

CHALLENGE



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Annual Black Friday Demo

For Laquan, Smash Police & Racism



CHICAGO, November 24—For the third straight year, Progressive Labor Party brought a multi-racial, multi-generational spirited contingent to the Black Friday protests, organized in opposition to the racist Chicago Police Department. Beyond just fighting for another reform or targeting capitalist profits for one day, our collective struggled with workers present over international communist revolution as the only permanent solution to the racist and sexist capitalist system.

Capitalist Bosses Need Killer Kops and Fascism

The first mass Black Friday protest here in Chicago took place in November 2015, just days after the release of dashboard video showing racist killer cop Jason Van Dykkke pumping 16 rounds into the lifeless body of Black teenager Laquan McDonald. The video had been kept under wraps for over a year by the city government, including racist Mayor Rahm Emanuel, who knew perfectly well that the racist murder would undoubtedly destroy his campaign for re-election that previous April.

The protest in 2015 involved hundreds of angry workers and students blocking the entrances

of high-end retail stores and shutting down traffic on the elite Magnificent Mile downtown. With each following year, the protests have decreased in size, as the city's bosses have slickly thrown some crumbs towards the workers and given the illusion of progress and reform of their criminal injustice system.

Earlier this month, 17 people wrongly convicted by the racist courts were exonerated as preliminary charges and discipline were brought against notorious kkkop Sergeant Ronald Watts and several other goons under his command. The capitalist bosses are hoping that this news will distract workers in the city away from the fact that the City Council voted almost unanimously to build a massive new Police Academy and hire at least a thousand more kkkops to terrorize, extort, and kill more and more of our working-class sisters and brothers.

The bosses need increasing fascism and police terror to oppress the working class, who will justifiably rebel and organize against the intolerable economic and political conditions that capitalism inevitably creates. If the international working class is ever to live in a world free of fascist

police terror, deportations, and imperialist war, the struggle needs to take the form of a mass international revolutionary movement led by the communist PLP to crush the bosses and capitalism once and for all!

Communist Speech Sets the Tone

Armed with communist banners, fliers, CHALLENGE, and a bullhorn, our Party contingent connected with the protest at Water Tower Plaza for the kick-off rally. Various leaders of reform struggles, community organizations, and victims of racist police terror gave their testimonies to call out the racist and sexist nature of the kkkops and the capitalist system. For the second year in a row, a PL comrade gave an impassioned speech that pushed the need for a more revolutionary scope to the struggle.

The comrade stressed the importance of international working class solidarity and revolutionary fightback in an era of increasing imperialist rivalry, deportations, and war. He highlighted the mass worker fightback in regions like Kishana,

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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.

☆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, Latin, 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?

CHALLENGE is for the working class, produced by the working class. 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

Saudi Arabia: Rising Fascism Under Liberal Veil

Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, aka MBS, has been praised by pro-Trump and anti-Trump forces for implementing sweeping liberal reforms. Both sides believe the prince's reforms can advance the interests of U.S. imperialism. And the main wing of the U.S. ruling class surely wishes it could follow the Saudis' lead and bring factions of their own class to heel.

MBS designed his reforms to whip up support among the working class in Saudi Arabia for war against Iran and Iran-backed groups such as Hezbollah and the Houthi rebels in Yemen. But rather than drink the billionaire prince's nationalist poison, workers need to unite throughout the Middle East and the world and fight for communism.

Both Arsonists and Firefighters

In the oil-rich Middle East, Saudi Arabia has been the main U.S. ally since World War II, when U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt vowed to protect the kingdom in exchange for U.S. access to its petroleum reserves. Internally, the Saudi ruling class shored up its power and profits by cutting a deal with the Wahhabi mullahs. For decades, the Wahhabis have imposed an ultra-sexist religious order at home while exporting their fundamentalist Islam throughout the region. In the 1980s, they trained the mujahideen in Afghanistan in their war against the Soviet Union, a struggle that led to the creation of Al Qaeda. Throughout the region they supply free textbooks that spout their murderous rhetoric.

In the realm of extremist Islam, the Saudis are 'both the arsonists and the firefighters,' said William McCants, a Brookings Institution scholar. 'They promote a very toxic form of Islam that draws sharp lines between a small number of true believers and everyone else, Muslim and non-Muslim,' he said, providing ideological fodder for violent jihadists (New York Times, 8/26/16).

But now the Saudi rulers need their religious leaders to publicly denounce ISIS and fall in line with the new liberal agenda. MBS is disciplining Saudi capitalists with his so-called anti-corruption drive. He has imprisoned two hundred top officials and businessmen in the Riyadh Ritz-Carlton until they agree to pay back to the government some of the loot they've skimmed over the years. He is sending a clear message: The Saudi ruling class must put aside short-term, individual greed for the long-term interests of their class, which includes a buildup to war with Iran. As New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman wrote in an over-the-top love letter to MBS, "Unlike the other Arab Springs — all of which emerged bottom up and failed miserably, except in Tunisia — this one is led from the top down... and, if it succeeds, it will not only change the character of Saudi Arabia but the tone and tenor of Islam across the globe. Only a fool would predict its success — but only a fool would not root for it" (NYT 11/23).

Meanwhile, Human Rights Watch has denounced the Saudis' new counterterrorism bill, which targets anyone who speaks out against the government. Insulting MBS or his father, King Salman, is punishable by 10 years in jail. Other acts of "terrorism" carry the death penalty, including "disturbing public order," 'shaking the security of the community,' and... 'suspending the basic laws of governance,' all of which are vague and have been used by Saudi authorities to punish peaceful dissidents and activists" (Al Jazeera, 11/23).

These crackdowns against dissident government officials and capitalists are a hallmark of rising fascism in a period of capitalist crisis and sharpening inter-imperialist rivalry. The purpose is to consolidate the rulers' power by disciplining their own ranks. Then the Saudi bosses will be better positioned to attack the working class and move toward war.

War on Workers in Yemen

The war against the working class in Yemen has been raging for two and a half years, killing more than 10,000 and destroying hospitals and sewage treatment plants. The resulting outbreak of cholera, one of the largest in half a century, has infected than a million workers. Blockades have prevented aid from reaching Yemeni workers, creating famine conditions. The U.S. has placed Yemen on its anti-Muslim travel ban list, effectively sentencing workers to death.

The United Nations Human Rights Council is sending observers to Yemen to investigate war crimes allegations. What the UN will never admit is that all imperialist wars are crimes against the international working class.

Backed by Iran, Houthi rebels have been battling a Saudi- and U.S.-backed coalition for control over the country. Yemen has untapped oil and natural gas reserves and is located on an important oil shipping waterway. It sits directly across the narrow Mandeb Strait from Djibouti, where the U.S. has established a new military base overlooking oil routes from West Africa to the Middle East and beyond.

U.S. Jealous of Saudi Crackdown

To date, the main wing of the U.S. ruling class—represented by the big banks and multinational oil companies like ExxonMobil—has been less successful in its own efforts to prepare war and fascism. For the rulers, the Trump administration is proving to be a disaster. Despite a Republican Party majority in both houses of Congress, all Trump has to show for a year in office is a make-the-rich-richer tax bill. His fomenting of white nationalism has further divided the working class when the ruling class needs workers united around patriotism. The Saudis' initiatives to get their house in order foreshadows the type of fascism the working class can expect in the U.S., sooner than later.

Iran and Saudi Arabia, Two Sides of Imperialism

Saudi Arabia and Iran have been rivals in the Middle East for decades, vying for ultimate control over oil and gas exports in the region. Where the Saudi rulers have allied with U.S. imperialists, Iran has tied its future to Russian and Chinese imperialists.

In 1979, both the Saudi and Iranians rulers turned to fundamentalist Islam as their answer for disciplining their ruling classes and their workers. Now Saudi Arabia is taking a different approach. According to Thomas Friedman, "This reform push is giving the youth here a new pride in their country, almost a new identity, which many of them clearly relish" (NYT 11/23). What MBS hasn't yet figured out is how to counter without funding destabilizing political movements like ISIS.

As the Saudi rulers move to relax the religious stranglehold on their society, Iran is pushing its own brand of nationalism by uniting its workers against the U.S. and Saudi Arabia. "In short, it appears that Mr. Trump and the Saudis have helped the [Iranian] government achieve what years of repression could never accomplish: widespread public support for the hardline view that the United States and Riyadh can-

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High School Work

No Justice for Delrawn Small, Push Limits on the Job

BROOKLYN, November 27—Wayne Isaacs, a Black kkkop, was found *not guilty* on October 23 for murdering 37-year-old Delrawn Small in a 4 of July road rage dispute. This was an instant reminder that this racist murderous system of capitalism will continue to defend the kkkops who help maintain it. Instantly, thoughts turned to a student, Delrawn's family member, who attends a Brooklyn high school where a few communist teachers in the Progressive Labor Party have a base.

We knew we had to organize a school-wide response to support our student and to get students and staff in motion over this racist attack.

Murdered on July 4

Seconds after Small approached cop Isaac's car, the off duty cop shot him three times while Small's family, including his 14-year-old daughter, watched. In court, the lawyer said, "The defendant [cop Isaac] came out of the car, not to render aid, but to coldly walk by Small's body, get on the phone and call 911 to allege he was attacked, punched, as Delrawn Small laid on the concrete in his own blood...It happened so fast, in one second, he ended his life in front of his family, stumbled a few feet and fell" (NY Daily News, 10/23).

On the day the capitalist courts ruled this murder as legal, Victor Dempsey, Small's brother, said the outcome "goes to show the system is not for black people. I don't care how we look at it." (New York Times, 11/7).

Following the murder, some PL teachers participated in a rally organized by his family. We introduced ourselves as communist teachers to her family. One PL teacher who at the time was teaching summer school organized her classes to write letters of support to the family. This had a significant impact on both our student and her family who felt the school was supportive.

Organizing After the Verdict

One teacher reached out to the student's mother to offer condolences and express our outrage at the verdict. The mom was not surprised by the outcome. We suggested organizing a rally in front of the school at the end of the week to condemn racist police murder and to show school-wide support to the family. Both student and parent agreed. We then organized an emergency staff meeting and an emergency student meeting. Staff was supportive of the rally. At the student meeting, our courageous student attended, along with a handful of others and plans were made for how to get the word out to the student body.

They made flyers calling on all to attend. Student leaders posted them around the school.

Fighting in Hard Times

We were happy with the plan and enthusiasm in the school to denounce racist police murder and support our student. We knew we were pushing the limits in this time period of increased cynicism by calling for a mass action directly in front of the school.

Unfortunately, we did not take into account the great fear, individualism and willingness to go along with the status quo that exists amongst the administration. Our lack of full objectivity allowed us to underestimate the enemy and we did not make a plan to counter it. As soon as students began putting up flyers, the administration took them down. One bold student, who hates this racist system to its core, confronted an administrator she saw taking down the flyers. The student quickly went back to tell the others, and they made plans to distribute the flyers more clandestinely.



July 6, 2016—Over 100 protest racist murder of Delrawn Small at vigil. Hours later, the police state in Minnesota murdered Philando Castile. The day before, the kkkops in Baton Rouge, Louisiana lynched Alton Sterling. Racism and police terror is as American as apple pie. Liberal state Assemblyman Charles Barron attempted to give misleadership to the protesters. Brother of Delrawn on the mic speaking out against racism.

Unfortunately the rally was canceled. It may be that the administration heightened Delrawn's family member's fear that the rally would bring too much attention to her. Or it may be that they convinced her to call off the rally. Either way, the next day our student thanked us for our support but asked that we call off the rally. We called another emergency meeting to let students know. Many were disappointed and angry because they felt that the administration had won.

But we all realized we had to respect our student's wishes and instead decided to organize a moment of silence at our next school assembly and a dedicated wall where students and staff could write messages of support to the family.

Marx wrote to Engels about the ebb and flow of class struggle, where there are "developments of such magnitude 20 years are no more than a day...though these may be again succeeded by days into which 20 years are embodied." We are in a time when days are as slow as years in terms of struggle. It is important in this difficult period of low class struggle and class-consciousness to continue to get the people around us in motion against this racist, murderous system. We may not always be able to make our plans of action a reality, but we must push the limits and create a culture of fightback. These small steps forward represent progress as we continue on the road to the destruction of capitalism and all the misery it unleashes worldwide.✪

For Laquan, Smash Racism

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Congo and Oaxaca, Mexico that took place during the past year. He called on workers in Chicago and everywhere to be uncompromising in the struggle to destroy capitalism and build workers' power through communism worldwide. The comrade's speech was met with loud applause and provided more of an opening for our collective to share our literature with the workers and students present.

Sharpening Chants

After the speeches, the protest once again took to the streets in order to begin blocking the entrances to billion-dollar capitalist businesses on one of the busiest shopping days of the year. Our contingent was fired up after the rally, picketing the storefronts in rhythm with our fellow anti-racist fighters and using our bullhorn to lead several chants.

When we found the chants to be too soft on the bosses, we took the opportunity to inject some more revolutionary and class-conscious messages. For example, when the chant went "The people united, will never be defeated!" we were quick to change it to "The workers united, will never be defeated!"



This caused some friction with some of the main organizers of the demonstration, who wanted us to stick to the approved chant sheet, but still won the support of a number of anti-racists nearby who were more open to our line of working class power.

Fight to Win

Although as communists we don't believe that capitalism can be reformed in any significant or lasting way to serve the needs of our class, it is still essential and inspirational to take place in these mass demonstrations and grassroots struggles. These smaller fights help build the class consciousness and the relationships necessary to understand that the international working class can truly move mountains when we unite in our common interests against capitalism. PLP will continue to build the fight to win workers to communist revolution as the path to a better world.✪

Zimbabwe Aligns with China, 'Revolutionary' Nationalism Fails Workers



Zimbabwe Welcomes Chinese Imperialism

During Mugabe's fight against the Rhodesian government, he turned to Beijing to support his Zimbabwe African National Union. In 1980 Zimbabwe and China formally established their diplomatic relations, a pivotal year in China's cultural and political history.

Following the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, China gave way to a generation that felt no connection to the Great Leap Forward of 1958 or the Cultural Revolution of the 60s and 70s (Pew Research 11/12/15).

The 1980s marked the establishment of China and Zimbabwe as states for the ruling class, not workers. A crushing blow to those who thought a widespread communist revolution was just around the corner in the 1960s.

"According to Professor Wang Xinsong, a specialist in international development at Beijing Normal University...China has been monitoring infighting within the Mugabe regime and the country's faltering economy for some time – and carefully weighing its options" (The Guardian 11/17).

According to The Guardian (11/17) Mnangagwa is widely believed to be behind the coup against Mugabe. He has historically allied with the Chinese, receiving ideological and military training in Beijing and Nanjing.

Just days before the military take-over in Zimbabwe and the ousting of Mugabe, General Constantino Chiwenga, Zimbabwean army general and Commander of the Zimbabwe Defense Forces, visited China – a coincidence that has not gone unnoticed by the ruling class media, which has also noticed that the Chinese have yet to pub-

This is in-fighting within the ruling class of Zimbabwe. It's also a sign of China's growing imperialist clout in Africa

licly condemn Mugabe's removal.

On The Brink Of World War?

If China was instrumental in the military's ousting of Mugabe, this would be the first example of its covert involvement in a military coup d'état and a sign of China's growing global power. (The Guardian 11/17). As the U.S. continues to slip in its rivalry with China, the world moves closer to another world war.

An alternative explanation is that Mnangagwa's seizure of power may just be a sign of international instability allowing smaller powers to make internal moves without large allied forces to stop them, a period strikingly similar to that just before WWI.

"[This period] looks ominously like another moment in history — the period leading up to World War I, which marked the end of a multi-decade expansion in global ties that many call the first era of globalization" (The Washington Post 12/29/16).

With both scenarios leading to world war, the international working class is in danger of being driven to the front lines in order to protect the profit and power of a ruling class that will leave them to die. Progressive Labor Party calls workers everywhere to abandon all forms of nationalism, and instead join the fight for a communist future. From Zimbabwe to China to the United States, the working class has nothing to lose but its chains.✪

On November 24 Emmerson Mnangagwa, former vice president of Zimbabwe was named president, bookending national turmoil that began when former president Robert Mugabe fired Mnangagwa, triggering a military takeover, protests in support of Mnangagwa, and Mugabe's own ousting by coup d'état.

While a result of in-fighting within the ruling class of Zimbabwe, this is also a sign of China's growing investment in Africa and the strengthening of their role as leading imperialist power.

China is Zimbabwe's fourth largest trading partner and its largest source of investment, buying 28 percent of its exports in 2015 and a making a promise of five-billion-dollars in direct aid and investment from Chinese president Xi Jinping, who has called Zimbabwe an "all-weather friend" (BBC 11/20).

Nationalism Will Always Fail The Working Class

In the 1960s, Mugabe joined the African nationalist struggle in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo and the National Democratic Party. Mugabe soon grew impatient with Nkomo's tactics.

Mugabe broke from Nkomo and formed the Zimbabwe African National Union, which organized a guerrilla struggle against the apartheid regime of Ian Smith, which had the support of powerful U.S. officials, including Dean Acheson and Richard Nixon. After being imprisoned along with 11 allies, Mugabe became the voice of the guerrilla movement against the Rhodesian racist government.

In 1979, however, rather than aligning with the Soviet Union, Mugabe rejoined Mr. Nkomo under pressure from African rulers and comfortably sat in the pocket of the British in order to establish the state of Zimbabwe (NYT 11/15). Mugabe became president of Zimbabwe in 1980 and remained in power until recently.

Often touted as a Marxist-Leninist, Mugabe is actually a capitalist leader. Given the opportunity to choose between workers revolution and nationalism, he chose nationalism and the interest of the imperialist ruling class, allowing multinational corporations to loot Zimbabwe's rich resources of gold, copper, diamonds, platinum and other raw materials, enriching Mugabe and his friends, but leaving ordinary people poor and with a suspected unemployment rate as high as 90 percent (BBC 11/19).

Mugabe has ruled with an iron fist. In the 1980s, in a series of massacres known as the Gukuruhundi, he sent in the national army to kill 20,000 Ndebele civilians suspected of being supporters of Joshua Nkomo, Mugabe's political rival. (The Guardian 5/19/15).

Saudi Arabia: Rising Fascism under Liberal Veil

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not be trusted and that Iran is now a strong and capable state capable of staring down its enemies (NYT 11/26)."

As the Saudi ruling class uses secular liberalism to build discipline among their ranks, workers must see it for what it is—a drive to be prepared for war. No matter what reform crumbs capitalists throw us, we must look at their underlying motive: to mislead a working class into fighting and dying for the bosses' profits. We must organize ourselves to smash all imperialists in a revolutionary war for communism and workers' power.✪



Bolshevik Revolution Celebrations

MEXICO

MEXICO—To celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, members of Progressive Labor Party held an international communist school over this past long weekend. On the first day, a large group of education workers studied political economy. Everyone was very receptive to our communist ideas, advancing their understanding that they are part of the working class and that the purpose of education under capitalism is to prepare new generations of exploited workers, and that educators play a role in that. For the working class to win a world free of exploitation—communism—educators have a different important role to play, teaching young people to resist the capitalist ideas of individualism, racism, and sexism, and turning them into ideas of collectivity and struggle.

We talked about how the problems these

educators face in their communities, unions, and classrooms are related to capitalism's need for profit, fascism, and war. Cutbacks in funding, stronger control of education, and fascist tactics against workers and to reign in members of the capitalist class are some of the bosses' tools to get prepared for wider war. The education workers recognized that capitalism permanently attacks the living conditions of the working class and that their struggle has been key to fight these attacks. We asked them to read CHALLENGE, and other PLP literature, to join our study groups, and to fight the capitalist system that exploits us and replace it with a communist society.

Next, we met with a group of industrial workers, where young PLers gave a presentation explaining what communism is and what a communist society would be like. The discussion was very spirited, with discussion on such ideas as how products would be distributed and what education would be like. There was input on the necessity of developing communist leaders within the working class.

The third day we went to a community were

workers are fighting against excessive prices on electric energy. When comrades mentioned the need for communism, everyone showed their anger at the capitalist system and talked about all the attacks their community has suffered for years. They showed interest in fighting against the government and the criminal capitalist system. Some asked about the difference between socialism and communism, and if Cuba is communist. We explained many key aspects of our line and the necessity of creating an international party and fighting directly for communism—the lack of both were serious weaknesses of past revolutions. These workers showed interest in joining study groups in the area and we are working on it.

The weekend-long school for communism showed the great potential of the working class to understand and practice communist ideas and of PLP in developing working-class leaders capable of leading the struggle to end the capitalist system and build a new communist society. This was a very good way of honoring the Russian communists. Despite the dark night, a spectre is haunting the capitalist world: the spectre of communism!✪

CHICAGO

CHICAGO—Celebrating the Bolshevik Revolution inspires us to keep fighting for the communist world we know is possible and necessary. Chicago's recent multi-racial, multi-generational event of over 50 people included drama, table conversations, songs, and great food. The event highlighted the hard work and persistence involved in mobilizing and politicizing for the Bolshevik Revolution.

One hundred years ago, workers overthrew the Provisional Government and announced that from now on, the profit system would not control the lives of workers and peasants.

Today, we are still fighting for that world. In the meantime, we have learned that the fight for an egalitarian society is more complex than workers and communists thought at the time. The capitalists have learned as well and have created new ways to exploit, ideologically disarm, imprison, and kill members of the working class.

Antiracist Reenactment

In this age of instant information, we are deluged with how the bosses want us to think. It was refreshing at the Chicago celebration to see a dramatic re-enactment of a little-known chapter in U.S. history from the 1920s, a time when workers, white as well as Black, took up arms against the Ku Klux Klan. The organization was called the Knights of the Flaming Circle, and they fought fire with fire.

Immigrant communities, particularly Italians, Catholics, were also part of it, since the Klan was

both anti-Black and anti-immigrant. In Ohio, the Klan's cars were overturned and the racists were beaten with bricks, bottles, and clubs. The school board elections were an area of struggle between the antiracists and Klan in New Mexico. These workers had good ideas, but without a goal of eliminating the whole capitalist system, they were a temporary force.

Learning from the Giants

PLP's analysis of the accomplishments and mistakes growing out of the October revolution is presented in Road to Revolution IV (see plp.org). Socialism, as it turns out, is not a stage on the way to communism. Instead, it leads back to capitalism. By making material incentives, rather than social incentives, the basis of work, the Soviet Union developed capitalist ideas and practices that undermined the goals of their revolution. We learned from the pioneers' mistakes (see page 8 about the Soviet's New Economic Plan).

For some, it may be a sad fact of history that the Bolshevik Revolution did not live up to its potential to wipe capitalism off the face of the earth forever. The reality is that change is doesn't happen in a straight line. Today, as the world's workers are beset with wars and fascist governments, what we have learned from that first attempt to bring about communism on a mass scale makes it more likely that the next attempt will be successful.

Today's potential communists are often embroiled in reform movements. One day, they will develop the forces to overthrow the government, as the Bolsheviks did. Progressive Labor Party is bucking that trend by keeping communism alive and winning more potential fighters every day.✪

BAY AREA

OAKLAND—Over 50 comrades and friends celebrated the Bolshevik revolution with a dynamic dinner. Friends who attended said the event inspired hope for the future. We raised funds for our brave comrades who fought the Klan in Anaheim. It was a success!

To kick off the event, a comrade gave a speech about the problems in the world, from deadly climate change to racist police killings to sexist harassment and violence in our jobs, schools, and homes. He explained why capitalism is to blame, and showed that the Bolsheviks understood this. He explained the Bolsheviks encourage us, not because they fought back. As long as there is class society, there are brave fighters who struggle for class liberation. The Bolsheviks encourages us because they took the next step, and actually took state power. Because of this, they were able to take society light years into the future.

After the speech, people discussed at their tables what they have heard about communism, whether they think we can fix capitalism, and other interesting questions. Some comrades made the point that the Bolsheviks didn't fail. In fact, they were able to transform life for millions of workers, bringing them anti-racism and anti-sexism. Rather, we need to learn from their mistakes of why they were unable to maintain a socialist society and become communist.

A Multimedia Spread

Someone performed a rap against identity politics. It was about being a worker above all else, not a man or woman or Black or white person. Another woman performed a song about Hurricane Katrina and the racist treatment of the working class of New Orleans.

A video about the 2014 Ferguson rebellion demonstrated how the working class is still fighting back today. We discussed the successes and failures of the Ferguson rebellion and why we need working-class consciousness.

Every table received a collection of pictures from the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and Vietnam. The pictures showed different ways the pro-worker governments promoted antiracism, anti-sexism, built infrastructure for workers, and used art and propaganda to change the culture of society. Each picture had information on the back to explain different facts about each country, and people shared out what their picture was about. People learned about history in a hands-on way.

A Party for Youth and Golden Agers

The event closed with a speech from a new comrade about the need to build the Party and fight for communism. Overall, participants loved the dinner. People commented that they never felt bored throughout the night. People loved how dynamic the material was and thought we did a good job at breaking the mold for how education must work. One person commented on how multigenerational the crowd was, because they heard that "communism is just for young people" and that "real adults know that communism can never work." She said she was inspired "to see people who have truly dedicated their lives to the movement."

The event made people feel like they could learn about history and working-class struggles. Many commented that they want to get more involved in the Party. The young leaders, especially women who organized the event, felt empowered and humbled. May this event give us momentum to continue in the class struggle and building the Party in the Bay Area.✪

LETTERS

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

Healthcare Worker and Marie Fired In Retaliation

Marie Trinidad, a respiratory therapist, was fired from Mount Sinai Hospital in Chicago. She worked there for seven years and was active in a petition drive demanding more staff and equipment, which she helped present to the board of directors at their annual meeting. This struggle resulted in a temporary improvement in the number of staff and more equipment was purchased by the respiratory care department, as well as some staff members getting a raise. But the reforms won under capitalism (i.e. the dictatorship of the bosses) are temporary. Working conditions have deteriorated; heavier assignment loads are regularly piled on fewer workers. When bosses are faced with economic crises they attack workers, and especially workers who fight back against oppressive working conditions.

Marie was given an especially heavy assignment one night. Her assignment was to cover the 5th and 6th floors, as well as the busy emergency room of a trauma center on a hot Saturday night. She called the supervisor to complain, because the shift had been left short staffed. Management had switched another therapist's weekend and had not replaced her, which left the shift with four instead of the customary five therapists. During her busy night, Marie was occupied working amongst the three areas, and notified the charge therapist that she was unable to respond to several calls because she was occupied on the various floors.

The supervisor came in from home and sent Marie home without explanation. The next night, Marie came to work but was almost immediately sent home again without explanation. The next day a group of workers confronted the president of the hospital to find out why. All he offered was a weak promise to "look into the matter."

Following this, the respiratory manager demanded to know why she went to speak with the president, but assured Marie that she would be paid for the time she was sent home. But instead, the following Monday, Marie was fired for "refusal to perform assigned duties." In reality, she was fired for complaining about working conditions and retaliation for going over the manager's head and complaining to the president.

PLP is organizing to help Marie get her job back. Several workers have questioned why she was fired and have written letters of support. The manager has tried to silence workers by telling them not to talk about what happened.

This is an example of how workers have to stick together and fight for our class, the working-class. We are the class that produces all goods and services, and the ruling-class is the class that exploits and oppresses us. What side are you on? Join PLP and build the fight against the racist and sexist bosses!

★★★★★

DC: Thanks for Fighting Racism Dinner

Today November 18 marks the 32nd Thanks-for-Fighting-Racism Feast was held in the Washington, DC – Baltimore area. This celebration is a PLP answer to Thanksgiving, which unfortunately celebrates the genocide of Native Americans.

This year, over 70 anti-racist fighters—Black, Latin, Asian, and white—sembled to report on their struggles and share a spectacular feast. Students from Howard University's HUResist reported on their battles against former FBI Director James Comey and on their engagement with the working-class members of the community surrounding the University. A Baltimore activist in the struggle for justice for Tyrone West, who was murdered by racist cops, reported on the ongoing, weekly actions against police brutality in Baltimore.

A worker who participated in the PLP contingent at the Charlottesville anti-Nazi protest reported on our successful activity there, while another comrade gave a stirring speech about the need to build the PLP as a revolutionary party in order to have the means to make a communist revolution, the solution to all aggressions by capitalism.

A highlight of the night's event was the report that we had raised \$900 towards the legal defense of the Anaheim 3 who had boldly confronted the knife-wielding Klansmen and were arrested instead of the Klan. Invigorated by the strong ties made at this event, the anti-racists pledged to re-double their efforts against racism in this increasingly dangerous time for the world's working-class.

★★★★★

Howard Student Continue to Resist FBI Director Comey

The students in HUResist at Howard University in Washington, DC, USA have continued their activism this semester. After shutting down former FBI Director James Comey at the university's opening convocation (see CHALLENGE, 10/11), they have continued to bird-dog him as he continues his year-long Howard University appointment as the Gwendolyn S. and Colbert I. King Endowed Chair in Public Policy.

The University has tried numerous dodges to limit student access to Comey, but the students have succeeded in challenging him at every event where he speaks. Comey shows both his arrogance and ignorance when challenged by the students.

When asked why, under his watch at the FBI, the reward for the return of Assata Shakur doubled, he said he didn't know anything about that. When asked why he supported the racist "Broken Windows" theory of policing and the phony "Ferguson effect," he claimed he didn't know about those things either.

In short, he refused to respond to the tough questions the students asked, further clarifying that the University had no business honoring this ruling-class jackal

by appointing him to a prestigious position. Brushing Comey aside, the students are continuing their efforts to build an alliance with working-class members of the surrounding community who are threatened by gentrification and poverty.

They are engaged in developing a local food pantry and surveying local residents to determine what the next steps should be for HUResist. At their recent food distribution to the homeless, they witnessed a case of police brutality. Stepping up, they filmed it and joined in a formal complaint to the police department. The struggle never ends!

★★★★★

Hurricane Maria and Access to Meds

Hurricane Maria, that devastated Puerto Rico, is not just a catastrophe for our Puerto Rican working-class sisters and brothers, but also directly for workers in the mainland U.S.

Many pharmaceutical companies, to reap the benefits of extra-low wages, had located themselves in Puerto Rico, in order to 1) pay the lowest wages possible, 2) enjoy weaker, if any, regulations against pollution and worker safety hazards (that are rarely enforced anyway), 3) decrease their corporate taxes—in short, to enhance their profits off the labor and endangerment of the working class.

In addition to the devastating destruction of homes and lives faced by our Puerto Rican sisters and brothers, the drug factories in PR also suffered significant direct storm damage. And just as the working class there is experiencing storm-caused shortages of electricity and clean water, so are the drug factories, though theirs will undoubtedly be restored sooner.

One vital medical product is saline, in which all sorts of medicines are dissolved and administered particularly in hospitals. But manufacturers of saline were among those encountering damage, resulting in a shortage of saline in mainland US as well as Puerto Rican hospitals.

No doubt there are many other medicines that are in short supply as well. This is one way that the working class suffers from the bosses' globalization.

Capitalism truly kills, and not just our fellow Puerto Rican working-class mates. The old International Workers of the World (IWW) slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," is not just an attitude that can unite the working class and not just true through indirect pathways, but is literally true in many situations.

All workers need to come to understand that when one portion of our class anywhere in the world, including in the same country, suffers, we all suffer, often directly as well as indirectly. The main thing blocking that realization is the very same racism that the capitalists resort to when they aid Puerto Rican storm victims even less than they aid mainland working-class victims. Racism is the enemy of us all and the friend only of our capitalist exploiters and oppressors.

★★★★★

New book: Leon Trotsky's Collaboration with Germany & Japan



It's \$25, plus \$5 for shipping and handling. Send your order and a check to Challenge Periodicals, PO Box 808, Brooklyn NY 11202.

The latest book on Leon Trotsky's collaboration with fascists.

At the Moscow Trials of 1937 and 1938, some of Leon Trotsky's followers accused Trotsky of secretly conspiring with Nazi Germany and fascist Japan.

Since Nikita Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" of 1956 attacking Stalin, these charges have been routinely dismissed as false by Soviet, Russian, and Western historians. But we know now that Khrushchev was lying!

Furr asks the question: What is the evidence that Trotsky conspired with the Germans and Japanese? How should this evidence be analyzed and interpreted? In this book, Furr conducts an objective study of the evidence. He concludes that Trotsky did indeed collaborate with the Germans and Japanese.

The proof that Trotsky was guilty of collaboration with the Nazis and Japanese dramatically changes our understanding of Soviet history of the 1930s and of Joseph Stalin's role.

Iran: Capitalist Regime Deadlier than Earthquake

In Iran, as tension increases between U.S. and Iranian capitalists making World War III a growing possibility, the working class is experiencing severe ruin. The devastation from the Iran-Iraq earthquake was the deadliest in a decade.

Devastation of Workers in Iran

It mainly affected Iran—killed over 500, injured 7,460, and left countless homeless, traumatized, and in dire conditions. It also hit seven big cities and 1,950 villages in the Kermanshah province. Officials said 12,000 houses had been completely destroyed and a further 15,000 damaged (The Guardian, 11/14). Over 70,000 need emergency shelters.

The earthquake and the government's actions have affectively increased poverty and suffering of the working class. Communism will prevent the social devastation of earthquakes by putting the lives of the workers first.

Instead of using its resources to support employment, equity, and to sufficiently fund 70,000 working class families in need of emergency shelters after the earthquake, the Iranian ruling class spent billions of dollars on its ballistic missile programs and other military and intelligence projects (NYT, 8/13). Other funds are being used to support the Assad regime in Syria. The Iranian government wants to protect their investments in Syrian oil. The ruling classes are always concerned about their profit margins and their ability to stay in power. The needs of the working class mean nothing to them.

Mass Disaster Preventable

The country lies on dozens of fault lines. The 1990 Manjil–Rudbar earthquake killed in northern Iran killed

35,000 to 50,000 people. The 2003 Bam earthquake in the southern Kerman province killed at least 31,000. In 2012, a double earthquake killed 300.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, president from 2005 to 2013, initiated a program to build low-income housing in regions that had long history of earthquakes. Housing was knowingly created along the fault lines.

Similar to the lies told by the ruling class in the U.S. after Hurricane Katrina (which killed over 1800 working-class families) the rulers' mouthpieces in Iran said, "nothing could have been done" (NY Times, 11/13). PLP knows, from our study of what the Bolsheviks achieved, that a better world is possible! It is possible to protect the lives of the working class.

After the earthquake, many people blasted the government on social media for failing to provide resources in a timely manner. "Iranians from across the country pitched in to gather water, food and tents and transported the aid with their own cars to the disaster zone" (NY Times, 11/26).

Iran-U.S. Tension

The rivalry between the U.S. and Iran to see whose ruling class will dominate the energy-rich Middle East has already killed hundreds of thousands in Iraq, Syria and Yemen and threatens to be much bloodier in the future. Imperialist wars benefit the ruling classes of the rivals, because they are the ones who profit from control over trillions of dollars of raw materials, markets, labor and investments. But the price of these deadly wars are paid for by workers, as they are used as cannon fodder and as massive military spending crowds out spending on vital social programs.

U.S. government complaints about the Iranian the-

ocracy are pure hypocrisy. The U.S. has sold hundreds of billions of dollars worth of weapons to the Saudi ruling family. Its criticism of Iran's involvements in Syria and Lebanon is also hypocritical given the U.S. record of occupations and support for dictatorial regimes in the region, including Iran itself. (The CIA worked to overthrow the secular leader Mohammad Mosaddeq in 1953 who sought to nationalize oil, the U.S. armed the torture regime of the Shah of Iran, and is currently funding terrorist groups in Iran.)

Problem with Nationalism

Iran is preparing to confront the "threats, malicious, hegemonic and divisive activities of America in the region" (NYT, 8/13). The bosses use nationalism and patriotism to pit workers against workers in order to build profit-driven wars. There are reports of rising mass national unity against U.S. president Trump and Saudi Arabia, signaling more tension. However, capitalist-caused devastations such as the earthquakes in Iran that increased poverty and homelessness, and recent tax bill in the U.S. that indubitably affects the poor, make it difficult for them to do so. Be it Iran, Saudi Arabia or U.S., the working class suffers, either through death due to war, death due to environmental cuts that increase "natural disasters" or death due to cuts to healthcare and other social services.

Under communism, workers' needs will always be primary, because we won't have a need for profit. Even as the 70,000 workers in Iran remain homeless the international working class is constantly reminded what's important to the ruling classes everywhere. Our fight is more important than ever. Are you ready to fight for a better world? Workers of the world unite! ☺



RED EYE ON THE NEWS . . .

Below are excerpts from mainstream newspapers that may be of use for our readers. Abbreviations: NYT=New York Times, GW=Guardian Weekly, LAT=Los Angeles Times

75 years ago, Battle of Stalingrad was turning point of WW II

NYT, 11/16 — Hitler's murderous advance into Russia during World War II...was halted at the Battle of Stalingrad — a critical turning point in the war. The fight raged for 200 days...Resistance to the German onslaught was fierce...following Stalin's order: "Not one step back."

...The city has been renamed Volgograd, an effort to erase Stalin's legacy. But memories of the fighting, 75 years ago this year, are strong...The main memorial...a statue...visible from almost every vantage point in the city...is a powerful reminder of the price that Soviet people paid to defeat Nazism....

When the Germans sent in tanks, Mikhail Panikakha was fighting in a trench. He had just two Molotov cocktails left. He was raising one bottle to throw when a bullet smashed it, setting him on fire. He took the remaining bottle, jumped out of the trench and hit the nearest German tank, setting it on fire. The other tanks withdrew....

Vladimir Turov, 97, is a war veteran....On Sept. 12, 1942, his battalion was almost completely surrounded by Germans. But he refused to leave his wounded friend, fighting off the advancing forces with his machine gun....These days Stalin's portraits are seen more frequently...and there is a museum dedicated to him as well....The Square of Heroes...contains a monument to a nurse carrying a wounded soldier from the battlefield. The Volga River was Hitler's main target. Soviet soldiers fought to the death to keep possession of this strategic artery and important symbol.

U.S. probation system entraps thousands of Black people daily

NYT, 11/18 — Meek Mill was sentenced to two to four years in prison for violating his probation.... Meek was around 19...when he was convicted...and he served an eight-month sentence. Now he's 30, so he has been on probation for basically his entire adult life....He's been stalked by a system that considers his slightest infraction a justification for locking him back inside....

[This] criminal justice system entraps and harasses hundreds of thousands of black people every day.... Probation ends up being a land mine, with a random misstep bringing consequences greater than the crime. A person on probation can end up in jail over a technical violation like missing a curfew....He was arrested... in a St. Louis airport, but all charges were eventually dropped....but the judge sent him to prison anyway....

As of 2015, one-third of the 4.65 million Americans...on...probation were black. Black people are sent to prison for probation and parole violations at much higher rates than white people.

Fascists in Poland and racist Trump join forces

NYT, 11/5 — ...When 60,000 far-right nationalists from Poland and all over Europe marched through Warsaw with red flares and racist signs like "White Europe of brotherly nations" and "Clean Blood."

Poland's Foreign Ministry...defen[ded]...the demonstration as an outpouring of patriotism....

...Words from an old Polish nationalist song that were the march's slogan — "We want God" — were cited by President Trump to huge applause on his visit to Warsaw in July. Neo-fascist and white-supremacist groups have become more visible in Europe and the United States....Trump...[on] the white-supremacist demonstration in Charlottesville, Va...said their ranks included some "very fine people" — could have only heartened the racists.

Slave owner Madison helped U.S. Constitution guarantee slavery and the slave trade

NYT, 10/29 — James Madison...is the founding father who...[held] slaves on his plantation in Virginia and failed to free them upon his death., but he also originated the notorious three-fifths compromise in the Constitution which counted a slave as three-fifths of a person for purposes of legislative representation....

Madison understood...the economic reality on which his entire livelihood and that of the family plantation was based....At the Constitutional Convention in 1787....South Carolina and Georgia, backed by Connecticut, insisted on protecting the slave trade as a condition for agreeing to the Constitution. Madison went alone....Without the guarantee of slavery and the slave trade, there would have been no Constitution.... The need to accommodate the realities of economics [and] politics...has continued to hold back equality in



Boss: Hard work has made me rich.
Worker: Whose work?

practice.

U.S. colonial racist devastate Puerto Rico's hurricane recovery

NYT, 10/10 — Of all Puerto Rico's continuing miseries seven weeks after Hurricane Maria's devastation, the most blatantly unjust is that islanders have been denied the...food relief distributed to storm victims... in Texas and Florida....

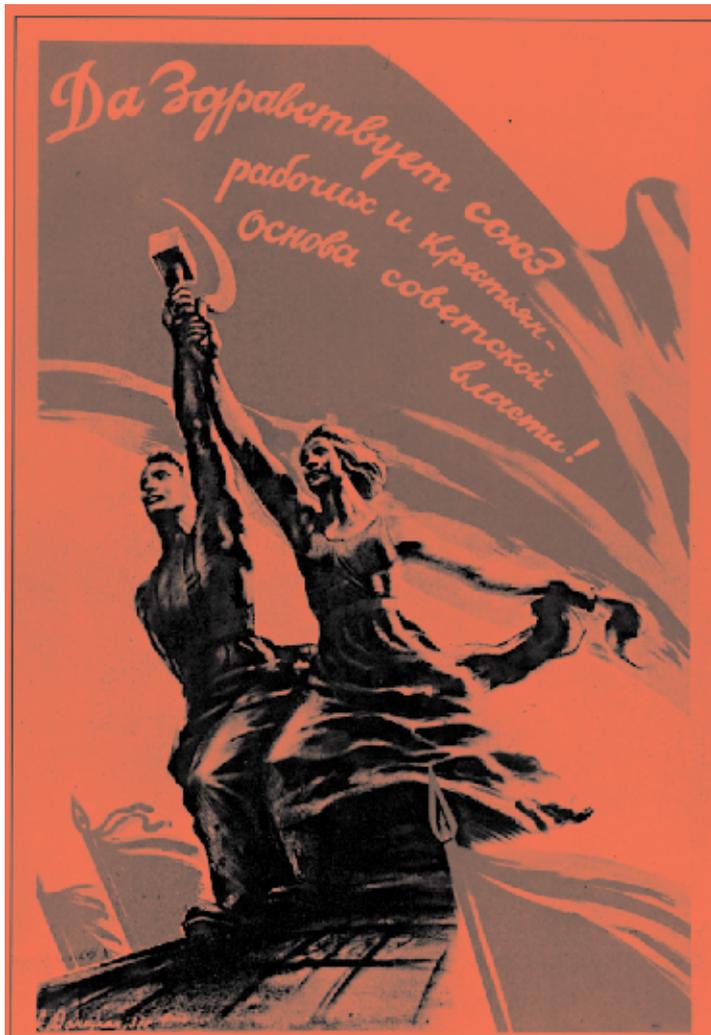
Both the island and mainland victims are United States citizens. But not all citizens are created equal: A 35-year-old congressional budget cap on Puerto Rico's food stamp program has limited the amount of disaster immediately available. Texas and Florida have no such restraints....The disparity [is] painfully evidence of a colonial second-class status suffered by citizens of this American territory....

...Nearly 60 percent of the island's power generation remains offline, its tourist and farming economies have been crippled....The lack of power may be killing the very sick and the very old in overheated hospitals and nursing homes....

...Recovery will fail without...tens of billions of dollars to restore housing, water and electric power, and to repair infrastructure....Trump is probably no more interested in this than he's been in any of the island's problems.

BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION CENTENNIAL SERIES

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY, A RETREAT FROM COMMUNISM



1930s Soviet poster reads, “Long live the Union of the workers and peasants—the basis of the Soviet power”

This is the part of an extensive series about the Bolshevik Revolution and the triumphs, as well as the defeats, of the world communist movement of the 20th century. We welcome your comments and criticisms, and encourage all readers to discuss this period of history with their friends, classmates, co-workers, family, and comrades.

In 1921, the workers in the former Russian Empire were faced with building the first workers' state on a territory with the area of one-sixth of the earth's surface. Much of the brand-new Soviet Union's best farmlands and economy were shattered by the imperialist devastation of World War I; widespread peasant revolts rocked the countryside while urban populations were declining; and on top of this there was a famine affecting millions of workers and farmers. The leaders of the Communist Party (nicknamed Bolsheviks in Russian) included Vladimir Lenin, who had no blueprints or previous experiences to learn from.

Lenin proposed that the Bolsheviks temporarily adopt aspects of capitalism in order to create jobs and develop industry first, and build socialism later. After considerable debate, the Bolsheviks responded with the New Economic Policy (NEP) which lasted until 1928. The NEP allowed a limited restoration of capitalism that was meant to be under the control of the Soviet Union. Lenin and others felt while this was a retreat from socialism, it was necessary for survival of the revolution to rebuild after the devastating civil war that followed the 1917 Revolution.

How Was the NEP Set Up?

Workers went along with changes because they saw this as a temporary sacrifice to build socialism. They formed trade unions for the first time, and were managed by a single “red manager” who was skilled in new technology. Some were even previously factory owners. These managers became Party members making ten to twenty times what a worker was paid along with “perks” such as vacations and cars. Their skills included management of large scale operations that could take advantage of technology and gener-

ate profit. Technicians, engineers and other specialists played a large role, and were favored with higher wages as well.

Expansion of industry required foreign investment and trade from the very same capitalist nations who had previously invaded the Soviet Union after 1917 in order to crush it. Imports of machinery were essential to modernize. Unfortunately, this also meant that the peasants had to supply more grain to pay for these imports, and the Party could not pay them for this surplus.

During the NEP, poor peasants were left out of the progress. The party relied on the rich and middle peasants to guarantee enough food for the cities, as well as the surplus for trade with capitalists. Some rich peasants who controlled the flow of credit joined the Party, and did not share with the poor peasants. Meanwhile the industrial sector did not make simple and cheap tools for the poor farmers since they were not so profitable. Many poor peasants were driven off the land, and the Party's efforts to be more responsive to them were not successful.

What Was the Outcome of the NEP?

Modernization of Soviet society moved quickly under the NEP. Banking and taxation systems were created, and a stable currency was achieved. By 1925-6 industry and agriculture had recovered. The government developed a budget process and first efforts were made at planning economic develop-

ment.

Social programs, especially education and literacy, expanded. The Bolsheviks launched what was at the time the largest mass literacy campaign in human history, eclipsed by the communists in China years later. By 1928, school enrollment had jumped 50% above pre-war levels, and public libraries skyrocketed to 80 million, from the 9 million across the whole Russian Empire before World War I. Training of medical doctors led to the tripling of the number of doctors to 63,000, despite most older doctors fleeing the country during the war.

On the other hand, these advances came with a political price. The experience convinced many Party members that the NEP should continue despite the absence of socialist production in either the factories or the farms. Many new Party members who joined during this period and were less committed to communist principles, and this also influenced some of the older Bolsheviks. Thus, when agricultural production could not keep up with the rapid industrialization and the Party turned to collectivization of agriculture in 1929,

there were serious disagreements that led to factions and conspiracies within the Party and the government.¹

The End of the NEP Era

All of this occurred in the infancy of the working class' attempts to organize a proletarian communist revolution. Following the NEP, the Bolsheviks launched the First Five Year Plan, a drive for rapid farm collectivization and industrialization. A great deal of struggle and sacrifice was demanded, as catapulting a country into the front ranks of the most developed nations in the world within five years had never been attempted in human history. It was wildly successful, and this effectively put an end to the NEP.

The NEP did get production going again after the tremendous devastation of war, famine, and epidemic disease. In this sense, it was successful for a few crucial years.

However, the main problem was political. The NEP embraced the ideology of the same capitalist system the revolution was against – production for a market, inequality, wealth and poverty. Millions of workers were won to capitalist politics, not the communist politics the Bolsheviks had organized for years. Many rich peasants and some factory owners joined the Party because they benefitted under NEP. This harmed poor peasants and many workers, who for a time were alienated from the revolution.

Perhaps most serious, many Party leaders supported NEP and were afraid to abandon it. During the difficult years of the First Five Year Plan, from 1929-1933, some Party leaders were won to cynicism and defeatism, sure that these policies would fail. They were so sure that they formed secret factional, conspiratorial groups. Some of them plotted to kill the Bolshevik leader at the time, Stalin, and turn the Party's policies back to NEP-style—capitalist—policies.

Ultimately, despite incredible advancements and the defeat of the Nazis in World War II, workers' power in the Soviet Union was defeated by 1953. It was precisely because even the concessions to capitalism within full-fledged socialism - like the wage system, inequalities, and nationalism - were over the long term a one-way ticket back to full-fledged capitalism. These concessions opened the door to misleaders and traitors to communism like Nikita Khrushchev in the 1950s, who attacked Stalin under the guise of “returning to Lenin's NEP” because he had decisively turned against capitalist-type policies.

With the benefit of a century of history, it's tempting to say that the reversals of socialism were inevitable. Communist philosophy views history as a science, however, and it's through learning from the past - not from random guesses, or rigidly following past formulas just because some great leaders said them - that the Progressive Labor Party, formed in the early 1960s, scientifically broke with socialism in the 1980s. Studying and learning from history is not the job of a few within the Party, it's the job of everyone. Our fight for communism will depend on millions of workers understanding and applying the lessons of experiments like the NEP.✘

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