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Autoworkers in New Jersey march last February in a demonstration against layoffs and for jobs.

Cars and Crisis

Workers Buck Auto Bosses' Profit Drive

The bourgeois press has lately been talking up a storm about recovery. They've been pointing proudly to the upswing in sales in auto as proof that good days are around the corner. While they might try to paint a pretty picture by juggling some figures, their statistics can't hide the fact that the Big 3 automakers are in a desperate situation.

The competition among the auto companies—along with their foreign competitors—is heating up as they scramble to expand their share of a shrinking market. While mister big, GM, makes plans to grab up over 60% of the market, Chrysler corporation is staggering with a corporate loss for 1975 second only to the record Penn Central set the year it went bankrupt.

The key feature of this competition is who can produce at the greatest rate of profit, when all their profit rates have been going down over the years. Greater rates of profit are needed to attract bank investment, to come up with the money to invest in new technology, to retool for smaller cars and for machinery to speed up production in existing models. The huge price increases since 1974 have been one method they've used to keep up their profits, but this solution has become less and less possible with the current state of the economy as a whole and the overproduction crisis that hit auto full force in '75. Price competition has heated up among the Big 3 and their foreign counterparts. And this competition boils down to one thing—competition in exploitation—who can get the most for the least from the labor of auto workers.

With the whole economy sinking, any upturn in sales can only be temporary. Any gains made by some capitalists can only be accomplished by beating out other capitalists and, most basically, beating down the workers. All of this will deepen the crisis, as attempts at expansion run up against the limitations of capitalist economic relations. Breakneck expansion, where it does occur, will be turned around by those very factors into still more, sharper reductions in overall sales and production.

This situation has led to a whole new round of attacks

on autoworkers. Even though production in many places is being pushed back up to the level of September 1974 (before all the huge 1975 layoffs), it is being accomplished mainly by grinding speed-up. The companies are calling back as few workers as possible. While the bourgeoisie points to a drop in layoffs to "only" 80,000 from the 278,000 laid off last winter, the real unemployment figures are much more severe. What the bourgeoisie fails to point out is that there are 178,000 fewer jobs in auto than in the fall of 1973.

On top of thousands of jobs lost through attrition there are thousands of workers who have lost their call back rights, i.e., workers who have been laid off so long that they have lost seniority, and are no longer considered autoworkers by the bourgeoisie's statisticians.

Chrysler's Dodge Main plant in the Detroit area is a good example. Last September they were turning out 120 cars an hour, with about 10,000 workers. This year, up to model changeover, little more than 7,000 workers were turning out the same number of cars. Dodge Main's five week changeover was designed to install new machinery to allow the company to add on new car models that require more labor while adding as few workers as possible.

At Chrysler's Sterling Stamping in the Detroit area, production rates have been pushed up to levels that nobody can make, and the company has started cracking down on workers who, rushing to meet production, are being forced to turn out poorer quality pieces. As further intimidation, workers are being disciplined for all kinds of nickel and dime infractions, like leaving less than 30 seconds early on a five minute break.

More Than Speed-Up

Along with this speed-up happening to a greater or lesser (mostly greater) degree in all plants the companies are using every other possible means they can to keep their profits up. Equipment is not being properly maintained which has led to greater incidence of serious in-

Angola Fighting Fueled By U.S., USSR Control Bids

On November 11, the Portuguese government lowered its flag for the last time in Angola. This signaled the end of Portugal's 500 year old colonial empire in Africa. Angola is the most recent of more than two dozen African countries to win independence from colonial control in the last 20 years. This represents a great victory in the long struggle of the Angolan and African peoples for freedom.

But on the very day of this victory, Angola was in the middle of a deadly civil war between organizations that had fought to free the country from colonialism.

This civil war is a result of the rivalry between the chief international exploiters—the U.S. and the USSR—each of whom hopes to swallow up the country. Recently the Soviet Union has poured millions in aid and 3000 Cuban troops to Angola in hopes of winning themselves a lot of influence quickly. Meanwhile, a panicking U.S. capitalist class rushes around denouncing "Soviet colonialism" while they themselves spend millions backing other forces, hoping to thwart the Soviets and grab Angola for themselves.

Angola is one of the richest African countries, both in agricultural and mineral resources, with large gold and diamond mines and extensive oil fields. But for the two superpowers, control of Angola is a prize for more than its wealth.

Its location gives it key importance in influencing events in the southern tip of Africa, where the masses are fighting to overthrow white minority settler governments in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia and Azania (South Africa). Its ports are coveted by the superpowers for naval bases which, in the event of war, could be used to either protect or threaten the vital shipping lanes around Africa which carry oil from the Mideast to Europe.

Angola was originally within the U.S. "sphere of influence," the division of the world among the imperialist powers. The U.S. reaped big profits from the Portuguese colonization of Angola, which dated back to the end of the 1400s. For example, U.S. oil companies like Gulf Oil still control the oil fields of Angola's Cabinda enclave.

From the middle of the last century on, the people of Angola were in constant revolt against the grinding exploitation and terror of colonial rule. The Portuguese tried to put down these rebellions. They banned education for the Angolan people, fearing it would strengthen their resistance. They also promoted fighting among different tribes and built up tribal chiefs as the only leaders of the Angolans.

The Angolan people responded to colonial rule by launching a long guerilla war to throw the Portuguese out. Three liberation organizations arose: the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), each in a different section of the country and each drawing its main support from a different one of Angola's three main tribes.

During this guerilla war, Portugal was given constant military and economic aid by the U.S. government, funneled through NATO, in order to maintain its colonial rule in Angola. Napalm, for instance, which was dropped on Angola by the Portuguese air force, was supplied by U.S. military aid.

But these U.S. efforts to prop up Portuguese colonialism failed. Together with the liberation movements

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Auto ...

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juries.

At Ford's Dearborn Stamping plant, there has been a big increase in the number of workers who have lost their fingers and hands (one worker had one of his feet cut off). During the last four months, workers have been killed on the job in three Detroit area plants, Chrysler's Sterling Stamping, Ford's Sterling Axle and the Maintenance and Construction Unit of Ford's River Rouge complex. All three deaths were a direct result of the speed-up and "cost saving" in machinery.

At Dodge Main and GM's Detroit Diesel, to name two examples, workers have not received short work week pay. Short work week pay is a contract provision which guarantees 90% of 40 hours pay even if workers are scheduled for less during a particular week. Chrysler and GM pointed to their depleted SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) funds as the excuse. In actual fact, short work week pay is supposed to be guaranteed by the contract—if the SUB fund is dry, the company is supposed to draw from corporate treasuries to pay it out. Typical of their bowing to the company's needs, the UAW leadership has failed to do anything about these clear contractual violations.

On top of this, autoworkers are forced to swallow the outrage of massive overtime in some plants, while thousands of fellow workers, even in the same locals, remain without work.

As these abuses have mounted, so has the fighting anger of the rank and file workers.

UAW Leadership Sabotage

On this score, the international leadership of the UAW, like the top leaders of all major unions in the U.S., play an important role for the capitalists. Masquerading as "labor leaders" they do their best to lead the rank and file into dead ends and ambushes. Their favorite tune is "what's good for the company is good for the worker." Currently the words go like this, "Worry about the company's sales, worry about the company's profits — this is the only way we'll get any jobs." "Buy an American Car—Save an American's Job" is one of their biggest bandwagons on this score, as if a bigger share of the market somehow magically guarantees more jobs. Workers have already seen in their own experiences that the accumulation of profits by the company means more and faster machinery, not more jobs.

Along with this is the International's share-the-misery approach. "Get the older men to retire, so younger workers get a crack at jobs" or "We need to take SUB away from lower seniority workers so it won't run dry by the time higher seniority workers get laid off." They also talk up a political storm, instructing the workers to put their faith and hope in Congress to pass some cure-all legislation.

Overall this crap boils down to a line that the workers should tie themselves to the company's profits and fight each other for the leftover crumbs.

And when this line doesn't have the effect they had hoped, which is very often the case, they use their "proper procedures" as chains. They sit tight on authorizing a strike, even after a local has voted one. They even resort to open sabotage, like putting militant locals into receivership for "misbehaving" and working openly with the companies to break strike lines during wildcats.

But these wolves in sheep's clothing, while a difficult obstacle, have not been able to stop the rank and file from fighting back. Small skirmishes have been building in many plants in the Detroit area and around the country. At Chrysler's Dodge Truck plant in the Detroit area, workers were able to push back the divide and conquer plan promoted by the local officials to prevent laid off and fired workers from being eligible for union offices.

From Ford's Michigan Truck plant, fifty workers picketed the international union headquarters in order to advance the struggle to rehire workers fired and suspended for leading a work stoppage. At GM's Fremont, California plant, a rank and file Employed-Unemployed committee mobilized the workers in building for and in jamming the union leadership into endorsing a plant gate rally for jobs that was attended by 75 workers. At one of GM's plants in Saginaw, Michigan and GM's Wilmington, Delaware plant where the new Chevette is being made, workers have put the company on notice with strike votes as part of the fight against speed-up and work standards.

A similar and very significant struggle recently took place at Ford's Mahwah, N.J. plant. At Mahwah, Ford runs its Granada and Monarch, two key cars in their market quests. In one department workers began getting organized against the vicious speed-up, harassment and job elimination that must go hand in hand with Ford's "successes" in this line of cars. They had a department wide union meeting and when everyone got together and talked about conditions where they were,

it became obvious that a systematic and plantwide attack was coming down.

Summing up lessons from a defeated wildcat in 1973 that involved only one department, the workers set out almost immediately to spread the struggle to the whole plant to rally all their strength. A call went out for a union meeting and they forced a special plant-wide meeting to be called. Three hundred people showed, unanimously voting for a strike vote to take place on September 9.

The result of the strike vote was 2,462 in favor to 752. Although the union officials began to drag their feet, the rank and file continued to push. In the face of a threatened strike, the company responded by scheduling overtime to build up inventories. But this only angered the workers more and intensified their push for a strike. Ninety per cent of the workforce began daily to wear buttons printed with the single word "STRIKE."

In response to this determination, the company was forced to announce the following concessions on October 1:

1. Ford Motor Company has agreed to fire its current plant manager at Mahwah [indicating that they "disagreed with his practices of harassment"].
2. No more overloading or elimination of jobs.
3. Ford will immediately enter into negotiations to resolve all grievances on job standards and safety.
4. All disciplinary actions (including suspensions) taken against workers since June 1 will be withdrawn with back pay.



Electric Boat strikers man picket lines during five month strike.

Shipyard Strike Sabotaged by Hacks

Workers at the Electric Boat division of General Dynamics in Groton, Connecticut have returned to work after 21 weeks on strike. The long duration of the strike, the fact that ten thousand workers took part in it, and that it took place in the defense industry, one of the key sections of the economy, all added up to an important class battle.

Because of the strike's importance and because it delayed the production of 18 new nuclear powered attack submarines and three Trident subs, the bourgeoisie went to great lengths to defeat the workers, using their arsenal of police, court injunctions, and scabs. In addition the capitalists paid close attention to the strike in their periodicals and sent the chief federal mediator Usery to personally oversee the strike breaking operation.

The strikers felt sold out but accepted the contract by a 4:1 margin. Sabotaged by union chiefs and without rank and file leadership that could mobilize their strength, the workers felt they had no other choice but to return to work.

During the strike workers made many sacrifices. Strikers received \$35.00 a week and even that disappeared as the strike funds ran out in the final weeks. Most ran through their life savings, sought dirt-low paying jobs to get by on, and battled bureaucratic red tape just to get food stamps. Groton is a one industry town—Electric Boat. When strikers looked for other jobs they found "Nobody wants to hear it if you say you're from EB."

These obstacles became compounded each week of the long strike, and the workers faced the treachery of the union misleaders who tied a ball and chain around their necks to hold back their struggle. Still, the strikers demonstrated their determination and willingness to fight the capitalist attacks. The power

5. The Company agrees to suspend for 60 days, while other grievances are being negotiated, the contract provision which forbids the Local to strike without approval from the International.

Although all these concessions are important victories, point five is especially so. One of the main ways the company and union officials have worked hand in glove to hold back the struggle of the workers all over the industry is for the International to sit indefinitely on a strike vote and wait for things to "cool down." The workers at Mahwah fought for and won this concession to help them defeat this pattern of treachery and in preparation to carry on the fight and to defend these most recent concessions. The key question is building on such victories and going forward, not allowing the companies and their henchmen in union leadership to hack away at these gains, which they are already trying to do.

As yet, most of these battles in auto are disconnected and many are short lived. But more and more illusions of individual solutions to the crisis are being torn away and the collaboration of the hacks is daily being more exposed for the treachery that it is.

Many workers are becoming armed with an understanding that they must organize to take matters into their own hands and keep them there. The skirmishes going on now are the embryo of more widespread and conscious struggle of the working class that is bound to be developed in opposition to the desperate profit drive of the bourgeoisie. ■

and strength of their great numbers, 10,000 strong, wasn't organized to force the company to meet their demands, yet they hung on for almost half a year, at times breaking through the stranglehold of the union officials and dealing sharp blows to the company and their scabs.

Electric Boat is a division of General Dynamics—one of the country's largest defense contractors. Defense work is increasingly important to the capitalist class as it prepares for war with other imperialists in their competition for worldwide profits. While the deepening crisis forces the U.S. capitalist class to step up their efforts to break the strength of the unions in all industries, the bosses have always paid special attention to keeping a tight grip on workers in the defense industry.

When the workers went out the first week of July, they had had it with the bosses' attacks—wage cuts, productivity drives, layoffs, etc. The strike was overwhelmingly voted up, 7,369 to 549. The last two contracts had been sell-outs, and conditions in the shipyards were getting worse. In 1973 the bosses, prodded by the Navy, even went so far as to remove all coffee machines from the shipyard to stop "loafing" during breaks. The last contract signed in 1972 didn't include a cost of living clause and with runaway inflation they were out to make up for their losses.

The other key issue was over Article 40 on interchangeability which the workers were dead set against. Article 40 gives the bosses the right to assign work across craft lines, making people work out of their job classification (like a machinist doing the work of a carpenter). It makes it easier to speed up the workers and eliminate jobs.

Right from the jump the union hacks did all they

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Mass Line Is Key To Lead Masses In Making Revolution

The "mass line" is something that is often talked about by communists. But what does it actually mean? How does the Party actually apply this "mass line"? And what is the importance of applying the mass line in relation to the revolutionary mission of the working class? These are crucial questions.

The Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party, in summarizing the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought on which it is founded, sets down that "One of the most basic principles of this revolutionary science is that the masses are the makers of history and that correct ideas arise from and in turn serve the struggle of the masses of people. The masses, in their millions, in their daily experiences in class struggle, in production and in scientific experimentation of all kinds, amass great but scattered and unsystematic knowledge. Understanding this, the Party of the working class, in leading the class, applies the *mass line*. It takes these scattered and partial experiences and ideas, and by applying the science of revolution, sums them up, concentrates what is correct, what corresponds to the development of society and will move the class struggle ahead. The Party returns these concentrated ideas to the masses in the form of line and policies, which it perseveres in carrying out and propagating in linking itself with and leading the struggle of the masses, and these concentrated ideas become a tremendous material force as the masses take them up as their own and use them to transform the world through class struggle."

The mass line means, first of all, relying on the masses of people in the struggle, or as is sometimes said, "having faith in the masses." But this is not the same thing as religious "faith," which amounts to a false "leap" away from rational scientific knowledge to a realm which, by definition, is unknown and unknowable to man—and which, in reality, does not exist. The communist principle of relying on, "having faith" in the masses is the exact opposite of this: it is based on an analysis of the real world as it actually is, *materialism*; and as it develops through the struggle of opposing forces—and basically through the internal contradictions within things, in nature and society—*dialectics*.

Based on Materialism

The mass line is based on the understanding that the struggle to produce and distribute the material requirements of life is the driving force underlying the development of all society, that in class society this can only take place through certain class relations, and that therefore, as the Programme of the RCP puts it, "The history of society (since classes first developed in ancient times) is the history of class struggle. The continuing development of society from a lower to a qualitatively higher one has been accomplished throughout history by the overthrow of one class by another which represents a more advanced form of organization of production and society as a whole."

Through the development of society in just this way, mankind has now reached the stage where it can finally enter a new era in human history. It will be an era where the division of society into classes will no longer stand in the way of rationally struggling with nature to develop production and all of society, which rests on the foundation of production.

Why is it now possible to achieve this? It is not because anyone "wishes" or "wills" it to be so. It is because the material conditions—the development of large-scale productive forces and on this basis, the world-historical development of the modern working class carrying out socialized production—makes it possible. And further, it is not only possible but necessary, and inevitable, that society advance to this stage of communism. To put it simply, capitalism stands as the direct barrier to the development of society to a higher stage and it must be swept aside and fully eliminated.

Capitalism is the highest form of the division of society into classes—a division into a small handful of owners of massive means of production at one pole, and at the other millions of propertyless workers (proletarians), who are deprived of all ownership of the means of production and can live only by enriching the owners, the capitalists.

As the Party's Programme states, "on the one hand the development of capitalism has laid the basis for a life undreamed of in the past, but on the other hand the continued existence of capitalism keeps society from attaining this and keeps the great majority of society in continual suffering...The rise of capitalism, though brought about through great oppression of

the people, was historically progressive, because it made possible the development of large-scale socialized production, and more because capitalism brought into being and concentrated as a mighty army capitalism's own gravedigger, the modern proletariat.

"The proletariat is the true creator of large-scale socialized production and the true motor in developing the productive forces in modern society. It is the historic mission of the proletariat to overthrow capitalism and replace it with a higher form of society, to liberate the productive forces from the shackles of capitalism, finally eliminate all forms of exploitation, all domination of one section of society over another, and open up completely new possibilities for the domination of humanity as a whole over nature."

Scientific Outlook

It is understanding this that enables the Party of the working class to apply the mass line. It is this scientific outlook representing the working class that makes it possible to penetrate beneath the appearance of things to their essence, to see beyond temporary and superficial phenomena, to advance with the main current of development and not be swept into side-streams or smashed on hidden rocks.

If capitalism could continue to improve life for the masses of people, or if capitalism were the highest degree of development mankind is capable of achieving, as the capitalists constantly preach, then, of course, there would be no need—or possibility—for revolution. But exactly the opposite is the case.

Objectively, society can only advance at this stage through revolution by the proletariat. But such a revolution can only be made by the determined action of millions. Such a revolution is inevitable, it must and will occur. But this will only happen as the masses—and first and foremost the masses of workers—become convinced of the necessity, of the inevitability of the overthrow and elimination of capitalism.

How to resolve this contradiction—the answer to this lies in the application of the mass line by the Party of the working class. But in order to apply the mass line, the Party must base itself firmly on the understanding that people learn through their own experience, and not simply through "being told"

what is correct and what must be done.

Propaganda, while an extremely important vehicle for the Party to lay out the whole situation and the scientific basis for revolution to the masses, cannot by itself develop revolutionary understanding. For that the masses must have their own experience. In relation to that, the role of agitation by the Party is crucial—to organize the anger of the masses over particular outrages and abuses into militant, disciplined struggle, uniting many, not just a few. Agitation is key to unfolding around a particular struggle exposure of the system of exploitation which continually gives rise to such outrages and abuses and to indicate the links between the different struggles against this system.

No Party is fit to lead the masses, nor can it be in any position to determine what must be done and how to do it, unless it continually strengthens its ties with the masses and takes part, together with them, in the daily struggle against exploitation and oppression, and assists them in forging links between their struggles against the common enemy.

Repeated Experience

In order to determine the road forward and advance through the roadblocks on this path, the working class, and its Party, needs not one experience, or a few, but repeated experience. It is not a question of a few "smart people" drawing up a blueprint for "how society ought to be" and imposing this on reality, but of the masses of people struggling to change the world and in the process learning more about it, and the laws governing it, in order to change it further...and on, in an endless spiral.

But the experience of the masses, in their struggle to produce, in the class struggle and in scientific experimentation, does not take place in a vacuum, of course. It takes place in class society. And in capitalist society, along with their monopoly of ownership of the means of production, the capitalists control the media of mass communication, the educational system, etc.

They constantly try to "sum up" the experience of the masses according to the capitalists' own upside-down world view. They preach to the masses that

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Important Documents from The Founding Congress

Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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Ford China Trip Underlines War Danger

In early December President Ford visited the People's Republic of China. Despite the U.S. imperialists' attempts to portray this as evidence of their peaceful intentions in the world, in fact they went with the aim of strengthening their hand against the Soviet Union. China, for its part, used the occasion to warn of the growing danger of war between the two superpowers, as part of its overall efforts to make use of the contradictions between the two superpowers to delay the outbreak of war, and to block attempts by both superpowers to attack China.

The U.S. has been on the decline in the world, caught up in a severe crisis at home and battered on all sides by revolutionary struggles. In Asia the U.S. imperialists are in a weakened position, particularly after being beaten and kicked out of Vietnam, while the Soviets are trying to replace the U.S. in Asia and everywhere else that U.S. imperialism is weakened.

The U.S. imperialists hate China and long to destroy the working class' rule there because they can't stand the fact that a quarter of humanity is freed from their exploitation. China is an example inspiring the oppressed and exploited everywhere to revolt, including the masses of American people, and there is nothing the slave master fears more than the revolution of his own slaves.

But while the U.S. imperialists have not given up their dreams of re-enslaving the Chinese people, they know that China is not an imperialist power, it is not a competitor with the U.S. for the plunder of the world's people as is the USSR. For that reason, right now, their contradiction with the Soviet rulers is even sharper.

This is why the U.S. ruling class has been forced to scale down its long-standing attempts to encircle and destroy the People's Republic, and now are carrying out a policy of improving relations with China somewhat. Ford's visit to China, three years after Nixon's, is a continuation of this policy.

Making Use of Contradictions

The Chinese agreed to this visit to play off the two superpowers against each other to delay the outbreak of the war between them for which both are preparing. In this way China is making conditions more favorable for the masses of people and their revolutionary leadership to develop their struggles, strengthen their forces and prepare to continue their struggle under all conditions, including world war, should it break out. For more on this, we refer readers to the article, "On the World Situation, War and the Revolutionary Struggle" in the November 15, 1975 issue of *Revolution*.

Increasingly, the Chinese are also using the contradictions between the U.S. and the USSR to make it more difficult for either of them to launch an attack on China. This was particularly directed against the USSR, which today poses the main threat of attack to China.

The Soviet social-imperialists have staged provocations against China, have tried to grab up Chinese territory, have encouraged other countries to attack it, and maintain a million troops on China's border. Recently they have tried to start trouble in China's border province of Sinkiang in an attempt to tear China apart piece by piece.

In addition the Soviets are overall on the offensive in the inter-imperialist struggle to carve up the world and the Soviet ruling class hates and fears China because China has so exposed the New Tsars' phony "socialism" and their restoration of capitalism. The Soviets are counting on this phony "socialist" label to help them take over the positions once held by U.S. imperialism.

But part of China's defense is also aimed at the U.S.

It would be wrong to think that because the U.S. has had to change its tactics toward China they have given up their designs against it. As the Chinese have pointed out on many occasions, the U.S. still has thousands of soldiers stationed on Chinese territory in Taiwan, against the spirit of the agreement reached with Nixon during his trip.

The U.S. has recently tried to strengthen its ties with the Taiwan regime, giving it five new consulates in the U.S. It has sent Taiwan military aid to help produce F-5E fighter jets there, to help keep the island from being united with the rest of China and hoping to use it as a base for the U.S. imperialists' aims.

U.S. Still Threatens

The U.S. also has thousands of troops stationed in south Korea, to keep the people enslaved and to threaten both the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and China. And as the Chinese government has recently disclosed, the U.S. government has lately been trying to stir up trouble in Tibet, a part of Chinese territory, by aiding the Dalai Lama and other former slave holders and feudalists who fled China after they failed in a counterrevolutionary armed rebellion in 1959.

To defend themselves against superpower aggression the Chinese are relying fundamentally on the struggle of the masses of people of the whole world, and particularly on the masses of Chinese people. As Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao Ping told Ford, "We base ourselves on independence, self-reliance, and millet plus rifles."

Along with this policy, China is also using tactics to take advantage of the contradictions between the imperialists and especially between the superpowers. With Ford's visit, the Chinese in effect have warned the U.S. imperialists that it is dangerous to continue their aggression against China, and at the same time used the U.S. imperialists as an obstacle to the Soviet

Editorial

Union's plans to attack China.

The Chinese Vice Premier also pointed out that the conditions for both war and revolution are sharpening in the world today. The turmoil and contradictions among the imperialist powers can be turned to a very good thing for the working class and oppressed peoples of the world who are struggling to be free of these exploiters. As a country where the exploiters have already been thrown out, socialist China belongs to the worldwide working class, and any attack on China is an attack on the workers and their revolutionary struggle everywhere.

The U.S. imperialists want to hide their real intentions toward China and the Soviet Union and try to make themselves look good. All during the Ford visit the capitalist press and TV heaped lies and abuse on the Chinese workers and peasants, saying that "maybe socialism hasn't been so bad for them, but in the U.S. we have steak and potatoes and freedom too." Nevertheless, some of what socialism really is did manage to shine through in the TV reports, contrasting with the wonderful "freedom" we have to be unemployed or exploited and, either way, to suffer. In China the working class is ruling and transforming a country the capitalists kept dirt poor for so long.

In China, because the working class has state power, it is able to use state to state relations and other diplomatic means, such as Ford's and other leaders' trips to China, the United Nations, etc., to take advantage of the present world situation and turn it more to the advantage of the masses of people.

In the U.S., the working class must defend China and the other genuine socialist countries as our own, and use these favorable conditions worldwide to advance our struggle against the imperialists, who are our own direct exploiters and oppressors and one of the two greatest enemies of the world's people. ■

The Chicano Struggle And The Struggle for Socialism

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Cleaver Crawls Back, Slanders Struggle

Eldridge Cleaver has crawled back from exile on his knees. The flamboyant former Black Panther Party Minister of Information, once identified by millions with revolution and the struggle of the oppressed Black masses for liberation, has returned as a cheap traitor. He is singing the praises of a strong U.S. military and whining hymns of patriotism. His arrival has been highlighted by his statements that America is a better place for Blacks now that Nixon is gone. He denounces socialism and at every point lauds the system that murdered dozens of members of the organization of which he was once a leader.

The bourgeoisie has welcomed him back with applause and are anxious to use this coward, as they have used other turncoats in the past, to slander the struggles of the people and propagate the lie that "with all its faults, capitalism is still the only system that allows for real change and reform and insures the freedom of the people." They will parade him before various investigating committees and give him plenty of platforms from which to announce that he has "seen the light," and attack the revolutionary movement.

Attached Himself to an Upsurge

The only reason this rat has any notoriety and can be used as a mouthpiece for the bourgeoisie is that he associated himself with the mighty wave of Black rebellion against capitalist exploitation and degradation that swept across the U.S. in the 50s and 60s.

The civil rights movement of the 1950s was an upsurge on a mass and organized level of the proud resistance Black people have put up to generations of discrimination and exploitation. This upsurge was closely linked with important changes in the economic position of Black people. They were moving in large numbers from the rural South, then based on the sharecropping system, to the cities of the North and South where, in their great majority, Black people became part of the working class.

Beginning in the South, masses of Black workers, sharecroppers and students stood up to the Jim Crow segregation laws. In a decade long battle the civil rights movement won broad support throughout the country and scored major victories, especially against legal discrimination and segregation.

Leaders came forward in these battles. Some moved the struggle ahead. Some took the anger, hopes and desires of Black people and promoted dead-end answers: non-violent resistance to violent repression; supporting "black capitalism" against "white capitalism," and preaching that all problems could be solved by fixing up the capitalist system.

As the momentum of the civil rights movement spread through the cities of the South and then the North, the outrage and frustration that burned close to the surface, particularly among hundreds of thousands of young Blacks, unemployed or only marginally employed, erupted into spontaneous and violent rebellions in the crowded ghettos of Harlem, Detroit, Watts and scores of other cities. These uprisings were met with the full repressive force of the police, national guard and regular army of the bourgeois state. Hundreds of Black people were murdered and thousands wounded by the police.

Beginning of the Panthers

The urban rebellions of the mid-sixties focused particular attention on the violence and terrorism of the police that the ruling class uses to keep the masses down. The Black Panther Party, founded in 1966, won wide support. It expressed the hatred of the Black masses for the police, and it dared to boldly meet police terror with armed resistance.

Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, armed with shotguns, formed armed patrols to follow the cops through the Oakland, California ghetto. When the California legislature in 1967 moved to push through new gun control legislation, 75 armed members of the Black Pan-



Black Panthers in Oakland, California march in 1968 in one of many actions around the country to free Panther political prisoners

ther Party appeared on the steps of the state capitol. These actions had an electrifying effect. The bourgeoisie began viciously attacking the Panthers.

Seeing the hatred of the bourgeoisie for the Black Panther Party and attracted by their bold stand against the police, thousands of young Blacks wanted to join up and many Black people throughout the country began to look to them for leadership.

Cleaver joined the Panther Party early on. He had been released from prison after serving several years for rape, and had a budding literary career in which he became a big hit among the limousine liberal set and a favorite at their cocktail parties. For a while Eldridge Cleaver was able to put his eloquent tongue to good use. Like the Panthers as a whole, he articulated the sentiments of the masses when he demanded that the oppressors get their "foot off our necks or we will snatch your m.f. leg off."

But the Panthers were more than a symbol of armed resistance to police repression. In opposition to many of the old civil rights leaders who continued to preach non-violence and reconciliation with the capitalist system, the Panthers began to state openly that the only way to achieve the goals of the Black liberation struggle was by the destruction of the imperialist system through armed revolution. They even stated that the goal of the struggle was socialism and pointed to China as a model. And at the same time when some Black leaders were preaching that white people were the enemy, or that "Black unity" or Pan Africanism could liberate Black people, the Panthers denounced this trend and called for the unity of all oppressed people.

Running into Contradiction

In all this the Black Panther Party went further than any previous force in the Black liberation struggle of the 60s, aiming the struggle against the bourgeoisie and voicing the aspirations of the masses for revolution.

Yet despite the fact that they claimed to be Marxist-Leninists the Panthers never developed a working class political line. They were revolutionary nationalists. They started out wanting to tear apart and eliminate the system they saw as brutally oppressing Black people, but at the same time they did not see that revolution could only be accomplished by the multinational working class. This contradiction between their revolutionary goals and the petty bourgeois limitations of their political line came out time after time in various ways.

The Panthers made a positive contribution in calling for the unity of all the people. But they lacked a materialist understanding of the class basis for such unity. Their slogan, of "Black power for Black people, Brown Power for Brown people," etc., illustrates their wrong view that revolution would be made by the unity of people of different "communities" each represented by a different organization in what came to be called a rainbow coalition.

The Panthers advanced the understanding of the masses, as to the nature of their oppressors, but they lacked a class view of the nature of the enemy, and in reality often defined the target of the revolution as the "racist, fascist, demagogic politicians" and "avaricious businessmen" rather than the monopoly capitalist class.

While the membership of the Panther Party came from various sections of Black people, including some workers, the social base for the Panther Party was the broad section of Black people, especially among the

youth, who were kept either unemployed or marginally employed.

This section is part of the working class, as a broad grouping, and has sharp contradictions with the capitalist system. They are a revolutionary force and show militancy in the struggle. At the same time, this strata of the working class lacks the same relationship to production as workers in industry, and as a result is prone, without strong working class leadership, to individual adventurist struggle and can become despondent and lose faith in the struggle.

Cleaver Concentrates Weaknesses

The political line of the Panthers reflected both the strengths and weaknesses of the movement that spawned them as well as their social base. Eldridge Cleaver concentrated the weaknesses present in the Panthers into a completely consolidated opportunist line. He capitalized on the political weaknesses of the Panthers to develop his own career.

At every point Cleaver's line pushed the Panthers backward and away from real revolutionary struggle. While cloaking himself in Marxism-Leninism he denounced Marx and Lenin as "racists concerned only with the problem of Europeans." He slandered the working class, claiming that "the George Meanys, Walter Reuthers and A. Philip Randolphs...accurately embody the aspirations of the working class."

In place of the working class, Cleaver called the "lumpen proletariat" the vanguard of the revolution. He included those sections of the working class who had been the social base of the Panthers as "lumpen." And into his vanguard he lumped the real lumpen proletariat—the criminal element—the drug pushers and thieves who prey off the working people.

At exactly the time when the working class struggle was once again on the rise, with the strike waves, wildcats, and beginning forms of workers organization in the late 60s, Cleaver's line prevented the Panthers from linking up with these struggles and learning from them.

Adventurism and Reformism

Cleaver consolidated the tendency always present within the BPP toward adventurism and terrorism. After splitting from the Panther Party, Cleaver issued a call for "urban guerilla warfare" in which a handful of revolutionaries would bring down the imperialist system, "Babylon," all by themselves through acts of sabotage and terrorism.

Cleaver's line couldn't offer the masses any real chance of winning. The factory, mines and other means of production, the very tools the working class will use to transform society once political power has been achieved, were seen as a target of the revolution, to be sabotaged. This whole theory represented the outrage of the intellectual and the desperation of sections of the permanently unemployed, who, lacking the vision of the proletariat in large scale production, can see no way of mobilizing the masses in their millions to make revolution.

But while Cleaver was safe in Algiers, living off his books' royalties that, suspiciously, the capitalists allowed out of the country, dozens of young Blacks, who wanted to end oppression and could have made real contributions to the struggle, were killed or jailed as a result of trying to carry out Cleaver's line.

Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, with the same petty bourgeois outlook, went off in another opportunist

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Shipyard...

Continued from page 2

could to stop the workers from fighting. The eleven craft unions were represented by the Metal Trades Council. The union officials on the council kept the workers divided by craft, thus weakening the organization and unity of the strikers. The rank and file were kept in the dark about the negotiations. Union leadership said to the workers: it's our ballpark, you've got to play by our rules. And whenever the rank and file tried to take matters into their own hands, the hacks called foul and tried anew to misdirect the workers' struggle.

As soon as the strike began, the company got a court injunction to limit picketing and called on the Governor to bring out the state troopers to enforce it. Within a few days 23 workers were arrested on phony charges like "reckless use of a highway by a pedestrian." One union hack told the workers to back off, that he and his cronies would handle the whole affair in court. Mass picketing was called off.

At one point the rank and file gained some momentum, took the initiative, and organized themselves to defeat a city council ordinance. The ordinance would have ordered them to quit picketing scabs' homes. The city proposal was no doubt "suggested" by Electric Boat, since three out of eight city council members are part of the EB management. Workers jammed the public hearing held to vote on the ordinance and forced the city council to back down.

The strike was long and bitter and the workers felt sold out. They accepted the contract which gave them 41% over 43 months—about 12% a year. Electric Boat is a dollar or more behind other shipyards in the country, and they had asked for 20% the first year and a cost of living raise. The strikers were not only angry about getting shafted on wages but they were saddled with a four year contract.

The lack of rank and file leadership and organization was a decisive factor in the strike. The union officials prevented the full power and fury of the ten thousand workers from being directed against the company, while the bosses marshalled their forces for the battle. Thus the hacks were able to paralyze the struggle and let economic hardship and frustration take its toll as the workers continued on strike month after month with their hands tied.

Now that the strike is over the bosses are intensifying their exploitation of the workers, especially taking advantage of the "Article 40" provision that allows them to break down job classifications at will. The Groton strike ended in a defeat for the workers, but the militancy and determination shown by the Electric Boat workers in the face of severe hardships are evidence of things to come. ■



Angola...

Continued from page 1

in the other Portuguese colonies, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, the Angolan people helped topple the old Portuguese regime and forced the new government to agree to unconditional independence. This was a serious blow to U.S. imperialism and one of the many defeats being dealt to it by the resistance and revolutionary struggle around the world.

With Portugal, the common enemy, defeated, the MPLA, the FNLA, and UNITA met in January at a conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), made up of the heads of independent African governments, and together set up a four-part transitional government with the Portuguese to prepare for independence November 11. But superpower interference in the internal affairs of Angola was soon to lead to civil war.

Superpowers Step In

With Portugal on its way out, the USSR stepped up its efforts to get a big piece of the action in Angola and all of Africa, and to take advantage of the temporary defeat of U.S. imperialism. The Soviet social imperialists never gave much support to the liberation forces during the 1960s, giving small amounts to try to influence the MPLA. In fact, showing its true imperialist nature, the USSR actually sold military transport ships to Portugal from 1968 to 1971, according to a spokesman from the MPLA, at the same time they posed as "friends" of the Angolan people.

But once the fight with Portugal was over, the USSR began to flood Angola with military "aid." As one African diplomat put it, they were "supplying weapons like armored cars and SAM missiles," heavy weapons "which it had never supplied during the fifteen long years of the Angolan people's struggle against Portuguese colonialism."

The Soviet interference in Angola is typical of their role throughout the world as they seek to change the old division of the world that greatly favors the United States, in order to themselves become the chief worldwide exploiters. In doing so the Soviets try to pimp off the genuine revolutionary aspirations of the people, especially their hatred for U.S. imperialism, to further their own imperialist aims.

For their part, the U.S. imperialists need just as desperately to ward off the Soviet challenge and defend

and extend their robbery in Angola and all of Africa. For years they extracted billions in superprofits from Africa, and they are not about to give it up without a fight. Now that they are in a severe economic crisis they are striving to expand their exploitation abroad at the same time as they enforce more exploitation at home.

So even though the U.S. suffered a temporary defeat when Portuguese colonialism was thrown out of Angola, they have quickly switched their tactics in an attempt to recoup their losses. Even while they armed Portugal the U.S. had hedged its bets by giving a little aid to the FNLA and UNITA. Now they are funneling millions of dollars to the FNLA and are maneuvering to try to get a government friendly to U.S. investment and influence to take over.

This superpower interference in the internal affairs of Angola touched off the present civil war. Fighting broke out in April between the different liberation groups and continued through the summer. At first the MPLA controlled most of the country's large cities, but by the late fall a united command of FNLA and UNITA was rolling up MPLA from the north and south and driving them into a small area around the capital city, Luanda. All efforts by the OAU to work out a truce failed.

On November 11 the Portuguese left, and each side in the budding civil war declared itself the legitimate government of Angola. The Soviet Union rushed to recognize the "People's Republic of Angola," sending in Soviet military advisors and using its influence over Cuba to send in over 3000 Cuban troops, hoping to hide their imperialist aggression behind the phony "revolutionary" image of Cuba. With Cuban troops and Soviet aid, the MPLA has recouped some of its earlier losses on the battlefield.

For its part the U.S. imperialists immediately rushed to meet this Soviet attempt to cut into their profits in Africa. To back up its imperialist interests, the U.S. has already set up a \$50,000,000 "aid" program to pump money to the FNLA-UNITA forces, who have declared themselves the "People's Democratic Republic of Angola." And leading spokesmen for the U.S. monopoly capitalists, Secretary of State Kissinger and UN representative Daniel Moynihan, are threatening further intervention, including introducing mercenaries.

The South African government has also jumped in to this sordid act, sending troops to try to shore up their position in southern Africa.

With the blatant interference in the internal affairs of Angola the two superpowers have replaced Portugal as the main cause of the Angolan people's problems. The centuries old struggle of the Angolan people against colonial enslavement has been manipulated at the point of victory into a war to see whether the U.S. or the USSR will be the main bandit robbing Angola. Both superpowers must leave Angola alone. On their own, the Angolan people can resolve their present differences and struggle together to build a new life. ■

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City "Saved"

New Plan to Squeeze N.Y.C. Masses

The New York City crisis is over, or so say President Ford, Governor Carey, Mayor Beame, and all the newspaper and TV reporters. It ended on December 10 when President Ford signed the bill which put the last pieces in the plan to "save New York."

But for the working class and masses of people the new plan does not end the problems of New York. It causes more of them. It does not fix up the city but pushes it further and further down the road of decay and puts the whole burden even more squarely on the backs of the people.

Ford's announced \$2.3 billion federal loan to New York for each of the next three years is just one part of the total plan. The heart of this overall plan is budget cuts. The idea is to balance the city budget in two and a half years, by July, 1978, and to ensure the city's payments to the banks that hold its bonds. This means pay cuts, massive layoffs, and a wholesale slash in services. The bankers and politicians are trying to define a brand new, cheaper New York, with a standard of living which is much lower than it is now.

The plan has set up the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) to wield the axe. The usual process of government was too slow, with too much compromising and election promises to be made. The EFCB, made up of top politicians and heads of giant corporations, now runs the city finances. The key figures are the head of NY Telephone, Ellinghaus; the head of Colt Industries; and Felix Rohatyn, a financier and international money manipulator.

The EFCB came up with a plan for a balanced budget which will mean an 18% cut in that part of the budget which pays for all services and wages for city workers. In other words, one out of five dollars will be cut. All of this is on top of the massive cuts and layoffs that have already come down.

Already the effects of the cuts are being felt. There is no new construction of schools and hospitals and 34 projects are being stopped right in the middle, including a school that is 78% completed. It stands like a twisted monument to a system that can't plan things in a way that meets people's needs.

New York City has over 12% unemployment now. The new budget means at least 100,000 more unemployed between city workers, construction workers and others in private industry.

The EFCB budget cuts are the main thrust in the capitalists' plan to have New York in the black by 1978. The rest of the financial plan is to borrow enough money to make it until 1978. This combines stealing billions from city workers' pension funds and holding off payment on many debts. To top it off there are \$200 million in nuisance taxes (extra sales taxes) for New York City.

While the capitalists had struggled over which of them would get the best terms, they came to agreement on this plan to attack the masses. When all these pieces were in place, everybody lined up behind the plan, Republicans and Democrats, all the leaders of the city unions, and the press. Then they put the whole thing up to Ford to come up with the last \$2.3 billion. Ford changed his opposition to federal loans to New York and with this series of maneuvers the bankers and other parasites who run this country "solved" the city crisis.

No Solution

But what have they solved? The New York crisis has been building for years. It did not start when the banks cut off the city's credit and it doesn't end with a balanced budget and the federal aid plan. The same underlying forces are still pushing New York down.

The overall capitalist crisis continues to worsen and the capitalists continue to be forced to switch their capital from revenues for social services to production in an attempt to increase their rate of profit. The masses continue to grow more impoverished and unable to pay skyrocketing taxes and other bills. Every one of their "solutions" only makes the problem worse in the long run.

A good example of this is President Ford's \$2.3 billion a year loan. This "aid" is more like rat poison is aid to a stomach ache. The loan will temporarily help New York with its seasonal and short term debt problems.

But the loan was made at a whopping 8% interest rate, 1% higher than the prevailing Treasury borrowing rate of 7%, and must be paid back in one year, otherwise the government can refuse further loans and even

cut off revenue sharing money to the city. New York already pays the banks \$2 billion a year in interest and with this new interest owed hanging over its head the problem will be compounded.

The people of New York have seen one heralded plan to "save New York" after another just make the problem worse. Last summer Big Mac bonds were supposed to fix things up, but only succeeded in putting the state government on the brink of bankruptcy. Throwing in pension funds was supposed to solve it, but only endangered the retirement of thousands of city workers. Like all the rest, the most recent plan will contribute to a deepening crisis in New York and all over the country.

The Threat of Default

The heart of this plan and every other bourgeois plan to save New York City is a systematic attack on the standard of living of the people. Of course the capitalists do not come right out and say this, or that their plans are laying the basis for an even deeper crisis. Instead they say the real issue in all this is default vs. no default.

Over and over again they have used the threat of default to try to paralyze the masses from fighting back. The union leadership worked overtime pushing this line. District Council 37 of AFSCME ran these headlines in their paper: "Three Years of Peace, the Sword of Default No Longer Hanging Over Our Heads; Ford Forced to Back Down, District Council 37 Helps Save the City"—referring to their efforts in forking over the workers' pension funds and recommending cut-back plans.

But under the smokescreen of trying to avoid default the capitalists have already broken union contracts, laid off tens of thousands of city workers, cut city services to the bare bone, and reorganized the city under a control board. These are the same things the capitalists planned for the masses if New York had defaulted.

The real question confronting the working class and masses of people is not default or no default, but how to get mobilized to build a broad movement for their interests against all these attacks. This question is beginning to be raised in the course of struggle against the cuts.

At this point much of this struggle is spontaneous with actions and demonstrations breaking out, involving in many cases thousands of people, then fading. Thousands demonstrated against hospital closings and even occupied firehouses in an attempt to stop them from closing. The Interns and Residents Association in two hospitals have voted unanimously to strike against budget cuts on January 1.

College campuses have seen thousands of students marching and thousands more have come, often several times a week, to the Board of Higher Education to protest the budget cuts and the threat of tuition. High school students in their tens of thousands boycotted schools in Brooklyn. There have been so many demonstrations at New York City Hall that it is constantly surrounded by police barricades.

Overcoming Obstacles

But even though there has been a great deal of struggle, some of it quite powerful, most of the battles to stop cuts have been lost. At one hospital, for example, the workers stopped the layoff of 13 in a round of cuts, but had 93 jobs wiped out in the very next round and they couldn't stop it.

The struggles have run into a number of obstacles. Among the city workers in particular, the struggles have lacked organization, with the union chiefs doing all in their power to hold it back. The capitalists have tried their divide and rule schemes. They pose the choice: would you rather lose a hospital or a fire-house?

With a lack of clear established leadership among the masses, the bourgeoisie has been able to spread some confusion among those who want to fight the cuts. Their "at least we didn't default" line has been especially useful to them. All this has posed real problems of overcoming divisions and getting united and organized. When the struggle jumps off, the failure to spread it stands as a stone wall, which the advanced see as the main one to be scaled.

But answers are being found as people fight back, and lessons are taught and spread from each battle. The illusion spread by the bourgeoisie that each cut would be the last has been shattered. Capitalism stands more and more exposed as people see that it doesn't work and see one "solution" after another fail. The sharp question coming out of many of the struggles is how to overcome these obstacles and really build a broad and powerful social movement.

The road forward in the struggle lies in spreading organization and understanding. Already a number of committees have been formed by communists, advanced workers and others, which point in this direction. These committees are trying to help build the struggles and give them some organization and ties with other struggles. At the same time they aim squarely at the class enemy—the capitalists. As this kind of organization and conscious struggle grows it will be possible to build a broad mass movement that really takes on this rotten capitalist system responsible for the decay of the cities. ■



New York City hospital workers take over the Brooklyn Bridge last summer in protest of budget cuts.

S-1 Bill: Capitalists Prepare For Storms Ahead

"Watergate represents a terrible abuse of power." "An ugly stain on our democratic system. . ." "Ours has to be a government of laws, not of the arbitrary will of men." So went the pious verdicts of Congress, the media and all other spokesmen for the capitalists. Now the recent FBI and CIA revelations (see article on pg. 9) are billed as a further clean up of abuses and a move to restrict the ability of government to violate the constitutional and democratic rights of the people.

But while the halls of Congress ring with glorification of American democracy and the rule of law, the bourgeoisie's lawmakers are putting together a massive piece of legislation that is a good example of just what the law is under capitalism and whose interest it serves.

Senate Bill 1 (S-1), a "reform and update" of the federal criminal code, represents a definite step-up of efforts to control the resistance of people to the exploitation and brutality of the capitalist system. Seven hundred and fifty pages long, with over 2000 sections, it goes a long way to systematize laws that restrict the freedom of the masses and to eliminate legal restrictions on the repressive power of the bourgeois state.

Not surprisingly, S-1 has "bi-partisan" support. Senators Hruska (Rep. Neb.), Tower (Rep. Tex.), Eastland (Dem. Miss.), Moss (Dem. Utah), Senate Majority Leader Mansfield and Minority Leader Scott, the good guys and the bad guys of Watergate and the FBI/CIA investigations, so-called liberals and right-wingers alike are united behind the bill.

But with all its wide-ranging provisions, S-1 would not represent any qualitative change in the nature of bourgeois rule in the U.S. It is not an "abuse of American democracy." It is an example of bourgeois democracy. S-1, like Watergate and the FBI/CIA investigations, help lay bare the fact that democracy in the U.S. has always meant a dictatorship of the capitalist class masked by the charade of popular rule. The laws, as well as the courts, police, and military, serve to protect the ability of the capitalists to rip their profits out of the sweat and labor of the working class.

Historically, the constitutional "rights and freedoms" granted to the masses of people were only those the American bourgeoisie needed to win popular support against British colonial rule and to facilitate the growth of the capitalist mode of production. Freedom of speech, assembly, press and the right to bear arms weren't even in the original Constitution. Only after farmers, mechanics and other working people rose up in rebellion were the first ten amendments—the Bill of Rights—tacked on in 1789.

Any rights the working class and other oppressed classes have obtained that really mean freedom to organize to fight and protect their own interests have been the result of bitter and bloody struggle against all the power of the bourgeois state.

S-1 Necessary to Bourgeois Rule

It is no surprise that the bourgeoisie is trying to put over S-1 at this time. World wide the capitalist system is in hot water. In the U.S. there are millions unemployed. Anger and discontent are smoldering as lay-offs, speedup, cuts in essential services and the cost of living skyrocket. The capitalists cannot cover over these contradictions, but neither can they ignore the fact that people are fighting back, spontaneously and with increasing organization and leadership. They need to build up their propaganda, legal and police forces to diffuse and suppress opposition to bourgeois rule. S-1 is part of this effort.

Their main selling point for S-1 is that it will help control crime by getting rid of legalities that "show more concern for the criminal than for the victim." Under the guise of protecting people from the "criminal elements" in society, S-1 tears away at the rights of those accused of crimes. Rights to legal counsel, probation and appeal are reduced. Prison sentences are increased for several classes of felonies and made



Military recruiters stopped by students in Milwaukee recently. The ruling class has faced many obstacles from the mass movement in the past. S-1 is being prepared as an attempt to deal with it.

almost mandatory. The death penalty is reinstated.

The decadence and decay of monopoly capitalism is marked by the escalation of all kinds of crime. Street crime in particular is on the rise and the masses are its main victims. The ruling class is powerless to eliminate the cause of crime, since the cause is the capitalist system itself. The bourgeoisie plays on people's anger and disgust at being ripped off, threatened with murder, rape and assault, to justify terrorizing our communities and jailing people indiscriminately. In essence, they are attempting to cover for and protect the criminal character of their own system with new measures aimed at the masses.

Since the bourgeoisie views any political resistance to its rule as criminal, S-1 also aims to ease their ability to deal with people who "disrupt society" or "threaten the common good" by salting them away on trumped-up criminal charges. Police entrapment is virtually legalized. The only defense against getting caught by the trap is to prove that "an ordinary, law-abiding citizen"—whatever some judge thinks that is—would have fallen for it too.

Aiming at the Struggle

The mass movements of the 50s and 60s, especially for Black liberation and against the Vietnam War, were high tides of resistance to capitalist law and justice. Summing up this period, and with an eye to the sharpening struggle of the working class as a whole against the capitalist system, the ruling class is directing the heart of S-1 directly at the mass struggle and its leadership.

S-1 makes it a felony to "interfere with the federal government." Section 1302 makes punishable by one year in prison obstructing any government function by "physical" means or by obstructing "an official proceeding...by any means," like making noise. This could be applied to speaking out at unemployment hearings, picketing federal buildings or any other kind of mass activity where the government is a target.

On the other hand, four other sections of S-1 make it legal for the government to interfere with the masses virtually at will. For example, if an FBI agent *thinks* his actions are legal, and a higher-up ordered him to do it, then his actions *are* legal. This would effectively legalize a lot of the Watergate crimes. Some house-cleaning!

The ruling class has seldom hesitated to send in its police to smash and disperse mass demonstrations whenever they thought they could get away with it, the constitutional right of assembly notwithstanding. But they would like to cloak themselves in legality while being able to ban all kinds of demonstrations against their rule. So S-1 defines a "riot" as ten or more persons engaged in "tumultuous conduct" that "creates a grave danger of injury or damage..." Damage or injury doesn't have to actually occur, just the "grave danger of it" (decided, of course, by agencies of the ruling class).

This would make almost any picket line a riot. If in the process of organizing a "gravely dangerous" gathering of ten or more, interstate mails, telephone or travel were used, then the organizers are liable to federal charges of inciting a riot.

In a direct attack on the workers' fight around wages and working conditions, S-1 makes it a crime to delay or obstruct the "production, repair or delivery" of "any property particularly suited for national defense," including that of "associate nation[s]," if this activity is done "in reckless disregard of the fact that [this] conduct might impair the ability...to prepare for defense activities."

The section exempts activity in "the usual course of lawful labor strike activity," meaning it would be used against wildcats, sitdowns, strikes in the face of injunc-

tions, etc. With U.S.-USSR contention heating up, the U.S. is always "preparing for defense activities." And the law is vague to suit a broad range of capitalist interests. "Property suited for national defense" could well include coal mines, steel mills, railroads, etc., as well as the obvious defense plants.

Anti-Communist Provisions

Out of the day to day struggles of the working class come questions about why we should be condemned to forever fight simply to keep living at the lowest level the capitalists can keep us at. As the class struggle rages, and leadership develops, more and more voices call for the destruction of capitalism and bourgeois rule, for the building of socialism, where the workers are the masters of all society. The bourgeoisie fears this most of all and throughout the years has enacted many laws to help them crush the revolutionary leadership of the class struggle.

In the 1940s the Smith Act was passed, making it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the government. It was first used against communists on July 20, 1948, when 12 leaders of the Communist Party, USA were arrested. In 1950 they added the McCarran Act, requiring members of communist organizations, as well as members of organizations that communists worked in, to register with the government.

As soon as someone registered it meant admitting beliefs that advocated the overthrow of the government. This openly violated the capitalists' own law against self-incrimination. The bourgeois courts did not rush in to untangle this legal contradiction the bourgeoisie had placed itself in. It used the Smith Act for over a decade to harass the CP. But in 1957 the Supreme Court threw out the Smith Act and later ruled the McCarran act unconstitutional. By this time the CP had mired itself in the swamp of revisionism and posed little threat to the bourgeoisie.

Senate Bill 1 brings back anti-communist provisions, carefully attempting to avoid the legal contradictions of the earlier legislation. Section 1103 makes it a felony if "with intent to bring about the forcible overthrow or destruction of the government of the United States...as speedily as circumstances permit," someone "incites other persons to engage in conduct that then or at some future time would facilitate overthrow or destruction of such government; or organizes, leads, recruits members for, or participates as an active member in, an organization or group that has as a purpose the incitement of forcible overthrow or destruction of the government."

Several sections of the bill attack freedom of speech and of the press. These have a dual purpose. One is to make the bourgeois media more "responsible," that is, less likely to run stories damaging to the bourgeois state as a whole, just because they will advance the interests of one bloc of capitalists. These provisions are also aimed at revolutionary newspapers and other forms of propaganda and agitation the working class uses to spread and develop its struggles. The bourgeoisie wants sure-fire ways to shut them down.

One such section makes it a crime to communicate statements which are "in fact false"—that is, false according to the U.S. government's truth—about the conduct of U.S. or "associate" military forces. This would mean, for instance, that when the U.S. insisted year after year that there was "light at the end of the tunnel" during the Vietnam war, then it was a fact that U.S. and puppet troops were winning. Presumably, it would have been a crime to say that liberation forces were winning right up until the red flag was raised over Saigon.

The fact that the bourgeoisie has not been entirely

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Dirt on FBI and CIA Exposes Class Rule

For years the capitalist class has tried to keep the FBI and the CIA off limits to public scrutiny or criticism. They were the untouchables, treasured by the bosses as two of the most important agencies of the bourgeois state apparatus.

The FBI was set up in the early 1920s to spy on and disrupt a rapidly growing labor movement, increasingly led by the newly founded Communist Party, as well as to control "organized" crime, i.e. the *illegal* competitors of the legal capitalist bandits and extortionists. The CIA was established after World War 2 to protect the American empire against the world-wide struggles for liberation and socialism and to spy on their foreign capitalist competitors.

Today the daily newspapers and evening news are confirming, in gory detail, almost everything people have ever suspected or accused the FBI and CIA of doing. And the reports from the Congressional committees make it clear that American presidents have been aware of, or directed, most of the bugging, phone tapping, sabotage and murder.

Most people never really believed that James Earl Ray killed Martin Luther King all by himself, if at all. Now it's clear that the FBI was directly behind King's assassination. Not only did FBI agents, at the direction of Attorney General Robert Kennedy, bug and tap King; Hoover's boys attempted to blackmail him into committing suicide and then were involved in setting him up in the motel room where he was shot to death in 1968.

In massive efforts to crush the uprising of Black people in the 50s and 60s, FBI agents cooperated with local cops to beat and murder civil rights workers. They orchestrated a nationwide campaign to destroy the Black Panther Party—at one point trying to foment bloodshed between the Panthers and a large Chicago street gang. They infiltrated and tried to wreck every anti-war group from SDS to Another Mother for Peace.

A favorite tactic of the bachelor J. Edgar Hoover and his top assistant and frequent house guest Clyde Tolson (both well known for their obsession with the sex lives of their own agents) was to try and dig up dirt on the private lives of FBI targets. These repulsive slob, and their "intelligence community" agents, spent uncounted hours tapping and listening to bedroom conversations and manufacturing dirty little letters about the alleged marriage infidelities and sexual promiscuities of civil rights and anti-war activists.

No activity is too little, rotten and demeaning or too large or murderous for these agencies which are sworn to protect the wealth and power of the capitalists.

The CIA engineered the overthrow of anti-U.S. governments in Guatemala in 1953, Iran in 1953, the Dominican Republic in 1965 and Chile in 1973. During the Kennedy-Johnson administration the CIA set up a special assassination squad recruited from underworld hit men.

The media makes the assassination attempts, like the ones on Fidel Castro with poison cigars, fountain pistols, fungus-filled wet suits and exploding sea shells, seem like the actions of bumbling lunatics or weirdo mad scientists. But the assassinations of Congolese independence leader Patrice Lumumba, Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo and south Vietnamese puppet Ngo Din Diem, and hundreds more not revealed, are clear proof of the U.S. imperialists' willingness to eliminate individuals, whether sworn enemies or washed-up puppets, who impede imperialist policies or goals.

FBI/CIA No "Aberration"

All this is just a few pages in the blood-soaked history of American capitalism. Yet, as the senate committee continues to spew out its information like a backed-up garbage disposal, the bourgeoisie tries to make the current atrocity stories look like exceptions. They present the whole show as an "Exorcist Part 2." "As with the aberrant conduct in office of Richard M. Nixon, the Government has again made a rigid accounting of its own misdeeds and published it to the world," editorialized the *New York Times*.

These are no aberrations. Violence and armed force are at the heart of capitalist rule. They are necessary to protect the minority of exploiters from the majority of exploited and to defend the U.S. imperialists from the rivalry of other imperialist countries.

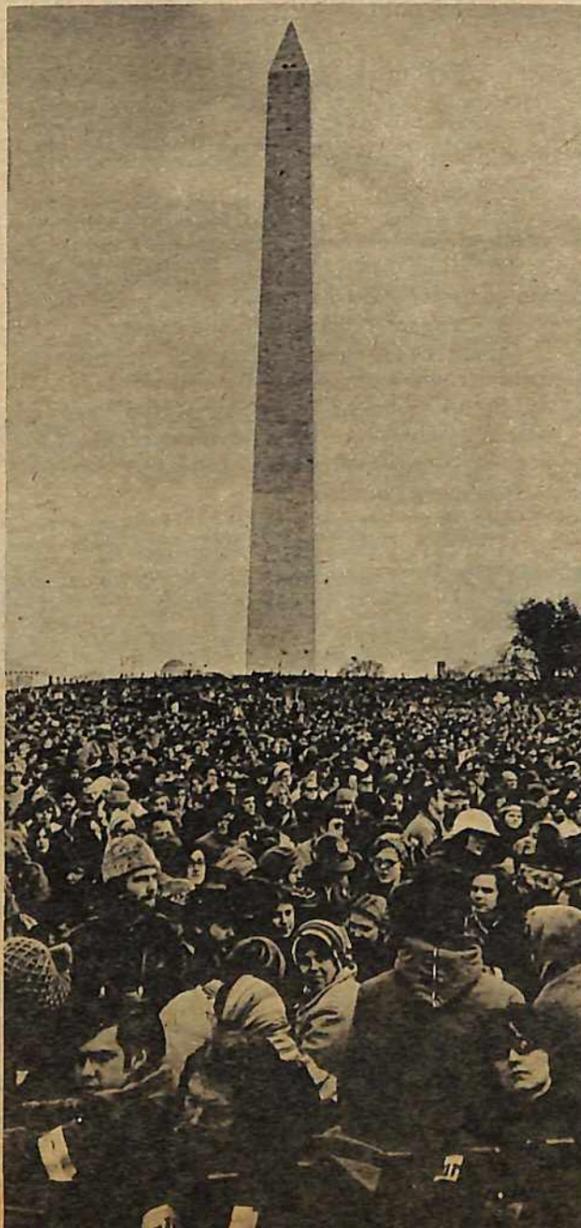
It's not just the FBI or CIA that lurk behind the

scene, masked, secret, calculated, deceiving the masses. It's the capitalist system itself. Democracy under bourgeois rule is a dictatorship which relies upon violence against the masses. The whole experience of the working class under capitalism, from the massacres of strikers by hired bands armed by the bosses and the murder and terror by police in our communities, to the current CIA-FBI revelations, illustrate the truth which the bourgeoisie seeks to conceal—that terror and violence are part and parcel of bourgeois rule. This fact has even been brought out by the bourgeoisie itself—especially those under the heat of the investigations.

Henry Kissinger complains that the investigations serve no purpose but to weaken U.S. foreign policy and strengthen the Soviet KGB (the social-imperialist counter-part to the CIA). Others are still more up front. All this breast-beating is very nice, they say, but in the real world, the U.S. has to protect itself from the continued competition of the Soviet Union. They further say that when all the shouting has died down, the CIA will have to be back at the same old stations, carrying out the same old tasks.

They are right in the sense that the two imperialist superpowers are locked in bloody competition for world domination. Both sides need and will use every weapon they have, including their murder and espionage agencies. But the working class of the U.S. has no interest in the bourgeoisie's efforts to protect itself and attack its rivals.

Some sections of the bourgeoisie are shedding crocodile tears over these violations of "freedom and the democratic way of life." And in trying to hide the fact that the CIA and FBI exist to do exactly what the capitalists want them to do, they try to pin the blame on individual officials and politicians. All of a sudden J. Edgar Hoover, Mr. G-man, promoted as a national folk idol for 50 years, turns out to be more ruthless and evil than Al Capone. Congressmen threaten to take his name off the new FBI building. He is made the arch-villain, the power behind the powers that be, causing the bourgeoisie to shake and kow-tow with fear—controlling all with his 20 file cabinets full of



Demonstration against the Vietnam War in November, 1969. The anti-war movement grew despite infiltration and harassment by the FBI and CIA.

dirt on everyone from Maimie Eisenhower and Nelson Rockefeller to Nixon and JFK.

Tail Can't Wag Dog

There's no denying that J. Edgar gets top honors as an A-1 pig, or that the degeneracy of the ruling class provides enough factual material for a whole warehouse of sleazy novels. But it is only in science fiction movies that the ghouls and monsters can control their masters. Cops don't order around the capitalists, they do what they are told.

And when that argument runs thin, they turn it around and say that Hoover and the CIA couldn't stand up to the requests for skullduggery from the presidents. But the presidents themselves are also the tools of capitalist rule.

Undoubtedly certain members of the bourgeoisie and their politicians are upset over some of the information and power that Hoover accumulated in his years as head of the FBI. The pious outrage is particularly loud from those who happened to find their own files in Hoover's office. There will probably be some new regulations coming out to make perfectly clear that the FBI and CIA are weapons of the capitalist class and to try to guard against individual members of this class from being cut by their own weapon.

But we can be sure that all the exposures are not going to question or jeopardize the so-called legitimate activities of the FBI and CIA, including sabotage of the struggle of the people against their oppression and attacks on the leadership of these struggles, especially revolutionary leadership. Any move by the masses to break the chains of exploitation has always been and will continue to be met with savage attack.

Even Martin Luther King, an exponent of non-violence in the face of the bourgeoisie's violence, was not safe. Some members of the bourgeoisie saw that King could be used to try to keep the liberation struggle of Black people within the suffocating boundaries set by trying to reform the capitalist system, and for this reason promoted and praised him. Others were skeptical that King could control the Black liberation struggle and its increasing merger with the struggle of the working class as a whole. So his good friends the Kennedys had the FBI bug him and tap his phone; later, Hoover blackmailed him and eventually the FBI agents had a hand in his murder.

Backstabbing Within Ruling Class

Similar to the tactical differences behind the so-called Kissinger-Schlesinger dispute on foreign policy and detente, the CIA-FBI exposures represent sharpening differences within a ruling class entangled in a major crisis of the capitalist system. Individual capitalists and sections of the bourgeoisie are scrambling to protect their own interests and weaken their competitors. Under the heat of the crisis they are stabbing at each other with whatever weapons they can get their hands on.

Increasingly the FBI and CIA have been used by different sections of the ruling class against each other. And when one group exposes the "abuses of the Nixon administration," others then drag out the dirty laundry on JFK and LBJ. By now they are all the way back to Roosevelt and Truman, showing how "they did it too."

The CIA and FBI are also serving as whipping boys for the failure of many of the capitalists' efforts to maintain U.S. post-war world hegemony. At the same time, the uproar over these agencies reflects the disputes between the capitalists over which policies are the best for maintaining their system. Gaps in intelligence gathering and analysis are given as the reason for defeat in Indochina, for the success of the Arab oil embargo and for the overthrow of the dictatorship in Portugal which the U.S. propped up for decades. Clumsy CIA operations are blamed for the worldwide opposition to the coup in Chile. And all the while the capitalists are screaming at each other for these defeats.

And while all these exposures of their system keep rolling out, the spokesmen for the capitalists are saying that it shows how strong "our democracy" is. After all, they say, we've made it public.

All this represents the dual tactics of a capitalist class less and less secure in its rule. On the one hand the capitalists try to use these exposures to glorify their own system, to restore some credibility and legitimacy to the tattered veil of bourgeois democracy. At the same time, in response to the developing mass struggles, they are forced to use the naked power of the bourgeois state more openly. Even while they are preparing for more wide-ranging use of the CIA and FBI, they claim they are cleaning up and limiting the operations of those agencies.

Far from getting out of the particular political and economic crisis of recent years, or cooling out the anger of the people, the American ruling class continues to stew in its own juices. And the hotter the fire gets underneath, the more they jump around looking for a way out. The aroma arising more strongly than ever as the latest CIA and FBI revelations stir the pot is the foul odor of murder, violence, blackmail and deception that are part of the rotting bone and muscle of bourgeois rule. ■

Workers' Fight Continues

Rapid Changes In Portugal Situation

In November, as the new pro-U.S. government in Portugal tried to impose "austerity" and "stability" on the working class, its efforts were met with giant anti-government demonstrations, a national construction workers strike and a mutiny by rank and file soldiers.

Only a few months ago, when it ran the government, the revisionist pro-Soviet Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was trying to impose a similar program, while the Socialist Party (SP) financed to the tune of millions of dollars a week by the U.S. and European imperialists, was in the streets taking advantage of the mass movement battering at the government. Now, the roles are reversed, and the revisionists are trying to hitch themselves to the revolutionary sentiments of the masses while the Socialist Party tries to hold on tight to power.

These sudden twists and turns underline the basic instability of the situation in Portugal. Because of the struggle of the masses, no group of exploiters or would-be exploiters has been able to consolidate its rule. Each of the two superpowers and the forces they back within the country have tried to use the mass struggle to weaken their opponents and bring themselves to power. The Portuguese working class and its allies face the task of fighting to free themselves from the superpower tug-of-war and overthrow the capitalist economic and political system. Under complex conditions the immediate objectives of the struggle have switched from day to day.

Since the government dominated by the PCP was forced out in September, the Socialist Party and other pro-U.S. forces representing the old Portuguese monopolists and new would-be exploiters have been trying to tighten their grip. In order to "solve" the worsening economic crisis in the only way they could, they've stepped up the exploitation of the working class by holding down wages, closing unprofitable enterprises and other means. Unemployment and inflation have soared even higher and the repression against the workers and their strikes, demonstrations and organizations has not let up. In fact, this has been the common thread linking every Portuguese regime as the pendulum has swung from one superpower to the other and back.

Strikes and demonstrations continued through the fall. In September, a regiment of military police refused to board troop transport planes for Angola, and were backed by workers from the plants. Right up until Angola won its formal independence in November, both the pro-Soviet and the pro-U.S. forces tried to keep Portuguese troops there to bolster the interests of one or the other superpower, and their own interests.

In October, hundreds of thousands of construction workers across Portugal struck against unemployment and wages eaten away by inflation, protesting against the profit system which forces them to stand idle while thousands of homeless working people live in shacks. Tens of thousands of construction workers marched on government headquarters and surrounded it, blockading it with trucks and heavy equipment. The Premier and other top government officials were trapped inside for several days until they agreed to a 40% wage hike and

other demands. Troops sent in against the workers refused to disperse them.

A few months ago, when it was in charge of the government palace, the revisionist party appealed to the working class to keep quiet and work harder, while sending troops to break strikes and demonstrations. Now suddenly in the "opposition" again, the revisionists used their leading position in the construction union to demand that they be returned to power.

Faced with these threats, the government began to reorganize the armed forces so as to better control and use them. They began to demobilize much of the army, sending thousands of soldiers to join the ranks of the unemployed. At the same time the top armed forces leadership began to purge some of the ultra-"left" officers, mainly Trotskyites and anarchists, who'd been useful in the struggle against the PCP but were now joining with the PCP against the government.

The Armed Forces Movement (AFM) which has been running the country since April 1974, split into factions aligned with the various foreign imperialist powers. For a while the AFM leadership leaned to the revisionists and the USSR, but now, after threats of being overthrown and out right bribery in the form of U.S. aid, the majority of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois officers at the top have come to an accommodation with the forces of the old regime they had overthrown, and of course with the U.S. and European imperialists.

These officers rode the backs of the workers and peasants in uniform to install themselves as the country's rulers. Now they are trying to build a "professional" army more suited to their present interests. These officers are trying to rid the armed forces of the conscripts who are veterans of several years of political struggle, including the overthrow of the old regime, and now stand with the revolutionary struggle.

Mutiny in the Military

In mid-November some of the units most threatened by the demobilizations, including about 1500 paratroopers and other units, seized their bases and commanders. The Socialist Party claimed that this had been an attempt by the PCP to stage a coup and overthrow the government. In fact, although the revisionists had apparently at first encouraged the rebellion, hoping to force the AFM to oust the Socialists and put themselves back on top, as soon as it became apparent that the rebellion would fail the revisionists rushed to denounce it.

The smashing of the mutiny was a blow to the PCP which was weakened and further exposed by first encouraging and then betraying it. In crushing the mutiny the government also hoped to deal a sharp blow to the resistance of the workers and soldiers.

On the heels of these events, the SP-AFM government has announced plans to restore some of the U.S. and European imperialists' lost investment opportunities, along with a wage freeze which specifically rolls back the construction workers' gains as an example to the whole working class.

Still, even while giving into the U.S.'s bribery and



blackmail, the government has asked for the PCP's "cooperation," saying that if it acts less like Soviet agents, ceases its efforts to topple the regime, and behaves more "like the Italian and French Communist Parties," there could be a reconciliation. The SP-AFM government also sent a mission to Moscow to promise some trade and other tidbits, hoping to appease the USSR.

Earlier this year, the revisionists' months at the head of the government were marked by repression of the workers, attempts to preserve capitalist exploitation in the form of state monopoly capitalism, and efforts to replace U.S. domination of Portugal by chaining the country to the USSR.

By August the revisionists had lost some support among the masses and other forces were coming to the fore within the working class. The struggle against the old bourgeoisie and the U.S. ebbed and opposition to the PCP and its allies rose very quickly. Taking advantage of this situation, the Socialist Party and other groups backed and financed by the U.S. and European imperialists were able to mobilize much of the rural petty bourgeoisie and other forces against the PCP, while the revisionists found themselves in retreat.

To the working class it was a very good thing that the Soviet social-imperialists and the revisionists were blocked from consolidating their grip on power, just as it was an advance when the pro-U.S. regimes of Caetano and the Spínola government that followed were toppled. While the U.S. imperialists once again have the upper hand, their rule is also marked by instability, and the Soviet Union and Portuguese CP both have more up their sleeves.

All of the bourgeois forces, and their imperialist backers, have the common objective of maintaining capitalism in Portugal. But the fighting within the ruling class creates an excellent situation for the working class to advance its struggle toward the achievement of political power and eliminating the rule of capital once and for all.

At the same time unless the working class is able to make revolution, one or another group of exploiters will eventually be able to consolidate bourgeois rule for a time.

The development of the class struggle in Portugal has important lessons for the working class in the U.S. and throughout the world. As a revolutionary crisis matures, and the bourgeoisie is weakened and disorganized by the struggle of the masses and its own internal rivalry, the conscious leadership of the political party of the working class is key. Revolution in any country is full of twists and turns, and will never be smooth sailing. Yet the party can and must make use of the changes and reverse themselves to help the workers clearly see the nature of the enemy and their own class interests.

In the complex situation that inevitably accompanies the development toward a revolutionary crisis the revolutionary party must be skillful at making use of contradictions in the enemy camp, without accommodating itself to any group of exploiters, and must be ready to shift tactics within 24 hours as circumstances change dramatically while never losing its sight of its goal—working toward the armed conquest of state power by the proletariat. ■



Tens of thousands of Portuguese construction workers march on government headquarters in October. The workers barricaded top government leaders into their offices until they won their demands.

W. Europe Revisionists Barrier To Revolution; Aid to USSR

The crisis of the capitalist system is shaking Europe. Most of the Western European countries are the scene of a rapid intensification of struggle between the working class and capital. At the same time Europe is rocked by the contention between the various imperialist powers, and the two superpowers, the U.S. and USSR in particular, which covet the tremendous wealth and power concentrated there.

The contention of the superpowers threatens to erupt into a third world war and bring great suffering to the people of Europe, who bore immense burdens in both previous world wars. At the same time, the growing inter-imperialist rivalry, and the political and social turmoil that arises from it, make conditions more favorable for the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

In virtually all of the European countries the working class is large and powerful. The European workers have a long and glorious tradition of conscious class struggle. Europe was the birthplace of capitalism and the modern working class; the home of Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism; and the place of the first great onslaught of the proletariat against the rule of capital, when the workers of Paris briefly held political power during the Paris Commune.

This history of struggle has left its mark: in the various European countries large sections of the working class consciously oppose the capitalist system and yearn for the day when socialism—the rule of the working class—will dawn in Europe. But in part because of the different history of the class struggle in Europe, the European workers face conditions of struggle and obstacles to revolution different from those faced by the working class in this country or at least not in the same form.

In most of the Western European countries there exist influential revisionist parties that call themselves "communist" even though they have given up the fight for working class revolution long ago. In France and Italy these parties have millions of members and continually fill a large chunk of the seats in Parliament, as well as controlling the largest trade union federation in each of those countries. In Spain, where the CP is illegal, and Portugal, where it was until last year, the revisionist parties have held the allegiance of large sections of the working class even under conditions of illegality and are an influential political force. And even in countries where the parties themselves are smaller, such as Britain, they have substantial influence in the trade unions.

The European revisionist parties have rendered great services to the European capitalists, and the U.S. imperialists who share in the exploitation of the workers there. They join in productivity drives aimed at intensifying the exploitation of the workers. They promote nationalization of industry—by the bourgeois state—as a panacea for the problems of capitalist crisis, and in so doing assist the capitalists in exploiting workers in the vast public sector of the West European countries.

They have sided with the capitalists in suppressing the revolutionary struggles as the French CP did in

May, 1968 when workers, students, and others were involved in a revolutionary upsurge. And as a general rule they have restricted the struggle of workers to the confines of trade unionism, and voting revisionists into Parliament every election day.

These parties try to pimp off the hatred of the working class for capitalism and their desire for socialism, while the parties themselves have made peace with the system of capitalist exploitation. Thus while they masquerade as "parties of the proletariat," and in many countries still have the allegiance of large numbers of workers, in actual fact the revisionist parties are all in opposition to the working class, an obstacle that the working class must sweep aside in the course of its struggle against capitalism.

And today these parties provide a great service to the imperialist ruler of the USSR. The CPs aid the Soviet Union in disguising its hideous imperialist features under the guise of "socialism." Most importantly, the Kremlin's New Tsars hope to use the revisionist parties as a weapon—a "fifth column" within Western Europe—in their contention with the U.S. imperialists for domination of Europe, and all the world.

The betrayal of the European CPs, and the rise of modern revisionism on a world scale, is closely connected with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The revisionist parties of Europe were once genuine communist parties. They led the workers in revolutionary struggle during the 1920s and '30s. And during the Second World War these parties led the anti-fascist armed struggle in Italy and Germany, and the countries which the Axis powers occupied.

But following WW 2, during a period of relative stabilization of capitalism in Europe, revisionism began to grow within the Communist Parties, as they put more and more emphasis on winning seats in Parliament, while losing sight of the ultimate goal of the revolutionary struggle. And in 1956, when Khrushchev's clique seized power in the Soviet Union and launched an all out assault on Marxism-Leninism, the budding capitalists of the USSR helped solidify these tendencies into a consolidated revisionist line in virtually all of the European parties.

Abandoning Socialism

The cornerstone of revisionism is the abandoning of the fight for revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to carry out their plans to restore capitalism in the USSR, Khrushchev and company had to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union which they did under the cover of calling for a "state of the whole people."

In the international arena the Soviet revisionists who were consolidating capitalism internally and had not yet launched their all out drive for world domination, followed a line of capitulation to imperialism. They slandered China and other socialist countries. They said that imperialism would no longer mean war, that it would be possible for "peaceful co-existence" between the imperialist powers and the socialist

countries to continue indefinitely, and that revolution was no longer necessary in the capitalist countries, instead it would be possible to have a "peaceful transition to socialism."

All of this squared nicely with the leaders of the various Communist Parties of Europe, who seized on Khrushchev's "creative development of Marxism-Leninism" as a justification for the total abandonment of the goal of revolution.

In country after country the revisionist parties rushed into the arms of the bourgeoisie. They pledged their loyalty to bourgeois democracy, and resurrected the exact lie of the old social-democratic parties, that socialism would come peacefully and gradually as a result of winning a majority in parliament.

Riding the Workers' Backs

The leadership of the revisionist parties eyed with envy the old social-democratic parties which had long ago been given a share in the bourgeois government. Their goal became to use their influence over the working class and their ability to derail the class struggle, even if only temporarily, as "capital" to trade to the monopoly capitalists for integration in the state apparatus and a piece of the action in exploiting the working class.

Nowhere is this process clearer than in Italy. The Italian Communist Party is the second largest electoral party in that country. In industrial cities and regions across northern Italy CP leaders have been elected to head up local governments. They try to present this so-called "Red Belt" as a model. To the workers, they speak of their honesty and efficiency in contrast to the corrupt bureaucracy of the Italian government. To the capitalists, they show off their enforced labor peace in contrast to the long hard-fought battles of workers throughout the country in recent years.

All of this is to push the Italian CP's strategy of the "historic compromise," demanding that as the country's second largest party they be brought into the government as the junior partner of the largest, the Christian Democrats. As their part of the compromise, the Italian CP promises to keep the workers under control, help push up productivity, not challenge membership in the Common Market or NATO, and in every other way serve the Italian monopoly capitalist class.

The U.S. imperialists, while relying mainly on the Italian monopolists, lack the services of a large and influential social-democratic party, which they use in other European countries to clamp down on the workers. So they have been forced to have direct dealings with the Italian revisionists. Mobil Oil, for instance, donated \$68,000 to an Italian CP election fund. The *Wall Street Journal* never tires of reporting how "communist" officials in Italy require smaller bribes and how well they control strikes and slowdowns in the cities where they run the government.

Soviet's Use of Revisionist Parties

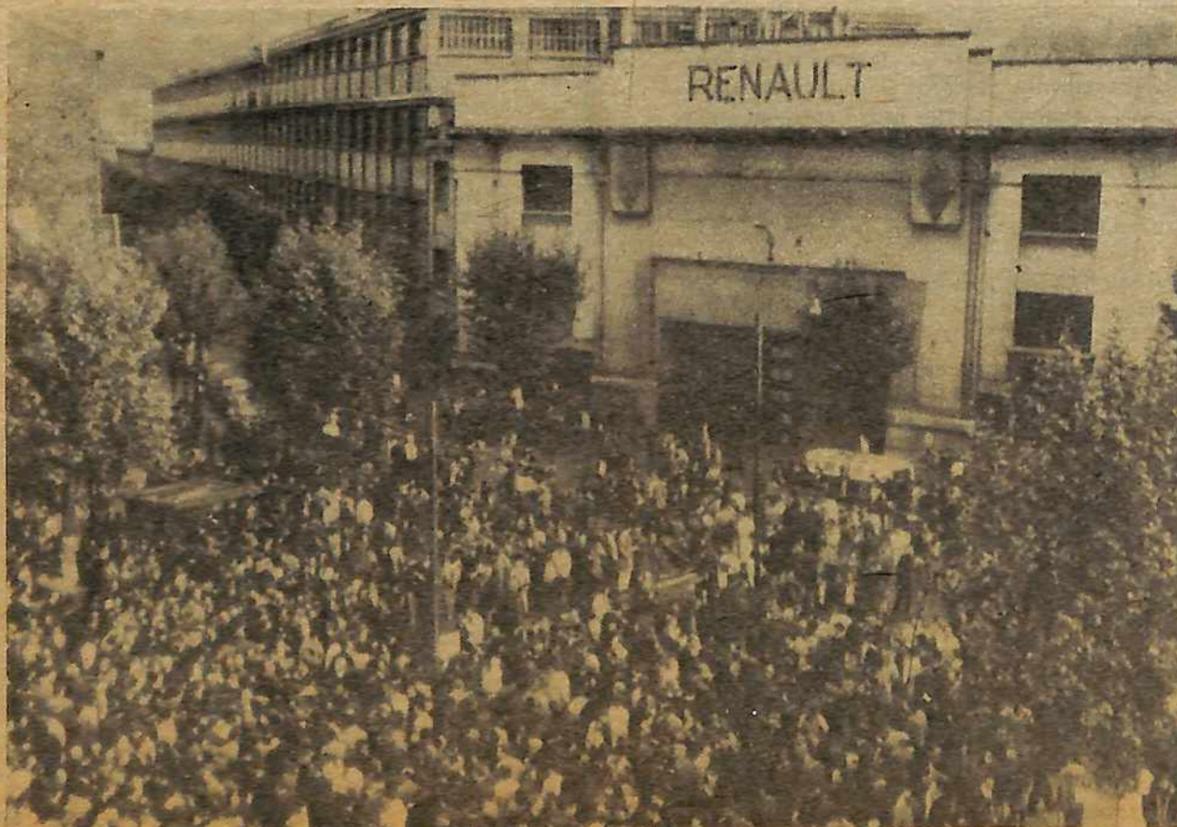
The stubborn laws of imperialism have gotten in the way of the dreams revisionist parties formulated in the 50s and 60s of a long protracted peaceful evolution which would eventually result in their integration into a state monopoly capitalist class. The development of the class struggle in Europe has been profoundly affected by the emergence of the Soviet Union as an imperialist power. Driven by the basic laws of capitalism—fundamentally expand or die—the USSR is forced to challenge the existing division of the world into "spheres of influence" in order to displace the U.S. with itself as the world's chief exploiter. The social-imperialists hope to make use of the revisionist parties to do this.

Despite attempts to publicly disassociate themselves from some of the more blatant crimes of social imperialism—like the invasion of Czechoslovakia—the revisionists have already provided tremendous services to the Kremlin's New Tsars. These parties glorify the Soviet Union daily, and help the Soviets lay the smokescreen of detente that they use to cover their own war preparations and imperialist nature.

The revisionists work overtime to hide the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. They have to—its exposure would make their own class nature much more obvious. The revisionists describe Soviet efforts to use the struggles of the masses as a weapon in its contention with the hated U.S. imperialists as proof that the USSR is the main bulwark of people everywhere struggling for freedom.

Millions of Western European workers, for all

Continued on page 12



French workers seize Renault plant during 1968 upsurge of workers and students. The French Communist Party worked overtime to divide and sabotage this struggle.

W. Europe ...

Continued from page 11

that current developments in the USSR may make them uneasy, still see it as the world's first socialist state, which inspired their parents and grandparents, and they know that the Soviet Union, then socialist, played the decisive role in defeating the fascist powers in the Second World War. And as the capitalist crisis deepens, and the European workers' struggles and aspirations for socialism become still stronger, the parties point to the Soviet Union as the homeland of socialism.

Changing Tactics

But as the battle between the superpowers for world domination heats up, the Soviets need more than public relations men in Europe. They need to use the revisionist parties as a direct political, and eventually military, weapon for use against their U.S. rivals.

The very "peaceful transition" strategy the Soviets advocated pushed the revisionist parties into the arms of the Western European capitalists, and to become flabby electoral parties.

The USSR's sharpening need to expand has given rise to what the Italian CP calls "a debate in the Kremlin." While the "peaceful transition" line is still of some use to the social-imperialists, and some of the New Tsars still want to rely on it as their main "leg" in utilizing the European parties, increasingly it fails to adequately serve Soviet ambitions. Because of this a new line is emerging out of the necessity dictated by its stepped up rivalry with the U.S., and the opportunity presented by the deepening crisis and class struggle in Western Europe. This line puts the main emphasis on building CPs more loyal to the Soviet Union, willing and able to act more decisively in the event of revolutionary crisis and war.

The clearest statement of this new approach comes from a top Bulgarian ideologist, Dimiter Mitev, who is closely allied with the so-called "hardliners" in Moscow. He proclaimed recently that peaceful transition plays a "secondary role in the general strategy of the communist movement in capitalist countries" and that the revisionists "must be prepared to use all forms of struggle, including armed struggle."

The intention of this turnabout is clear—push the CPs away from their own capitalists, making them more dependent on support from the USSR, and enable them to more fully make use of the growing mass struggle. And of course they hope to use the CPs in the event of war. In fact a coup attempt advertised as "revolution" by some revisionist party could be the trigger for World War 3, with Warsaw Pact troops ready to move in to "defend the revolution" at Soviet orders.

The present struggle in the Kremlin, like the Kissinger-Schlesinger "detente vs. hardline" argument being heard in the U.S. ruling class, is fundamentally a dispute over how much emphasis to place on certain tactics at this time. The goal is the same—Soviet control over Europe, and use of the revisionist parties to further this end.

Revisionists Can't Serve Two Masters

The recent developments in the Kremlin has caused quite a little conflict within the European revisionist parties and between some of them and the Soviets. The conflict is rooted in a dilemma for the Western European parties—trying to serve two masters at the same time.

The Italian CP has denounced the new Soviet line as "narrow and dogmatic" and jointly issued a statement with the previously more openly pro-Soviet French party reaffirming their intention to work entirely within the framework of bourgeois democracy and abide by its laws. The Spanish party echoed this stand.

Apparently the leaders of these parties feel that at the present time, they stand a good chance of cashing in their influence among the workers for a share in the government.

On their part the Soviets are trying various methods to force the revisionist parties to accept the new line including making use of Soviet loyalists in their ranks. In the past they have gone so far as to sponsor a leadership coup in the Austrian Party, and they tried to set up a rival Spanish party, unsuccessfully. Now they are concentrating on trying to corral all the revisionists into a meeting to hammer out a "general line" that would bind all of the European CPs to Soviet policies. So far they have been unsuccessful. This conference of European CPs has been called off several times—blocked in preliminary meetings by a group of Western and Eastern European parties.

Some of the revisionist parties like the Italian, have a lot to lose if they turn their backs on "peaceful transition"—including seats in Parliament, control of local

governments, the running of huge consumer co-ops that rank among Italy's largest businesses, and an important role as the main social prop of the bourgeoisie. But even these parties could conceivably dump their "historic compromise" someday as contradictions intensify.

For while all the revisionists have made peace with capitalism as a system, and in general are loyal to the monopoly capitalist class of their own country, they have no particular loyalty to the present capitalist governments, and their highest loyalty, like all bourgeois, is to themselves. What they are after is at least a share in bourgeois rule. The method of achieving this is secondary to them.

Struggle Heats Up

In fact, the actual development of the class struggle in these countries, the intensification of the conflict between the superpowers, and the material stake the revisionist leaders have in the old order, will determine the future actions of the revisionist parties. All this is far more important than the feelings of their leadership toward the USSR or their own country's monopolists.

Such a response to changing conditions can be seen in the actions of the Portuguese CP, which is being hailed by the Soviets as a model for other Western European parties. The actions of the PCP were determined to some extent by the dictates of the USSR which pays its bills and to which it is extremely loyal. But more importantly, they were determined by the development of the class struggle in that country.

In Portugal the masses have been in a state of revolutionary ferment ever since the military coup over a year ago. The struggle of the working class, and the contradictions among various groups of exploiters and would-be exploiters, have led to the toppling of one bourgeois government after another. In conditions like these, even a tiny monarchist party has come out for the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The PCP would instantly lose most of its support among the workers, and a chance at political power, if it openly peddled the virtues of electoral democracy.

Revolutionary Rhetoric

Instead the PCP wrapped itself in revolutionary rhetoric and tried to tie the working class to the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois officers of the Armed Forces Movement. To try to get a piece of the AFM action, they offered their services as strikebreakers and, most importantly, as brokers for support from the Soviet Union, since no bourgeois government could stand in Portugal without superpower backing.

In France, Italy, and Spain, where a grab for power backed by the USSR is not presently their favored route to a piece of the action, the embarrassed revisionists denounced the PCP for threatening to upset the appellation they hope to ride in with their own monopoly capitalist class.

As the working class struggle advances toward revolution and the various imperialist powers get closer and closer to all out war, the freedom to waffle between two masters will diminish rapidly. The U.S., for its part, is still resolutely opposed to seeing a revisionist party integrated into a Western European government. The U.S. has every interest in supporting the status quo, and as long as it can, will keep the present bourgeois parties in power, since the revisionists cannot be trusted not to switch their allegiance to the Soviet Union.

But the working class has no crystal ball, and doesn't need one. The point is not exactly what this or that revisionist party will do. Rather it is to keep a firm grasp on the actual contradictions that exist—fundamentally the class contradiction between the workers and capital, and the inter-imperialist rivalry which provides the context within which the class struggle is taking place.

War and Revolution

A storm of struggle is brewing in Europe. The monopoly capitalists there, like our own, are trying to duck its effects by launching all out attacks on the masses—speedups, layoffs, plant closings, wage cuts, cutbacks in social services, etc. The workers have struck back with a wave of strikes, wildcats and plant occupations, which have had broad political consequences.

In Portugal, both superpowers are forced to build their bids for power around the struggle of the workers, yet neither has succeeded in quelling it. In Britain, the government is unable to force through the wage freeze the ruling class desperately needs. In Spain, the capitalists are squabbling desperately over how best to handle the growing tide of workers' struggle. The rivalry between the superpowers, and the political upheaval and war danger that arise from it, can only sharpen these class battles and create favorable conditions for the workers to advance their struggle towards its historic goal, the elimination of capitalism.

As the contradictions in Europe lead toward war and revolution, the working class of Europe will come

face to face with the revisionist parties who, in the name of the working class and socialism, will try to tie the working class to the system of capitalist exploitation, prevent revolution, and lead the workers into slaughter on behalf of the Soviet Union or some other gang of international bloodsuckers. All the while they will be dressing themselves up as "Communists"—in Lenin's words, in times of revolutionary ferment, "Every scoundrel...is a revolutionary!"

In times of intense revolutionary activity it is possible for the working class to learn lessons and accumulate experience that might take decades in periods of peaceful development and while conditions will exist for the revisionists to make advances, conditions will also exist for a rapid exposure of their treachery. But none of this comes automatically. The old social-democratic parties have been betraying the proletariat for decades but still manage to maintain a grip on a large section of the workers in several countries. And the crimes of the CPs are fertile soil for the bourgeoisie to breed anti-communist ideas.

Advancing Through Twists and Turns

Only genuine communist parties, based on the struggle of the proletariat against capital, are in a position to help the workers correctly sum up their experience in struggle. As the workers develop class consciousness, it is key that they come to understand the class nature of the revisionists—that their fundamental feature is the acceptance of the capitalist mode of production. It is on this basis that the leaders of the CPs serve one or another capitalist class and themselves aspire to become exploiters.

In the absence of such class consciousness, the revisionists and other bourgeois forces will be able to derail the revolutionary struggle of the working class and its allies, and turn it to their advantage and that of their bourgeois masters. Often this will mean the CPs will unite with the workers' hatred of and struggle against their own exploiters and the U.S. imperialists to divert them, in the name of "class war," into serving the interests of the Soviet monopolists. Blatant maneuvers and plots by the revisionists on behalf of the New Tsars may well, on the other hand, provide the capitalists of a particular country the opportunity to rally a section of the workers around its national flag and take the heat off itself.

Whether or not the working class in any given country can make revolution before the imperialist powers launch a world war depends on many factors. In the event of an inter-imperialist war on European soil, the class will face a complex situation with real difficulties. But if a war does break out, it will create excellent conditions to advance the revolutionary struggle.

The workers of the Western European countries will surely knock aside the revisionist parties and all other obstacles to advance through the twists and turns of the class struggle toward the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the establishment of the rule of the working class. ■

Publications

— **Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.** 175 pages. \$1.00.

(The following publications were originally published by the Revolutionary Union and were adopted by the RCP, USA, Oct. 1975)

— **How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle.** 156 pages. \$2.50.

— **The Chicano Struggle and the Struggle for Socialism.** 59 pages. \$1.50.

— **Revolution: Only Road to Women's Liberation.** Reprinted from *Revolution*, March 1974. In English and Spanish. 16 pages. 25 cents.

— **Classes and Class Struggle.** Reprinted from *Revolution*, April 1973. In English and Spanish. 8 pages. 10 cents.

— **Proletarian Dictatorship vs. Bourgeois "Democracy."** Reprinted from *Revolution*, May 1973. In English and Spanish. 12 pages. 10 cents.

— **Correct Line Achieved Through Study, Struggle, Criticism.** Reprinted from *Revolution*, January 1974. In English and Spanish. 12 pages. 10 cents.

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Shouting "Fight the Layoffs! 6 not 5, no company jive," steelworkers in Seattle march on Bethlehem headquarters on October 8th.

Seattle Steelworkers

Walkout Sparks Layoff Fight

On August-11, ninety steel workers at the 22 inch mill at Seattle's Bethlehem Steel plant refused to report for work. For three days they met at their Local 1208 union hall and stopped production cold in a fight against job elimination. The company had just installed new pulpits (operator cabs) in the mill and cut the operator crew size from 6 to 5 per shift. This meant less relief and more speed-up for the operators remaining and more steel workers out on the street, as layoffs increased throughout the plant. Already 200 of the peak work force of 1400 were out of work. After three days the 22" mill returned to work under threat of injunction and a "6 not 5" grievance has been pushed through arbitration, with results due by January 1.

The 6 not 5 walkout was a breakthrough in fighting speed-up and layoffs at the plant. And it also struck a solid blow against the sell-out no-strike agreement with which the steel bosses and United Steel Workers of America (USWA) union officials have tried to hamstring the rank and file. For the first time since the last steel strike in 1959, rank and file in this plant united in large numbers to stop production in defense of their interests. To do so they had to buck not only the company's usual "carrot and stick" but also their own local and international "no-strike" leadership.

Both the company and the union officials insisted that the workers rely solely on the grievance procedure. But after seeing practically every important grievance lost or put off for months and years, the rank and file took things into their own hands.

The workers' determination to beat the company back and to defend their jobs swept aside several of the obstacles that got in their way. As the critical day approached, two department leaders, including the grievance committeeman, switched sides to oppose the walkout and to block a crucial meeting on the eve of the walkout.

Time to Stand Up

Nonetheless, the next morning when the department met at the union hall at 5 a.m., they voted overwhelmingly to stay out. On The Move (OTM), a workers organization at Bethlehem, distributed a leaflet at the plant gate calling for support of the walkout and for workers throughout the plant to join the 22" mill workers at the union hall.

Word of the 22" action spread like wildfire throughout the plant. After two and one half years of record production, every department was faced with layoffs, combined with speed-up, job elimination and combinations. Veteran workers agreed that "it's about time that we stood up and showed the company that they can't treat us like a bunch of sheep." Pride grew in the militant example of the 22" mill, and the recognition that "we all better stick together if we want any job security." As the walkout continued into the second day, the possibility of a plant-wide walkout was talked about at machines, during breaks and in the locker room.

That night a rank and file petition for a special union meeting was hurriedly circulated on swing shift. It was carried to the union hall where the 22" mill workers and others were meeting. At 9 a.m. on the third

day of the walkout, about 60 workers off swing and graveyard joined the 22" mill at the hall. Many came to vote for a strike while inside the plant day shift workers eyed the union hall, ready to walk out if pickets appeared at the gates. The masses were excited and the company and union officials incredulous. Years of frustration and no-strike misleadership were being blown away.

Officials Attack Struggle

The walkout was a strong step forward in fighting layoffs and for Bethlehem workers getting organized generally, although the organization wasn't solid enough yet to build the department fight into a plant wide wildcat. This was especially true with the company and their henchmen in the union going all out to smash it. The union officials called in their lawyer, a state senator, who attacked the rank and file. They insisted that everyone would lose their jobs, that injunctions and arrests were coming immediately and that the local and international leadership would do nothing to fight the courts or the company. After 90 minutes of heated struggle the 22" mill voted to return to work and to carry on the fight inside.

The workers went back in with their heads held high. They knew that this fight was a strong beginning, defying the shackle of the no-strike deal and at the same time challenging the way Bethlehem and all the capitalist companies throw the workers out on the streets. It was also a damn important fight for workers throughout the Northwest, who like workers across the country are being faced with increasing layoffs, coupled with increased speed-up and harassment at work.

What happened at the Bethlehem fight was going to have a much broader effect than just at one plant. Steel workers at other plants in the area followed the walkout closely and the sparks of the struggle were spread throughout the whole working class by word of mouth, as well as TV coverage, and articles in *The Worker*. Thousands of workers saw the steel workers standing up united, taking Bethlehem head on.

The rank and file learned plenty through the walkout that will help prepare for future battles. During the walkout and immediately afterwards they saw the need for rank and file leadership and organization to grow stronger to carry through the struggle as it comes up more squarely against the company and the whole capitalist class.

For six weeks prior to the walkout, the company's plan to cut the operator jobs had been the center of resistance in the 22" mill and also the subject of plant wide talk. At two department meetings of the 22" inch mill the unanimous sentiment was to refuse to work with only five operators. However, the union officials insisted that this could be won as a department issue and that it didn't involve the rest of the plant.

There's no question that the 22" mill workers had to be solid for the struggle to be waged. Their unity and willingness to fight together was a real strength of the walkout, but that unity and struggle needed to be spread and built throughout the plant. Needless to say, Bethlehem, like the rest of the capitalist class, is

trying to put over these job combinations and layoffs throughout the plant, not just in the 22" mill. The 6 not 5 fight, the fight to defend every job, affects every worker in the plant. It should have been built from the beginning with the strength of all the workers in the plant.

The end of the walkout didn't mean the end of the fight against layoffs, in fact, it was just the beginning. The 22" mill was barely rolling again when the workers decided to call a demonstration against all the layoffs, including the 6 not 5 job elimination, but not limited to that one.

On The Move and other workers united to build a full scale battle against all the layoffs, forming a steel workers employed-unemployed committee (EUC) of all those workers, both working and laid off, who were willing to organize that fight. On September 8, a "Fight Layoffs-6 not 5" rally was held at the plant gate. The question "can we fight layoffs, and if so how?" became the focus of discussion among workers at the plant.

It was also the focus of struggle at a union meeting October 6, where a second demonstration planned for October 8 was endorsed by the rank and file. October 8 was the day that the arbitration hearing on the 6 not 5 grievance was being held. In spite of the endorsement, the union officials showed their true colors and locked the rank and file out of the union hall, where they were supposed to meet to make banners and begin their march on "the castle"—company headquarters.

But the steel workers carried off a spirited "Fight Layoffs-6 not 5" march and rally, ending up in front of the Bethlehem headquarters near the plant. Inside the 6 not 5 issue was being arbitrated, while outside the workers shouted "Fight the Layoffs! 6 not 5, no company jive."

Workers Fight Firing

Bethlehem, having failed to stop the demonstration through threats, the collaboration of the hacks and police harassment, now resorted to firing one of the 22" mill workers who took an hour off work for personal business—coming to the demonstration. He asked them: "What could be more personal than fighting for my job?" They wrote only "demonstration, march" on his termination slip. For the next month the struggle raged around the firing. The EUC distributed several leaflets in the campaign, exposing the company's weakness, emphasizing the importance of defending this job as a part of the fight against layoffs.

The company tried everything, police, goons, lies and rumors about a "plant shutdown" caused by "worker unrest" and phony "bomb threats" and "sabotage." But the masses of workers saw through this as hundreds signed the petition to get the fired worker back on the job.

The union officials found themselves in the middle in this rehire struggle—between the anger of the rank and file and the company's efforts to make the firing stick—and were quick to side with the company. First the hacks obstructed the campaign, including a refusal to let the rank and file use the hall for meetings. Then they launched a broadside against the campaigning in the official Local 1208 newsletter. They wrote of "political groups out to destroy the union and the steel industry" and repeated the company lies about bomb threats and plant shutdown. They tried to masquerade as the true defenders of jobs. The EUC immediately countered with a widely and enthusiastically received leaflet exposing the hacks as mouthpieces for the company.

At the third step grievance hearing for the fired worker all the union members present, including the officials, demanded that the company rehire the fired worker. The company agreed to do so, but only if he would agree to give up all the back pay owed him. This amounted to a 21 day suspension and a thousand dollar fine. The hacks showed their true colors again when they urged him to accept. But knowing that he had the rank and file behind him he refused. Within hours the company backed down and reinstated him and the back pay is being arbitrated.

Winning the rehire fight was an important victory. Bethlehem had hoped to stop the fight against layoffs and speed-up with the firing. But the workers turned that around. They fought the firing and intensified the fight against its cause, the fight against layoffs. Workers throughout the area continued to follow the struggle at Bethlehem. Not only did the Bethlehem fight spread the word that workers were fighting layoffs, but it spread the word that the workers were getting more and more organized and that the company attempts to divert them, like firings, weren't going to get in the way. As the wife of the rehired steel worker said, "It really showed workers all over the city that it is possible to stand up for what should be done and the company can't just get rid of you." As word of the victory spread through leaflets at the unemployment office and at the plants were *The Worker* was sold, people greeted the news with big smiles and "right on!"

In summing up the struggle at Bethlehem, one worker said, "It gives the workers something to believe in...it gives us an example that if workers stand together for a common cause how much power there is in unity—because in unity there is strength." ■

Mass Line ...

Continued from page 3

they are dependent for their very lives on the capitalists, who "provide them with jobs," etc.—when, in reality, just the reverse is true. They try in this way to prevent the masses from uniting in struggle against them—promoting instead the idea that "every man for himself" is the natural order of things.

Where mass struggle wrings concessions from the capitalists, they try to picture this as a "gift" from them. They are forever bringing forward new politicians and other spokesmen, who pose as friends of the people in order to rob the masses of political initiative and independent action in their own interests—just as the capitalists rob them of the fruits of their productive labor.

And on top of all this, they use their whole state apparatus—police, army, courts, bureaucracies, etc.—to forcibly attack the struggles of the masses and to keep them in conditions of economic slavery. In these circumstances, in the everyday conditions of capitalist society, it is inevitable that people try various means, other than mass struggle against capitalism, to find a way out of this wage-slavery and the misery it means for millions. But it is just as inevitable that, for the great majority, there is no "way out" except through the common struggle of millions against capitalism.

Regardless of anyone's will, and regardless of the lying propaganda of the bourgeoisie and the influence of its ideology (which exists even within the working class) the laws of capitalism assert themselves. These laws dictate that the capitalists must exploit and oppress the masses of people, and that the masses will therefore rise up against them, until they are overthrown and class society is abolished.

This is why the Party of the working class must base itself on the experience and the struggle of the masses broadly—and not on that of a few individuals. To do this it is important to take into account that the masses at a given time and place are composed of different parts—the relatively advanced, intermediate and backward.

The Party must pay special attention to uniting with and raising the level of advanced workers not yet Party members, who continually come forward in these struggles as leaders. These workers are potentially a key link, a lever, to join the Party with the life and struggles of the class as a whole. In order for the Party to learn and grow, and in order for the movement of the masses to advance, the Party must train the advanced workers in the science of revolution, including the application of the mass line. And it must train them not apart from, but in the course of actually leading the struggle of the broad masses.

Persevering

And the Party must persevere—must learn together with the masses through the course of many struggles and must on this basis develop its ability to lead the masses, through all these struggles, toward the final goal of revolution.

But persevering does not mean tailing behind "at a snail's pace." It means uniting with the advanced within the working class and relying on them to bring forward the broad masses in struggle. It means enabling the masses to make the greatest advances and strengthen their ranks to the greatest possible degree through each battle against the enemy.

Persevering means, in short, as the Programme of the RCP states, that the Party must bend "every effort to fulfill three main objectives in these struggles: to win as much as can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy; to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the struggling masses and instill in them the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat; and to develop the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists, recruit them into the Party and train them as revolutionary leaders."

The mass line does not mean that the Party's policies simply amount to holding up a mirror to the level of consciousness of the masses at any time. "Whatever the masses already understand, that is the mass line, that is what we should give back to them"—such is a distortion of the mass line and a denial of the Party's role as the vanguard of the working class, its leadership in the struggle against capitalism. This amounts to giving up the goal of revolution and perpetuating the conditions of slavery for the working class.

The conditions of capitalism do, in a certain sense,

and up to a certain point, "unite" the masses of workers—bring them together in ever more concentrated, more socialized, production. And these same conditions do compel the workers to unite in struggle against the capitalists, to survive and to keep from being crushed. But, at the same time, capitalist society also divides the workers, forces them to compete for jobs and survival and maintains other divisions among them—nationality, sex, age, skilled and unskilled, differentials in pay, etc.

And beyond this, capitalist society and the culture and propaganda promoted by the bourgeoisie—which reflects and serves its interests, its position as the exploiting minority in society, as private owners of socially produced wealth—obscures and keeps hidden the basic laws that govern the development of nature and society. Capitalism disguises the basic relations in society, so that it appears that all social relations—class relations—are relations between individuals, between owners of commodities. In particular capitalism disguises exploitation—the ripping off by the capitalists of surplus value produced by the labor of the workers—as an "equal exchange" (work for wages) between the worker and the capitalist.

Living within capitalist society and caught up in these contradictions, the "spontaneous" ideas of the masses are scattered, unsystematic and contradictory. There are the correct ideas which stem from the position of the working class in production, its socialization, and its struggle against exploitation and oppression. And there are incorrect ideas which stem from the ideology and propaganda of the bourgeoisie but which also find a basis in the worker's experience in capitalist society, which forces competition among the workers, maintains a "division of labor," etc.

And more, as the Programme of the RCP points out, "Each worker perceives a part of the reality of capitalism, but none by himself can grasp the overall picture, fully discover the source of his oppression or grasp the laws of nature and society that determine the development of the class struggle. In order to become conscious of itself as a class, and to know and change the world in accordance with its revolutionary interests, the working class must have the leadership of its own political Party."

Role of the Party

As stressed several times, the leadership of that Party is exercised through its application of the mass line. The Party must, as the Programme states, apply the science of revolution, based on the world outlook of the proletariat, to concentrate the correct ideas that the masses gain in everyday life. It must discard the incorrect and, in the course of uniting with the masses in the fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression, struggle against these incorrect ideas which have their source in capitalist society and its relations of exploitation.

The experience of the masses, especially the mass of workers, is the *raw material* for correct lines and policies. But it is not the finished product, the correct line itself. To develop this correct line requires the application of Marxism-Leninism to "process" the ideas gained by the masses through their experience. It is *this* that the Party must return to the masses and persevere in propagating and carrying out.

And this is a constant process—from experience to summed up experience (rational knowledge acquired through the application of Marxism-Leninism), back to experience (class struggle)...and on and on. Further, the Party must not only "process" the ideas of the masses and raise their experience to rational knowledge, but must continually arm the masses themselves with the science of revolution, to enable ever broader numbers to know and change the world, and develop the struggle of millions, more and more in conformity with the revolutionary outlook and interests of the working class.

The mass line is not a gimmick. It is not a question of "taking the positive and getting rid of the negative" or building up what the communists "like" and knocking down the ideas they don't like. The fact is that the experience of the masses themselves are governed by the laws of development of nature and society. Someone might "like" to gain experience living in a capitalist society without exploitation, but there is no such thing as that. The capitalists might "like" to gain experience in smoothing over the contradictions of capitalism, but that is also impossible.

This system will end up in crisis and depression, will produce wars and widespread suffering for the great majority. This is inevitable, independent of anyone's will, due to its very contradictions—and fundamental to the contradiction between socialized production and private ownership that characterizes capitalism. And just as inevitably this system will give rise to widespread struggle against this suffering, against the outrages and abuses that are the daily experience of the masses under capitalist rule.

Laws of Development

This is the way things are bound to develop—toward revolution to abolish capitalism. But revolution will

not occur "automatically." At each point in the development of the struggle the bourgeoisie and the proletariat must and will contend not only in the practical battlefield, but also in the sphere of ideology.

There is, and will be so long as classes remain, a continual struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat over how to sum up the struggle, what lessons to draw from each battle and what road to take in order to change with the situation. To the degree that the proletariat, through its Party, does not correctly sum up this experience, does not correctly concentrate the ideas of the masses, the bourgeoisie will, through its political leaders and representatives, put over its summation.

Even where it is forced to make a concession in the practical struggle, the bourgeoisie will lay the basis for snatching it, and more, back. So while the outcome of every immediate battle is important, the most important thing is the growing class understanding, organization and unity built up among the workers in the course of many battles. As Marx and Engels said in the *Communist Manifesto* more than 100 years ago, "The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of workers." (p. 42, Chinese edition).

There is no "pure experience." In class society, experience reflects class struggle and can only be interpreted according to the interests and outlook of one class or another. The proletariat and the proletariat alone is capable of correctly summing up experience, because only its outlook and interest conform to the development of society. And only the proletariat is capable of resolving the contradictions of capitalism through revolution to advance society to the stage of communism, where mankind voluntarily and consciously changes the world and itself in the process.

This does not mean that, "in one stroke" or through one battle the masses of people will grasp the need for revolution or the road forward to making revolution. As emphasized before, that requires repeated experience, on the part of the masses of workers and their Party, and the constant summation of that experience by the Party to forge and illuminate the revolutionary road.

Sharpening Struggle

But, as also stressed before, the experience of the masses is governed by the internal contradictions of capitalism and the laws of development of nature and society. The understanding of the masses of the need to overthrow capitalism, grows together with the sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism and the development toward a revolutionary situation—a situation in which the capitalist system is in deep economic and/or political crisis, the robbery of the workers is more intensified and the criminal absurdity of capitalism, with its want and starvation amidst plenty, are laid even more bare than in "normal" times; when the ruling class is forced into ever more cut-throat competition in its own ranks, and the masses of people feel the urgency and see the possibility of destroying the chains that enslave them to capital.

In such a situation, however, the bourgeoisie, while fighting more bitterly within its own ranks, will increase a thousand times its exploitation of the workers and its brutal suppression of the masses' resistance. And as part of this, it will increase a thousand times its ideological offensive to confuse, split and paralyze the growing upsurge.

Only through the role of the Party of the working class, its application of the mass line to sum up and lead this mass struggle forward, can the working class unite its own ranks and rally behind it the great mass of the people to strike the decisive blows and bring down the capitalist enemy.

But the application by the Party of the mass line is not only a vital question with the development of a revolutionary situation under capitalism. At all stages of the struggle, both in building toward the overthrow of capitalism and in continuing the revolutionary struggle to eliminate capitalism and all its vestiges once the bourgeoisie is overthrown, the Party must consistently apply the mass line. It must do so, both to advance the struggle and to raise ever broader numbers of the masses to the ranks of conscious revolutionaries.

Only when the historic goal of communism has been achieved, will there no longer be a need for the Party to apply the mass line; then, in fact there will no longer be a need for the Party, because, as the Programme of the RCP states, "classes and class struggle will have been eliminated and all of society will consciously apply the principles of communism."

But between here and there is a long, complicated, and bitter struggle—a struggle made up of thousands of battles, of skirmishes leading to major encounters, from one stage to another. And at each stage the Party must deepen its ties with the masses and its grasp of Marxism-Leninism, and on this basis strengthen its application of the mass line. It must do so to fulfill its objectives and tasks as the Party of the working class and enable the working class to advance to the greatest degree possible through each battle, to accumulate through its repeated experience a deeper understanding of the laws governing the struggle, and to develop the consciousness, organization and unity needed to achieve the final goal. ■

Cleaver...

Continued from page 5

direction. They consolidated the tendency, always present in the Panther's history, toward reformism. From the beginning they developed reformist programs like the Breakfast-For-Children which, while called "revolutionary," did not aim to mobilize masses in struggle and were actually nothing more than a left wing variation of the Salvation Army.

They abandoned the idea of revolution altogether and soon became nothing more than petty politicians running for city government offices and poverty board jobs. Both the terrorist line formulated by Cleaver and the reformist line advanced by Newton and Seale, while appearing opposite on the surface, were rooted in the same class viewpoint of the petty bourgeoisie that is unable to see the possibility of real revolution by the working class. This explains how, for a time, both tendencies could exist side-by-side in the same organization.

Even while the capitalists were killing dozens of Panthers and sending hundreds to jail they also fired "sugar coated bullets" at them. The bourgeois press glorified individual Panther leaders at the same time it was attacking them. And the Panther leadership, as its political line led into further and further isolation from the masses, was susceptible to this corruption. Their political orientation toward the lumpen proletariat encouraged the Panther leadership in adopting a style of work that imitated the bravado of the lumpen proletariat, screaming how everyone had to accept them as the "vanguard," and adopting grandiose titles like "Supreme Commander" and "Supreme Servant of the People."

Political Line Decisive

Throughout this entire period the membership of the Panthers came under brutal assault, with dozens murdered and hundreds more imprisoned. The Panthers showed that they could fight on heroically, even gather strength, in the face of these attacks. Fundamentally it was the political line of the Panther leadership that led to the disintegration of the Party.

The Panther Party was born out of the struggle of the masses, and for a time played a vanguard role in concentrating and advancing the struggle and understanding that existed at that time. But their revolutionary thrust could not co-exist indefinitely with the anti-working class political line that became more and more consolidated.

As the struggle exposed the fact that the proletariat was the only really revolutionary class, and alone could lead the masses to revolution, the Panther leadership put themselves in opposition to the further advance of the struggle, and the vast majority of the Panther membership quit in demoralization and disgust. Today the Black Panther Party exists only as a living fossil, a tragic example of the truth that political line determines everything.

The ruling class attempts to parade around Eldridge Cleaver as the living proof of the failure and futility

of the revolutionary upsurges of the 60s and 70s. Though Cleaver and his anti-working class political line are a failure, the Black liberation struggle of the last two decades was a great advance for the overall class struggle in the United States.

As the Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party states, "At a time when the working class movement was weakened and without a revolutionary vanguard Party, the Black liberation struggle rekindled revolutionary spirit among people of all nationalities, and raised again the question of the overthrow of imperialism.

"But this struggle could not accomplish the overthrow of imperialism and the real liberation of Black people. The struggle of Black people can and does deal powerful blows to the monopoly capitalists and to the various forms of discrimination and racist trash they foster to make profit and maintain their power. But by itself it cannot end Black people's oppression because the source of this oppression is capitalist rule. The Black people's struggle alone cannot resolve the basic contradiction of capitalism—between the working class and the capitalist class—the contradiction from which all of its evils arise.

"Thus, the advance of the Black people's struggle, in bringing up the question of revolution has also brought up the fact that the working class as a whole must lead in making revolution, and that the Black people's struggle must and will be developed as part of the overall working class struggle to overthrow capitalism." (Page 23 & 24).

Failures and Advances

The Panthers and the Black liberation struggle of the time inspired many people of all nationalities to take up the revolutionary struggle and the science of Marxism-Leninism. And the advances the Panthers represented, as well as the obstacles they ran up against, have contributed to the growth of understanding about what revolution means in the U.S. today and how to make it.

People dug deeper into grasping the science of Marxism-Leninism and its application to the U.S. class struggle in order to get answers to the questions posed to a great degree by the development of that movement. In the course of this, and in moving to unite with the continuing struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, especially the growing struggles of the working class, the basis for new and still more powerful developments have been laid.

Eldridge Cleaver's variety of bourgeois lines and schemes—from calling the lumpen the vanguard of the revolution, to calling George Meany the true representative of the working class—now ring very hollow and are exposed. Because of the advances in the struggle, Cleaver is unable to push his trash as "revolutionary leadership." So looking to escape from oblivion in a Paris back alley, he has sold himself to the ruling class as an up-front spokesman for them.

The high tide of the upsurge of the 60s has ebbed, with a new tide beginning to rise. All this has left scum like Cleaver, who built his career on that upsurge while promoting those aspects of it which were primitive or negative as principle, floating in a stagnant and stinking backwater eddy. He is now a cheap spokesman for the bourgeoisie; to the masses he is a worthless nothing except as a teacher by negative example. The coming upsurge will clean him out of its way. ■

S-1...

Continued from page 8

able to even unite its own ranks behind S-1 reflects their divisions on how best to deal with the capitalist crisis. None of them, of course, are opposed to the main thrust of the bill, its attacks on the masses. One thing that particularly honks many of them are the sections directed against the press, particularly the so-called Official Secrets Act. Numerous editorials have appeared, from the *New York Times* to the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Wall Street Journal*, denouncing these provisions, which would make illegal things like printing the Pentagon Papers and some of the reporting on Watergate, the CIA and other "state secrets." Sections of the bourgeoisie use the press against each other to advance their own interests and promote their policies, and they do not want to give up this weapon.

Presently the bill is in committee, where there is haggling over those sections that the bourgeoisie can't agree on. To the extent that word about S-1 has gotten out, it has generated widespread popular opposition. Presidential candidate Birch Bayh has dropped his sponsorship of S-1 because recent outcries have convinced him that his "initial judgement was wrong." It is doubtful that they will try to pass the bill during this election year. But the push for S-1 is on.

And in the true style of bourgeois democracy, the capitalists will try meanwhile to generate the appearance of popular support for S-1, and try to make it look like the masses are really behind this effort to tighten the capitalists' hold on the slave chain that binds exploited to exploiters.

S-1 is a concerted attack on our ability to organize and fight against the exploitation of capitalism. As such, it must be exposed and opposed. But the fight against S-1 and all similar attacks must be built as part of the overall struggle of the working class to overthrow the rule of capitalism. The class struggle has to, of necessity, break the bonds of bourgeois law. And as the mask of democracy is stripped away by the ruling class' efforts to maintain their rule, the bourgeois state is increasingly exposed as the enforcer of capitalist dictatorship.

End Their Rule

The Communist Party, USA and other revisionist forces would like to turn the fight against S-1 into a defense of bourgeois democracy—of bourgeois dictatorship. While pointing out some of the worst aspects of S-1 in their February 1975 issue of *Political Affairs*, they call for "a broad based campaign to send the bill back to the drawing board for complete revision and reform by the House and Senate Judiciary Committees." Quit acting so undemocratic, we are supposed to ask the bourgeoisie, and come up with a good criminal law!

The CP's efforts to cover for the bourgeoisie are well exposed by their comments on the anti-communist section of S-1. "And since the government, of course, has never been able to prove that the advocacy of the Communist Party creates a clear and present danger of violent revolution, the Smith Act has atrophied." For the past twenty years the CP has presented no danger at all to the bourgeoisie and its government, violent or otherwise. "We've been working for you!" they shout. "Hey guys, please don't hurt us." The Smith Act didn't atrophy, the CP did.

The revisionists also make a big deal about the bill because it is "fascist," or "pro-fascist," as if the provisions of S-1 were somehow incompatible or different from the daily functioning of the bourgeois democratic form of bourgeois dictatorship. They attempt to lead the masses away from the fight against bourgeois dictatorship by saying that the fight should be directed against only a certain form of bourgeois rule: fascism.

We fight S-1 because we fight every law that threatens to stand in the way of the class struggle. Every right our struggle wins from the capitalists that aids the class struggle must be defended and used, aiming every blow at the source of all our misery—bourgeois rule.

Senate Bill 1 is just part of the battle. Democratic rights under capitalism are not enough. The working class does not want to fight, generation after generation, for the right to speak out against exploitation. We want to fight to end exploitation, once and for all, by overthrowing the capitalists and their state, with all its laws, "democratic" as well as "undemocratic."

Under socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, laws and every aspect of working class rule will exist to prevent exploitation, not to enforce it. ■

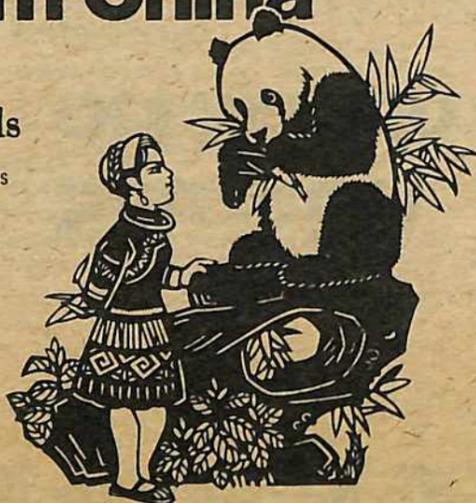
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