, and called on the union to communicate with a Bangladeshi union to find ways to support the workers. There was a lot of agreement among the retirees. The union told me they couldn’t do it, but that I should do it.

At this month’s meeting, I talked about the thousand people dead from the factory collapse in Bangladesh and the factory explosion in Texas that killed people in the town. I then said, “Because the boss is so helpful to all of us, I have a working-class song to sing to you.” Then I sang the song with the chorus, “Put it on the ground, spread it all around, dig it with a hoe, it will make your flowers grow.”

As I sang the first stanza, people around the hall started to join in. When I got to the chorus, many more people joined in. There were about 200 retirees in the room. It sounded pretty good. When I came to the end of the last chorus, people were applauding loudly. The chairman of the meeting said, “I want to tell you that last night the union’s executive board agreed to do something about the Bangladeshi death toll.”

There are many roads we can walk on the way to revolution. Respect for the values of the working class is still alive and well. I usually get out between 60 and 100 CHALLENGEs before the meeting begins.

A Red Worker

Debate Black Nationalism vs. Multi-Racial Unity

The following five letters are from PLers and new friends in a conference of Students Against Mass Incarceration (SAMI). See CHALLENGE, 5/22 for full article.

Today, our PL club took part in a conference of Students Against Mass Incarceration. The politics of the event were very interesting. We witnessed a lot of radical, leftist thought going around. We also witnessed a lot of young, enthusiastic and intelligent youth engaging questions of racism, sexism and imperialism up front. The setback was that the conference discussions were framed around the ideas of black nationalism.

As Marxists, we realize that any form of nationalism, even nationalism of the oppressed, is at best false consciousness, and at worst, simply racist. Even though the nationalism present was seemingly progressive, and supposedly had the answers to the special oppression of black youth, we were able to realize the flaws of such a movement.

These flaws were made evident in the discussions: many problems were analyzed and elaborated on, but when it came to creating solutions, nationalist ideology fell flat. There was the contradiction of confronting racism, without the economic theory to tackle capitalism, its root cause. There was the contradiction of having to build multi-racial “alliances” to deal with Imperialism, while also having to maintain black leadership and black ideology in their organization. These problems were impossible to deal with under the framework of black nationalism. Only by understanding how capitalism uses racism to divide the working class, and how it uses Imperialism to dominate the world, can we apply theory to practice and effectively organize to fight back.

With that said, I was really inspired by the attendants at the events. To see so many dedicated young people addressing the problems of our society made me hopeful for the future. It was clear to me that if we introduced our Marxist ideas into the discourse, we could provide the answer they were looking for. Many of these young people were receptive to CHALLENGE, and were eager to discuss and consider the ideas present in the paper. We should continue to engage these students on a political level. The conference was very well-organized, and a pleasant reminder for why we fight for communism.

Enthusiastic Red

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

In the first workshop Consciousness, Vision, and Strategy, the discussion emphasized the necessity for an approach to creating unity and power within the black community. “I think it’s beautiful that we have black people from all over the country coming together...and



NORTH CAROLINA MAY DAY

I despise the fact that we are spending most of our time talking about how to organize with white people...”

The majority of the SAMI members made it clear that co-opting white leadership is a clear regression in their movement. While whites are their clear enemy, this discourse carries a strong sentiment that ostracizes anyone who isn’t black.

As an undocumented person of color, I am a direct target of the same prison/detention industrial complex (and natural ally). But, I could not find common ground, probably because SAMI’s racial discourse is a reflection of the same paradigm that oppresses us all. In terms of organizing for a cause that affects all people of color, SAMI can bring short-term victories, but it is not strategizing around the root cause: capitalism.

However, part of me understands the necessity for a national race-based identity for black people in America. Currently, the black identity is understood and propagated in the context of historical tragedy. The building of a national identity is part of a healing process, I think. It provides a sense of belonging, but more than that, a very necessary form of agency.

Felix

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

The general mood of the convention was a strong sense of nationalism rather than a well-rounded view of multiracial unity.

In one of the breakout sessions or workshops, it was quite evident that members of SAMI could not stress anymore the constant hatred for white supremacy. They provided ideas on ways to effectively unite the black people along with the support from other “racial” groups to fight capitalism and injustices of incarceration caused mainly by the whites as claimed.

There exist obvious parallels and common views shared by both the PLP and SAMI. However the key underlying difference is SAMI lacks the consciousness to realize that the fight against capitalism is not just inclusive to one group of people but rather the whole greater group in society, the working-class. SAMI has substance to facilitate strong movement but is clouded by the necessity to self-identify themselves with the black identity. Furthermore, at the convention, members especially the youth, do not have the proper understanding of how to bring about change by practical means.

A Friend

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

Going to conventions with people like Students Against Mass Incarceration (SAMI) was a great experience in many ways. These SAMI people see many of the struggles that the working class goes through, but they have a mindset that they are the only “race” that struggles. This is very dangerous in many ways. For example, all of their efforts and ideas go to waste because they do not have a real solution. The most they are able to do is reform and in many levels those reforms are not real because they do not help all aspects of the working class.

Even though, there are many problems with their

organization, they also have many qualities that are very important for change. The fact that they are able to organize and bring people together from many parts of the States is a huge skill to have. Another point in their favor is that they are very passionate about what they do and they believe in change and want to see the world transformed. However, the most important quality that they possess, whether they acknowledge it or not, is being part of the working-class struggles.

I learned many things today. One is that racism is universal and that getting over those prejudices are the key to making any change. SAMI has the wrong enemy and the wrong fight. Even though, we are not going to convince everyone in these types of events to automatically have communist points of view, it is very important to continue to attend, unite as a working class, and continue fighting for a revolution that we would all benefit from.

Red Student

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

It was inspiring to see so many black students serious about radical change. The U.S. has a history of militant fightbacks and culture from black workers. We need to build ties with these students. We met many interested in our communist ideas. Some NY students exchanged contact information with us.

Our friends, new to the Party, saw our political line in practice. It is one thing to talk about multiracial unity in a study group. It is another to see what the lack of multiracial unity looks like. Our friends understood that we don’t need black capitalism. They then came to May Day and had a lot of good questions.

This conference demonstrated why we need a mass Party. We believe everyone can be an anti-racist communist fighter, not just black workers. We also can’t have a successful revolution without a Party. The working class needs to be united as one, under one organization, in order to defeat our enemy. We cannot afford any more divisions.

PLP college students need to adopt a more aggressive attitude in organizing. When we hear of such conferences or of the bombing in Boston, or of racist war criminal Patraeus coming to our campus in the fall semester, or the reintroduction of the military in our schools — we must be more proactive in talking to our friends about it, organizing for the event or a fight-back. We must do these things without being told. We need an attitude of initiative if we are serious about revolution.

Lali

DC May Day Needed More Focus on International Workers’ Solidarity

I enjoyed reading about our May Day demonstration in D.C. in CHALLENGE. I felt as though the spirit of the article accurately reflected the rebellious spirit of all the marchers that joined forces that day to fight against

continued on page 7

LETTERS

continued from page 6

corporate greed. The only concern I have is that since CHALLENGE is sympathetic towards the welfare of workers all over the globe, I felt as though we should have focused less on the action itself and more on the cause — solidarity with workers around the world in the fight against capitalism.

The action taken during the march is already done, so in my opinion, I don't feel as though that should have been the main focus of the article. I say this because I feel as though we may run the risk of coming off as insensitive to those with possibly more pressing issues concerning their work in other parts of the world.

Even the headline of the article focused on our run-in with authorities, as opposed to why we actually had to face those pigs. However, I greatly appreciated the discussion about the workers in Bangladesh. It was good to let readers know that the cracks in the factory building were obvious but, unfortunately, ignored in the bosses' rush to make profits. Nevertheless, thank you for being a voice among the madness of capitalism and keep up the good work!

DC May Day marcher

White Workers Not the Cause of Racism

We are writing another letter about the weakness of the articles dealing with anti-racist struggle, which we have noted in our paper. One glaring example of this is a picture in one of the last issues showing a black college student holding up a sign which said "Smash White Supremacy."

This is in fact advertising for the neo-racist concept that white people as a whole are responsible for racism, rather than the capitalist bosses of any color. The concept that white supremacy is the essence of racism is supported by many of our old enemies, who newer Party members may not be familiar with: fake leftists such as Bernadette Dorhn and William "Bill" Ayers of the Weathermen faction of SDS and their ally the African American neo-racist Haki Mahdibuti and his wife. Indeed, they have written a book about this anti-white worker concept.

While the concept of white supremacy made sense during the period of apartheid-type racism in the U.S. (1896 – 1965), it has absolutely no Marxist sense at a time when fascists of color are threaded throughout the agents of the one percent. We even have an African-American as "emperor" of the U.S. Empire. Blaming white supremacy for racism is just another form of the neo-racist attack being launched by the bosses against the white members of the international, multi-racial proletariat.

A racist capitalist system has been built on two

levels of political economic control since the 1670s. This includes oppression and super-oppression, exploitation and super-exploitation, sometimes based on color, sometimes based on "race," most of the time based on racialized ancestry. They're designed to protect capitalism from the unity of the proletariat and to generate immense profits from both the exploited and the super-exploited.

To conclude, the workers of color will never be free from wage slavery so long as white workers, especially white members of the industrial proletariat, are somehow blamed as the causes of racism.

Fight for the kind of communism, which will end racism once and for all — in all its forms.

The Red Rabbi and the Red Preacher

Attack in Russia Shows Why Communism Is Needed

On May 10, a homosexual working-class man was brutally tortured and murdered because of his sexual orientation. The body of 23-year-old Vladislav Tornovoy was found in Volgograd ["Volgograd" is actually Stalingrad. Krushchev had it changed to try to wipe out memory of Stalin], 600 miles south of Moscow. Investigating officials told the media that Tornovoy's head was smashed and that his body had multiple bruises and wounds. Before being killed, the victim was repeatedly brutally raped with beer bottles.

The ruling class in Russia is using the bogeyman of a shrinking population to stir up hatred based on sexual preference, and to consolidate the resurgence of the despotic Russian Orthodox Church.

Meanwhile, the liberal wing of the U.S. ruling class, is fostering anti-Russian hatred by building on the justified outrage against this crime among well-meaning workers. The rulers are also using the incident to build anti-communism and attack Stalin. Whenever the rulers can attack Stalin, they will.

PLP stands against all ruling-class ideologies that divide and oppress workers. Sexism enables males to dominate and disempower women, wrest control over their reproductive rights, steal billions of hours of unpaid domestic labor, and pay them less for other work in the pursuit of super-profits. Sexism justifies all sorts of degenerate behavior in the highly profitable industries of sexual exploitation.

PLP will negate all of the identities that capitalism needs in order to survive. We will struggle against false consciousness and any relationship based on domination and subjugation. We will build a communist world that meets all of our needs by basing our understanding of who we are on the material foundation of class, not the illusory fleeting social constructs of capitalist society.

Red Teacher

Profit Drive Kills Garment Workers, from L.A. to Bangladesh

continued from page 3

ing Awami League, has been arrested. By all accounts, he is guilty of murder. But the biggest criminals are the retailers in Europe and the U.S., like Benetton and Walmart, that pursued maximum profits by buying their goods from the substandard factories in Rana Plaza and countless others like them. The biggest murderers are the capitalists from imperialist powers who exploit the four million garment workers of Bangladesh, the great majority of them women. Rana was a small-time thug simply playing by their rules.

Why do local and national governments around the world permit such practices? In two words: class dictatorship. Some governments take the form of democracies, as in the U.S. and Bangladesh. Others are formally kingdoms, as in Saudi Arabia and Jordan, or capitalist states, as in China. But the content of all existing governments is the same — to maintain capitalist exploitation. That's why the Progressive Labor Party fights not for democracy, but for communism, a system without exploitation where the working class will rule.✪



CAMBODIA MAY DAY



RED EYE ON THE NEWS . . .

that may be of use for our readers. Abbreviations: NYT=New York Times, GW=Guardian Weekly, LAT=Los Angeles Times

Colonialists Roast, Castrate Rebels

GW, 5/10 — The British government is negotiating payments to thousands of Kenyans detained and severely mistreated during the 1950s Mau Mau insurgency....

This followed discovery of a vast archive of colonial-era documents the Foreign Office (FCO) had kept hidden for decades. In the case of the Kenya conflict, the secret papers showed that senior colonial officials authorized appalling abuses of inmates at prison camps, and that ministers and officials in London were aware of a brutal detention regime in which men and women were tortured and killed....

Up to 10,000 former prisoners may be in line for compensation....Payments to Mau Mau veterans are likely to trigger claims from other former colonies....

The Red Cross...documented widespread use of torture in British prisons during the insurgency....

Abuses were carefully documented by British officers, and colonial officials kept the FCO informed. Documentary evidence could also support compensation claims from Swaziland and British Guiana, now Guyana....

Some prisoners died under torture, with colonial of-

of the original five claimants who brought the test case against the British government were castrated....

One claimant, Wambugu Wanyingi,...said, "There is a saying in Kikuyu that old age lives off the years of youth....I have nothing to live off because my youth was taken from me.

Big retailers ignore safety deaths

NYT, 5/11 — Major retailers like Walmart, Benetton and Gap....[use] many garment factories in Bangladesh [that] lack basic means for workers to flee in case of fire — specifically fire escapes and smokeproof enclosed staircases.

Sanitation work: vital, dangerous

NYT, 5/12 — ...What about the Sanitation Department? Could New York's Strongest also qualify as New York's Most Invisible?...Robin Nagle comments that workers are "willfully unseen by the public....

They are New York's Most Essential.... "Sanitation... is the most important uniformed force on the street."

... "If sanitation workers aren't out there, the city becomes unlivable, fast....

The city's perilous dealings with trash...have meant outbreaks of disease and bureaucratic corruption. ("Even as the city's filth proved fatal to countless victims,"

The real heroes in Nagle's story are the everyday san men (and women, whose inclusion in the 1980s Nagle recounts with evident pride)....

"Being a sanitation worker...is more dangerous than being a policeman or fireman...."

As of 2011 the Bureau of Labor Statistics ranked... "refuse collection as the nation's fourth most dangerous job. San men...are many times more likely than... [those] in Police or Fire to be killed on the job." (Reasons include reckless drivers and exposure to toxic substances.)

Climate change can spur rebellions

GW, 4/19 — A so far unpublished U.S. government study indicates that the world needs to prepare...as food prices spiral and agricultural practices are disrupted by climate change. The draft U.S. National Climate Assessment report predicts that a gradually warming climate and unpredictable weather will have serious consequences.

"We should expect much more political destabilization as it bites....Studies suggest anything up to 200 million more food-insecure people by 2050 or an additional 24 million malnourished children....Climate change is a creeping disaster"

MORE ITEMS AVAILABLE AT WWW.PLP.ORG

USSR, First Workers' State — Won and Lost



Philippines May Day

Stalin and the Cult

A related error was the “cult of the great man,” usually called “cult of personality.” As the 1930s progressed, both supporters and secret opponents of the Soviet government took every chance to praise Stalin to the skies as basically infallible. Supporters did this because of the undeniable and immense successes of collectivization and industrialization. Opponents did it to cloak their own conspiracies.

Privately as well as publicly Stalin always disapproved of this “cult.” But he did not succeed in stopping it. The “cult” made it possible for those who had been won over to the essentially capitalist line evolving within Soviet “socialism” to hide their real disagreements with the goal of communism — a goal Stalin himself never stopped aiming for.

The “cult” also created an atmosphere of blind obedience within devoted communists and working people. If the “great man” has all the answers, why think for yourself? PLP has firmly rejected any “cults” of leaders or anybody else. Our line should come from the mass consciousness of the working class practicing communism.

hugely destroyed by World War, a Civil War, foreign invasion, epidemic and famine.

The Bolsheviks then led the Soviet Union to victory in World War II. After losing over 20 million lives and the destruction of the country’s infrastructure in the war, the USSR rebuilt in record time. The socialist USSR built nuclear weapons through the political commitment of its scientists.

The history of the USSR is an invaluable “textbook” for all workers! We must study the Soviet experience (and that of the other great 20th century communist revolution, the Chinese) to learn essential lessons about what Lenin, Stalin and the Bolsheviks did right, and what they did wrong, so we can do it right next time and win a communist world!✊

1 The plan was:

- Collectivize agriculture, so the collective farms could give up all their surplus to fund the industrialization drive;
- Build whole cities of industry overnight, making the huge investments of industrializing a gigantic country within a few years instead of the decades it had taken the capitalist countries;
- Mechanize the new collective farms with tractors and farm equipment, making them even more productive;
- Build a large modern army with advanced weapons, able to defeat the armies of the capitalist countries that the USSR knew would attack, probably soon;
- Delay the attack as long as possible through diplomacy, trying to play off the capitalist countries against one another.

2 For one version of these events see Grover Furr, “Stalin and the Struggle for Democratic Reform (two parts) at <http://clogic.eserver.org/2005/2005.html>. For another, see *The Great Conspiracy* by Sayers and Kahn.

When the Russian Revolution, and the Civil War that followed it, ended in 1921, the new workers’ state was facing exhausting conditions. It was largely destroyed, 4.5 million killed by 17 invading capitalist countries, with a raging famine. Millions of homeless people wandered the land, and starvation was rampant. The worldwide typhus epidemic of 1919 had killed tens of thousands.

Seven years of war and invasion by Imperial Germany, then Poland, and all the Allied countries, including the U.S., Britain, France, and Japan, had created a culture of violence. Crime — robbery, murder, gangs — was everywhere. Armed bands from Poland raided border areas, robbed, raped, and killed, then fled back across the border. Industry and agriculture were almost at a standstill.

The Bolsheviks’ task was to build socialism with the traumatized people in this devastated country. They had no blueprint, for it had never been done. No communist theorist — neither Marx and Engels, nor Lenin, nor any other — had ever thought the first workers’ state would look anything like this.

In the 1920s, the Bolsheviks debated the best course of action to build the new society. Communists then believed that communism could only come in an industrialized country. The party leadership knew that the advanced capitalist countries would attack the USSR as soon as possible. Their position — that the USSR could and must quickly industrialize by itself — won over the vast majority of rank-and-file Bolsheviks.¹

Led by Stalin, the mainly working-class Bolshevik Party took the country on to a great “leap into the unknown.” By the mid-’30s, collectivization was almost complete, and the USSR was becoming a major industrial power. Nothing like this had ever been accomplished before in world history!

During the 1930s, Oppositionist leaders conspired to try to overthrow Stalin and the Party leadership. Some also conspired with German and Japanese fascists. Additionally, fascist organizers infiltrated into every European country and Russia.

The Soviet leadership found out about these plots and tried and executed the guilty. But two successive heads of the political police were involved in these plots too. The second, Nikolai Ezhov, had his men arrest, tor-

ture, and murder hundreds of thousands of innocent Soviet workers and Party members to cover up his own plot, and to sow dissatisfaction. This too was eventually uncovered, but not until huge damage had been done.²

Workers’ power was thought to be guaranteed as long as the communist party was in charge. In fact, capitalist ideas and practices turned the Bolshevik Party into its opposite. At Stalin’s death in March 1953 the communist movement appeared stronger than ever. Yet within three years the new head of the USSR, Nikita Khrushchev, had pushed the country towards capitalism, while attacking Stalin as a monstrous murderer and egomaniac. How could this happen?

All other socialists and communists, along with the Soviet leadership, believed there had to be an intermediate stage called “socialism” between capitalism and real communism. It would preserve many capitalist features: wage inequalities, inequalities between countryside and city; between workers and managers, the uneducated and the educated, nationalisms of various kinds, and so on. In industry, science, technology, art and literature, it meant preserving many capitalist ways of doing things, though with pro-worker reforms.

No human undertaking can ever be free of error, and the Bolsheviks made lots of mistakes. The basic reason is: They were the first! Never before had a communist movement seized and held power, then tried to build socialism/communism in any country, much less one that was not industrialized to begin with and, moreover,

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