

We are living today in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. V.I. Lenin, the great revolutionary teacher and leader, made a scientific analysis based on Marxism and concluded that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, parasitic or decaying capitalism, moribund capitalism.

The heart of Lenin's theory on imperialism lies in his profound analysis of imperialism's basic contradictions. He pointed out how at the stage of imperialism, these contradictions became sharper and grow in scale and scope. More recently the Communist Party of China restated and further explained the interrelationship of these fundamental contradictions. (See report on the International situation).

Today we see the development of these various contradictions resulting in what comrades of the CPC have characterized as a situation of "great disorder on the earth."

"This great disorder is one in which imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of various countries have been thrown into confusion. It reflects an excellent situation in which countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution." 1

This disorder propels the development of the international situation further in the direction favorable to the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and unfavorable to imperialism. Wars of national liberation and proletarian revolutionary struggles are raging all over the world. As increasing numbers of the world's people fight their way out from under imperialist control, the reserves of imperialism are increasingly being turned into reserves of the international proletariat.

This in turn intensifies the contradictions among the imperialists and social-imperialists themselves. Today, we see the two super-powers, the U.S. and U.S.S.R., contending for hegemony everywhere and colluding to crush the worldwide revolutionary upheaval.

On the other side, in opposition to the imperialists and social-imperialists and all their puppets, stand the workers and oppressed peoples of the world. Here, too, stand the People's Republics of China and Albania, providing revolutionary leadership, staunchly defending Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat's science of class war, serving as revolutionary examples, rallying points, and constant friends of revolutionary people, and making invaluable contributions to the historic cause of the international proletariat.

At the same time that the imperialists are preparing for war to further redivide the world among themselves, in the U.S. the ruling class has been attempting to shift the burden of their losses on to the backs of the American working class. The answer of the monopoly capitalists to the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism which threatens their profits is a lowering of work and living standards. (See report on Int'l situation)

Fundamental Contradiction of Capitalism

In July, 1972, at the first founding congress of the PRRWO, we put forward an analysis of both the international and national situations. For the most part this analysis was correct; however, we were proceeding from only a perceptual level of understanding and suffered from a belittling of the importance of theory. Since that time, we have intensified our study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought, have deepened our understanding of these questions and repudiated our errors.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the fundamental contradiction inherent in capitalism is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation. This fundamental contradiction is expressed in many forms.

For instance, the tendency towards an unlimited expansion of industry is inherent in capitalism.

"In the race for profits every capitalist strives to throw the greatest possible amount of commodities on the market. He tries to expand his enterprise, to increase the volume of his production."

However, this is only one side of the picture:

"On the other hand, it is the nature of capitalism to tend to reduce consumption by the broad masses of the people to the most miserable level. Expansion of the capitalist market is to some extent due to the growth of the demand for the means of production which go for the expansion of enterprises. However, ultimately the enterprises using these means of production produce ever-increasing quantities of consumer's commodities. And the market for these is limited because of the impoverishment of the working masses." 3

Thus, the contradiction between production and consumption is revealed as one form in which the fundamental contradiction of capitalism is manifested.

Capitalist crises are crises of overproduction. So many commodities are produced that under conditions of the exploiting capitalist system, which limits the purchasing power of the broad masses, they can find no market.

This fundamental contradiction of capitalism makes crisis inevitable under capitalism. This contradiction invariably leads to the point where the mass of commodities produced find no market. This isn't because no one needs food or clothing; it is because the masses of workers who need these necessities in order to live cannot buy them because their wages have been depressed.

This situation leads to factories not being able to get rid of their commodities. Warehouses become loaded with finished products. Factories cut down production. Many enterprises close altogether. Workers are thrown into the streets, and those remaining on the job are speeded up -- now forced to do the work of two men. The growth of unemployment cuts down even further the purchasing power of the working class and therefore reduces the consumption of goods further.

Engels, in Anti-Duhring (pp. 309-310), points out how these crises occur in periodic cycles - they occur at regular intervals of time. History has show that the capitalist world has been shaken by crisis every 8 to 12 years. What happens generally is that once the threat of glutted markets and falling prices is seen, every capitalist rushes to save what he can. Some quickly cut production and try to sell while they can the goods they have on hand; or they will try to maintain prices by destroying goods.

Once the crisis has developed and devastated the economic life of the country, a stimulus is needed to turn the depression into a revival - a recovery period, which will eventually lead to a "boom."

In the history of the U.S., war has provided that stimulus - the two world wars, Korea and IndoChina - each got the U.S. economy out of a downturn, recession, or depression. Wars stimulate industry and create new sources of demand. Plants and factories need and order new machinery to meet this demand. More workers are needed for production. Increased employment temporarily increases the buying power of the masses. (However, the demand represented by workers' wages does not increase as fast as production and productive capacity.)

Eventually, production and employment begin to rise again and demand for goods begins to increase in step with the increased income of newly employed workers. The economic system gets back again to the stage of recovery. However, inevitably, the point is reached where the increase in the demand for consumption goods created by the increase in employment and wages cannot in the long run keep pace with the increase in production. The contradiction between the expanding power to produce and the restricted consuming power of the masses must assert itself.

What is produced cannot be sold. The expansion stops once again. Thus the cycle continues: recovery - boom - slump - depression - recovery - and so on, each cycle taking as a general rule about ten years. Each crash results in the further impoverishment of the proletariat, the ruin of masses of small property owners and investors, and the growth of the monopoly capitalists as they absorb the lesser capitalists and gorge themselves on the blood and sweat of the proletariat.

"Gigantic crashes have become possible and inevitable, only because powerful social productive forces have become subordinated to a gang of richmen, whose only concern is to make profits." (emphasis in original) 4

The Domestic Crisis of U.S. Imperialism

The comrades of the Party of Labor of Albania have characterized the world situation as one in which "the whole structure and superstructure of the imperialist-revisionist world are in the grip of a deep and destructive crisis." They point out:

"The crisis of overproduction, depression, anarchy, disintegration and stagnation are inseparable fellow travellers of the economies of these countries; they are the diseases which plague them more all the time." 5

The comrades point specifically to the depression in the U.S. economy in 1970-1971, when industrial production fell by 4.1%. This crisis has intensified further today, to the point where even representatives of the bourgeoisie are forced to admit the seriousness of the situation.

In an article in the NY Post (Aug. 1, 1974, p.37), the vice-president of Manufacturers Hanover Trust admitted that the U.S. had been in a recession for the past 6 months. Fortune magazine went even further; it said:

"By the end of 1969, the U.S. had entered a period of recession, its first in nearly a decade." 6

This was the period when direct U.S. involvement in Vietnam was supposed to be "winding down." Historically, wars have gotten the U.S. economy out of a slump, led to a recovery and eventually to recession again. This happened after WWI, after WWII, and after the U.S. defeat in Korea. (U.S. News & World Report, June 17, 1974, p.30-31) And today we see it recurring following the U.S. defeat in IndoChina.

Specifically, how is this crisis manifesting itself?

1. Increasing class polarization - the rich become richer, the poor become poorer. In the U.S. the process of class polarization is rapidly deepening. 1.6% of the population owns 32% of all the privately owned wealth in the U.S. At the other end of the scale, 50% of the adult population own only 8.3% of the nation's wealth. In terms of income, the highest 10% of the population receives 27% of the national income; while the lowest 10% of the nation receives only 1% of the national income. 7

On the one hand, the profits of U.S. monopolies in the first quarter of 1973, in comparison with those in the same period of the previous year, increased by 30%. On the other hand, the number of poor people, those with incomes below the poverty level, reached 25.5 million in 1973 - an increase in 1.5 million over 1971. 8

Furthermore, although the bourgeoisie is heralding the rise of a "new Black middle class" as evidence of "upward mobility" in America, statistics expose this nonsense. First, the income expressed in dollars has risen for all workers - but this doesn't mean a rise in real wages (more on this later). However, in relation to the median income of whites, the income of the oppressed nationalities has shown little change since the late 1960's. In fact the gap has actually widened, from \$3,296 in 1959 to \$4,443 in 1972. Furthermore, whereas in 1959, 28% of all the people living below the poverty level were Afro-American, in 1972 this had risen to 32%. This means almost one out of every 3 people living below the "poverty line" are Black.

(The "poverty level" is very deceptive. The government raises it constantly so that less people fit into it each year and they don't look so bad. However, any family that has tried to survive on the amount specified as being just above "poverty" know it is nearly impossible. In 1966, the "survival level" for a family of four was considered \$3,130. In 1974, it has been "raised" to \$4,500.)

On a local level, U.S. government statistics show that in NYC "low income areas" 65% of Puerto Rican families (13 out of every 20 Puerto Rican families) and 49% (10 out of every 20 Black families) of Black families are living in poverty. ("Guardian", August 14, 1974, p.8)

2. Key Economic Indicators Down

The indexes of industrial production and capital spending are key indicators of a relative "up-swing" or downturn" in the capitalist business cycle.

In the U.S. today, industrial production is down: 5% in steel; 50% in auto; 5% in crude petroleum production; 6% in electrical power production. Other industries that are cutting back in capital goods investments are: electric and gas utilities, electrical machinery, mining, construction, and communications. ("USNWR", June 17, 1974)

In NYC, construction contracts are down approximately 50% from 1969. There are 15,000 unemployed construction workers in NYC alone, the result of what people in that field call the worst slump in the construction industry since the depression of the 1930's. This has resulted in a severe shortage of new housing, skyrocketing rents in existing housing, and the further deterioration of the "ghettos".

3. Unemployment

"The fact that the socialized organization of production within the factory has developed so far that it has become incompatible with the anarchy of production in society, which exists side by side with and dominates it, is brought home to the capital that occurs during crisis, through the ruin of many large, and a still greater number of small capitalists. The whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production breaks down under the pressure of the productive forces, its own creation. It is no longer able to turn all this mass of means of production into capital. They lie fallow, and for that very reason the industrial reserve army must also lie fallow. 10 "

In February, 1974, the U.S. labor Department admitted that unemployment had climbed to 5.2% and predicted it would rise to 6 or 8%. ("NY Post, 2/1/74, p.3)

Like poverty, unemployment also hits the oppressed nationalities the hardest. Since 1950, official non-white unemployment rates have almost always been more than twice as great as official white unemployment rates. Unemployment for both whites and non-whites is most heavily concentrated among teenagers. In February, 1974, the unemployment rate for whites was 4.7% and 9.4% for Blacks. (We should also keep in mind that the government figures seriously underestimate the actual level of unemployment. They include only those persons registered on government unemployment roles.)

In NYC "low income areas" the unemployment rates are:

Black women, 20 and over-----	5.9%
Black men, 20 and over-----	7.2%
Puerto Rican men, 20 and over -----	8.8%
Puerto Rican women, 20 and over -----	10.2%
P.R. teenagers, female -----	30.1%
Black teenagers, female -----	32.7%
Black teenagers, male -----	35.8%
P.R. teenagers, male -----	39.8%

(U.S.: Characteristics of the Low Income Population, 1970)

Today, we clearly see the sharp effects of the imperialist crisis among our youth. They are the victims of high unemployment, are pushed out of schools - "drop-outs", are the target for narcotics dealers and other parasitic scum. The bourgeoisie has created these conditions and is trying to win the unemployed working class youth for their mercenary "volunteer army" or one of the hundreds of other paramilitary organizations which exist to indoctrinate youth towards "Americanization" and patriotism." In a word, the bourgeoisie is preparing them as shock troops for fascism and cannon fodder for imperialist wars. In NYC, we have already seen the attempts (sometimes successful) of the police to woo armed teenaged gangs to use in actions against the Communist movement.

"Fascism also triumphed for the reason that it was able to penetrate the ranks of the youth whereas the Social-Democrats diverted the working class youth from the class struggle, while the revolutionary proletariat did not develop the necessary educational work among the youth and did not devote sufficient attention to the struggle for its specific interests and demands. Fascism grasped the very acute need of the youth for militant activity, and enticed a considerable section of the youth into its fighting detachments. The new generation of young men and women have not experienced the horrors of war. They have felt the full weight of the economic crisis, unemployment, and the disintegration of bourgeois democracy. But, seeing no prospects for the future, large numbers of young people have proved to be particularly receptive to fascist demagogy, which depicted for them an alluring future."

4. Inflation

"The capitalist world has today been invaded by a rate of inflation unprecedented in recent decades. This is natural because in this period, as a result of the aggressive and expansionist policy which the imperialist states feverishly implement, the enormous sums they spend for military purposes, their budget and balance of payments deficits have reached record levels, these are covered through inflation, setting the money producing machine to work and putting superfluous currency into circulation which inevitably leads to devaluation. By using inflation which is in fact an indirect disguised form of taxation, the ruling classes, in addition to direct exploitation, rob the laboring masses of part of their income and thus impoverish them." ¹²

Inflation in the U.S. is running between 12 - 14% (depending on which "expert" is giving the figures.) One of the concrete manifestations of inflation is the unprecedented rise in wages of the working class. To illustrate this point: in the 12 months ending February 1974, prices in the U.S had jumped 10%, but the average worker's spendable income bought 4.5% fewer goods and services than it did a year earlier. Hardest hit by inflation have been the basic necessities of life - with food prices having jumped 20% in the last year. (Time, April 18, 1974, p.72)

So, one side of inflation is a general increase in prices, including wages. However, since prices are rising so much faster, what inflation means to the worker is a decrease in real wages (wages measured in terms of the goods they will buy.)

The other side of inflation is the increase in profits for the monopoly capitalists. Oil companies, steel corporations and banks are among those reporting record profits this year. The steel industry is just one example. All 3 top steel corporations reported solid profit up 89%: Bethlehem Steel, profits up 20%; National Steel, profits up 59%.

Consumer prices in the capitalist world rose even higher due to the "energy crisis" precipitated by the just Arab oil boycott during the recent Middle East War (more on this later). The following figures show the rise of consumer prices in different nations around the world and the all-encompassing nature of the current world wide crisis of imperialism.

Japan -----	23.1% rise
Yugoslavia -----	22% rise
Italy -----	12.4% rise
Great Britain -----	12% rise
France -----	10.3% rise

(These figures show the increase from January, 1973 to January, 1974; when they were compiled, the rise in consumer prices in the U.S. was 6%, the lowest in the capitalist world). (Ibid)

With the all-around restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionists have embraced the capitalist way of life and suffer the same fate. As in all the revisionist countries, the impoverishment of the masses is increasing. In Russia, the prices of many articles of mass consumption have increased by 20% to 100%. The price of meat and its by-products has risen by 30%. (Albania Today)

5. Military Spending - an increasing upward spiral.

Monopoly capitalism is imperialism. This system cannot survive without enslaving and plundering the peoples of the world. This means they must spend ever-increasing sums of money to perfect and expand their arsenal of offensive weapons; maintain a "volunteer army" of mercenaries; maintain hundreds of overseas bases; prop up shaky "anti-Communist" military dictatorships around the world. As the national liberation movements in country after country take up arms against the U.S. and as the competition with the other great superpower, the USSR, intensifies more and more resources must be channeled into this area.

For 1975, 90.1 billion dollars has been requested for "defense." This will represent about 60% of total government spending for 1975. ("New York Post", May 29, 1974, p.53) This huge amount is another indication of imperialist preparation for war.

The burden of this falls on the backs of the American working class. First, it means increased taxes. Second, it means that the productive

forces and priorities of the nation are geared to military production; and therefore, the needs of the people are ignored. Production of necessities (food, clothing, housing, medical care) is given second place.

War production, however, means increased profits for the monopoly capitalists; "defense" is the most profitable industry in the nation. War destroys commodities and leads to the need for constant reproduction of commodities. This is another sign of the anarchy of capitalism -- it makes profits by producing for destruction.

6. Energy Crisis

The final months of 1973 saw the monopoly capitalists publicly moaning about the seriousness of the "energy crisis". They said the energy crisis was caused by (a) the exhaustion of America's energy resources and (b) the Arab oil boycott.

"The Energy Crunch..Who'll Get Hurt...Motorists, home owners, farmers, investors, one after another. The list of targets is long and certain to grow as the fuel crisis deepens. The nation's energy crisis snowballed in late November, accompanied by massive confusion over what should be done about it."¹³

"The first sledge-hammer blows of the energy crisis began hitting home in early December. Few Americans could hope to escape the spreading impact. Thousands already have been laid off from jobs in key industries. Homes, schools, offices and factories were chilly in many parts of the country. Gasoline for cars was scarce in some places and rationing seemed sure to come."¹⁴

It is the responsibility of the communists to expose the real causes of this situation and how the monopoly capitalists created and benefitted from the "energy crisis."

Is it true that America's energy resources are being rapidly exhausted? NO! This is an outright lie aimed at covering the despicable under-handed dealings of the oil companies and designed to put the blame for the "crisis" on the Arab peoples.

"The nature of the monopoly capitalist class is to seek out monopoly profits. In exploiting energy resources, the capitalists do not consider the rational use of natural resources but only seek maximum profits. The decrease and increase of the various energy resources often depend on the amount of profit they give. Once the main source of energy was coal, known as the 'food of industry'. Today, though there are still very rich deposits of coal, the industry in general has declined in the leading capitalist countries. Even in the United States, which has the biggest reserves, coal accounts for only one-fifth of its energy production. The reason is that as it is much more profitable to exploit oil than to mine coal, the

capitalists have, therefore, preferred to set coal aside. Although oil can also be extracted from oil shale and oil sand, they have not been exploited properly, because the capitalists are not interested; they find that extracting oil from shale and sand is lessprofitable than direct oil exploitation and therefore cannot satisfy their ravenous appetites.

"Capitalism means waste. In the capitalist world, large quantities of petroleum are wasted because of anarchy in production and general wastefulness in life. A large amount of precious oil has been freely abandoned underground because indiscriminate drilling destroyed oil-bearing formations, or because pressures were lowered so much by drawing oil recklessly that it no longer could be made to flow out, etc. It is estimated that the present rate of oil recovery is only 35% in the United States. In other words, for every ton of oil obtained, two tons are abandoned...

"Wild arms expansion and war preparations by imperialism and social imperialism and their wars of aggression are bottomless pits in consuming and squandering oil..." 15

Once the energy crisis had deepened, even the bourgeois press admitted that "there's coal enough for centuries, oil offshore and under Arctic ice, shale in Colorado."

However, it would cost hundreds of billions of dollars to tap these vast unexplored resources. It is more profitable for the giant oil monopolies to limit U.S. oil output and create shortages that will cause prices to rise. This is exactly what they've done.

1. "Between 1956 and 1972, the number of new oil wells in the U.S. steadily tumbled -- with total drilling declining from 208 million feet to 86 million feet per year.
2. In the 1950's and 1960's, the major oil companies capped over 20,000 flowing wells in California alone, with an estimated capacity of 5 billion barrels of oil.
3. Between 1968 and 1972, U.S. oil companies built only one major new refinery in the U.S.
4. Since the early 1950's they have opposed government research and development of alternate energy sources, such as shale oil and coal gasification.

In short, the oil industry itself imposed severe limitations on the development of U.S. energy to maximize their profits." 16

What about the Arab oil boycott? What role did that play in the "energy crisis"?

Two-thirds of the world's known oil reserves are in the Middle East. The cost of oil production there is very low because the oil beds are fairly shallow, the rate of success in drilling wells is high, output is big and the labor is cheap. Refineries too are cheaper to build and operate overseas, because wages are lower; and the oil companies can operate without

expensive pollution controls. Therefore, for the capitalists it is more profitable to exploit oil abroad than to develop resources within the U.S. For example, in Kuwait, the cost of extracting one ton of oil is only 1/20th of that in the U.S. (Peking Review, *ibid*, p.6)

At present, U.S. monopoly capitalists control more than half the Middle East's oil production, although only about 10% of the oil the U.S. consumes is from the Middle East. Profits from investments in Middle East oil in 1972 was \$2,400 million. The profit rate was as high as 130% or 10 times the average for all over-seas U.S. investments. (Peking Review, *ibid*, p.6)

Here, too we should take note of the plans of U.S. oil companies to build a massive "superport" in Puerto Rico for the storage and refining of oil. All of the cities on the Eastern Seaboard of the U.S. had previously rejected the superport; and both the Puerto Rican and Dominican people have voiced militant opposition to this imperialist scheme. While the superport would benefit the American monopolies, for the Puerto Rican people it would mean pollution, caused by spills and refining and cleansing operations; destruction of marine life by polluting chemicals; and massive displacement of Puerto Rican communities as the superport would occupy between 11,000 and 22,000 acres of Puerto Rican soil.

These are just further examples of how the temporary prosperity of the imperialists is built on the natural resources and the blood and sweat of the Third World peoples, in addition to the continuing exploitation of the working class within the imperialist nations. It has been the oil-producing countries which have long been the real victims as far as oil is concerned -- supplying oil in abundant quantities and remaining underdeveloped, while the oil-consuming nations have become rich and developed.

However, where there is oppression, there is resistance. The oil-producing Third World countries have united to fight to safeguard their national sovereignty and natural resources. During the latest, Arab nations used oil as a weapon to strike at Israel and its supporters.

"In essence the question of oil is what is behind the Middle East question and closely tied to the scramble for world hegemony. As one Western journal said: Whoever gets the oil controls the world, particularly Europe which relies on the East for its oil. It is precisely for this reason that the two hegemonic powers, paying no heed whatsoever to the interests of the Arab people have long imposed a no war, no peace situation in the Middle East and supported and connived at Israeli aggression. This situation has forced the Arab countries to rise in resistance. Their struggle by means of oil is against imperialism and hegemonism. The two hegemonic powers can no longer exercise complete control over the Middle East situation and plunder other countries as they please. The oil crisis is no more than an indication of their hegemony crisis." 17

While it was definitely a blow struck at the imperialist powers,

investigation shows that the Arab oil boycott was not the cause of the "oil shortage" in the U.S.

As far back as 1968, U.S. oil monopolies had begun to cut back oil production in Iran and Saudi Arabia, as well as U.S. oil output.

In the winter of 1972-1973 the "energy crisis" was given a test run. A fuel shortage was created in several northeastern cities -- prices rose sharply. In the spring and summer of 1973, the oil monopolies really began to tighten up. Gasoline was scarcer -- prices rose again -- and by May, 12,000 independent gas dealers were driven out of business.

The Arab oil embargo was used as another opportunity for the oil giants to raise prices further and blame them on the Arabs. The facts prove that the monopolies had plenty of oil; they created a shortage at the gas pumps in order to raise prices. Let's examine these facts:

1. Before the boycott, the U.S. was getting only between 10-13% of its oil from the Middle East. Over 60% of oil consumed in the U.S. is produced here. Another 17% is from Venezuela and Canada.
2. Oil imports for October, November and December 1973 were actually 32% higher than for the same 3 months of 1972.
3. In January 1974 oil companies revealed that their stock-piles were 5% higher than the year before." 18

From March, 1973 to March, 1974, Arab oil producers raised taxes from \$1.75 to \$7.00 a barrel -- or about 17¢ a gallon (1 barrel = 42 gallons). In the U.S. in the same period gas prices rose almost 30¢ a gallon -- not just on oil produced in the Middle East, but for all the gas we buy here (again remember that only 10-13% of the gas consumed here is from the Middle East).

"As the price of a single gallon of gasoline rises by one penny, the cost to American motorists is almost \$1 billion." 19

The oil monopolies, by creating a shortage in the U.S. raised prices high enough to cover their higher costs in the Middle East and grabbed plenty of pure profits. But that's not all:

"Finally, a special arrangement with the U.S. government allows the oil companies to deduct all payments to foreign governments from the U.S. taxes due on their huge overseas profits. Thanks to this 'foreign tax credit,' Exxon, Gulf, Texaco and the others paid no taxes whatsoever on their \$6.1 billion in foreign profits last year. In effect, Big Oil is overcharging us twice -- once with higher prices at the gas pump, and once in extra taxes we pay because they evaded theirs." 20

The situation in the oil industry gives us another clear-cut example of how the bourgeois state exists to safeguard the interests of the ruling class. It is an instrument of exploitation and violent suppression of the working class in the interest of the bourgeoisie. Take the Senate for instance;

"The United States Senate is a body of men...who entrust their tax reform program to a member who regularly makes far more money on tax-free oil royalties than he gets in salary -- and five times as much on oil royalties altogether.

"Since 1964 Senator Russell Long of Louisiana has enjoyed a total, tax free income of over \$300 thousand by virtue of a depletion allowance for oil industry..."²¹

The result of the "energy crisis" created by the oil monopolies has been an increased burden put on the backs of working people in the U.S. and other industrial countries. The U.S. ruling class used the "crisis" in their continued attempt to maintain economic superiority over their "allies" in Western Europe and Japan. Europe gets 80% of its oil from the Middle East, and Japan gets 81%. Both of them have had to purchase most of their oil through U.S. companies.

By raising prices out of proportion to the increase in Middle East costs, U.S. oil companies helped to intensify soaring inflation in Europe and Japan. As early as November 1973, Britain was forced to declare a "state of emergency" to deal with the energy crisis. That same month it was expected that the energy crisis would cut Japan's economic growth rate by half. There were also fears that this would lead to all kinds of shortages and the worst slump in Japan since World War II. By December 1973, living costs in Japan were the highest in the world. For example, groceries that cost \$96.27 in New York, cost \$213.56 in Tokyo at that same time. ("U.S. News and World Report", December 17, 1973, p.59)

In the underdeveloped countries, rising oil prices mean an increase in the price of fertilizer made from petroleum. There is already a shortage of fertilizer and declining food production in many underdeveloped countries. Now, because of increased fertilizer and food costs, the U.N. Children's Fund estimates that 400-500 million children in underdeveloped countries face malnutrition and starvation. ("San Francisco Chronicle," May 14, 1974 -- quoted in the "Energy Crisis", p.8)

For the monopoly capitalists, the "energy crisis" was a success. They aren't concerned about unemployment, rising prices or starvation -- they are capitalists, and their only concern is profits and more profits. And the "energy crisis" did result in unprecedented profits for them.

FOR OIL GIANTS: A BANNER YEAR IN '73

Profits of major oil companies—

	Jan.-Sept., 1972	Jan.-Sept., 1973	Change
	(millions)		
Exxon	\$1,039	\$1,656	Up 59%
Texaco	\$622	\$839	Up 35%
Gulf Oil	\$356	\$570	Up 60%
Mobil Oil	\$413	\$571	Up 38%
Standard Oil (Calif.)	\$401	\$560	Up 40%
Standard Oil (Ind.)	\$295	\$390	Up 32%
Shell	\$190	\$253	Up 33%
Atlantic Richfield	\$130	\$178	Up 37%

Note: Excludes all nonrecurring profits and losses reported separately.

Source: Standard & Poor's Corporation



In a press conference on January 23, 1974 Exxon chairman, Kenneth Jamieson was asked about the Corporation's record profits.

It was pointed out that:

"During the period of the Arab oil embargo and spiraling domestic oil profits, Exxon's profits for the last three months of 1973 rose to \$784 million a year earlier."²²

The Exxon chairman, whose 1972 salary was \$539,166 answered:

"We haven't got any windfall profits.' He cited 'higher costs' and a 'bad year' in 1972. He said that he didn't 'feel embarrassed' by the 59% rise in annual profits and denied that 'somehow we have encouraged the crisis to profit from it.'"²³

Responses to the Crisis of Imperialism

The contradiction inherent in capitalism make repeated, periodic crises of overproduction inevitable. The present crisis is sharpening class contradictions, aggravating the conditions of the working class and increasing unemployment to a tremendous degree. This crisis compels workers (even many who formerly tended to be at peace or indifferent to capitalism) to become active in the struggle against it. Faced with runaway inflation, unemployment, layoffs, speedups, cutbacks in essential services -- the masses are smacked in the face every day by reports of record-breaking monopoly profits. The result has been an intensification of the principal contradiction of capitalism -- the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

In the last year, we have seen a rising wave of strikes, protests against the bourgeois state, demonstrations against the rising cost of living, and struggles against the attacks on the oppressed nationalities.

"The Wall Street Journal reported on June 12 that 480 work stoppages took place in March. In April, there were nearly twice as many workers hitting the streets as there had been a year earlier. In the first week of June, there were 523 strikes involving over 308,000 workers. (This total did not include hundreds of smaller strikes). More than triple the total for the comparable week in 1973, the number of strikes was reported to be the highest in 15 years.

"The U.S. Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service said there were 593 strikes in the second week of July. In the third week the number topped 600, the highest in any week since the late 1940's." ²⁴

These activities signify an upsurge in the spontaneous mass struggles in the U.S. (more on this later) However, at the same time we recognize as primary, in this period of sharpening contradictions, the increase in all forms of resistance to the bourgeois state, we must recognize too that the danger of fascism is also increasing.

The Response of the Communists - Genuine and Sham

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the inherent contradictions of capitalism must inevitably sharpen and lead to crisis - imperialism is the eve of proletarian revolution.

What should be the stance of Communists to the imperialist crisis and the spontaneous mass movements that inevitably arise in response to this crisis? Historically, there has been a two-line struggle in the Communist Movement on this question -- Marxism-Leninism vs. Opportunism. This struggle continues today.

One of our key ideological weapons in the struggle against the modern economists and revisionists of all types is the correct dialectical-materialist understanding and application of the role of the objective and subjective factors on the revolution. (See Report on Party Building)

In our Party Building Outline Study Guide (joint document of PRRWO and the BWC) we discussed the relationship of Communists to the inevitable spontaneous movements:

"As long as there is capital and labor, as long as there is class society there will be oppression and there will be resistance to that oppression. This is a basic Marxist-Leninist law. The anger of the people when the police has unleashed their hated terror, the workers downing their tools after nothing else is left to do and walking out on 'wildcat,' the masses getting up in righteous anger after the landlord and capitalist carry out evictions, the stirring of the people over high prices, etc. All of these are usually considered as part of the spontaneous movement of the masses and are inevitable in class society, especially capitalist society. With the deepening of capitalist crisis, these processes assume huge proportions. Communists do not hate or dislike the spontaneous movement of the masses, but they must never get swallowed up in this movement. In other words they must never worship this aspect of the working class movement, but must strive to give it a planned and conscious character."²⁵

From this we understand our tasks in this period as Lenin pointed out:

"Imperialism is the epoch when, according to the general admission of the Marxists, the objective conditions have already ripened for the destruction of capitalism..."²⁶

Recognizing the explosive situation in the United States today, we hold that our task is not to whip up the spontaneous movement, submerge ourselves in it or dive "into the fray" as the RU advised in Red Papers 5 (p.7).

We must prepare the proletariat for proletarian revolution. Left by itself, the proletariat can only develop trade-union consciousness. Scientific socialist consciousness must be brought from outside the spontaneous movement - by the advanced elements who organize themselves into a Marxist-Leninist Party and then educate, prepare, and lead the

proletariat to the completion of its historic task. In order to do this, our central task is, and has been since the treacherous betrayal of the CPUSA to build a revolutionary Communist Party, a Leninist Party.

"The situation is such that the practical movement of the masses has advanced and continues to advance, while the subjective factor, consciousness, organization and their direction, in many countries has remained behind, and does not meet the tasks of the times. This is related above all, to the out and out betrayal by the modern revisionists, which disoriented the ranks of the revolution ideologically and politically, and left the working class and the labouring masses in many countries unarmed, without a revolutionary leadership. This vacuum is being filled and will continue to be filled with the creation and strengthening of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, which have the historic task of liberating the masses from opportunism and reformism and of leading them in the revolution." 27

"In his report delivered at the 6th Congress of the PIA, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that it has already been historically proven that without its party, the working class, no matter what the conditions in which it lives and acts, does not become conscious by itself. That which transforms the working class from a class 'in itself' into a class 'for itself' is the Party. Of course, a certain level of revolutionary, socialist consciousness does emerge from the objective conditions themselves or from the revolutionary struggle itself, but this is only a very low level; it is, as Lenin has called it, a trade-union consciousness. The high level of socialist consciousness is not formed spontaneously, but by the Marxist-Leninist science and this is first mastered by the most advanced part of the class, which organizes itself into the proletarian party and then educates the entire class with it, clarifying the revolutionary aims and objectives, indicating the correct road for their attainment and leading it in its historic struggle." 28

The revisionists and right opportunists are vulgar materialists who deny the role of the subjective factor in history, the role of the class struggle and of the Marxist-Leninist Party. They continuously try to hide behind the masses and scream "dogmatism" and "isolation from the mass struggle." But this is just a smoke-screen. The economists of Lenin's time raised the same sorry howls. "The Rabocheye Dyelo formulated its indictment as a 'belittling of the significance of the objective or the spontaneous element of development.'" (What is to be Done) As regards "dogmatism" this has been and continues to be a cover for belittling the theoretical preparation necessary for building the party, developing the subjective factor and leading the proletariat and its allies in the struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Capitalism creates the material conditions and the social force capable of carrying out the proletarian revolution (its grave-digger -- the proletariat -- but without the role of the conscious factor there can be no proletarian revolution

In denying the role of the conscious factor, belittling the importance of theory, pushing that consciousness comes from within the mass movement, restricting struggle to economic demands, keeping scientific socialism away from the proletariat, and tying the proletariat to the tails of the bourgeoisie (in campaigns like Throw the Bum Out) -- the RU, the OL, the Guardian, PSP and other right forces within the communist movement sacrifice, to different degrees, the ultimate aim, deny the revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The strategic goal of all genuine ML's is the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat through the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat led by its party.

The sham Marxists say they are for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat but in reality fear the proletariat's dictatorship because it would not only mean the smashing of the bourgeoisie; it would mean their exposure and end as well. So they pay lip service to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and do everything they can to keep the proletariat unarmed without the science of class war and without its vanguard - its party.

The next section of this paper examines Watergate and the growing fascist tide in America - and how the opportunists objectively aid the bourgeoisie.

The Rising Fascist Menace

Revolution is the main trend in the world today.

The capitalists are in the grip of deepening crisis. Within the international framework, U.S. imperialism is decaying and declining; and the situation in the colonies is becoming more unstable as the revolutionary struggles of the people increase to throw out the U.S. bloodsuckers and their puppets. Internally, the capitalist economic system is in a state of chaos - due to the inherent contradictions of this system. The imperialists are trying to place the burden of this crisis on the backs of the workers; stop the growth of the revolutionary forces in the U.S. by smashing the growing Communist and workers movements, and by preventing the uniting of scientific socialism with the labour movement under the direction of a Marxist-Leninist party; prepare for war to redivide the world, enslave the weaker nations, and intensify colonial oppression.

However, whatever their maneuvers, the imperialists cannot turn back the tide of world revolution. Just as capitalism replaced feudalism, socialism is certain to replace capitalism. This is an irresistible law of history; and no force in the world can prevent imperialism's inevitable downfall, nor can any force hold back the sure victory of the revolutionary cause of the people. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, this is:

"the historic epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are going down to their doom and world socialism and people's democracy are marching to victory."²⁹

While on the one hand we recognize the moribund nature and inevitable doom of imperialism, we also know that the dying bourgeois class will put up a vicious, last-ditch fight.

"Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory."³⁰

Today, with the development of the present economic crisis, the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, and the revolutionization of the toiling masses, we see the bourgeoisie frantically trying to strengthen and maintain its dictatorship over the proletariat, seeking ways to revitalize bourgeois democracy and restore rapidly-disappearing faith in the "American system of democracy;" and at the same time increasing its use of fascist measures.

We have seen the bourgeois historically try to utilize this "carrot and the stick" approach. Even when the U.S. was a growing world power, at the height of bourgeois democratic illusions, they have used fascist measures. Today, in 1974, they are a declining world power faced with intensified internal and external contradictions -- the menace of fascism is undoubtedly increasing. However, the point has not yet been reached where the bourgeoisie is totally unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy.

In analyzing the domestic situation, it is impossible not to take note of this dangerously rising fascist tide: the attacks on the trade unions, aided by the union bureaucrats and CPUSA revisionists who support "no-strike clauses"; the vicious attempts to smash the farm workers struggle; the oppressive slave-labor camps of the migrant workers; the annihilation of the Black Panther Party; the open assassinations of Fred Hampton, Malcom X, Martin Luther King, 6 Chicano activists in Boulder, Colorado; the assassination of Native American leaders and the persecution and railroad-riding of the valiant defenders of Wounded Knee; the arrest and imprisonment of scores of Puerto Rican activists and communists including Martin, Sostre, Carlos Feliciano, Pancho Cruz, Pablo 'Yoruba' Guzman; the official murder of the Attica brothers and the continued persecution of the Attica survivors; the "behavioral modification" programs which are chemical and electronic experiments to destroy the minds of prisoners involved in the fight against the inhuman U.S. penal system; the development of STRESS in Detroit (and similar units around the country), a special police unit which is supposed to be an "anti-terrorist squad" but which is used for attacks on the Black community and striking workers and is already responsible for murdering 30 Blacks in Detroit; "Operation Zebra," the round-up, interrogation and issuing of identity cards to thousands of Black men in California, under the pretext of searching for the murderers of 12 whites; the police shootings and murders of Black youths in L.A., Atlanta and N.Y.; the acquitting of police murderers; the training of the

"volunteer army," (composed primarily of oppressed nationality youths unable to find jobs) as a world-wide counter-revolutionary force; the rapid increase of auxiliary police groups of all kinds; the militarizing of such youth groups as the Boy Scouts, who are now being indoctrinated to emulate the Green Berets; the increasing number of films whose main point is that fascism is the only answer to "lawlessness" and "crime in the streets;" the spending of millions of dollars by urban police units for the most up-to-date and lethal equipment for "keeping the peace." And each of us can think of countless other examples.

In recognizing the attack of the bourgeoisie on the working class and especially the oppressed national sectors of the class, we must also recognize the intensification of the imperialists' anti-Communist campaign. Fearing most of all the development of a genuine, Bolshevik, multi-national Communist party, the bourgeoisie has stepped up its efforts to discredit our great revolutionary leader, Comrade Stalin. Their printing houses gush out tons of trash distorting history, trying to pass off the treacherous dog, Trotsky, as a leader of the great Bolshevik Party, while slandering the millions of Russians who fought to uphold Marxism-Leninism and defend the socialist fatherland, led by Stalin. In this attack on Stalin, they join hands with the Soviet Revisionists.

In this attempt to throw confusion into the ranks of the proletariat and keep the proletariat enslaved under bourgeois ideology, the imperialists are aided by the revisionists and right opportunists who negate the importance of revolutionary theory and the revolutionary party, who worship the spontaneous movement, who cloak their opportunism and dishonesty under the guise of Marxism-Leninism, who raise the red flag to smash the red flag - the CPUSA, and within the Communist movement the RU, the OL, the Guardian, PSP and CL.

Watergate

Fascism is an inevitable tendency in capitalism. The essence of fascism is the violent attempt to suppress and overcome the ever-growing contradictions of capitalist society. In Fascism and Social Revolution R. Palme Dutt characterizes it in this way:

"Fascism is not merely the expression of a particular movement, of a particular party within modern society, but that it is the most complete expression of the whole tendency of modern capitalism in decay, as the final attempt to defeat the working class revolution and organize society on the basis of decay. This tendency runs through all modern capitalist countries without exception, and the advent of open Fascism to power is only its final and completed expression."³¹

Restating the communist position on this question, Dutt reaffirms that the realization of fascism is not inevitable and declares that:

"The workers' dictatorship is the only alternative to the capitalist dictatorship, which at present is increasingly

passing from the older 'democratic' to Fascist forms. The victory of Fascism, against the victory of the capitalist counter-revolution and the unlimited subjection of the working class. The path of the bourgeois democracy ends in Fascism."³²

(See section on Strategy and Tactics for further discussion of this topic)

In The United Front Against War and Fascism, Georgi Dimitroff explained that fascism does not come in one blow and cannot be conceived of in a simplified form. He also stated that fascism usually comes to power in the course of a mutual, and at times, severe struggle against the old bourgeois parties, or a definite section of these parties, in the course of a struggle within the fascist camp itself.

He also stated that the development of fascism would take different forms in different countries. He said:

"In certain countries, principally those in which fascism does not enjoy a broad mass basis and in which the struggle of the various groups within the fascist bourgeoisie itself is fairly acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows the other bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic parties, to retain a certain degree of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an early outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either immediately or by intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all competing parties and groups. This does not prevent fascism, when its position becomes particularly acute, from endeavoring to extend its basis without altering its class nature, combining open terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism."³³

He said that American fascism, for instance, "...tries to portray itself as the custodian of the constitution and 'American Democracy.'"³⁴

Taking into consideration the points raised above, we understand that in the struggle against the right opportunists who would lull the proletariat to sleep by denying the existence of a fascist menace in the U.S., the PRRWO has recently held a "left" position on fascism -- in essence confusing the growing menace of fascism with the advent of fascism itself. It is undeniable that with the increasing revolutionary movement of the masses and the sharpening of contradictions domestically and internationally, the menace of fascism is growing dangerously. However, it would be incorrect to conclude that the bourgeoisie has exhausted totally the mileage it can squeeze from bourgeois democracy. Although confidence in all U.S. institutions, including government is at an all-time low, (N.Y. Post, Sept. 30, 1974, p. 37) the bourgeoisie still has maneuverability under the "old forms" of dictatorship over the proletariat.

Repudiating the incorrect position that Watergate was simply another part of the "impending fascist offensive" against the working class, we also reject the rightist position that Watergate represented a struggle between "democracy" and fascism.

None of Nixon's policies against the people prompted his imperialist critics to oust him. When the Pentagon Papers revealed his lies, when

the FBI murdered Fred Hampton, when Nixon froze wages and let prices and monopoly profits soar, when he ordered intensified bombing of IndoChina - none of these crimes were made into a "scandal" by the bourgeoisie. Only after the uncovering of Watergate (and we know the bourgeoisie has been conducting activities like this for years), and the attacks on other sectors of the bourgeoisie and their agents, like Cox and Richardson, and the public insubordination of Nixon to Congress and the courts, did the bourgeoisie make Watergate a "scandal." The "crimes" he was accused of, are only Watergate itself, destroying evidence, etc.

No sector of the Bourgeoisie is interested in the rights of the people at home or abroad. They are interested only in their continued parasitic rule. The bourgeoisie has unity around their goals: to insure profits by maintaining and expanding the control over the world's people. They have tactical differences on how best to do this. But any grouping within the bourgeoisie will take fascist measures when necessary to suppress the growing revolutionary tide. Witness so-called "liberal" JFK during the Cuban missile crisis or John Lindsay's use of the TPF in NYC.

Watergate and Nixon's forced resignation reveal that the imperialist crisis is most definitely sharpening the contradictions within the ruling class.

On the one side, you have what Dimitroff called a "populist movement" moving for power. They call for an end to corruption in government, and involvement in IndoChina, "honest government" and rights for the working man. In the U.S. today, this "populist movement" is made up of Kennedy, McGovern, Wallace, the Black bourgeoisie, Black muslims (who recently saluted Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago) backed by Morgan, Ford, and Harriman.

Another grouping moving for power is the Rockefeller Gang. Gerald Ford and Kissinger are both Rockefeller men. Since Nixon's forced resignation, Republicans have been increasingly rallying behind Nelson Rockefeller for vice-president. Furthermore, although the media is portraying Ford as a moderate, in reality he is a staunch reactionary. As House Republican leader, Ford fought against Medicare, housing bills, raises in the minimum wage, moves to divert highway funds to mass transit, against the poverty programs, and grants for education and the alleviation of pollution. On foreign policy, he was characterized by the NY Times as:

"...by instinct a hard-line Pentagon-oriented coldwarrior, although he has moulded his attitudes to fit the Nixon-Kissinger policies of detente. And because he is a more genuine and principled conservative than Richard Nixon, Mr. Ford is rigid, sometimes even stubborn."³⁵

Newsweek magazine described Ford this way:

"Ford is believed to be at least as right-minded as Nixon in most policy areas..he is not an idea man and has scant grounding in economics or foreign affairs...he is an Eagle Scout who can repeat the code verbatim...served in the Navy in WWII..elected to the House of Representatives in 1948...rose to chairmanship

of the House Republican Conference...he attacked LBJ for failing to wage an all-out war (on Vietnam-editor)"³⁶

Obviously, Ford, although a "loyal" reactionary, is weak. This means an increased role for the Cabinet (Kissinger, Haig, etc.). It also means that under the guise of "healing national wounds," Ford will invite key monopoly capitalists like the Rockefellers to participate more openly in the running of the government. (Note: since this was written, Nelson Rockefeller has been chosen by Ford to be "his vice-president.") As their handpicked puppet, Ford, like all presidents, will serve his monopoly capitalist masters by using his "executive privileges" to guarantee their interests and crush the growing revolutionary trend.

We hold that Watergate represents an increasingly vicious struggle among the imperialists themselves. In this, it reflects the objective inevitable decline of the old regime. However, in a short-term sense, we see the gains of the bourgeoisie from Watergate as two-fold.

First, they are using it to pump new life into the illusion that this country is a "democracy." They are consciously shifting attention to Watergate as if it were the primary aspect of the imperialist crisis, implying that when Watergate is over and Nixon is gone, the crisis is over. They are saying that the impeachment proceeding and resignation prove that the "democratic system" really works, and that now faith and confidence have been restored in America. Finally, now that the crisis is over, they say, we must all work together to heal the wounds; they call for a period of national reconciliation -- a call for class collaboration and class peace.

Second, in the furor over Nixon, many people have failed to realize that the bourgeoisie has accomplished something unprecedented in history. For the first time, both the president and vice-president will be appointed outright by the monopoly capitalists, without even the facade of an election. In addition, even the bourgeois press has stated that because of the unprecedented nature of this "crisis", Ford will have to depend more on his veterans in the cabinet (who are always appointed, never elected). On the night of the resignation, CBS television said specifically that both General Haig and Melvin Laird, both military men, will be playing a greater role in government than ever before. These events cannot be ignored. We hold that the direct entrance of monopoly capitalist pig Rockefeller into the government and the increased role played by the military represents a strengthening of the fascist menace and an indication that the bourgeoisie understands all too well that their increasingly exposed bourgeois democracy will soon be unable to stop the rapidly growing revolutionary tide.

Watergate then is clearly another symptom of the rapidly deepening imperialist crisis. In no way was the impeachment or resignation of Nixon the primary aspect of this crisis, although this is what the bourgeoisie would have us believe in order to cover up the (a) sharpening of the principal contradiction in the world -- between dying imperialism and the national liberation struggles, and (b) the intensifying of the fundamental and principal contradiction within the U.S. -- between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

In dealing with Watergate, the tactics of the bourgeoisie were to concentrate on Nixon to obscure the root causes of the crisis which is being laid on the backs of the working class, divert the focus of mass anger away from the bourgeois state and the bourgeoisie as a class, lead the masses down the path of reformism and away from proletarian revolution. With the outright aid of the "CP"USA and because of the erroneous lines of opportunists within the communist movement and errors by honest communists, the bourgeoisie was temporarily able to accomplish many of these goals in relation to Watergate -- although since then, it is apparent that they are still having difficulties consolidating these, restoring faith in American "Democracy," and putting Watergate behind them (i.e., Nixon's pardon and the resulting struggle).

Within the communist movement itself, there were both right and left deviations on this question. The primary deviation was the right -- which trailed after the bourgeoisie, concentrated on Nixon and the impeachment itself, created illusions about bourgeois democracy, in some cases reduced Watergate to a question of bourgeois democracy vs. fascism, and in other cases ignored the rising fascist menace altogether. The left deviation failed to take advantage of Watergate to take the consciousness of the people to a higher level, or pulled back from the struggle, ignored it as "insignificant", or summed it up simply as a further sign of fascism's imminent offensive.

Neither of these positions made correct use of the sharpening contradictions among our class enemies. The communists as a whole failed to do the necessary education about the bourgeois state and the interconnections and inter-rivalries among the bourgeoisie so that the masses can see that the whole bourgeois class is thoroughly rotten and is responsible for the situation confronting us today. Analysis of the true nature of the imperialist crisis would have led the proletariat to a deeper understanding of why party building is the central task, what this means to the working class, and why the political, economic, and social demands of the class can only be met under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to learn from our errors, it is necessary to do a dialectical and all-sided analysis of why we made these errors, what were the conditions that gave rise to them. To sum up our errors around Watergate we have to look at the state of the communist movement. Watergate was an issue that called for a nationwide response -- a coordinated effort to bring a scientific socialist analysis of this situation to the working class. However, this was objectively impossible given the general state of the communist movement at the time. Why?

At the time, there was a life-and-death struggle going on in the new communist movement. An intense split had taken place with the right opportunists. The period was marked by an intense ideological struggle, a shifting of forces, widespread repudiation of erroneous positions. This struggle and split with opportunism primarily represented a forward motion for the communist movement as more and more honest comrades repudiated the worshipping of spontaneity and grasped that party building was the central task around which all our work had to revolve. During this time, the struggle against opportunism took on primary importance; and this was correct.

At the same time, the communist movement continued to be plagued by small-circle mentality, narrowness and amateurishness. In addition to lacking the machinery, the organization necessary to meet the demands facing us, we also lacked ideological clarity. It was during this period that the hidden Trotskyites of the CL were also able to make temporary inroads. Because of all these factors, the communist movement was unable to meet the immediate requirements of the time-- the demands of the times were greater than we could rise to for objective reasons.

As part of the communist movement, the PRRWO accepts our responsibility to analyze the role we played in this situation, our contributions and our errors. We hold that there were both objective and subjective reasons for the errors made by communists around Watergate, and that the objective reasons stated above were primary. However, we must also draw lessons from the subjective errors made.

In the struggle against the right opportunists who belittle the role of the party, of theory, and of the conscious, advanced workers -- left deviations developed. While struggling for the correct dialectical relationship between theory and practice, many communists around the country became mechanical and drew an artificial and incorrect division between party building and work among the masses, often seeing the first to the exclusion of the second.

Using ourselves as an example, first we acknowledge that years of belittling theory greatly hindered our ability to analyze Watergate itself. Although we had summed up Watergate as the main political issue facing the masses and the energy crisis as the main economic issue, theoretically we were unprepared to make an in-depth analysis of either at the time. Thus, while we recognized the bankruptcy of such lines as "Throw the Bum Out" and "Dump Nixon" and waged a vigorous struggle to expose them, we failed to put forward an independent line on Watergate. Our political weaknesses were revealed by our failure to link up party building with the task of building the revolutionary activity of the masses around this important question. Whatever our intentions, this represented a break in the dialectic between objective and subjective, a left error).

In summary then -- while in the long-range sense, we can say that Watergate reflected the intensification of contradictions among the bourgeoisie and therefore objectively a further step down the path of inevitable doom for imperialism -- in the immediate tactical sense, we feel it is incorrect to say Watergate represented "a victory" for the proletariat. Because of the objective situation in the communist movement and the resulting errors of communists, the bourgeoisie was able to temporarily mask themselves and what was really going on.

While we are clear that Watergate itself did not mark the beginning of an all-out fascist offensive, it would be complacency to deny that it strengthened the fascist menace. Now, there are some straight-up right opportunists who deny that fascism can happen in the U.S. and say we are only trying to "scare" the workers by all this talk about fascism -- these forces will pave the way for fascism by disarming the workers and creating all kinds of illusions in their minds. However, there are also honest comrades who we feel are making a right error by negating the significance of recent events in the U.S. We understand that many of these errors are being made as result of the intense and correct struggle to unmask the hidden trotskyites, the CL, but once again we must guard

against throwing the baby out with the bathwater. CL's bankrupt position has been exposed: they believe counter-revolution is the main trend in the world today and that U.S. imperialism is growing in power, that it is not moribund and decaying; and therefore they underestimate the revolutionary power of the masses. We are correct to reject this garbage, but at the same time we cannot reject or ignore steps being taken by the bourgeoisie to try to save their dying system -- steps being taken in the real world.

We had stated earlier that the revisionists, the erroneous lines of opportunists within the communist movement, and the errors of honest communists aided the bourgeoisie in diverting the focus of mass anger and preventing a more thorough exposure of the entire bourgeois class around Watergate. In order to learn from these errors, we will examine in closer detail the answer of various groups to the imperialist crisis and Watergate.

"CP"-USA

The "CP"-USA was caught in a predicament by Watergate. On the one hand as a bureaucratic appendage of the Soviet revisionists, they had to echo the Soviet line that the attacks on Nixon were attacks on "detente." On the other hand, as agents of the U.S. monopoly capitalists, they had to side-track the masses by tailing after the so-called "liberal" bourgeoisie in their impeachment drive. However, it was to the interests of both the U.S. imperialists and the U.S.S.R. social-imperialists that the proletariat be diverted from a Marxist analysis of the situation and the tasks ahead for the working class -- and in this the "CP" served them well.

"Dump Nixon, not milk."37

"The cold warriors are not against Watergate...Nixon must be impeached, but the people must be aware of the phony ultra-right impeachers...They do not want to impeach Watergate. They want to impeach detente."38

"Arnold Johnson, a political committee member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party here, says the Party is using Watergate to point out what it calls 'the lack of the integrity of the ruling class in government.'"39

The "CP" said the masses must organize to oust the "White House gang" and struggle for broad democracy and a responsive government (!) to hold new elections and stop monopoly fascism. They clearly stated that Watergate was a struggle between democracy and fascism.

After Nixon's resignation, the "CP" took a "hard" stance and showed how its position differed from that of the "liberal" bourgeoisie and the labor unions.

"The Communist Party's position is radically different. No honeymoon; no compromises, but a demand for a hearing for the real voices of the rank-and-file of labor and the people.

"In a statement issued Wednesday, Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, called on President Ford and congressional leaders to invite the Communist Party and spokesmen

"from trade unions, consumer groups, tenant organizations, Black and other minority organizations to a proposed economic summit conference to present their proposals for programs and policies to combat inflation.

"There is a world of difference between this approach and a honeymoon with a big-business oriented Administration."⁴⁰

Those are straight out revisionist, class-collaborationist dogs who offer to work with the bourgeoisie. Like the treacherous Soviet revisionists, they have rejected Lenin's thesis that the state is an instrument for the exploitation of the oppressed class and must be smashed through a violent revolution. Instead, they reduce the class struggle to a question of the "lack of integrity of the ruling class" and portray the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as simply a "big-business oriented Administration", telling people they must fight to change the orientation of the administration, fight for a "responsive" bourgeois dictatorship.

The "CP"-USA is a devoted follower of the Khrushchvite thesis of "peaceful transition to socialism," both in theory and practice. Following instructions from the Moscow revisionists, they peddle the garbage that imperialism has become more tolerant, reasonable, and moderate; and that in the "new conditions" allegedly created by present-day world development, they are no longer able to pass to counter-revolution. The conclusion of the revisionists from this erroneous argument is that we can have "peaceful coexistence" and a peaceful transition to a "new order." Thus Gus Hall, chief windbag of the "CP" calls for a joint "economic summit conference" with our class enemies, propagating peaceful illusions and trying to divert the masses from revolutionary struggle.

By causing the working masses to remain undecided and disoriented, these revisionists weaken their revolutionary spirit and immobilize them in the face of the fascist threats of the bourgeoisie. Their role as agents of the bourgeoisie is to paralyze the masses' revolutionary capacity to carry out firm revolutionary actions against the counter-revolutionary plans and actions of the bourgeoisie.

These snakes pave the way for fascist reaction. History has proven, and recent events in Chile for example (where it was not yet a question of socialism, but of a democratic regime) made clear, that the establishment of socialism through the parliamentary road is utterly impossible. To reinforce these very key points, we quote from "The Tragic Events in Chile--a Lesson for Revolutionaries the World Over" from Albania Today.

"The revolutionary and progressive forces in Chile suffered a defeat. This is very serious but temporary. A constitutional government may be overthrown, thousands of people may be killed and dozens of concentration camps set up. But the spirit of freedom, the spirit of revolt of the people, can neither be killed nor imprisoned. The people resist, which proves that the working masses are not reconciled to defeat, that they intend to draw conclusions from it and to advance on the revolutionary road. The liberation struggle against reaction and imperialism has its zig-zags, its ups and downs. There is no doubt that the Chilean people who have so many

"times given proof of patriotism, who greatly love freedom and justice, and profoundly hate imperialism and reaction, will know how to mobilize their forces and struggle tit for tat against the enemies to win final victory.

"If all this is a grave, but temporary, misfortune for the Chilean people, for the modern revisionists it constitutes an all around failure, an utter defeat of their opportunist theories. The revisionists, from those of Moscow to those of Italy, France and elsewhere cited the 'Chilean experience' as a concrete example of their 'new' theories of the 'peaceful road of revolution,' the transition to socialism under the leadership of many parties, the moderation of the nature of imperialism, the extinction of the class struggle in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, etc. The revisionist press capitalized greatly on the 'Chilean road' to publicize the opportunist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the reformist and utopian programme of the Togliattist type. (Togliatti is the leader of the Italian revisionist "CP" - editor).

From the 'Chilean experience', the revisionists expected not only verification of their theories of 'the parliamentary road', but also a 'classic' example of the building of socialism under the leadership of a coalition of Marxist and bourgeois parties. They hoped to see a confirmation of their thesis that the transition to socialism is possible through parliamentary elections and without revolution, that socialism can be built not only without smashing the old bourgeois state machine, but with its aid, not only without establishing peoples' revolutionary power, but by negating it.

"...All the programmatic documents of the Western revisionist parties, adopted since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, absolutize the 'parliamentary road' of transition from capitalism to socialism, while the non-peaceful road is entirely excluded. In practice these parties have finally renounced revolutionary struggle, and they strive for reforms of narrow economic or administrative character. These parties have turned into bourgeois opposition parties and have become candidates to ensure the administration of the wealth of the bourgeoisie just as the old social-democratic parties have done so far."⁴¹

In reference specifically to the cowardly and counter-revolutionary role of the "Communist Party" of Chile, the Albanian comrades said:

"The Communist Party of Chile, one of the main forces of the Allende Government was a fervent partisan of the Khrushchevite thesis of 'peaceful transition'.....

"The revisionists, as was foreseen by the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, and proved in practice, were against revolution and aimed at turning the country, just as they did the Soviet Union, into a capitalist country, from a base of revolution into a base of counter-revolution. They worked for a very long period of time to sow confusion in the ranks of

"the revolutionaries and undermine the revolution. Everywhere and at every moment they have acted as fire extinguishers of revolutionary battles and of national liberation struggles. 'Although for demagogical purposes they pretend to be for revolution'--Comrade Enver Hoxha has said-- 'through their views and actions the revisionists seek to nip it in the bud or sabotage it when it bursts out.' Their departure from Marxism-Leninism, their abandonment of the class interests of the proletariat, their treachery to the cause of the national liberation of the peoples, led the revisionists to completely deny revolution. For them, the theory and practice of revolution was reduced to some reformist demands, which can be met in the framework of the capitalist order without affecting its basis. The revisionists try to prove that the boundary between revolution and reforms has been wiped out, that under the present-day conditions of world development there is no longer any need for revolutionary overthrow because, they allege, the present technical-scientific revolution is doing away with the social class contradictions of the bourgeois society, and is a means for the integration of capitalism into socialism, a means to create a 'new society' of prosperity for all. Thus, according to this disorienting logic, one can no longer speak about exploiter and exploited; thus according to them, the social revolution, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes unnecessary." 42

Following the counter-revolutionary line of the Soviet revisionists, this is the role played by the "Communist Party" of Chile in aiding the fascist attack on the Chilean people. This is also the role the "CP"-USA and all other revisionists in this country will play if they are not exposed, attacked and destroyed along with the bourgeois state they serve.

Here, we would stress again:

"The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution and real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement." 43

"Unless a determined, ruthless struggle all along the line is conducted against opportunism, it is useless to talk about the struggle against imperialism." 44

There are many honest revolutionary and progressive-minded people, both inside and outside of organizations, who are being led into the swamp of revisionism by devious, hidden revisionists. Take, for example, the honest forces left within the PSP and other organizations like the RU, OL, and the Guardian.

PSP has been steadily solidifying its relationship with the "CP"-USA. A few years ago, Claridad carried a front-cover picture of Gus Hall, leader of the "CP"-USA with his arm around Juan Mari Bras, leader of the PSP. Today, their relationship has matured and grown, and now they publicly demonstrate their ideological and political unity. PSP cadres have consciously been kept from the diligent, systematic study of Marxism-

Leninism, especially the righteous teachings of comrades Stalin and Mao Tse Tung. They are being fooled into believing that the Soviet Union and countries like Hungary and Bulgaria are socialist countries. Their revolutionary energies are being channeled into one reformist scheme after another. In February 1974, they were collecting petitions demanding that heat and hot water not be cut because of the "energy crisis." Now, in the summer of 1974, they are selling tickets to fill Madison Square Garden in NYC with 20,000 people who support their slogan, "A Bicentennial Without Colonies" as a means of "aiding" the liberation of Puerto Rico. In this "campaign" they have allied themselves "with whoever supports the liberation of Puerto Rico." Under this cover, they have formed a coalition with the "CP"-USA and its appendages, like the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

The sponsors of the Oct. 27th rally in Madison Square Garden also include revisionists and social-pacifists from around the country, as well as some "liberals" who want to form a "mass party of the people" instead of a Leninist party based on Marxism-Leninism, the politically conscious advanced section of the class, a party based on iron discipline, a discipline guaranteed by democratic centralism. Clearly this coalition PSP has put together does not represent the relentless struggle against opportunism necessary for the defeat of imperialism and liberation of Puerto Rico and all colonies.

When presented with this criticism, PSP has replied that Lenin himself did not rule out coalitions with non-proletarian elements. This is absolutely true. However, there are two points to be made here. First Lenin taught that communists must never reject out-of-hand maneuvers, compromises, and tactics that raise the general level of proletarian class consciousness, revolutionary spirit and ability to fight and win. Without compromising on principles, we must learn how to take advantage of every opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally is "temporary, vascillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional." Second, Lenin also teaches that even while advocating these tactical alliances, we must never cease our relentless ideological and political struggle against those forces which carry and spread bourgeois ideology among the proletariat. The opportunists conveniently eliminate this very important second point.

A further example of conciliation with opportunism is seen in the Guardian, who through Irwin Silber, worries that we have been too hard on the revisionists and warns us not to forget the "honest folk" in the "CP"-USA.

"If the new communist movement's exposure of revisionism has been its major ideological achievement, we must nevertheless recognize that the struggle against revisionism has frequently been pursued in a mechanistic fashion. At all times, it is absolutely essential to differentiate between those who have been tricked by revisionist ideology--not only among the working masses but within the left generally and even within the ranks of the CPUSA--and the active ideologists and promulgators of this brand of counter-revolution." (our emphasis)45

This is exactly the same thing RU did in its call for unity with the "CP"-USA's "veteran fighters who still want to make revolution" in a leaflet they distributed at the 1974 "CP" Mayday rally in NYC (and which is reproduced in this pamphlet.) Most RU cadres themselves had never seen or heard about this leaflet; and it becomes increasingly clear that as the bankruptcy of the RU line is more and more exposed to the masses, some of the RU leaders who came from the ranks of the "CP"-USA but never repudiated or totally broke with revisionism are looking to link up with the "CP" again.

In answer to this, we stand with Lenin:

"Against the social-traitors, against reformism and opportunism this political line can and must be followed in all spheres of the struggle without exception."⁴⁶

The "CP"-USA abandoned Marxism-Leninism decades ago. Therefore, to talk about "honest veterans" that are still in the "CP" is nonsense. We can also say without hesitation that the "CP" has been exposed among the advanced elements and is no longer able to fool comrades in this category. Furthermore, the best way to prevent some new honest person from being taken in by these charlatans is to wage an uncompromising fight to expose them and anyone who would conceal their true nature.

Revolutionary Union

The "CP"-USA comes right out and says Watergate is a struggle between the "democratic" and "non-democratic" sectors of the bourgeoisie and tries to lead the masses down the road of reformism and class-collaboration--into the arms of the bourgeoisie. The Revolutionary Union, does the same thing, but tries to cloak itself under the banner of Marxism-leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

The RU, representing most clearly the main danger of right opportunism in our movement, is chock full of revisionist theories which they attempt to peddle. Although they have not yet degenerated to the thoroughly revisionist level of the "CP"USA, their line on many questions (such as this one) is clear example of the revisionist aspects which result in ideological, political and sometimes organizational unity with these sworn enemies of Marxism-Leninism. Though not in word, they in deeds "begin to conduct a policy which amounts to a renunciation of the class struggle".

Our analysis of the revisionism of the RU appears throughout this pamphlet. In this section we will deal specifically with how this revisionism is exposed by RU's response to Watergate and the imperialist crisis.

As a starting point, it is important to keep in mind a number of key points:

1. It is the responsibility of communists to unite scientific socialism, communism, with the workers' movement--which left to itself cannot rise above trade union consciousness.

"The task of theory, the aim of the Marxist -Leninist science, is to assist the proletariat in its struggle--to present the class struggle objectively as the product of a definite system of productive relations; so that the proletariat is able to understand the necessity of this class struggle, its content, history, and conditions of development. Thus, theory serves the proletariat as a means of ending the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as quickly and easily as possible."⁴⁷

2. It is the responsibility of Marxist-Leninists to organize the workers into:

"...big, strong and properly functioning organizations--capable of functioning properly under all circumstances--organizations permeated with the spirit of the class struggle, clearly realizing their ⁴⁸aims and trained in the thoroughly Marxist world outlook.

These are not organizations which regard reforms as a partial realization of socialism and not organizations which deny the absolute need for the qualitative leap represented by proletarian revolution and think we can effect the capitalist system without this.

3. It is the responsibility of communists to expose the defeat the social-reformists (socialists in word, reformist in deeds) who say loudly that they are for socialism and proletarian revolution, but whose every deed is aimed at the partial patching up of the doomed capitalist regime. Their objective is to divide, confuse, and weaken the working class in order to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie and stop the revolutionary overthrow of that rule.

4. It is the responsibility of communists to educate the proletariat as to the historical role of his class. The proletariat who has not become conscious of this task is:

"...A slave who does not realize his slavish condition; at best he is a slave who fights to improve his conditions as a slave, but not for the overthrow of slavery."⁴⁹

It is absolutely essential to struggle against the revisionists who recognize only reforms and renounce revolution, whose formula (first articulated by Bernstein) --"the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing,"-- is designed to keep the proletariat a slave, struggling for reforms and under the hegemony of bourgeois ideology.

To combat these opportunists, it is the responsibility of communists to work tirelessly to propagate the idea of revolution and to prepare the proletariat for it.

5. It is the responsibility of communists to wage a relentless fight to expose and destroy the opportunists of all shades:

"...Objectively the opportunists are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain working class strata (the labor aristocracy, editor) that have been bribed out of imperialist super-profits and converted into watchdogs of capitalism and corrupters of the labour movement."⁵⁰

Anyone who does not fulfill this task or calls for tactical unity with opportunism without struggling against this opportunism is objectively defending the continued enslavement of the working class by the bourgeoisie through the medium of its agents in the labor and communist movements.

Again, we point to the policy of the Bolsheviks which Lenin discussed in Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder. In this work, he stated quite clearly that the Bolsheviks had found it necessary to conclude numerous "practical compromises" with the bourgeois liberals prior to the defeat of the Tsar. The Bolsheviks did this:

"...while at the same time it was able to wage an unremitting and merciless ideological and political struggle against bourgeois liberalism and against the slightest manifestation of its influence in the working class movement."⁵¹

Lenin also explained that even during the periods when the Bolsheviks were formally united with the Mensheviks in the Social-Democratic Party, they

"...never ceased our ideological and political struggle against them as opportunists and vehicles of bourgeois influence among the proletariat."⁵²

6. It is the responsibility of communists to struggle resolutely against the economists who limit the class struggle to the fight for reforms and concessions, and attempt to keep the proletariat away from the political struggle-- the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The essential, most important aspect of the entire proletarian class struggle is the question of state power.

"Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeoisie."⁵³

7. It is the responsibility of communists to systematically imbue the masses with the understanding that violent revolution to smash the bourgeois state machine is an absolute necessity and lies at the root of all the teachings of the great Marxists.

With these points in mind, let us examine RU's line on Watergate and see how they have fulfilled the responsibilities they claim to accept.

In November, 1973, RU unveiled its latest scheme: "Throw the Bum Out--Organize to Fight"; they said:

"The kicking out of Richard Nixon has become a mass demand of the American people. The Revolutionary Union supports this demand and believes it is very important now to mobilize mass

struggle in support of it, around the general slogan, "Throw the Bum Out! Organize to Fight!..."

"Ordinarily, the RU and other communist organizations do not raise the demand for the ouster of a particular bourgeois politician. Our aim is to build the mass struggle of the working class and all oppressed people against the imperialist system, with the final aim of overthrowing it and establishing the rule of the working class to build socialism and advance society toward communism."

"But at this time, organizing struggle to throw out Nixon is an important part of building the overall struggle against imperialism and developing it toward its final goal of revolution. This is so not because booting out Nixon will mean any basic change in the policies of the ruling class. It cannot and will not change the nature of imperialism and the imperialist state--the police, army, courts and bureaucracies in particular--which are controlled by the monopoly-capitalists to oppress the masses of the people. But booting him out can strike an important tactical blow against the whole imperialist ruling class."⁵⁴

Admitting that booting Nixon out would not mean any basic change in the imperialist system or in the living conditions of the masses, RU nevertheless urged the masses to devote their revolutionary energies to "mobilizing mass action to Throw the Bum Out" in order to "strike a blow against the whole ruling class and the imperialist system." They never explained how you can strike a blow at your enemy by doing something that will have no effect on him. Only a misguided fool or a servant of the bourgeoisie would mislead the people by getting them involved consciously in a struggle that will not change their conditions in anyway.

Initially, RU made a shallow analysis that "Nixon miscalculated" and made a:

"...big gamble that the people will not rise up to resist his flaunting of bourgeois legality and that rival sections of the ruling class will not really resort to impeaching him."⁵⁵

They stated further that the ruling class as a whole was against impeachment because it would mean a "loss of authority for U.S. imperialism."

Like "liberal" congresswoman Bella Abzug and the "CP"-USA, RU said that "the people must impeach Nixon." But to cover themselves, they added "because this will help us make proletarian revolution."

In January 1974, the RU tried to cover their tracks (without doing any self-criticism of course), and warned people not to make the mistake of thinking that dumping Nixon would solve any problems:

"In conducting these demonstrations and developing the national campaign, it is extremely important to make the whole ruling class and the capitalist system, and not just Nixon, the focus of attack. It is correct to make Nixon a

focus of attack, for the various reasons put forward in the November Revolution, but not the focus, in such a way that we cover the nature of the system and the fact that it is the system and the entire ruling class that is the enemy.

To put it another way, the fight to Throw the Bum out is one tactic of the proletariat at this time, along with the fight against the energy freeze, the wage freeze, aggression in Indo-China and the Middle East, etc. We should not be putting forward the idea that throwing out Nixon is the way to solve all these other problems, or we will be in danger of degenerating into revisionism."⁵⁶

So, what have we here? In November, in words, the RU said the people must make the whole system the focus of attack; but in deeds they focused on one individual. In January, they remind us "the whole system is our enemy." But they say nothing about how the proletariat must organize itself to get rid of this system. Instead, they offer us some more "tactics" for "fighting back"--boiled down to their essence, they can be reduced to: "we need more mass demonstrations to deal with our problems. For each problem, we must have a mass mobilization and mass demonstration."

In doing this, the RU has not covered itself; it has only added fuel to the fire that has already been lit under their buns, and further exposed their totally bankrupt nature.

In What Is To Be Done? Lenin polemicized against the RabocheyeDyelo and Rabocheye Mysl. He explained how these economists saw a contradiction with his saying that : Social Democracy utilizes all means of struggles that are expedient; and that without a strong, steeled-in-struggle organization you can't have a systematic plan that is based on firm principles and carried out unswervingly. In essence, Lenin was arguing that tactics had to be part of, and subordinate to, a plan, a strategy; and that the proletariat needed a genuine Communist party to lead it and to develop and carry out this elaborate plan.

The economists on the other hand, said that tactics grow along with the growth of the Party. They further expressed this theory in the words: That struggle is desirable which is possible and the struggle which is possible is the one that is going on at the given moment. Lenin summed this trash up. He called it for what it was:

"This is precisely the trend of unbounded opportunism which passively adapts itself to spontaneity..It means belittling the initiative and energy of class conscious fighters."⁵⁷

Like the old economists, RU limits the Communists' task to accelerating the development of the objective processes, especially the spontaneous movements.

Can all these "tactics" laid out by RU be the plan to lead the proletarian revolution? What happened to the building of the party? What role do the advanced workers play? What is the role of theory? How is the proletariat prepared for the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie--

by simply going to a lot of demonstrations? Do these things happen spontaneously? Is that why RU doesn't mention them and instead urges the masses to have more and more demonstrations? Of course not. But it is precisely because RU doesn't want them to happen at all that it tries to drag the proletariat backward and tie it to the tail of every economic struggle that erupts. In essence, RU believes that workers acquire consciousness of their status in society and can gain their fundamental class needs through waging the economic struggles; they believe that consciousness comes from within the spontaneous movement and that, therefore, the party will arise from the mass movement. They thereby deny the vanguard role of the party, reject consistent organization and preparation of the proletariat, and belittle the importance of socialist consciousness and theory.

"Unfair," some people may cry. Didn't RU say in the May 1974 Revolution that party building was now the central task? True enough, we would answer these "fair-minded" people who are upset by our "obsession" with drawing the line of demarcation. But as is discussed in another part of this pamphlet, RU's present position on party building is simply a cover-up for the worshipping of spontaneity which is the ideological root of its slimey opportunism.

In the same month, May 1974, they also put out a call to their May Day rally in NYC. In this leaflet, they raise empiricism and learning only from direct experience to a principle, and negate the importance of Marxism-Leninism. They say:

"All of these battles build on the lessons of the past and they teach us how to fight in the present."⁵⁸

The leaflet never mentions Marxism-Leninism.

They also reduce the role of the Communist party to that of a party of peaceful reforms. Ignoring the fact that a genuine Communist party leads the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, they say:

"In the past, May Day was always called by the Communist Party, which led the fight for better conditions. Communists believe that the working people should control the country, that until we do, none of us will have a decent life. But now the so-called Communist party has forgotten about their principles and made its peace with the bosses."⁵⁹

On May Day, the day of the international proletariat, the RU didn't mention our great revolutionary teachers, Marx and Lenin, or the importance of building a genuine Communist Party, or the tasks before us--the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

In addition, they openly conciliate with the revisionist slime of the "CP"-USA. These bourgeois agents didn't "forget" their principles. **THEY HAVE CONSCIOUSLY REVISED MARXISM-LENINISM.**

In this call for May Day, RU showed once again how they take from Marxism all that is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. This includes the struggle for reforms and economic gains, the class struggle (without the dictatorship of the proletariat, of course), a "general recognition of socialist ideals," and the substitution of a "new order" for capitalism. However, they repudiate totally the revolutionary content of Marxism.

As late as August 1974, the RU was still paying lip service to the building of the party. In response to Watergate, all they could tell the masses was "Kick 'em while they're down":

"The ruling class has its plans, but the people have their own agenda. The struggle to kick out Nixon is a tactic on the road to building a united front against imperialism, a revolutionary workers movement, and a new Communist party. That the ruling class has to consider getting rid of Nixon shows that their system is in crisis, that their class is in trouble. The spirit in which we have to approach responding to their circus is to make more trouble for them: Kick them while they're down."⁶⁰

It is also extremely important to examine how RU's "Throw the Bum Out" line is applied in the "mass, anti-imperialist" organizations created by the RU (and in most parts of the country made up almost entirely of RU members, and a few other honest folk who have been temporarily fooled by RU's opportunist line.)

"Not fighting to throw out Nixon out would mean that we can't fight back. It's all one system, monopoly capitalism or imperialism and the government is at the head of it. Now is the time to win some concessions and score some victories. Now is the time to strip the mask off law and order and defend our right to live and fight. If we start making trouble, united and strong, and demand that he get out, we will serve notice to the imperialists that we are fed up and willing to fight."⁶¹

"...We can throw Nixon out on his ear and at the same time show all the politicians and businessmen that we won't take it anymore.. But if we fight to throw Nixon out, the rich will have no choice but to dump him. And we'll be building our own strength to carry on the fight against wage controls, no-strike deals, police terror, and all the other attacks coming down on us. Now's the time to show our real strength. --THROW THE BUM OUT, ORGANIZE TO FIGHT!"⁶²

"...The one thing NONE of the politicians and their corporate lackers want is for the PEOPLE to push Nixon out through protests and demonstrations...Nixon is Public Bum No.1. By throwing him out through mass protests and demonstrations, we will be hitting the rest of the imperialists, too, and helping to build up the movement of the people that will finally throw them all out..."⁶³

We think the time is right to build a mass movement, the thing the giant monopolists and their mouthpieces fear the most. A militant mass movement that will kick Nixon out while at the same time giving a kick in the teeth to the entire ruling class while they are down and in disarray."⁶⁴

"Although dumping Nixon won't solve our problems, it will be a big victory for the peoples' movement against this system. It's our fight that sends these jokers packing, not the congress or the 'institutions.' LBJ didn't just step down. He was moved out by the people through mass demonstrations and militant protest. This is what we have to do to Nixon. The April demonstration in Washington where 10,000 marched is a good example. We have to get rid of Nixon and all those who oppress us! Let's build the people's movement to "Throw the Bum Out!"⁶⁵

In summary, "Throw the Bum Out" carried into practice provides these "lessons" for the masses:

1. We can only build our strength through mass struggles against each of our many problems.

(This raises empiricism to a principle, negates the importance of the conscious factor and the need for learning from the historic experience of the proletariat, summed up by Marxism-Leninism. It also denies that:

"...the fundamental economic interests of the proletariat can be satisfied only by a proletarian revolution that will replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat."⁶⁶

It is the same thing as "the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing.")

2. What the bourgeoisie fears most of all is a mass movement, and our mass demonstrations will influence them to dump Nixon.

(This is the same as the "CP"-USA's "fight" for a "responsive" bourgeois dictatorship. The bourgeoisie have already proven that spontaneous mass movements alone can only win concessions and will not destroy the bourgeois state. For Communists, it is incorrect to make the struggle for minor concessions primary over the question of state power. What the bourgeoisie fear most is a proletarian revolution, the loss of state power to the armed proletariat, led by its party and armed with Marxism-Leninism.)

3. By throwing Nixon out, we hit at the rest of the imperialists.

(This leads us to throwing the bourgeoisie out one by one--a series of reformist struggles which avoid the key question of state power. By calling Nixon's resignation "a victory" for the proletariat, RU prepares the way to deviate the proletariat through further struggles like this. They deny what we must do to really win "victories," the tasks before us. By leading the proletariat to believe that this is the best way to really hurt the imperialists, they in fact protect the imperialists.)

Here we see the RU's unity with the "liberal" senators and congressment as well as with the "CP"-USA. (Although they deny this in words, their deeds tell the truth.) The so-called liberals also talk about how

the "rich" mistreat and take advantage of the "poor." They also launch "attacks" on big business. They too say that Nixon (the individual) must be held accountable for his crimes against the "people." They too try to divert the energies of the masses into channels "acceptable" to the ruling class--and these include "militant" mass demonstrations at which they are even willing to speak; because, like the RU, what they fear most is the "unacceptable channel" of proletarian revolution.

October League

The OL response to Watergate is "Dump Nixon." They say:

"The paralysis of the Congress demonstrates more concretely than ever the need to build the mass people's movement to dump Nixon. As demonstrators gathered in New York, Chicago, Tampa, and other cities last month in opposition to Nixon's policies, the question that came to the fore was whether or not the Congress was going to act, or merely use the impeachment question for their own immediate political needs while the country suffers the effects of the corruption-ridden administration?

"...The politicians who have spoken out have only done so because of the tremendous mass sentiment to dump Nixon. This sentiment must be developed further, and organized so that pressure remains on Congress to act. The Dump Nixon coalitions which have grown up across the country are a healthy step in this direction...

"The Dump Nixon movement aims itself both at the immediate task of dumping Nixon, and the more general task of organizing the people to fight the rising fascist tide and the assault on people's living standards."67

Does OL expose the true nature of the bourgeois state? Obviously not. Instead, they mumble that Congress is "paralyzed" and the masses must pressure them to dump Nixon. This is a revisionist line which fools the people into fighting for a "responsive" bourgeois dictatorship. The bourgeois state is an instrument of class rule; it is responsive only to the interests of the bourgeoisie. To divert the revolutionary anger of the masses, the bourgeoisie will make only tactical concessions, concessions which in no way challenge their rule. This is exactly why the bourgeois state must be destroyed by the revolutionary violence of proletarian revolution. To lead the masses to think otherwise, or not to raise this, is objectively to push the idea of revolution being a series of peaceful reforms--"peaceful transition to socialism."

How can the OL call themselves "Communists" and say that the question that came to the fore was whether or not Congress was going to act and reduce the entire Watergate issue to Nixon (the individual's) policies. What the country is suffering is not the "effects of the corruption-ridden administration"--it is the dictatorship of the bourgeois class that is causing the suffering of the masses. And neither a Dump Nixon movement or an act of Congress can end the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Communist League

CL's line is "Nixon, Ford Resign - New Elections!" For all their "left" posturing, CL put forward essentially the same solution as the "CP"-USA on Watergate. They say:

"The Los Angeles Committee for New Presidential Elections" was formed to respond to the obvious need for an independent voice for the workers and other truly progressive people. It is financially independent, but most of all its independence is maintained by a consistent fight for the position that we cannot rely on, and follow, the leadership of the elected government officials, but instead the changes that are becoming more and more urgent can only be made by our own efforts; that we must take an active role in who governs and through what policies."⁶⁸

Later, this article recounts how the Committee gathered 2,000 petitions against Nixon and took them to a city councilman "where the class nature of these representatives was fully exposed." This issue of the paper also reprinted a cartoon leaflet by the L.A. Committee which read that the "Nixon administration has completely sold out to the big capitalists," and included a cartoon of a protestor carrying a picket sign which read "Down with Nixon."

Obviously, this garbage does not expose the true nature of bourgeois democracy. Furthermore it encourages the people to work through the system, saying that the fact that there is no "constitutional provision for special presidential elections" is only "an obstacle to be removed from our path." By not exposing the bourgeois state as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and by focusing in on Nixon and not the entire bourgeois class, CL defends the bourgeois lie that the state exists to defend the interests of all.

Nixon did not sell out - the entire governmental structure was conceived of by the ruling class and serves only the ruling class. It is criminal to create the illusion among the working class that under bourgeois rule we can "take an active part in who governs and through what policies." This negates totally the teachings of Marxism-Leninism which state:

"I have already advised you to turn for help to Engels' book, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. This book says that every state in which private ownership of the land and means of production exists, in which capital dominates however democratic it may be, is a capitalist state, a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and the poor peasants in subjection; while universal suffrage, a Constituent Assembly, parliament are merely a form, a sort of promissory note, which does not alter the essence of the matter.

"The forms of domination of the state may vary: capital manifests power in one way where one form exists, and in another way where another form exists - but essentially the power is in the hands of capital, whether there are voting qualifications or not -- in fact the more democratic it is the cruder and more cynical is the rule of capitalism. One of the most democratic republics in the world is the United States of America, yet nowhere (and those who were there after 1905 probably know it)

"is the power of capital, the power of a handful of billionaires over the whole of society, so crude and so openly corrupt as in America."69

Anti-Fascist Commentator

This group says that the principal contradiction in the U.S. is now between bourgeois democracy and fascism, not between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. They say Communists can and must unite with the so-called "left" or liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, because there is a strategic split among the capitalists.

However, they worry about the weaknesses of Nixon's opposition:

"For some time now, it has been a standoff-back and forth a little, but not too much happening. True, Nixon has had to pull in his horns a little, to bide his time for a while -- and the country has not gone so far to the right that we can't even recognize it, as Mitchell promised at one point. But there has been no great era of reform ushered in either. It has been a very uneasy period of stalemate.

"This is not a good thing. It gives Nixon a chance. It gives reaction a chance. The opposition is throwing away all its moral capital."70

To justify their class-collaborationist policy of uniting with the "good capitalists," this group says that one sector of the bourgeoisie has a "devotion to democracy," but that it is very limited, because while they oppose Nixon, they also fear the people. Obviously, if we unite with these people, as they insist we must, we better be careful not to be too militant and scare them away.

"Nevertheless, it remains our opinion that the only correct tactic for the left and progressive forces today are to reach and rely on the working people and ally with all others to the extent they are willing to fight, and as long as they are willing to fight against the danger of fascism, against letting Nixon get away, for impeachment, for preserving and expanding the rights and liberties we have. The people will need these rights both to fight the attacks against them, and to train and educate themselves to one day do away with the capitalist system."71

If we follow this bankrupt line, that "one day" when we do away with the capitalist system will be far away indeed.

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What is the answer of Marxist-Leninists to all these organizations whose lines we have discussed?

We are in the period of party building -- the building of a genuine Communist party is our central task. (see Report on Party Building).

This means that we are in a period where we must first struggle for the clarity of the Marxist-Leninist line. We must unite genuine Marxists-Leninists around this line; and we must take scientific socialism to the advanced elements. These forces must be trained to be able to give the masses a scientific analysis of what is happening and what must be done. In order to do this, we, the Communists must be trained.

Primary in this period is the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism, the work of explaining in detail key problems of Marxism-Leninism to the advanced elements. Secondly, we have to selectively choose those struggles which we will directly lead. We must choose struggles which will raise the general level of proletarian class consciousness and revolutionary spirit and from which the entire Communist movement can learn when they are summed up and which can, through correct tactics, intensify the ever sharpening contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat so our strategy can be accomplished.

In this, we must keep in mind the responsibilities of Communists, never sacrificing our long-range goal for each twist and turn in the objective processes. We must never propose actions that won't accomplish anything and must give guidance on winning immediate demands without losing sight of our final aim -- which must always be our primary focus.

"It would be absolutely incorrect to suppose that, in order to carry on a direct struggle for the socialist revolution, we can or must throw away the struggle for reforms. By no means. We cannot know how soon we will achieve success, how soon objective conditions will permit the coming of this revolution. We must support every improvement, real improvement of both the economic and political conditions of the masses. The difference between us and the reformists (i.e. in Switzerland - with the Grutlants) consists not in that we are against reforms while they are for reforms. Nothing of the sort. They limit themselves to reforms and owing to this descend, according to the apt expression of one (unusual!) revolutionary contributor of the Schweizerische Metallarbeiterzeitung (no.40), to the role of more "nurses of capitalism." We tell the workers: vote for proportional, and such elections, but do not restrict thereby your activity, put in the foreground the systematic dissemination of the idea of immediate socialist revolution, prepare for it and all along the line introduce the corresponding radical changes in all Party activity. The conditions of bourgeois democracy very often compel us to adopt this or that position towards a mass of petty and minute reforms, but we must be able to learn or adopt a position for reforms so (in such a manner) that - to put it somewhat simply for the sake of greater clarity - in every half hour speech we speak five minutes about reforms and 25 minutes about the coming revolution."²

The revisionists say everything is primary except for building of the party and the preparation of the proletariat for the armed seizure of state

power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are also preoccupied with the question of reforms and constantly attack the Marxists for "negating the objective factor" and not believing in reform struggles. Meanwhile, in their presentations, they devote the majority of their time to summarizing all the reform struggles in the country, and in the last few minutes mention that we need a party.

Let us see further how the policies of the opportunists concretely aid the bourgeoisie. In the struggle against growing fascism, for instance, we learn from Dimitroff that the prevention of fascism depends on:

1. the militant activity displayed by the working class itself
2. the existence of a strong revolutionary party correctly leading the struggle of the toilers against fascism
3. whether the revolutionary proletariat exercises vigilance and takes action at the proper time."⁷³

Dimitroff makes it clear that fascism was able to come to power primarily because the policy of class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the opportunist social-democratic leaders left the working class split, politically and organizationally disarmed in the face of the fascist onslaught.

The social-fascists and social-reformists who only raise the immediate demands and collaborate with the so-called liberal bourgeoisie only aid and do the work of the fascists. By not exposing the state, they aid the state. By not arming the proletariat with scientific socialism and by holding back the formation of the party, they do the work of the bourgeoisie.

These are not new errors. Lenin had to deal some death blows to the jive opportunists of his time who preached class collaboration and reformism and wanted to confine the proletariat to trade union struggle, who refused to recognize and fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, who tried to rob Marxism of its revolutionary content and reduce it to something even the bourgeoisie could accept.

In the struggle against the opportunist forces in the Second International led by the renegade Kautsky, Lenin said:

"The bourgeoisie needs lackeys whom a section of the working class could trust and who would paint in fine colors, embellish the bourgeoisie with talk about the possibility of the reformist path, who would throw dust in the eyes of the people by this talk, who would divert the people from revolution by depicting in glowing colors the charms and the possibilities of the reformist path.

"All the writings of the Kautskys, like those of our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, reduce themselves to such painting and to the whining of cowardly philistines who fear revolution."⁷⁴

So we see that these muddle heads, like the RU, OL, CL and others have not created anything new, but have revived the revisionist ideas of Kautsky, Bernstein and company, who try to create a middle road for proletarian revolution, to reconcile, to unite the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat. What a philistine idea!

So we see why these opportunists want to defuse the explosive domestic situation and reduce it to a series of peaceful reform struggles. We understand why they do not want to arm the proletariat with the science of Marxism-Leninism, the history of the international proletariat's struggle against all forms of exploitation, oppression, and opportunism. Because this history would educate the proletariat as to the historic role of the opportunists, and will enable the proletariat to kick them into the museum of antiquities along with the bourgeoisie they serve.

**DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM, SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM & ALL FORMS OF OPPORTUNISM!
UP WITH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!**

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