

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

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



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

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THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS!

CHICAGO BUSING

Reactionary segregationist forces on Chicago's southwest side have organized racist demonstrations and school boycotts to protest a voluntary school busing program mounted this September by the Chicago Board of Education. This extremely limited program was presented by the Board in an effort to evade full compliance with state civil rights guidelines.

The program calls for busing a small number of minority students - 6,793 eligible out of a total of over 400,000 - from overcrowded ghetto schools to underutilized schools in predominantly white neighborhoods. Because of racist intimidation, under 700 students were signed up.

At one elementary school demonstrators gathered to protest the transfer of one schoolgirl. In another incident racist mobs stoned and injured black families driving their cars through the area to their homes. Klan and Nazi organizers have seized on the situation to spread their filth throughout the community.

Even such a limited, one way transfer program has exposed the cowardly hypocrisy of city officials in the face of these chauvinist attacks. State law requires that the number of students from any national minority in a particular school cannot vary by more than 15% from the percentage of that minority in the school system as a whole. At present only 79 of Chicago's 660 schools meet this guideline. But school board officials have already given up. Edward Welling, director of Chicago's "desegregation" programs argued:

"We should have quality, not quotas ... I will not suggest we attempt to bring all schools within the 15% guideline. We can't afford it and it is demographically impossible... In fact, it would be a waste of money."

Here even a formal bourgeois commitment to equal rights is abandoned. What we hear now from government officials is that we need "quality", not "quotas".

Public officials like Mayor Bilandic foster and promote the reactionary sentiments and activities in the white communities. Bilandic refuses to support the School Board's program and whimpers that the present busing program is not voluntary at all -- in fact, he says, it is forced busing for the receiving school! He has also publicly stated his opposition to mandatory busing programs. He has cordially met with members of the Bogan Community Council--ringleaders in the racist anti-busing violence--and promised to give their reactionary, white supremacist demands "careful consideration".

"Education not integration" reads a banner next to picket signs with vulgar racial epithets. This exposed very clearly the truth that the issue in Chicago busing is not quality education, but the perpetuation of the city's long history of ruthless segregation in education, housing and other aspects of life. The bomb which recently maimed a young black worker in Chicago was used to enforce segregation, not to support "quality education".

Communists must be very clear on this point. We support better education for the children of all working and oppressed people regardless of nationality, but the issue raised in our schools is not quality education.

To raise this slogan to defeat

the struggle for equal rights, or to raise it as the main issue in the struggle for equal rights, is to raise a secondary issue to defeat a primary one. Objectively it is a capitulation to the forces of racism and reaction. Practically it is a question of following the line of least resistance.

The issue is not quality education but social exclusion and the denial of rights that goes with it.

The cold fact is that as long as there is segregation in the United States there will be no quality education for oppressed nationalities. Social and political oppression are geared to reinforce the cycle of deprivation and inequality.

The call for quality education does not squarely deal with national oppression or demand the mobilization of a democratic struggle against it. It is a reform supported on both sides of the picket line because it evades the question of segregation.

School facilities in every city must be available for all to use on an equal basis. That is the simple demand for equal rights. Where busing promotes this result, we support it. We do not accept overcrowded ghetto schools next to white schools that are under-utilized or per pupil spending at white schools that is above per pupil spending at minority schools.

The question of whether busing is forced or voluntary is also a secondary issue. School attendance is also forced. In fact any reform is forced if it is given the weight of law.

What is the real problem is the "forcing" of the oppressor nation to end its forced debasement and subjugation of oppressed minorities. It is this coercion that the chauvinist public officials and other reactionaries are concerned about. It is not forced busing, but the forced denial of equal rights that must be our concern. The lessons of the Comintern on that point are clear:

"the demand for equal rights means a continuous work of abolishment of all forms of economic and political oppression of the Negroes, as well as their social exclusion, the insults perpetrated against them and their segregation. This is to be obtained by constant struggle by the black and white workers for effective legal protection for the Negroes in all fields, as well as actual enforcement of their equality and the combatting of every expression of Negrophobia." (Resolutions of the Communist International on The NEGRO QUESTION, 1930) on, 1930).

School segregation is a form of oppression and social exclusion of minority nationalities. The campaign behind it reeks of the stench of Negrophobia. Quality education does not deal with social exclusion or Negrophobia, but school transfer does. That is why racists direct their fire at busing but not at quality education.

Some communist organizations say that busing is a tool thrown out by the bourgeoisie to divide the class. Quality education for the whole class, they argue, it a demand that unites us because all our schools are bad. But what is forgotten is the

struggle for equal rights of an oppressed nationality.

Yes our schools are bad and we must take up that fight, but the main issue in school busing is not the demand of the whole class for education but the special demands of oppressed nationalities for equal rights. Busing does not divide the class. The class is divided by historical, economic and political conditions, by organizational activity of reactionaries and by chauvinist ideology spread by the bourgeoisie. The question is whether we take up the struggle to overcome those divisions. We do not do so by whining about quality education.

The Communist International was 100% right. What divides the class is to ignore the demand for equal rights of the oppressed nationalities. What unites the class is for the US proletariat,

especially the white proletariat, to march at the head of the struggle for equal rights.

We support quality education for our children. We also support special schools for oppressed nationalities and special education programs such as bilingual education.

We will fight for those demands wherever they are necessary. But those are not the main issues in school busing. We are dealing with a blatant denial of equal rights to use Chicago's educational facilities.

A communist policy must lead those who fight to stand at the head of the struggle for equal rights. It is not our job to tail backward elements that raise the slogan of quality education or forced busing to keep oppressed nationalities out of their schools and their neighborhoods.

DRAMATIC UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES

Unemployment this month rose above 7% again to 7.1%, exposing Carter's huffing and puffing about 'recovery'. Economic growth also continues to decline. Black unemployment reached its highest point since the Second World War (14.5%) showing that oppressed nationalities are the hardest hit sector of the work force.

These of course are official statistics which grossly understate real unemployment. They do not include people who have given up looking and people who are forced to take part time jobs when they need full time work. A recent report shows the impact of the crisis in youth unemployment.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that 74% of New York City teenagers between 16 and 19 are out of work. In Baltimore the figure is 76%; in Detroit, 74%; in Washington D.C. and Philadelphia, 72%. Among national minority youths in this age group in New York City, an unbelievable 86% do not have jobs!

These figures are dramatic proof that the deepening impoverishment of the masses is an absolute law of capitalism. Machines replace labor so that technical progress always serves profits at the expense of jobs. In addition, capitalism means recurring stagnation and crisis which also throw people out of work. In fact under capitalism there is no incentive to alleviate conditions of unemployment because unemployment helps to drive down the wages of the whole labor force. Continuing large unemployment is therefore one of the big reasons why real wages over the last decade have fallen farther and farther behind the sharp rise in the cost of living. In a period of crisis, capital sustains profits through inflation on the one hand and unemployment on the other which together work to drive down the actual take home pay.

In the face of these attacks the ruthless hypocrisy of reformist schemes is easy to see. Carter proposes a nationwide youth employment program to create 200,000 jobs. But in New York City alone, of 515,000 teenagers between 16 and 19, more than 400,000 are out of work!

The pattern of unemployment shows the role of national oppression in capitalist production. Official figures show that the ratio of black to white joblessness is 2.4 to 1. Joblessness for black men over 20 is officially recorded at 11.7% and for black women at 12.2%. For white men the figure is 4.5%.

Figures compiled by the Urban League show that nationally the median family income for black families during the period 1969 to 1974 fell \$178. During the same period the income of white families rose \$123, (still not nearly enough to make up for the rise in the cost of living). In Chicago, between 1970 and 1975, the city's black labor force decreased by 36,000. At the same time its black population increased by 82,000. 21% of the city's manufacturing jobs were lost during this period, but at the same time the largely white suburbs surrounding the city showed an 8% increase in manufacturing jobs.

Recent information shows that during a period of recession, monopoly capital abandons older factories in the central city. When there is an upswing and production expands, jobs tend to reappear in the suburbs (or in non union states, etc.) at locations not accessible to national minorities living in the inner city.

One report reveals that for every 100 unemployed white males, 6 drop out of the labor force. For every 100 unemployed black males 64 drop out of the labor force and are no longer counted in official unemployment figures.

This pattern of national oppression in the job market also makes clear the reason for stepped up bourgeois opposition to democratic struggles for equal rights. Increasing opposition to busing is one example. The furor about "reverse discrimination" is another. Black income declines and jobs are lost, yet the bourgeoisie complains in the Bakke case that minority admissions programs discriminate against white applicants.

National oppression and the deepening impoverishment of the masses are inevitable products of imperialism. The political and ideological means to enforce them are great nation chauvinism and reaction all down the line.

UNITED AND EXPOSED:

This article is a long overdue summation of a two line struggle on the trade union bureaucracy and its role during a strike in San Diego by the workers of Local 685 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) against the Solar Division of International Harvester (July-November 1975).

The line of the San Diego Organizing Committee (SDOC) during the strike, and the line we defend in this article, was that the role of the International District, and Local leadership of the IAM was one of class collaboration and in direct opposition to the interests of the working class. In opposition to SDOC's line other forces, who later (Feb. 1977) acknowledge themselves as part of a local collective called the "League of Struggle", put forward that the local leadership was not "sold out" and during the strike did take progressive steps in support of the working class. The line of these forces was that to win the strike communists had to "unite" with this local leadership because it was not materially bought-off.

The national significance of this local struggle is that the League of Struggle (LS) takes leadership from the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO). The LS now defends their practice during the strike with the WVO slogan "Unite to Expose". According to the LS, during the strike, they were uniting with the local leadership in order to expose them.

SDOC stands firmly opposed to this bankrupt line and slogan. Both locally through the LS and nationally through the WVO this line in practice has meant liquidating the struggle against opportunism and unprincipled unity with the opportunists.

It is only recently that the LS has publicly laid out their views on the Solar Strike and made this public exposure of the two-line struggle possible. In a polemic entitled "SDOC-A Thoroughly Opportunist Organization" and in their position on "The Trade Union Question" the LS has put forward their theoretical justification for unity with opportunism in the trade unions. It is the line on the trade union bureaucracy in their polemic against SDOC that we address in this article.

We welcome comrades' views and criticisms of this article, and hope it will shed some light on communist work within the trade unions. In addition, we offer a more complete view of the trade unions in our pamphlet "A Communist View of Trade Unions". It is available for 25¢ by contacting SDOC, PO Box 1332, San Diego, Calif.

THE SOLAR STRIKE

The course and outcome of the Solar Strike, the longest in San Diego history, is a familiar one in the recent history of the spontaneous workers' movement. As a result of the deepening general crisis of imperialism the workers at Solar were offered a contract proposal that cut real wages and benefits, further undermined job security and health and safety, and in general seriously weakened their trade union organization. In resistance to this, on July 13, 1975 over 90% of Solar's bargaining unit workers voted to strike for the first time in their history. But, the strike was to be undermined and eventually sabotaged from within.

In order to crush the resistance of the workers, Solar-International Harvester recruited hundreds of strike breakers from all across the country. In addition, the state made it clear from the beginning that it would protect these strike-breakers. The workers, on the other hand, were tactically paralyzed in this struggle by the ideological and political treachery of their union leadership at the International, District, and Local level. In the end the workers suffered a crushing and demoralizing defeat.

In this strike SDOC made its first effort at giving communist leadership to a mass struggle. Recognizing the need to be soundly guided by revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, we began our work by studying Lenin's writings on the trade unions, current material by Albania's Party of Labor and sum-ups on trade union work by the Workers Congress. In the same manner we will begin this polemic with a sum-up by the international proletariat on the two opposing lines in the world trade union movement.

"On the one hand there is the opportunist, reformist and revisionist line which accepts the existence of the capitalist order and class collaboration and endeavors to alienate the trade union movement from the general political movement of the proletariat for national liberation and social emancipation, and to make it stand aloof from the solution of the major problems of the time, to turn it into a reformist social movement, confining its battle to that of securing immediate economic demands within the framework and legality of the bourgeois system, subjecting itself to the bourgeoisie and becoming an appendage of the capitalist order and an integral part of it.

On the other hand there is the anti-imperialist revolutionary working class line which seeks to make the trade union movement a center of resistance and an organization against capitalist exploitation, a lever for the ultimate liberation of the working class and a school of the class struggle of the proletariat, part of the general revolutionary front, as such, an important force in the struggle to wipe out the system of capitalist exploitation, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish socialism." (Kota, Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement, p.68).

This sum up is important because in any concrete situation, such as the Solar Strike, these two opposing lines, these two opposing class stands, will be reflected in the practice derived from these two lines. A correct evaluation of the local officials must ultimately be based on their practice.

ROLE OF THE LOCAL OFFICIALS

The objectively treacherous role of the local officials during the strike is a matter of public record. We will summarize the most obvious manifestations of this role, then we will compare SDOC's analysis on the local officials to that of the LS.

The role that the local officials were to play began to develop even before the strike began. In preparing the workers for the possibility of a strike, the local leadership made it clear to the rank and file that the strike was to be a passive act rather than an aggressive one of class struggle. The most obvious example of this conscious preparation for a passive strike was the pre-strike "deal" with the local police by the local union president that limited pickets to 4-7 per gate.

The local leadership continued to peddle this view after the strike began. At the strike vote meeting the only direction that they gave the workers was to go home and wait to be called.

Nevertheless, the response of the rank and file was to take up their picket line duties in a militant way in order to keep Solar shut down. But, when the company tried to stamp out this activity by threatening to obtain a court order that would further limit pickets to three per gate, the local leadership answered by making a "gentlemen's agreement" to limit the pickets to three per gate.

Thus, instead of preparing the workers to fight off any injunction on the picket lines and in the courts, the union leader-

ship chose to appease the company by imposing an injunction on itself! This class collaborationist policy exposed itself as the company soon went ahead and got its legal injunction anyway.

After the struggle entered its second month, Solar began in earnest its effort to break the strike. The company went all across the country to recruit hundreds of strikebreakers and rented large private buses to bring them safely across the thinly guarded picket lines. In response the local leadership put out the line that the strike-breakers were just a "front" by the company, and that the workers should continue to stay home, sit tight, and wait to be called. The local leadership continued to say this right up until the strike ended.

In addition the local leadership undermined the strike by refusing to respond in an active way to the personal needs of the rank and file. For example, the local leadership made only the most feeble efforts to raise financial support for the strikers. The strikers went almost two months without financial strike benefits, and then began receiving only the minimum of \$40 a week from the International.

But, it was in their active opposition to all attempts by rank and file workers to wage an aggressive strike that the class stand of the local leaders was most clear. Rank and file union members that took up their picket line duties in a militant and aggressive way were pulled off the lines. And, if they held Strike responsibilities, they were stripped of them.

Mass picketing, organized by the rank and file union members in defiance of the court order as a means to stop production was opposed and undermined in every way possible. Also, after much struggle with the local leadership, rank and file activists succeeded in getting a motion passed for weekly mass meetings that would involve the membership in the strike. But, the local officials used their control of the bureaucracy and union apparatus to openly block its implementation.

Another critical method by which local leaders set themselves against the interests of the rank and file was their refusal to build legal actions which would involve the mass of workers. For example, SDOC played a significant role in initiating and organizing the "Stop Union Busting" march through downtown San Diego. This was a demonstration of working class solidarity attended by over 700 workers from a number of different union locals in San Diego and community supporters. The local leadership first tried to block this activity from happening, then tried to subvert its political character and finally subjected the march to a red-baiting campaign and refused to attend in an effort to discourage participation by the rank and file.

Finally, in the last phase of the strike, the International union leadership and the company collaborated to develop a final offer by Solar. One of the conditions for this final offer was that the local leadership agree to a secret mail ballot before they were even allowed to see its content. The local leadership agreed to this condition. They did this knowing that by this time a great part of the rank and file was completely demoralized and exhausted. They were demoralized and exhausted by almost five months of striking under leadership that had shown itself totally incapable of waging the struggle necessary to win. This final act of collaboration succeeded in ending the strike under vindictive and humiliating conditions. Nevertheless, 450 workers (over 1/3 of those who voted) displayed their unbreakable courage and determination by voting "NO" despite the fact victory was impossible under the present leadership.

One of the conditions for

ending the strike was the firing of ten Solar workers for their militant activity. This vindictive act was also significant as a symbolic company threat to all future resistance by the workers. After the strike the local leadership refused to support any of the militant programs put forward by the rank and file to get back the jobs of the Solar 10.

LINE OF SDOC ON LOCAL OFFICIALS

The major part of this summary of the role of the local leadership is taken from the "Solar Strike Specials", a series of agitation and propaganda leaflets and pamphlets distributed to the Solar workers during the strike by SDOC. The line of SDOC is that the leadership of IAM Local 685 through this practice proved itself consolidated behind the opportunist line of the world trade union movement. It was a major focus of the literature we distributed during the strike to expose how these local union officials were ideologically and politically united with the sold-out bureaucrats at the District and International levels of the IAM.

Both during and after the strike this line on the local officials has been attacked by the LS. According to the LS this line by SDOC is incorrect because it doesn't acknowledge that there is a fundamental difference between local union officials and those at the District and International, i.e. local officials (according to the LS) are not materially bought off.

"The international and district are part of the labor aristocracy, they are paid or bought with money, privilege, and power. The local leadership is not paid, thus the foundations for any sell-out by these forces is different..."

The correct line to follow under these circumstances was therefore "unite to expose" that is, tactically unite with certain elements of the local leadership in order to facilitate the strike, isolate the high ranking hacks, and point out to the workers the vacillating nature of the local officials... Their (SDOC) line was to denounce any tactical unity with the local from the beginning. This was tactical suicide." (Emphasis added by SDOC, from "SDOC-A Thoroughly Opportunist Organization")

This criticism of SDOC's line is nothing more than an unprincipled attempt at deception. In Solar Strike Special #3 (distributed after eight weeks of striking) SDOC summarized for the first time its criticisms of the local leadership and we evaluated them in this way:

"Most of our leadership are politicians who make policy decisions that reflect the interests of the company and not the interests of the union members. This is not to say that this element of the leadership has been "bought off financially". But their ideas and approach to the strike and to the working class movement as a whole is one of class collaboration." (emphasis added)

This was SDOC's consistent line in the succeeding Strike Specials--showing both the distinction between the local leadership and the district and International, but even more importantly, the absolute similarity ideologically in their tactical approach to the strike.

In succeeding Strike Specials we more fully develop this line as we lay out the material bribery inherent in the privilege, power, and fat salaries of the labor aristocracy and upper echelon trade union bureaucracy. This type of material bribery obviously doesn't exist at the local level. But, unlike the LS, we do not belittle the material

LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE'S UNPRINCIPLED CONCILIATION WITH LOCAL BUREAUCRATS

bribery that does exist at the local level. This usually includes at least highest seniority rights, time off from work for union business, and access to "personal favors" from the company. In addition, (and even more important from the standpoint of bribery) often the only motivation for holding office is to move up the trade union bureaucracy.

LS'S LINE ON LOCAL OFFICIALS

The line of the LS does not fundamentally dispute SDOC's summary of the objective role played by the local leadership during the strike. A year after the strike the LS lays out basically the same criticisms of the local officials in "The Truth #5" (an economist newsletter distributed to Solar workers by the LS).

Nevertheless, because the local officials are not materially bought-off (according to the LS) there exists a basis for tactical unity between communists and the local officials. In their polemic against SDOC the LS lays out concretely what this basis for tactical unity is, they say: "They did stand on the side of the workers at least some of the time (such as to call for strike, the key demands which were in the genuine interests of the proletariat) and they had much credibility, and following among the workers."

This is nothing but a desperate clutching at straws. Besides never defining the "key demands" supposedly supported by the local TUBs, the LS must ignore the difference between "lip service" and real action in order to justify their collaboration with the local sell-outs. The key demand by the workers at Solar was the action needed to win the strike! Without support, in practice, for this demand, the "support" for the other key demands given verbally by the local TUBs was only a diversion to maintain their control over the strike.

In addition, the local leadership never led the call for a strike. The strike was an act of spontaneous resistance by the workers at Solar. For the LS the objective fact that the local leadership endorsed the strike is in itself an act in the interest of the workers. This is a metaphysical conclusion divorced from the concrete conditions of the Solar strike. And, the experience of the international communist movement exposes how incorrect this can be.

In an article from the *Communist International* (1933) "The Communist Parties of Capitalist Countries in the Struggle for the United Front" it is pointed out how TUB's often agree to call for strikes when they are pushed by the spontaneous demands of the workers. But, they do so in order to stop the withdrawing of membership from their organizations, and not because they support the key demands that the workers strike for. In other words, "they agree to call strikes only in order to better betray the masses in the future." (from the CI article) The practice of the local leadership during the Solar Strike shows that objectively the only purpose for their endorsement of the strike was to weaken it by diverting the spontaneous militancy of the workers away from class conscious leadership.

As to the "credibility" and the "following" of the local leadership we ask, "credibility on what basis, following among what workers?" Even the most reactionary bureaucrat has a following and credibility with some backward forces.

The point is that when you match the concrete practice of the local leadership during the strike to such things as agreeing to strike, verbally supporting the key demands, and credibility and following among some of the workers, the LS's entire justification for its political collaboration in the sell-out of the strike crumbles.

In essence the LS' line belittles the struggle against opportunist leadership in the trade unions. It is not Marxism, but only the creative LS which asserts that the foundations for any sell-out by local officials will be different than they are for District and International officials who receive fat salaries. First, this line ignores the fact that local officials do receive privileges compared to the workers they are supposed to represent. And, even more importantly, this line exposes an opportunist reliance on vulgar materialism by the LS in order to theoretically justify their political unity with the local sellouts. They do this by raising material conditions (the absence of fat salaries at the local level) in order to obscure the opportunist ideology and political line, the tactics, with which the local leadership ran the strike.

SDOC PLAN TO WIN THE STRIKE

The assertion by the LS that SDOC "denounced" tactical unity with the local officials underlies a second major difference between our two organizations--the correct method for winning the strike. In Strike Special #3, SDOC put forward the only complete identifiable tactical plan for winning the strike in opposition to the strike strategy being used by the bureaucrats.

PLAN OF ACTION FOR THE STRIKE (FROM STRIKE SPECIAL #3)

1. STOP PRODUCTION AT SOLAR
We must at all costs stop the ability of Solar to increase its productivity. We must shut down production. We need massive demonstrations against the company and the scabs (strike-breakers) to hamper the ability of scabs to enter Solar and take our jobs.

2. FIGHT THE COURTS.
We must fight all temporary restraining orders against our strike; we must fight in the courts, on the picket lines, and picket the police headquarters if necessary.

3. OUR UNION
We must demand more up-to-date information concerning our contract and demand the type of union leadership that is militant enough to win this strike.

4. SUPPORT OUR UNION BROTHERS AND SISTERS
We must provide active militant support for those of our union members arrested (including demonstrations at the courthouse when they are on trial).

5. WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY
We must seek out the support of our other union brothers and sisters in San Diego; we need financial support and their physical support on our picket lines.

With this tactical plan SDOC began to carry out in the Solar Strike its communist duty to put forward an independent communist line on every issue that confronts the proletariat. With this plan we began our agitation to guide the proletariat in the conduct of its political activity.

CORRECT BASIS FOR UNITY -- INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST LINE

The LS "criticism" that SDOC denounced tactical unity reflects a metaphysical approach to unity and struggle. An approach that views unity and struggle as separate things. The correct Marxist viewpoint, however, is that unity and struggle are opposite aspects of a single entity. Opposite ends of a single line. SDOC's "Plan of Action For the Strike" (which the advanced of Solar united with completely) was the correct basis for both unity and struggle on how the strike was to be carried out.

On the basis of this plan SDOC would have united with anyone including the trade union bureaucrats. But, as the LS correctly implies, during the strike it was mostly "all struggle" between SDOC's proposed tactics and the local leaders who had control of the strike. However, as SDOC's

summary of their concrete role during the strike clearly shows, this is because the local leaders proved themselves ideologically and politically united with the opportunist line of the world trade union movement. There was no unity because the local leaders refused to carry out tactics, derived from the anti-imperialist line of the world trade union movement, which were necessary to win the strike.

For SDOC, tactical unity with the local TUB's had to be based on a science. It had to be based on theory, the historical experience of the international proletariat, applied to the concrete conditions. Communists do this through their independent communist policy. During and after the strike SDOC carried out its independent policy mainly through the Solar Strike Special leaflets. Through this literature we put out propaganda on political economy, the state, imperialism, the trade union bureaucracy and labor aristocracy, and the central task of party-building. In addition, these leaflets included agitation on the economic and political struggles that evolved out of the strike. This included SDOC's tactical plan to win the strike.

We challenge the LS to come forward with a tactical program for winning the strike that would be fundamentally different from SDOC's. Instead of abstract criticisms that we denounce tactical unity, we ask, which of our proposed tactics should we have held back, which of these tactics should we have conceded, which of these tactics should we have not struggled over in order to achieve unity with the local leaders who were running the strike?

LS LINE, UNITE WITH THE BUREAUCRATS TO WIN THE STRIKE

The essence of LS's opportunism was their failure to put forward an independent communist line on the strike and to use this line as the basis for unity and struggle with the bureaucrats. Instead, for the LS unity and struggle with the local officials during the strike were obviously separate things--unity over here, applauding every time a local official uttered a curse at the company; and struggle over there, criticizing the local leaders' mistakes to your few advanced contacts or in organizationally unidentifiable literature. Unity on such a basis made it inevitable that the LS would end up tailing and politically supporting the opportunist line and tactics of the local leadership. For, without an independent communist line, unity with the bureaucrats had to be based as it was for the LS during the strike, on whatever the bureaucrats did that was most "progressive".

The fact that today the LS must stoop to abstract criteria divorced from the concrete conditions of the strike, such as having credibility and a following, to justify their unity shows just how badly they have tailed. Objectively what the LS put forward (in opposition to SDOC's tactical plan) is "Unite with the Bureaucrats to Win the Strike". In the context of the Solar Strike, this was a bow to the sentiments of the most backward workers, a policy that could find support only among the average and backward, and it was straight up unity with opportunism.

The spontaneous day to day struggles of the working class are against the oppressive conditions of imperialism itself. As Lenin points out, the most dangerous right opportunists are those who "do not wish to understand that the fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism". (Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* p.153 FLP)

SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE MOVEMENT

The significance of this local struggle for the entire movement

is that it reflects the continuing predominance of economism, the chief means by which revisionism penetrates our ranks, and social democratic practices with respect to the question of the trade union bureaucracy. This question is critical because the struggle against opportunism must be the pivot of our tactics in the workers movement. And, the TUB's along with the labor aristocracy constitute the main social basis for this opportunism.

Clearly, the root of the LS's opportunism was their failure to rely on orthodox Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action. It was their failure to base their work on revolutionary theory applied to the concrete conditions--an independent communist policy. Instead for the LS it was the empty rhetoric, vacillating stands, or isolated militant acts by this or that bureaucrat, on this or that day, over this or that issue, rather than the international experience of the proletariat that was important in determining whether the local leaders were TUB's. And such a method of work inevitably liquidates the communist principle of uniting and relying on the advanced in every situation. Instead the LS bowed to the sentiments of the backward and average workers in order to build a base and theoretically justify their work.

In general, for the LS the struggle against opportunism in Local 685 of the IAM during the Solar Strike was one thing, while the historical struggle against opportunism nationally and internationally is something else. This is part of what Lenin is criticizing when he speaks of those who belittle the organizing, mobilizing, transforming role of revolutionary theory and bow to spontaneity.

Finally, the practical result of the LS's line on tactical unity with the local leaders during the strike was to rally the rank and file to get these local trade union officials to correct their mistakes and move to the left. These are the tactics of the right opportunist forces in our movement.

These tactics and the political line guiding them stand in direct opposition to the general trade union line of the international proletariat--expose and isolate all opportunism and win the class conscious leadership of the trade unions. As such, in relation to our central task of party building, this polemic is an exposure not only of the economism of a local collective in San Diego but also the national organization they take leadership from, the Workers Viewpoint Organization. The political essence of WVO's unite to expose line is capitulation to opportunism.

Such a petty-bourgeois opportunist line makes empty rhetoric of WVO's claim to be the "Foundation of the Communist Party". As communists struggle to build a new party, we must uphold orthodox Marxism-Leninism on every question and defeat all petty bourgeois tendencies in our midst.

UPHOLD ORTHODOX MARXISM-LENINISM!
DEFEAT ALL OPPORTUNISM AND BUILD THE PARTY!

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MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT IS INVINCIBLE!

It has been a full year since the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung. He was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the contemporary era and our loss is enormous. Under his leadership the Chinese people, one quarter of mankind, stood up, and working and oppressed people of the whole world took confidence in the cause of world revolution. With Chairman Mao's guidance the people of China overthrew the three mountains which held them in degrading poverty and subjugation—feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism—and established socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The lessons of his life and of the struggles of the people he led are a beacon to the people of the whole world to throw off every force of imperialism and reaction which today holds back the mounting tide of national liberation and social revolution.

In his memorial message, Chairman Hua said:

"In commemorating Marx, Engels said, 'It is through him we are all what we are; and it is through his theoretical and practical activity that the movement is what it is today; without him we would still be plunged in confusion.'"

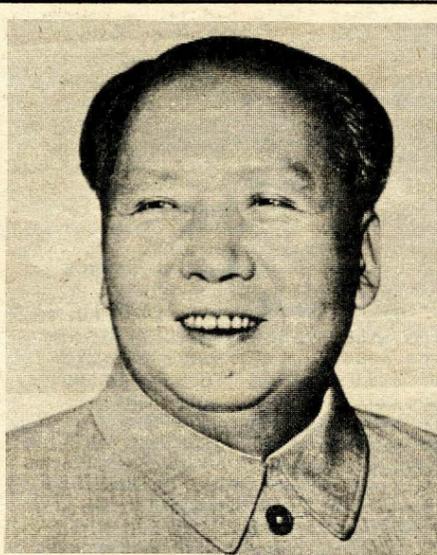
The same, he pointed out, is true of Mao. Chairman Mao pointed the path not only for the Chinese people, but for us all.

He taught first of all that the life of a Communist is a life of struggle. He led the Chinese Communist Party through 10 great ideological struggles—through the early years of the revolution, on the Long March, through the New Democratic Revolution and to the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction. Like Marx and Lenin before him, he welcomed struggle and saw it as the lifeblood of the proletarian party and the proletarian cause.

Our revolution also will be protracted and full of twists and turns. We have an important lesson to learn from Mao's optimism in struggle and from his unyielding confidence in the inexhaustible strength of the masses and the inevitable victory of the proletariat.

Mao Tsetung made an indelible contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and to the practice of proletarian revolution. In ON PRACTICE and ON CONTRADICTION, he explained the basic principles of the world view of the proletariat. He wrote:

"The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical



LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: it emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice." (ON PRACTICE, FLP, P.3)

In applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution he set forth the basic principles of a revolution in an oppressed nation under conditions of imperialism when the period of the old bourgeois democratic revolution was a thing of the past. He clearly explained that revolution in a country oppressed by imperialism was a

new democratic revolution and a component part of world socialist revolution.

With the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao led the Chinese Communist Party in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and for socialist construction.

Summing up the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement he pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production and developed the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was his greatest contribution to Marxism. Just as Lenin opened up the October road as the revolutionary road for the proletariat of all lands to seize power, so too Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the inevitable road for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and advancing towards communism under the conditions of socialism.

In the international communist movement Chairman Mao led the struggle against Khrushchovite revisionism. He exposed the Soviet Union as a socialist imperialist country -- socialist in words and imperialist in deeds -- and pointed out that the USSR was led by a state monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie, he emphasized, of the Hitler type. At the same time he fostered the unity of all genuine Marxist Leninist parties and organizations and taught us to practice Marxism, not revisionism, to be open and above board, and not to intrigue and conspire, and to unite, not split.

He also led the struggle against revisionism in China and against capitalist roaders inside the Chinese Communist Party who preached capitulation before difficulty and the dying out of class struggle. To unfold this struggle he mobilized the broad masses of Chinese people and launched the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution which began with the exposure of Liu Shao Chi and ended with the smashing of the Gang of Four. Chairman Hua summed up this last struggle as follows: "Our party and state in the past year has gone through a historic decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In this critical period, we have felt deeply the grave difficulties of being bereft of our great leader Chairman Mao. But we have lived up to the expectations of Chairman Mao who nurtured us; we have stood the severe test."

Chairman Mao has left us invaluable orientation on the international situation. Analyzing the disintegration and regroupment of the various political forces of the world and summing up the way in which the four basic contradictions of the contemporary world operate in the international arena, Chairman Mao showed how the revolutionary struggle in each country can best be mobilized in the interests of world revolution. His theory of the three worlds is a great strategic concept which shows on a world scale who are our enemies and who are our friends. It is a guideline which points the way to unite with the oppressed countries and peoples of the Third World, to win over vacillating forces of the second world in order to isolate and oppose the superpowers which are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters today, the main source of war, and together the principal enemy of world revolution.

The publication of Volume 5 of the Selected Works of Mao Tsetung is for us an important commemoration of his death. It is a volume which puts forward and sums up many of his most important contributions to the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Every communist must take up the rigorous study of volume 5.

Comrades, there are no shortcuts to revolution and we too face a long march. Let us take confidence from the example of Chairman Mao. From our loss let us take strength.

a correct orientation for struggle

The following article is composed of excerpts from the Peking Review (No.36, September 2, 1977) reprint of Yasuo Harada's article in the Japanese magazine "Theory and Practice" (Issue no.9). It points out that Chairman Mao Tsetung's thesis differentiating the three worlds is a great strategic concept providing a correct orientation for the struggle of the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations all over the world.

COMRADE Mao Tsetung's thesis of the three worlds conforms to the basic views of Leninism. It is the consistent stand, viewpoint and method of Leninism to define the changes in the relations among the enemy, friends and ourselves on a world scale as the international situation changes. In the light of the concrete analysis of the disposition of political forces and their changes in the era of imperialism, Lenin worked out the strategy and tactics for the proletarian revolution and led the proletarian world revolution. This Leninist thought and theory is embodied in Lenin's immortal work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. It was in accordance with this concept that Lenin differentiated the three types of political forces in the world after World War I (see *The Second Congress of the Communist International*).

In keeping with Leninist theory, Comrade Mao Tsetung scientifically analysed the international situation after World War II and clearly pointed out the disposition of political forces, in which sandwiched between U.S. imperialism on the one hand and the socialist camp on the other were the Asian, African and Latin American countries, the European countries, Japan and other capitalist countries. And according to the strategic principle of the theory of the "intermediate zone," he called for the formation of the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism. Later, Comrade Mao Tsetung, in line with the great changes in the international situation, put forward the thesis dividing the contemporary world into three worlds: The two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—make up the first world; the Asian, African, Latin American and other developing countries make up the third world; and such industrially developed capitalist countries between the two as Japan and those in Europe make up the second world. This differentiation theory is a concrete application of Leninism today. Such a method of division is a theoretical weapon for the proletariat in leading the world revolution.

It tells us that the international proletariat must unite with the oppressed people and oppressed nations, win over the second world, unite with all the forces that can be united with and form the broadest united front to oppose imperialism and colonialism, especially the hegemonism of the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union. By closely combining this strategic principle with the revolutionary struggle in their respective countries, the proletariat and Marxist-Leninist Parties of all countries can correctly develop the revolutionary struggle in their countries, successfully fulfill their common international task and develop the world revolution. The strategic principle of Comrade Mao Tsetung is a powerful ideological and theoretical weapon for the world proletariat, the oppressed people and nations, and the Marxist-Leninist Parties the world over in their struggle, and has encouraged the people throughout the world.

If the proletariat fails to define who is the principal enemy, who is the basic ally and who is the friendly force according to the disposition of the international political forces, it cannot wage an effective struggle against imperialism in the world arena. The proletariat should change its tactics in accordance with changes in the situation and in the disposition of political forces to struggle effectively against the enemy.

The modern revisionists' theoretical basis for opposing the strategic principle of differentiating the three worlds is the renegade Kautsky's nonsense of "superimperialism." Renegade Kautsky denied the law of the uneven development of capitalism, and covered up the sharp life-and-death contradictions among the imperialists and the fierce antagonism and struggle among them. These people hold that collaboration is the only essential characteristic of the imperialists, and the imperialist world is described as a monolithic bloc. However, the reality is that the imperialist world has split and the antagonism and struggle among the imperialists, based on changes in the balance of forces, are growing sharper. There is a disparity in the balance of forces between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, on the one hand and the developed industrial countries in the second world on the other, and they are enveloped in sharp antagonism, although the economic base of all of them is monopoly capital.

The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are the biggest international exploiters in the present era, the biggest powers representing contemporary imperialism and the most ferocious forces of aggression. The two are stretching their claws to all parts of the world and contending fiercely for world hegemony. Today, only these two countries have the strength to unleash a world war. They are in fact augmenting the danger of a world war. The new-emerging Soviet social-imperialist

particular are more openly expanding their spheres of influence and have become the most dangerous provoker of a new world war.

The two superpowers want to exercise hegemonism not only over the third world but also over the developed industrial countries of the second world. In fact, the developed industrial countries in Europe have become the major targets of their contention. Of late, the Soviet social-imperialists are intensifying their threats, oppression and hegemonic expansion against Japan. This also reflects the international situation today. The two superpowers threaten the developed industrial countries of the second world whose strength is no match for theirs and they want to bring the second world under their control. Nevertheless, the developed countries of the second world oppose this hegemonic drive of the superpowers and make efforts to free themselves from superpower control. The struggle between the superpowers trying to gain control and the second world endeavouring to resist the control is becoming ever more bitter. While oppressing and exploiting the third world, the developed industrial countries of the second world oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers. This is the most salient feature of the differences between them and the superpowers. We, therefore, should not place the superpowers on a par with the developed industrial countries of the second world and regard them as a political force of the same nature, but should stress their differences according to actual conditions. It is in conformity with realities to classify the superpowers as the first world and the developed industrial countries as the second world.

To oppose differentiation between the superpowers and the developed countries of the second world and the concept of singling out among the imperialists in the world today the most vicious enemy which should be the target of concentrated attack is actually absolving the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States which have become the sources of a new world war today, from their crimes.

Marxism-Leninism consistently stresses the importance of making use of contradictions among the imperialists for the revolution.

At a time when Russia, which was extremely backward, confronted the mighty allied powers which controlled the whole globe, Lenin made use of the contradictions between Germany and the other imperialist powers to win the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. When the newborn Soviet state was faced with Japanese imperialist armed aggression in the Far East, Lenin made use of the contradictions between the United States and Japan to get the imperialist powers to struggle among themselves and so safeguard the Soviet state and defeat the enemy. During World War

II, Stalin made use of the contradictions between the Japanese-German-Italian imperialist Axis and the U.S.-British-French imperialist bloc to form an anti-fascist international united front and win the victory of the great anti-fascist war.

In the course of leading the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung, making use of the contradictions among the imperialist powers committing aggression against China and the contradictions within the Chinese ruling classes, proved the truth that a small, weak revolutionary political power can survive by taking advantage of the enemy's contradictions, and

through extremely complex, protracted and arduous struggle he developed the revolutionary forces, which steadily grew from small to big, and guided the Chinese revolution to victory. Comrade Mao Tsetung closely and correctly combined the international anti-fascist front with the anti-Japanese united front in China. These events are powerful proof that the brilliant victories won by these great revolutionary teachers could not have been achieved without making use of the contradictions within the enemy camp. Lenin pointed out: "To refuse . . . to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporize and compromise with possible (even though temporary, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies—is not this ridiculous in the extreme?" ("*Left-Wing*" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.)

The strategic principle of the three worlds put forth by Comrade Mao Tsetung is also based on the concept of taking into due consideration the contradictions among the imperialists and making use of them. Only from this Marxist-Leninist perspective can one understand Comrade Mao Tsetung's strategic principle. In line with this strategic principle, the world proletariat should rely on its unity with the oppressed people and nations of the world, its unity with the third world. Furthermore, it must make use of the contradictions between the first world and the second world so as to win over the second world and isolate to the maximum the first world of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and concentrate its attacks on these two powers.

To advocate making no distinction between the major enemy and the minor one, but to make enemies one after another, expand the enemy camp and scatter the fire of attack—this weakens the attack on the enemy. Such a tactic can only delight the enemy, help the enemy weaken the revolutionary forces and lead the revolution to failure.

The proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist Parties throughout the world firmly uphold the three-world strategic principle put forth by Comrade Mao Tsetung.