

CELEBRATE MAY DAY

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY

**WORKERS
VIEWPOINT**

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TAKE THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST CAPITALISM!

FIGHT FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM!

BUILD THE NEW COMMUNIST PARTY!

THE SITUATION IS EXCELLENT!

Mayday is the day when workers demonstrate around the world to ring out our call for socialism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Mayday is the day when all workers march under one banner to show international unity against the capitalist class!

Born in 1886 from the fight for the eight-hour day in the United States, Mayday is a day the U.S. workers have given to the working class of the world.

Now is a time to briefly survey our forces, and our enemy's.

What new, rising trends do we see in our working class movement? What new tactics and tricks are the capitalists bringing out to divide and weaken us?

Where is the party that will lead us in our fight for socialism?

Today and for the immediate period ahead, we see two contending trends in the world and the U.S., the trend of revolution and the trend of world war and fascism.

Either revolution will prevent world war, or the war will lead to revolution. This is what Chairman Mao Tsetung has taught us, and today it's clearer than ever before.

One trend is the struggle of the people of the world for independence, for national liberation and for revolution. This is the struggle of the workers in the capitalist countries and the people of the world, against the two superpowers, against all imperialism and reaction.

Spring 1975: through armed revolutionary war, the Vietnamese and Cambodian people drive out U.S. imperialism. Summer 1975: U.S. workers put up a new wave of mass demonstrations and strikes against monopoly capitalist attacks. Winter 1975: countries of the United Nations, mainly the Third World countries led by socialist China and Albania, condemn Israeli Zionism as a form of racism. Spring 1976: the working class of socialist China, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tsetung, makes a new drive to consolidate socialism and beats back attempts to restore capitalism!

These are just a few major highlights from this past year's struggle. We see this revolutionary trend everyday, all over the world. It is rising, and it's irreversible!

There's also the trend for world war and fascism, which is also on the rise. This is the aggressive contention and collusion between the two superpowers, between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, to divide and redivide the world. They're using local wars and their phony "detente" to prepare for a third world war. This trend includes the stepped-up attempts of the monopoly capitalists to whip up and move to fascism, to try to crush the working class and socialist revolution.

Here in the U.S., we see the rising fascist danger. The monopoly capitalists have stepped up their all-round attacks on the job, in communities and in schools. They've hit us with speed-ups, unemployment, and budget cuts, police repression in communities and closings of schools. With their Bicentennial circus and presidential elections, they're trying to whip up American patriotism against the oppressed nations of the world. The monopoly capitalists have been expanding their Boston busing plan to other cities. The experience in Boston shows and again confirms the U.S. imperialists' reactionary dual tactics, repression along with "liberal" reformist tactics, to divide the working class, whip up racism and chauvinism to increase national oppression and usher in fascism.

In the context of the world capitalist crisis and the rising danger of world war, all these attacks on us have a new light. In this context, they each represent a step towards fascism.

The U.S. workers' movement has been coming up wave after wave. Through the spring and summer of 1975, workers in New York and other cities came out against budget cuts, unemployment and other attacks. Workers staged a series of massive demonstrations against the government and the banks, in Washington, D.C., and New York, thus rediscovering this weapon of ours for the first time since the 1930's.

Miners wildcatted in the tens of thousands from last fall through this spring. They continued their fight for union democracy and the right to strike. They further exposed the United Mineworkers misleaders, not only the reactionary Tony Boyle clique, but also the "militant" Arnold Miller.

And this year is a contract year for major industries around the country, for rubber workers, auto, electrical, trucking and garment.

Struggles of oppressed nationalities have marched on too. Afro-American and other oppressed nationality communities have fought against police repression, like the shooting of Clifford Glover in New York. In New York Chinatown, 15,000 workers and community people demonstrated against police repression. And the fight against deportations of foreign-born workers goes on in Chicano, West Indian and Puerto Rican communities.

Our working class struggle is still uneven, still just rising. It flows in one industry or region, then settles there. But it comes up again somewhere else. And with each wave it flows broader and deeper, more massive, militant and conscious.



Monopoly capitalism is rotten ripe, ready for revolution. Lenin said that imperialism is the eve of socialist revolution. And today this is clearer than ever to the masses of U.S. workers.

Where is our leadership? Who will lead us against every form of capitalist oppression and on to socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Lenin said:

Everyone knows that the masses are divided into classes... classes are led by political parties; that political parties, as a general rule, are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members, who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders." ("Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder")

The monopoly capitalists have their parties. They have the Democratic and Republic capitalist parties, where they wheel and deal and rip each other off, and switch their presidential spot every 4 or 8 years. But these are the capitalists' parties, and no one else's.

And the working class?

We need a genuine Communist Party! A real Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class, its General Staff of leaders. It is made up of the finest elements of the working class, the clearest and most far-sighted of our class brothers and sisters. It must have the most advanced proletarian

theory to guide all its thinking, its political lines and policies. Today this advanced theory is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. The genuine Communist Party must be the most organized and disciplined detachment of the working class to be able to fight with iron discipline in face of the capitalist enemy.

We once had a real Communist Party, formed in 1921. In the 1930's the Communist Party USA organized Mayday campaigns across the country, mobilizing as many as 500,000 workers. It led struggles against the brutal oppression of Afro-Americans and other oppressed nationalities. It led many of the workers' struggles in the organizing of the CIO. And it led the fight to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist invasion, and to support the liberation struggle in China.

But in the mid and late 1950's, this Party had degenerated and completely abandoned this tradition of revolutionary leadership, becoming an enemy of the working class. Today the revisionist "Communist" Party USA has in essence completely dropped socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the long-term aim of all communists!

Since the degeneration of the "C"P into revisionism in the 1950's, the U.S. working class has not had a real Communist Party. There have been several attempts to build a new and genuine Communist Party since then, but so far all have failed.

The need for a real vanguard, the need for a genuine Communist Party is our class' greatest need today! Capitalism is in total crisis, greater and greater masses of workers are fighting everyday, but we don't have our party that leads us. This is the weak link in our struggle today. The building of a new and genuine Communist Party is the link we have to grasp to move our whole struggle ahead.

This is why party building is the principal task of all U.S. communists and class conscious workers.

To build this real Communist Party, we must seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to combat the lack of proletarian theory in the U.S. workers' movement and give our party a clear and correct orientation. The study of theory, of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, is the main component of our party building task.

All of us, all communists and advanced workers treat communist propaganda as the chief form of our activity in the context of our class' everyday struggles. Our class brothers and sisters are fighting fiercely, and we must provide orientation and help lead them. Our task of leading these immediate mass struggles are necessary to carry out the principal task of party building. It is necessary to educate and consolidate the new and broader waves of advanced workers who are coming out of the spontaneous struggles, searching for answers for our struggle. It is necessary to spread our communist propaganda, mainly among advanced workers, as well as among the masses. Our practice in immediate struggles will also help us focus our theoretical work to develop concrete political lines and a Communist program to guide our whole struggle. And

our work in this tremendous wave of mass struggles will also help to train and steel us, help to prepare advanced workers and communists to become all-round leaders of our class.

We must unite all genuine Marxist-Leninists, and win the advanced workers and other advanced elements to communism!

Build the party on a firm proletarian ideological plane! Grasp the key link of political line!

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HISTORY OF MAYDAY



During the Great Depression in the 1930's, the workers movement surged forward to deal blows against the rule of monopoly capitalism, and fought against hunger, the danger of war and fascism.

"May day, International Labor Day, 1934, occurs at a time when the world is in transition to a new stage of the general crisis of capitalism (i.e. fascization). The chief feature of the present situation is the coming together of the elements of a revolutionary crisis in the capitalist world. The revolutionary temper of the toiling masses is rising and challenges the drive of the capitalist class toward fascism, toward imperialist war....

"May First this year will be a day of struggle, a day of revolutionary mass protests, of demonstrations and political mass strikes, a day on which the proletariat will clearly and unambiguously make known its will to smash capitalist class rule and replace it by the realm of socialist freedom."

"While raising to a higher level the every-day struggles of the toiling masses on the basis of the most pressing demands, it is imperative that we bring forward everywhere the fundamental question of the working class revolution - the question of Power, which class shall have power - the working class or the capitalist class? As the capitalist attempts to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the workers, we raise the battle cry of the revolutionary way out. As against the dictatorship of the capitalist class, the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." (emphasis in original, parenthesis ours)
(The Communist, May, 1934, p. 419)

These words were written by the Communist Party of the USA in an article entitled "Through May Day to a Soviet America," in 1934, years before it eventually went revisionist. These words were a clarion call to the working class and marked the celebration of May Day, International Labor Day of 1934, with the Communist Party leading a surging crest of revolutionary working class activity throughout the U.S. Hundreds of thousands from the working class, women, and oppressed nationalities and oppressed national minorities marched under the vanguard leadership of the CPUSA, to commemorate the heroic fight for the eight hour day and the fight for socialism!!

The state of fusion between communism and the working class was relatively high. In that year, 1934, for example, the CP directly mobilized 500,000 workers under revolutionary slogans. The bulk of workers rallied in New York, where the CP held the single largest demonstration in any capitalist country that year, with 15,000 workers later rallying at Madison Square Garden that night. All over the country, workers voiced their revolutionary hatred of the capitalist system: Pittsburg (8,000), Philadelphia (30,000),

Boston (20,000), Los Angeles (15,000), San Francisco (10,000), Birmingham (5,000), Detroit (10,000), and Milwaukee (10,000) and thousands more. The working class, under communist leadership, rallied under revolutionary slogans:

"Down tools on May First! All out into the streets! Build the mighty united front of the working class on May First! Make every city a union city! For the 6-hour day, for the 5-day week with no reduction in pay! Forward to a Soviet America!"

HISTORIC ROLE OF THE FIGHT FOR THE EIGHT HOUR DAY

The historic, heroic fight of the working class against the rule of capital, which crystallized in the 1880's in the fight for the eight hour day, was in essence representative of the rise of a revolutionary struggle for socialism. At that time, the immediate demand for the eight hour day reflected the sharpening of the class contradiction between the rising proletariat class and the capitalist class, which was still on the rise but rapidly becoming a monopoly capitalist, imperialist class. The mass upsurges around the eight hour day symbolized the deeper, underlying growth of the class consciousness of the proletariat, which was transforming from a class in itself into a class for itself. The fight for the eight hour day, in a time when workers were brutalized into working 14-16 hours a day and children slaved around the clock in shifts, so that beds never got cold, symbolized the sharpening of the class struggle, which today is rapidly maturing as monopoly capital enters a period of permanent crisis!!

Karl Marx called attention to the fight for the eight hour day:

"In the United States of America, any sort of independent labor movement was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the republic. Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new vigorous life sprang. The first fruit of the Civil War was an agitation for the eight hour day - a movement which ran with express speed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."
(Capital, Vol. 1, Paul translation, p. 309)

In the 1880's American capitalism was paralyzed by the beginnings of the vice-like grip, the crisis of overproduction, while the working class exploded in a flurry of strikes and demonstrations. In 1886 alone, there were 11,562 strikes involving 190,000 workers, and 600,000 workers were directly involved in the

eight hour day struggle. On Oct. 7, 1884, the militancy of the rank-and-file of the A.F. of L. forced the "leaders" of that union to proclaim that the eight hour day would constitute a working day's work from May 1, 1886 onward. In Dec. 1888, they called for a General Strike for the year 1890. The Haymarket Square Massacre of 1886, in Chicago, when armed troops of the bourgeoisie killed scores of workers by firing into a May Day crowd and planting a bomb in a May Day rally, was only a cover to frame and later hang the organizers of the Chicago march. This fueled the militancy of the workers and became a rallying cry for the international working class movement! Militant workers, in 1890, marched under slogans that expressed the rising revolutionary movement: "No more bosses - wage slavery must go. The present industrial system means slavery." Workers at that time passed a resolution calling for "the reorganization of society on a socialist basis."

On July 14, 1889 in Paris, on the 100th anniversary of Bastille Day, which marked the overthrow of the reactionary feudal ruling class in France, socialist delegates all over the world were inspired by the stirring example of the struggles of the American working class and called May First: the International Workers' Day. This Paris Congress (later to become the Second International) followed the teachings of Marx and stressed (in 1889) the "class content" and the "deepening of the class struggle..". Following the example of U.S. workers, the international proletariat raised the slogans of May Day General Strikes throughout the world, especially throughout England, Belgium, France, Germany, and elsewhere.

One of the great victories of this period was the growth of the trade unions, which began to develop after the Civil War in great numbers. Labor unions, as fighting mass organizations of the proletariat, became the moving organizational force behind May Day.

MAY DAY AND MISLEADERS OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

In imperialist states, the capitalist class shields itself from the blows of the working class by using misleaders of all stripes, particularly those that are seemingly militant. On the one hand, we have the labor aristocracy, the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, who are bribed by the superprofits that the imperialists squeeze from the Third World and oppressed nationalities in the U.S. On the other hand, there are the petty bourgeois reformists of all kinds, ranging from priests, poverty pimps, to Social Democrats and revisionists, like the Guardian and the "C" PUSA.

The treachery of misleaders is clearly exposed in the celebration of May Day. Soon after the rank and file of the A.F. of L. first rose to commemorate May Day in 1884, the misleaders of the A.F. of L. sold out the progressive demands of the working class and refused to participate in the May Day celebrations. Led by Gompers, the misleaders tried to undermine the unity of the working class by suggesting that unions go on strike only a few at a time rather than all at once! And the misleaders of the Knights of Labor, under Powderly, were clearly exposed when they refused to endorse the strike for the eight hour day (which they called the "eight hour madness"). The rank-and-file went over their heads and went on strike anyway! And the misleaders of the British Labor Party refused even to accept conditional proposals for a strike on May Day. And petty bourgeois "socialists" and trade union bureaucrats for decades have done everything possible to sabotage the workers' celebration of May Day.

HISTORY (CONTINUED)

During World War I, the great leaders of the communist movement, infected by bribery from the imperialists and by bourgeois ideology, began to revise the teachings of Marx and Engels and openly support the imperialists of their own country. The Second International collapsed into a morass of opportunism and social chauvinism. The revisionists and traitors in the German Social Democratic Party called on workers to remain at work on May Day, 1915! The French Socialists even issued a manifesto, in 1915, assuring the French bourgeoisie that they would encourage the working class to work on May Day for the defense of "their" country! But on May Day 1916, thousands of strikes broke out all over Europe, in spite of the bankrupt, sell-out, call collaborationist policies of these scab misleaders.

LENIN ON MAY DAY

Lenin, our great teacher and the great leader of the Bolshevik Party, clearly saw the historic significance of May Day to the anti-Czarist, immediate struggles of the working class and peasantry in Russia. At the turn of the century, fully 6 months before May Day, Lenin called attention to the importance of May Day:

"In another six months, the Russian workers will celebrate the first of May of the first year of the new century, and it is time we set to work to make the arrangements for organizing the celebrations in as large a number of centers as possible, and on as imposing a scale as possible, not only by the number that will take part in them, but also by their organized character, by the class-consciousness they will reveal, by the determination that will be shown to commence the irrepressible struggle for the political liberation of the Russian people, and consequently, for a free opportunity for the class development of the proletariat and its open struggle for Socialism." (The Iskra Period, Book I, p. 44)

Lenin called May Day a rallying point for the unstoppable march of the proletariat in its historic mission to overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism. Lenin criticized all forces who would compromise or belittle the international significance of May Day for the working class. He criticized, in 1900, the Karkov Party leaders for debasing May Day down to the level of minor, purely economic demands:

"The first of these demands (8 hour day) is the general demand put forward by the proletariat in all countries. The fact that this demand was put forward indicates that the advanced workers of Kharkov realize their solidarity with the international Socialist labor movement. But precisely for this reason a demand like this should not have been included among minor demands like better treatment by foremen, or a ten per cent increase in wages. The demand for the eight hour day, however, is the demand of the whole proletariat, presented, not to individual employers, but to the government as the representative of the whole of the present-day social and political system, to the capitalist class as a whole, the owners of all the means of production." (The Iskra Period, Book I, p. 47)

MAY DAY, THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, AND REVISIONISM

Though the heroic revolutionary tradition of May Day continued to be a rallying point for the working class for decades, already the slogans of the CPUSA began to reflect the slow process of degeneration to revisionism. In 1943, under the leadership of the revisionist Earl Browder, the CPUSA advanced bankrupt, tattered slogans for May Day:

"Everything to smash Hitler and crush the Axis. Forge the patriotic anti-fascist unity of our nation in support of the win-the-war policies of our Commander-in-Chief."

In 1944, the CPUSA's May Day slogan, reflecting further decay due to revisionism, only stated: "onward in unity to victory."

Class betrayal through direct bribery and the influence of bourgeois ideology, which was eating away at the ideological and political fibre of the CPUSA, had so consolidated within the CP that Browder was able to liquidate the Party itself in 1944! But even when the party was re-constituted in 1945, the party still did not fully Bolshevize itself and root out bourgeois class representatives and bourgeois ideology. The CPUSA's illusions of bourgeois democracy still showed in its May Day statement of 1948:

"We communists and other advanced workers are living up to the best traditions of Marxism in our country, and remain true to the profound words of our great Lincoln, who said, 'The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relations, should be one of unity of all working people, of all nations, and kindreds.'"

In 1953, the CPUSA pragmatically advanced the economist and reformist slogan:

"A people's peace and welfare program for peacetime economy and peacetime jobs - for government spending for welfare, not warfare."

And the CP's rising chauvinism was clearly seen in May Day slogans of that period, which failed to clearly advance the national struggles of Afro-Americans and the struggle of working women.

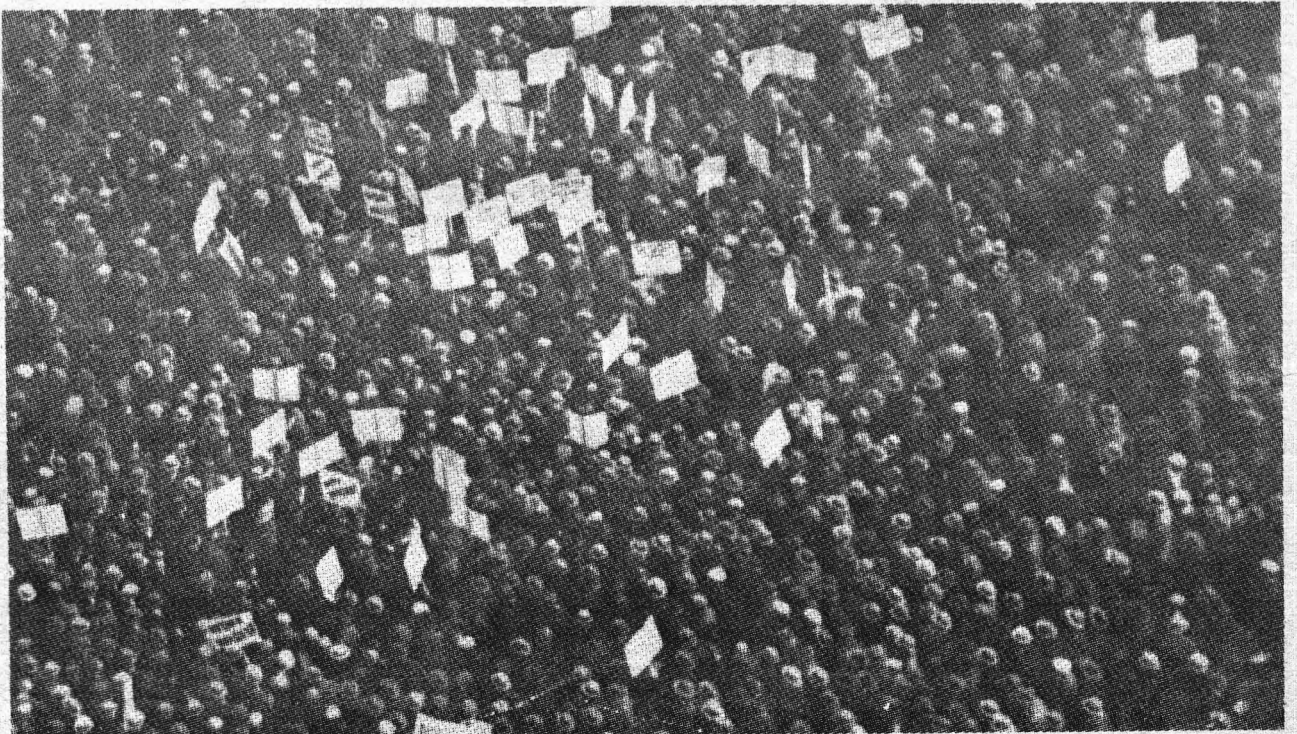
The CPUSA's May Day slogans reflected deep, fundamental weakness of the CP, which paved the way to its total and irreversible degeneration in the late 1950's. Organizationally the CPUSA operated as a reformist mass party, rather than a true Bolshevik Party. Though it had partial fusion with the industrial proletariat, it allowed thousands of petty bourgeois democrats to flood into the party through its mass work during the 1930's and 40's, which poisoned its proletarian outlook and turned the CP into its opposite. Politically, its work in industrial unions became secondary to its electoral work, which was essentially rubber-stamping the New Deal and taling after 'progressives' like Henry Wallace. In order to please the bourgeoisie and to increase its appeal to backward workers, it liquidated fractions and independent party work in the unions and gave up and tailed the leadership of the CIO. It also eventually

liquidated work among working class women, Afro-Americans, and other oppressed nationalities. Placing more faith in the bourgeois democratic road to socialism than in proletarian revolution, during the New Deal it entirely abandoned the need for violent, armed struggle against the bourgeoisie! Ideologically, the basis of the party's degeneration was its petty bourgeois and labor aristocratic outlook, causing its constant belittling of the role of Marxist-Leninist theory. In the absence of Marxist-Leninist theory, it practiced pragmatism as a guide to action, worshipping immediate results and numbers. Its faith in bourgeois democracy crippled the party's ability to break away from its reformist electoral work, which tailed the bourgeoisie. And its chauvinism led to its eventual abandonment of the leadership of the movement of the nationally oppressed. Under the conditions (as distinguished from the internal basis) of the New Deal, the united front against fascism, McCarthy repression, and world war, the class and ideological basis of CP's right opportunism (in giving up independence and initiative ideologically, politically, and organizationally) eventually matured into out-and-out revisionism.

And today, we have communist organizations like the RCP, OL, and PRRWO who are continuing in the revisionist tradition of the "CPUSA, some in right form (RCP and OL) and some in "left" disguise (PRRWO). Some of these organizations raise economist slogans which fail to raise the danger of world war, of the process of fascism taking place in this country, or the danger of Soviet Social-Imperialism and super-power contention. Like the "CPUSA, these organizations are riddled with petty bourgeois class representatives and bourgeois ideology, so that their narrowness and economism blinds them to the international and national situation arising from the contention and collusion between the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet Social-Imperialists, resulting in the danger of world war and fascism.

The slogans of the OL reflect deep faith in bourgeois democracy. By stressing the differences within the bourgeoisie, by backing the so-called "anti-fascist" bourgeoisie against the "fascists," the OL spreads the illusion that fascism comes in only through the "conservative" bourgeoisie, rather than through the different actions of the entire bourgeoisie, from the womb of bourgeois democracy itself. Their support of the Boston busing plan, the E.R.A., and "super-seniority" reveals that they cannot see through the crafty, reactionary dual tactics (reform and repression) the bourgeoisie uses to split and confuse the class. And RCP's worship of their own narrow practice, their blind pragmatism, and belittling of Marxist-Leninist theory, their absolutizing of their own sum-ups of practical work,

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100,000 workers rallied in Union Square, N.Y., in 1930 against unemployment and the attacks of the monopoly capitalists.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND ATTACKS ON THE WORKING CLASS

We have now entered a flow period. The character of the spontaneous resistance of the multi-national working class, as compared to the last flow period spear-headed by oppressed nationalities and students, is at a qualitatively higher level. This revolutionary trend is historically irreversible and the proletarian revolution is inevitable. However, in this economic crisis, the bourgeoisie, making a desperate attempt to maintain its dictatorship though they are breathing their last breath, are intensifying their attacks on the working class and the communist movement.

We are faced with many twists and turns in the movement as the bourgeoisie resorts to its reactionary dual tactics (reform and repression, both the carrot and the stick). The bourgeoisie is using every conceivable weapon and trick to try to maintain its doomed rule, and the danger of fascism is increasing. This objective situation places great responsibility and tremendous tasks before us. We are up against a last-ditch effort by the bourgeoisie to oppress us even more in order to try to weather the contradictions of capitalism which are irreversibly sharpening.

Our labor power creates the material wealth of society. Because of the inherent contradiction in capitalism, it is periodically hit with economic crises, and to maintain their high rate of profit, the bourgeoisie shifts the brunt onto the working class.

The U.S. is entering its sixth economic crisis since World War II. This time the crisis will be deeper and broader than it was during the Great Depression of the 1930's. This crisis is permanent!

The monopoly capitalists try to prop up their dying economy and postpone its inevitable collapse with tricks like deficit spending (Keynesian economics) which means the government spends more to try to "heat up" the economy, and stimulate investment and waste. But any "relief" this brings can only be temporary and a farce, for such measures only inflation and also recession. (The Keynesian trick is like dope. It heats up the economy temporarily but it also deepens its instability. That's why we have compound crises of inflation.) AS Lenin said, "Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism." It is parasitic, decaying, and over-ripe. It is capitalism rotten-ripe, on the eve of the proletarian revolution.

The revisionist "C" PUSA argues for detente as the solution to the economic crisis. They argue that trade with the Soviet Social Imperialists create more jobs and services for Americans. Thus, their vulgar slogan "Detente means Jobs." But we know that detente is just a sham, a cover for increased arms preparation, for the possibility of a new world war!

The fundamental contradiction all capitalist countries, the contradiction that leads to its own destruction, is between the socialization of production and the capitalist ownership of the means of production. We, the masses of workers, who own nothing but our own labor power, produce all the goods in society, but the profits are appropriated by a small number of blood-sucking greedy monopoly capitalists who have never worked a day in their lives. But because they pay us only enough to tide us over for another day's work, we can never buy back all the goods we produce for the bosses' profit. This leads to what Marx and Engels called the crisis of overproduction. As a result, the monopoly capitalists are forced to seek industrial and finance markets abroad where they can dump their products and investments to keep their profits at a maximum.

Worldwide, the armed resistance of Third World peoples has led to stunning



5,000 militant workers and oppressed nationalities marched to fight back the budget cuts at Sydenham Hospital in New York, during the recent crisis.

victories and to their successfully kicking out the imperialist oppressors, as in Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. The revolutionary movements continue to surge ahead. With such a drying-up of their markets and resources, more than ever before, increasingly the imperialist powers shift the brunt of the crisis to the working class domestically which calls forth a greater and greater rising tide of resistance from the working class.

Though the bourgeois media is now claiming that unemployment is going down and we're entering a "recovery" period, we know that our jobs are no more secure than before.

"Recovery" is a hoax! Ten million of our class brothers and sisters are still unemployed, and in some areas there's as much as 60% unemployment in the construction industry. Many of the 300,000 laid-off auto workers have still not been rehired. Those who have been recalled are working now because the monopoly capitalists are stockpiling! Before long, the workers will be out on the streets again.

The nature of capitalism is such that it must maintain a permanent "reserve army of labor," a sector that's always unemployed or underemployed as a means to keep wages at a minimum. In this latest inflationary crisis, this sector of the population is swelling, especially oppressed nationality and national minority workers, working women and youth. Unemployment is quickly spreading beyond industries like auto, to the major urban cities like NY, Philadelphia, San Francisco, where many city workers are being laid off and essential social services cut.

To keep production levels high, the monopoly capitalists are openly introducing "productivity" in collaboration with their agents the trade union misleaders and the labor aristocracy, the enemies within our own ranks. They pass the burden onto the working class and make a last-ditch effort to squeeze more profit from our sweat and blood.

With attrition, no new workers are hired to replace those who retire or

quit. We are forced to take up the load, doing the work of two and three people on top of speed ups. We are forced to work double shifts, sometimes without overtime pay. In addition to further exploiting our labor power, the bourgeoisie makes us stomach harassments every day from the bosses breathing down our necks. We work under constant pressure, worrying whether we will have a job the next day.

Under such conditions, safety and health at the plants and factories are deteriorating. Injuries on the job have been increasing in the last decade. To the monopoly capitalists, it's a question of production ahead of our safety.

Job casualties for a single year in U.S. industry are greater than the total for all U.S. troops in World War II. Just over the last year, over 100,000 workers died from occupational diseases. Over nine million were injured and this adds up to almost 10% of the total number of workers in this country. This doesn't even include the countless number of lives that have been shortened due to dangerous chemicals and poisons spread through air and water pollution, affecting the lives of working class families. To enforce safety and health regulations means, for the bourgeoisie, to slow down production.

Because of the tremendous spontaneous rank and file resistance to the heavy attacks on our standard of living and work conditions, the trade union misleaders have been forced to take up these issues in the negotiations of contracts.

Job security is the burning demand of the working class. More and more, rank and file workers are demanding clauses in their contract that will ensure there will be no layoffs. Such a clause was in the old postal contract. Because of the skyrocketing rate of inflation, COLA (Cost-of-living-allowance) is a basic demand. Workers who have not yet won COLA in their contracts, or who have lost it to the bourgeoisie -- such as the case of the rubber workers now on strike -- are years behind the wage levels they could be with COLA,

The bourgeoisie is restricting COLA as well, however, under the guise that it is considered a wage increase and inflationary, and prohibited under a wage freeze.

This is exactly the pivotal issue in the NYC transit-workers contract negotiations. The big banks and corporations, represented on the Emergency Finance Control Board (EFCB) which directly runs the city, said that the contract would have to be "revised" because the cost-of-living raises in the two-year contract were illegal, banned by the state's wage-freeze law. Knowing the militancy of the rank and file and its tradition of "no contract, no work," the bourgeoisie will disguise this under a plan to "defer" the cost-of-living raise rather than say outright that they won't give it.

In auto, the SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits) funds didn't even last four months. This is also true for rubber workers. For older workers who are being forced to retire early, the question of pension funds is a life or death issue.

The tactic of the monopoly capitalists is to give slight wage increases and to restrict COLA provisions as much as they can, while squeezing more out of our labor on the line, through increased productivity, speed up, cuts in "fringe benefits," and double shifts to eliminate overtime pay.

They cut corners by not enforcing safety and health regulations in order to increase production. They'll bypass regulations or divert struggles into the courts over what are "safe levels" for toxic materials or push public policies that dangerous chemicals can be used "til" "proven harmful." They'll refuse to close down mines until they collapse, even though they know that coal dust and methane levels are so high that a little spark or blast will blow the mine, as in the most recent murder in the mines in Whitesburg, KY., where twenty-three miners were killed.

DEEPENING OF THE SPONTANEOUS STRUGGLE

The spontaneous struggles of the working class against monopoly capitalism are broadening and deepening. Workers all over the country are spontaneously rising up against the system of wage slavery though the bourgeois media is doing its best to smother any news from leaking out. 80,000 miners had launched a wildcat and were staunchly defending their right to strike and protesting a political firing for four solid weeks before any coverage appeared in the media. Everyday, auto workers are walking out in protest against speedups, harassments, forced overtime, layoffs, national oppression on the job, and other burning issues. Today, there are over 5,000 auto workers across the country out on job actions yet we hear no word. Frightened by the revolutionary upsurge and militancy of the rank and file, the bourgeoisie is desperately trying to contain and divert these movements and where they can't, they stifle all coverage, afraid that it could rapidly spread like wildfire to other factories, plants and industries.

This year will be a very significant year for the working class. Over four and a half million workers' contracts are up for renewal this year. This is 40% of all wage contracts in the U.S.! Major contracts that expire in 1976 include garment, trucking, rubber, textile, electrical, meat cutting, construction and auto.

There's no doubt that the ruling class and their agents, the trade union bureaucrats are anticipating strikes and are concocting schemes together to sell us out. With monopoly capitalism entering the stage of permanent crisis, the bourgeoisie finds it increasingly difficult to use bribery to grant reforms to tie the workers to their reactionary schemes. They have to resort to more repressive tactics, strictly enforcing laws

against strikes and pushing the maximum penalties. This, however, has only generated greater resistance from the workers.

THE FOCUS OF THE WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE IS INCREASINGLY POINTING AT THE GOVERNMENT AND MONOPOLY CAPITALIST CLASS

This resistance has deepened from economic struggles to political ones like the struggle against the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), the no-strike contract in steel or the sympathy strikes by different unions all over San Francisco to support the "craft" unions of the city who walked off the job to protest a new law which means they will no longer get the same pay and benefits as union members in private industry. Pressured by the growing rank and file militancy which has brought the city to a standstill, the union leaders were forced to support the call for a general strike of all union workers in San Francisco. Today, these workers are following in the glorious footsteps of their heroic class brothers and sisters who led one of the few general strikes ever called in the history of the U.S. In 1934, the dockworkers led a bloody general strike that made San Francisco known as one of the strongest "union towns" in the country.

Across the country, public workers are directing their attack not only against their local city officials but against the banks and monopoly capitalists. To the workers in New York, the focus of their struggles is increasingly pointing at the government and the ruling class. Even the trade union bureaucrats, Victor Gotbaum, head of the NYC public workers union, was forced to call a demonstration (which he tried to turn into a noontime circus) against the First National City Bank in order to keep up his front as militant union leader of the class.

THE INTENSIFICATION OF EXPOSURE OF THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS

But with the intensification of class struggle, the slimy tricks of these trade union bureaucrats are rapidly being exposed to the masses of workers. A clear example is Miller, the misleader of the United Mine Workers. He came into the leadership of the UMW on the wave of anti-corruption, anti-Boyle sentiment of the miners. Through his collaboration with the companies, the miners' 1974 contract took away their right to strike at the local level in exchange for a "quick grievance" procedure in the pattern of the ENA -- no strike deal in steel. This sell-out was quickly exposed to the mineworkers who face dangerous work con-

ditions everyday. The mineworkers launched an outright attack, picketing and closing down their own union headquarters in Beckley, West Virginia.

Caucuses and rank and file movements are rapidly spreading in trucking, mining auto and many other industries all over the country, fiercely challenging the brutal attacks from the bourgeoisie and their soldout union leadership. More and more, Woodcock, head of the United Auto Workers, is becoming exposed through the contract negotiations, this year. The burning issues of the workers was speedups, forced overtime, Cost Of Living Allowance (COLA), and pension funds as well as job security were raised on the convention floor by militant, angry rank and file workers. Woodcock's response was to push a "banking time system" -- 1/2 hour off for every week of 16 weeks of "good attendance" and restricting the issue to job security. Woodcock said that he didn't want to hurt the economic "recovery" and the corporations! The response from the masses of workers was furious outrage and protest. The trade union bureaucrats could no longer maintain tight control of the convention. This is just one indication of the rising revolutionary upsurge of the working class.

SOME HEROIC AND RECORD-BREAKING STRIKES SHOW THE DEEPENING AND BROADENING OF WORKING CLASS RESISTANCE

The five month strike by 200 press operators at the Washington Post is an example. The almost general strike in San Francisco sparked by raft workers received broad support by transportation workers and longshoremen. The current strike by 70 000 rubberworkers is getting international support in the form of a ban on overtime in foreign subsidiaries of the "Big 4" in Britain West Germany France Switzerland Sweden Spain Austria, Japan and Canada.

THE MERGING OF THE STUDENT STRUGGLES AND THE STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS

The student movement is at the beginning of a new upsurge. It is emerging from a lull after the anti-war struggles of the 60's. Increasingly, the students are rising up against the budget cuts, tuition hikes and cuts in scholarships. They are taking up an active role of supporting working class struggles.

But in our struggle for immediate gains, we must never for a moment for-

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Workers march against budget cuts in New York City as part of an upsurge in spontaneous working class struggles. The Communist movement is fusing with the working class!!

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get our long-term objective. This is what our great teacher and the Russian revolutionary, Lenin, taught us

While actively leading immediate struggles and putting forth these demands, we must "link them with the struggle for long-range and general interests, educate the masses in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, easelessly raise their political consciousness and undertake the historical task of the proletarian revolution." To fail to do so and regard the immediate movement as everything is out-and-out social democracy.

If we fail to take up the revolutionary demands of the masses and give leadership to their struggles, we will isolate ourselves from the masses and are "bound to lose the confidence of the masses and will be tossed to the rear by the revolutionary current" ("A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement").

EXPOSE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS!

Trade unions in advanced capitalist countries are products of the struggles of the working class against the brutal oppression of capitalism. The trade unions have been our basic mass organizations where we learn the power of a united working class and where we train ourselves in the elementary ways of fighting the oppression of capitalism.

But our unions have been taken over by the sold out leadership of the trade union bureaucrats (TUBs). They have been running them with a tightly controlled top-down bureaucracy, restricting the independent actions of individual union locals. The TUBs, supported by a small stratum of bribed workers, exercise overwhelming power over the locals. In this period, they are trying to step up their control of the unions and suppress the growing rank and file movement to take back our unions.

Especially in this period, the bourgeoisie and the TUBs are stepping up attempts to bust our unions. The bourgeoisie media is whipping up a lot of anti-union sentiment, saying the workers are "demanding too much", or because of high wage increases inflation is going up.

One of the first cracks was to eliminate the right of unions to have closed shops. Now, the bourgeoisie is trying to undermine the unions by demanding that they have the right to hire non-union part-time workers. As the cities are having budget cuts and layoffs, the bourgeoisie is launching campaigns to encourage "volunteers" to take over the jobs of union workers and people on welfare like WIN (Work Incentive Program) are being forced to work off their checks which means working at slave wages. Workers in programs like CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act) and WIN should be unionized and receive union rates and union benefits, not used to pit one sector of the working class against the other. It is especially important to carry out our responsibility to organize in the south and southwest where the majority of workers, many who are oppressed nationalities and oppressed women, are still receiving bare minimum wages and denied the most basic rights.

Gradually the TUBs have been trying to eliminate altogether a major weapon of the working class against the bourgeoisie, the right to strike. The N.Y. State Taylor Law (similar laws exist in other states) took away the right of government workers to strike: "No public

employee or employee organization shall engage in a strike and no public employee or employee organization shall cause, instigate, encourage, or condone a strike". The Taft-Hartley Act passed in June 1947 imposed a "cooling off" period of 60 days before workers in "vital industries" could strike and eliminated "closed shop". The latest move to eliminate the right to strike has been by Abel the misleader of the United Steel workers of America, who instituted the Experimental Negotiating Agreement taking away the steelworkers right to strike. The 1974 miners contract by eliminating wildcats is a step in the same direction. The TUBs are undermining the power of the trade unions by taking away this basic weapon. They're interested in showing the monopoly capitalists that they are not the "bad guys" but are willing to "cooperate" and "work together" to "put America back on its feet".

Today, any rank and file caucus or spontaneous actions within the unions are condemned and denounced as anti-union by the TUBs. Increasingly, there's more and more militancy and the lack of trade union democracy is glaringly evident. To try and break any strikes the union is willing to call to let out a little steam, the TUBs refuse to consult the rank and file on contract demands. They fail to prepare and mobilize the masses of workers but it's called top down.

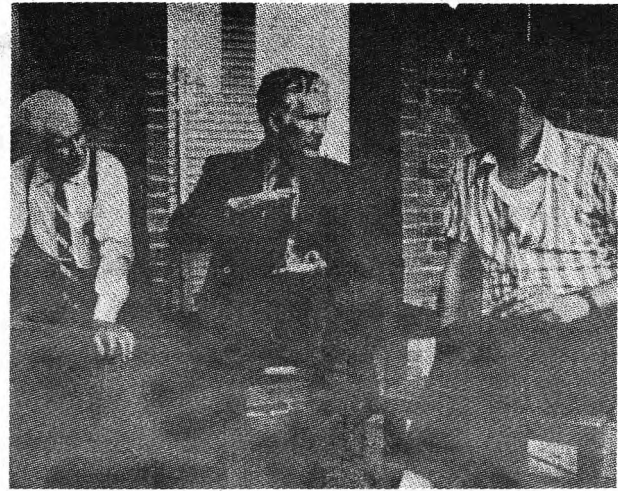
Many "liberals" in the trade union bureaucracy in the late 40's at the height of the "old war" "purged" its ranks and a witchhunt against Communists in the trade unions took place. From 1948-49 Walter Reuther, head of the UAW wanted to distinguish his brand of "liberalism" from the Communists. They wrote a retroactive loyalty oath into its Constitution and the Taft-Hartley Act demanded that union officials take a "non-Communist oath". They expelled the "unrepentant Communist unions" from the CIO. By doing this they attempted to take away any political leadership that could undermine their base and expose them.

As Communists, to expose and win over the masses of workers away from the misleaders and under our leadership is a crucial task. In this period, it is particularly important for us to fight for the right to strike, for trade union democracy, the right to do Communist propaganda and agitation within the trade unions, and to organize independent rank and file caucuses in order to win back our unions. R. Palme Dutt writes:

"First Social Democracy disorganizes the proletariat and the proletarian struggle. The Social Democratic and trade union leadership act as an agency of the employers and of the ruling class within the working class ranks, preaching defeatism and opposition to struggle and where the outbreak of working class struggle becomes inevitable directly disrupting the struggle from within.

This is the principal way in which Social Democracy assists the advance of Fascism to power--by disorganizing the working class front, by breaking strikes, by denunciation of the class struggle, by preaching legalism, and trust in capitalism, by expulsion of all militant elements, and splitting of the trade unions and working class organizations.

The war on Communism is placed in the forefront by Social Democracy." (Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution. p. 183. 185)



Arnold Miller, UMW, bourgeois agent among the working class, talks sweet but sells out the miners.

DANGER OF FASCISM

The U.S. monopoly-capitalists, faced with crisis after crisis as a result of the inherent contradictions of the monopoly-capitalist system, and confronted with rising working-class resistance, are helplessly resorting to more and more repressive and fascist rule (the last desperate attempt of the monopoly-capitalists to maintain their rule by outright repression). To keep their position, they have to use this means ultimately. Fascism is more than outright repression like police brutality and FBI surveillance. There is a process of fascization. The monopoly-capitalists use other, more subtle tactics to weaken the working class struggle -- creating more differences within the working class, spreading decadent and degenerate ideas and culture, promoting illusions about bourgeois democracy; all try to strait-jacket the proletarian movement. On the other hand, the fascists will also try to gain working class support by putting on an anti-government pro-working class mask. This is especially true here in the U.S. where we don't have our party yet and there's a strong tradition of anti-"slick New England money people" populism which is demagoguery exploited by racists like Wallace, KKK, and the ROAR leadership. Georgi Dimitroff of the 7th Comintern foresaw that "American fascism will try to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and American democracy."

To turn these attacks around, it is crucial for us to lead the struggles of the working class, to build the unity of the multinational working class against the capitalist offensive. Chauvinism, national oppression is deep-rooted in this country and is constantly promoted by the bourgeoisie and the trade union bureaucrats. It's an integral part of the American national ideological superstructure. Especially with the bicentennial, the working class is constantly barraged with the appeal to "buy American, boycott Italian shoes, Taiwan blouses, foreign cars". The ILGWU's jingle about "looking for the union label" and "we're able to make it in the USA!" is not only chauvinist, anti-Third World but also anti-working class. This serves to cover up imperialism as the cause of the crisis and points chauvinistically to workers in other countries as the cause of run-away shops and unemployment in the U.S.

In this year of the bicentennial, the bourgeoisie will try to whip up war sentiments by raising patriotic feelings which are mainly based on chauvinism.

Division along national lines is the most effective tool the monopoly-capitalists use to take the heat off them, and to weaken the strength of the working class. Oppressed national minorities will become the immediate target of fascist repression, the scapegoats of fascism to explain away unemployment and the crises inherent in capitalism. Oppressed national minority workers are constantly pitted against the white workers. This is accomplished with tricks of the bourgeoisie which appear as re-

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forms. For example, the consent decree issued in the steel industry and agreed to by the steel companies. This provides for back pay to national minority and women workers as "compensation" for past discrimination. While on the surface this seems to be a positive attempt to eliminate discrimination, actually it's only to the advantage of the monopoly-capitalists because it creates divisions between minority and women workers with white male workers. In fact, it saves money for the monopoly-capitalists because under this provision, workers cannot sue the bosses for past discrimination once they sign the checks. (A suit can get more money than the amount assigned by this decree which is only a standard \$780!)

But more subtle than this is the issue of superseniority. This has confused even the October League ("Marxist-Leninist") who supports this phoney reform. While the seniority system is a major gain of the U.S. labor struggles, it only provides for minimum job security and has been exploited by the monopoly-capitalists to perpetuate racial and sexual divisions. Struggles against these attacks did not demand for superseniority (compensative seniority) which only intensifies the divisions instead of eliminating them. The issue is not laying off one group of workers before another group (whether they are women workers, minority workers, or men workers) but rather the fight is against all layoffs.

This question pops up again in the attempt of the bourgeoisie to pit old workers against young workers. At different times, the attacks are directed at different groups. In the issue of forced retirement as a "solution" to more layoffs, older workers are made to feel "guilty" for not giving up their jobs to younger workers with families and young children. In contract negotiations which favor pension benefits over immediate wage increases or COLA (Cost of Living Allowance) the whole working class is being attacked. To take up the role of the vanguard of the proletariat, we must be able to distinguish between struggles for concessions that reflect genuine needs and demands of the working class from subterfuges, tricks that the bourgeoisie promotes as concessions to undermine the revolutionary movement and take a correct stand on it.

Another favorite trick of the monopoly-capitalists is wage differentials which serve to divide skilled and unskilled workers. This works in two ways. In certain industries, like the auto industry, skilled mechanics receive higher wages than those working on the line.

There are groups which help to intensify this division. The International Society of Skilled Tradesmen (ISST) in the auto and rubber industries is calling for increased wage gap between skilled and unskilled workers. But they do not make it clear whether this will be done by lowering the wages of industrial workers or increasing those of the tradesmen. They don't seem to care too much either way so long as the gap is widened. This reactionary anti-working class stand of the labor aristocracy is helping the bourgeoisie to split us up and weaken our offensive against the monopoly-capitalists.

At the same time, because they want to minimize labor costs, monopoly-capitalists are also cutting down the wages of skilled workers and mechanizing certain trades to eliminate the need for certain workers. For example, the printers union has fought this for decades.

Recently with the deepening economic crisis, the monopoly-capitalists pulled out an old trick from their hat -- scapegoating workers without status ("illegal aliens"). Supported by the revisionist "C" PUSA, misleaders like Chavez try to shove through this anti-working class position. But it was reversed by avalanche-like pressure from the rank and file and supporters of the United Farm Workers. This again shows the farsightedness and strength of the grass roots.

Lenin has taught us that bourgeois democracy is the best political shell of capitalism. Here in the U.S. where bourgeois democracy is relatively more developed, illusions about the possibility of changes within the system are strong and the monopoly-capitalists will use it to bring in fascism when the working class is disunited and off-guard.

In response to rising working class resistance, in which women workers have been in the forefront, the bourgeoisie pushes the Equal Rights Amendment as a real reform which will "complete the American revolution". This only promotes faith in the U.S. Constitution and diverts the struggle into narrow, legal battles in the courts. This bourgeois trick pits men workers against women workers by taking jobs away from men workers under the guise of "equal rights".

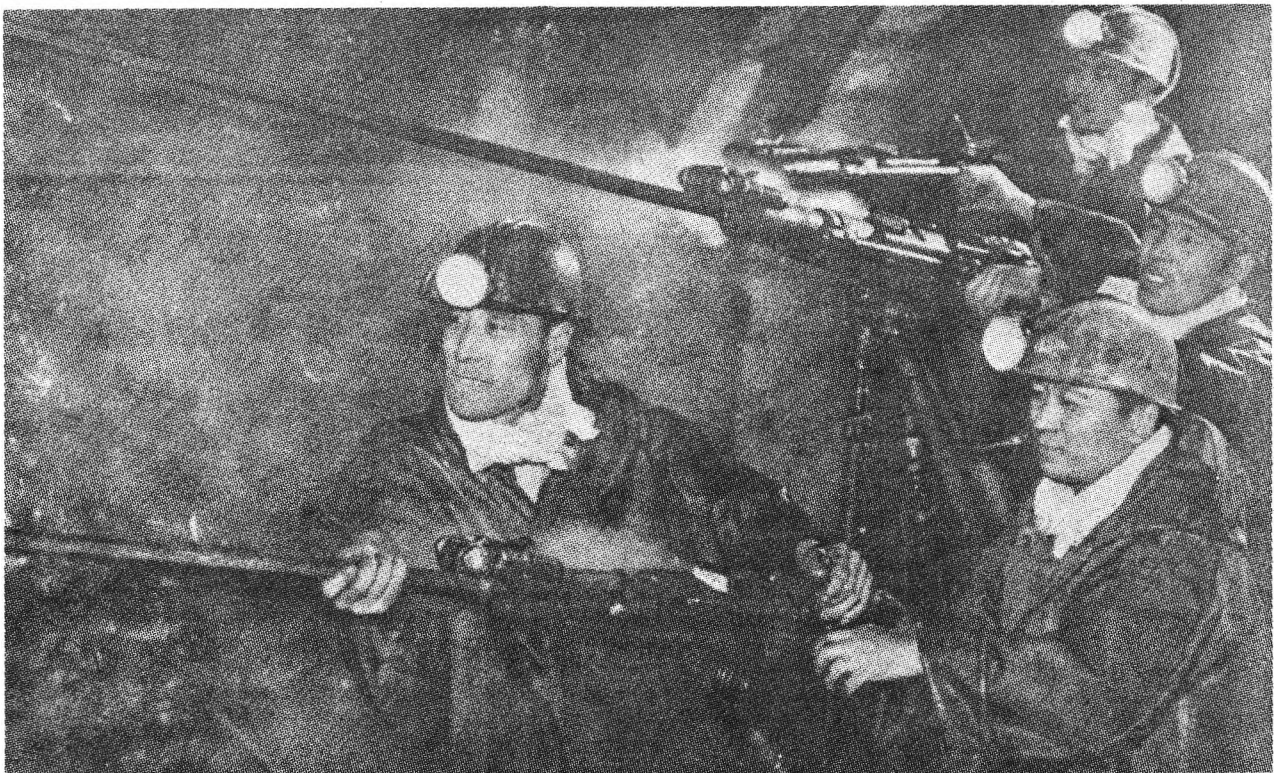
This fake reform is pushed by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie who actively promote liberal moral decadence and promiscuity, based on their class ideology of "free will", abstract equality and democracy. The right-wing fascists demagogically exploited this issue, trying to appeal to the puritanical but good working class instincts against social decadence, and to create a massive right-wing fascist movement in some sectors of the working class.

Supported mainly by petty bourgeois elements, the process of fascization also plants seeds of fascism with degenerate culture, pornography and sadistic films, propagating all kinds of reactionary ideas like mysticism, nihilism, "law and order", individualism racism, pessimism, and escapism. This is directed mainly at the working class, attempting to divide and disintegrate the working class movement.

Meanwhile the government is taking steps to centralize their control over all aspects of the working class lives. Repressive laws like S-1 and gun control are both proposed at this session of Congress. These are all attempts to pave the way which will allow the monopoly-capitalists to carry out their terror more openly.

What should be our response to this? The dialectics of the proletarian class struggle today are such that any hesitancy or wavering in taking the offensive, any call to adopt a defensive strategy, amounts to capitulating to fascism rather than proletarian revolution and socialism. For that reason, communists must adopt an offensive strategy on all fronts, under communist leadership. And this must be done through communist propaganda and agitation, to win over the advanced to communism before, during, and after the proletarian party is built.

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Pioneers in class struggle and socialist construction at home, these mine workers in China give support to all workers and oppressed people of the world to fight against imperialism and all reaction.

THE INTERNATIONALE

ARISE YE PRISONERS OF STARVATION
ARISE YE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH
FOR JUSTICE THUNDERS CONDEMNATION
A BETTER WORLD IS IN BIRTH
NO MORE TRADITION'S CHAINS SHALL BIND US,
ARISE YE SLAVES NO MORE IN THRALL,
THE EARTH SHALL RISE ON NEW FOUNDATIONS,
WE HAVE BEEN NAUGHT, WE SHALL BE ALL.

CHORUS:

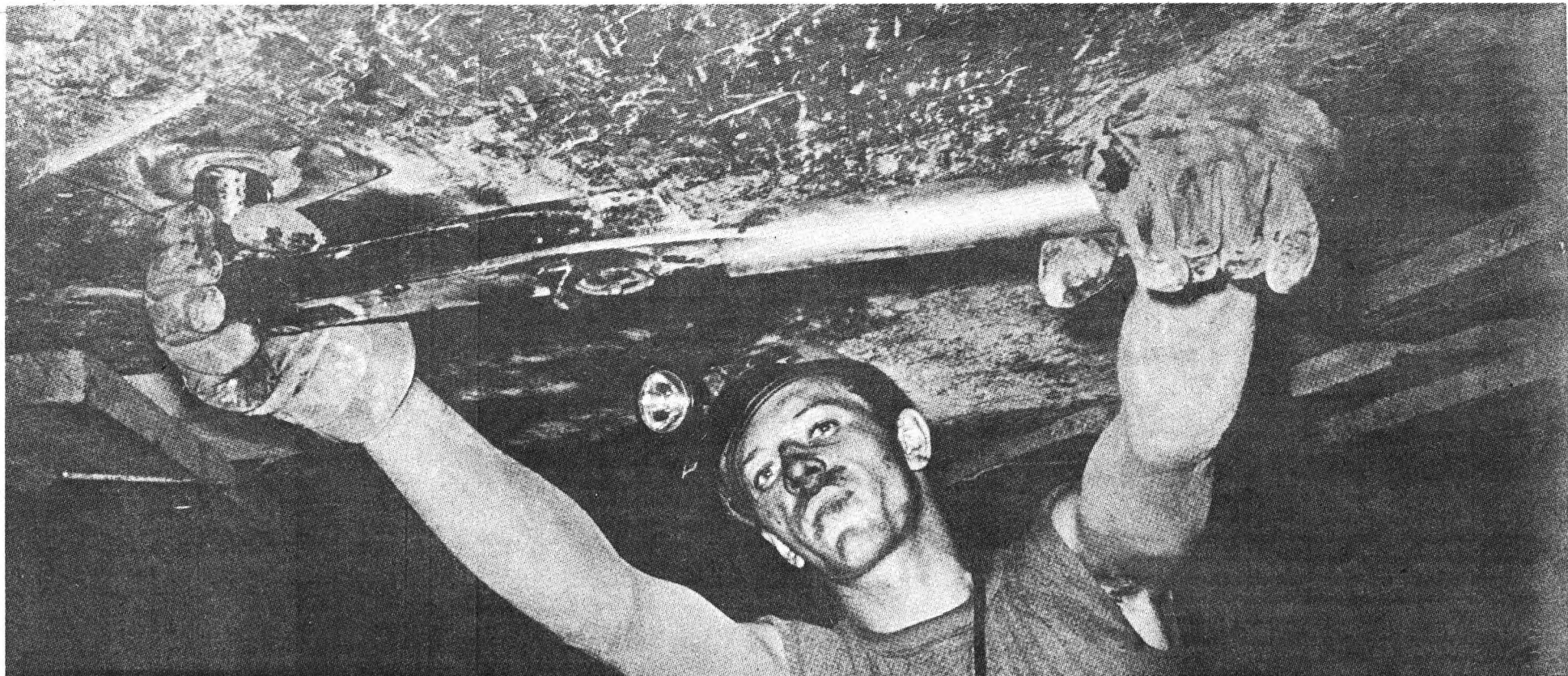
'TIS THE FINAL CONFLICT,
LET EACH STAND IN HIS PLACE.
THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS
SHALL BE THE HUMAN RACE.
'TIS THE FINAL CONFLICT,
LET EACH STAND IN HIS PLACE.
THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS
SHALL BE THE HUMAN RACE.

WE WANT NO CONDESCENDING SAVIOURS
TO RULE US FROM THEIR JUDGMENT HALL.
WE WORKERS ASK NOT FOR THEIR FAVORS,
LET US CONSULT FOR ALL.
TO MAKE THE THIEF DISGORGE HIS BOOTY
TO FREE THE SPIRIT FROM ITS CELL,
WE MUST OURSELVES DECIDE OUR DUTY,
WE MUST DECIDE AND DO IT WELL.

CHORUS

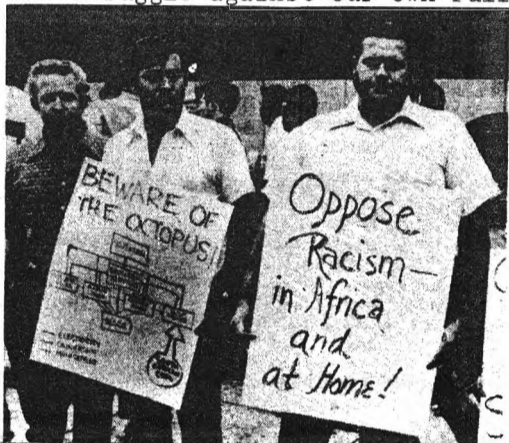
TOILERS FROM SHOPS AND FIELDS UNITED,
THE UNION OF ALL WHO WORK,
THE EARTH BELONGS TO US THE WORKERS,
NO ROOM HERE FOR THOSE WHO SHIRK,
HOW MANY ON OUR FLESH HAVE FATTENED,
BUT IF THE BLOODY BIRDS OF PREY
SHALL VANISH FROM THE SKY SOME MORNING,
THE GOLDEN SUNLIGHT WILL STAY.

CHORUS



Mine workers in the U.S., supporting liberation struggles abroad, have been in the forefront of class struggle against our own ruling class.

The working class is the source of all value. They will fulfill their historic mission of overthrowing monopoly capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat!



Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the working class seize state power in Russia and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat!!

WORKERS VIEWPOINT is the political organ of a communist org'n. The theory guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. We view ourselves as a part of the general communist movement in the U.S. and look forward to uniting with other communist organizations on the basis of a common program, strategy, tactics and organizational principles. We view the present tasks of our movement as the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the linking up of the working class movement with the communist movement to help build an anti-revisionist communist party in the United States.

We welcome your suggestions and criticisms. Also, if you would like to support us financially, be placed on our mailing list, or receive additional copies of our newspaper (25¢) or our journal (\$2) please write to us. Address to:

WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION
c/o 43 West 28th Street
New York, N.Y. 10001

HISTORY (CONTINUED)

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deeps their work within the confines of reformism and "left" economism. In struggle agter struggle, the RCP belittles the role of the advanced workers and worships the spontaneity of the mass movement. And RCP's chauvinism is clearly manifested in its liquidation of work around struggles against national oppression. Its petty bourgeois class outlook of 'free will,' impatience, 'do may own thing' is clearly seen in its anarch-syndicalist line on the trade union question, in building "pure intermediate workers' organizations outside the trade unions. Both the OL and RCP seem determined to repeat some of the same inco rect ideological and political heritage of the revisionist "C" PUSA!!

THE COMMUNIST APPROACH TO REFORM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EIGHT HOUR DAY

Communists approach immediate struggles for reforms, like the eight hour day (which are distinct from bourgeois tricks, subterfuge, like the Boston busing plan and the E.R.A.) in a revolutionary way. Communists use the immediate struggles to accumulate revolutionary strength to build fusion with the working class, to consolidate the advanced workers to socialism, to prepare for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. In sturggles like the fight for the eight hour day, the right deviation, the main danger, is to focus on reforms themselves within the framework of capitalism, and liquidate the revolutionary aspects of immediate struggles of the proletariat (for example, to keep the workers' struggle at the level of UAW's Woodcock's "32 for 40" or the "C" PUSA's "30 for 40"). The "left" deviation is to belittle the role of immediate struggles of the proletariat and treat them as pure feformism, to raise the demand for socialism without being in the thick of the workers' struggles. The right deviation in the communist movement (represented by RCP and OL) and the "left" deviation (represented by PRRWO) are only temporary nuisances to the working class movement that cannot stop the march of the proletariat in fulfilling its historic mission of abolishing monopoly capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Lenin stated:

"But we never say in our press that too great emphasis has been heretofore placed upon so-called "Immediate Demands," and that thereby the socialism can be diluted: we say and we prove that all bourgeois

parties, all parties except the working-class revolutionary Party, are liars and hypocrites when they speak about reforms. We try to help the working class to get the smallest possible but real improvement (economic and political) in their situation and we add always that no reform can be durable, sincere, serious if not seconded by revolutionary methods of struggle of the masses. We preach always that a socialist party not unit ng this struggle for reforms with the revolutionary methods of the working-class movement can become a sect, can be severed from the masses, and that this is the most pernicious menace to the success of the clear-cut revolutionary socialism. (Lenin on the United States. p. 111-2 (emphasis in original))

The correct communist approach to immediate struggles and revolution is to be in the thick of immediate struggles to accumulate revolutionary force, to do communist propagands among the masses, to win over the advanced to communism, within the context of participating in and giving leadership to the working class struggle.

Historically, May Day had a vital impact on internal revolutionary movements. The working class movements of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America supported the struggles in this country in the spirit of proletarian internationalism (such as the defense of the Scottsboro Brothers, protests against the Haymarket Massacre, supporting the women's struggle and the protests around the Triangle Shirt Waist Fire, etc.) The May Day celebration by the workers' movement in this country came out and demonstrated along with the international movement against monopoly capital, imperialism, and fascism. During the 1930's and 1940's, May Day slogans supported the Chinese liberation struggle against imperialism and all reaction, and the international struggle against fascism during the Spanish Civil War (sending the Lincoln Brigade to fight against the Spanish fascists) and against fascism itself during World War II.

We should continue the revolutionary spirit of May Day, learn from its rich history, and revive the best proletarian traditions! May Da is a declaration of war against the monopoly capitalist class!! The lessons of May Day symbolizes the fact that there is no class peace under capitalism!!

CONCLUSION

We are at the crossroads between two great historical eras and two movements. This is the era of imperialism, the eve of proletarian revolution. The international communist movement has made a rupture with the modern revisionists and a new mighty international anti-revisionist communist movement is on the rise. The fire at the treetops--the spontaneous national and student movements of the 60's and early 70's--has given way to the fire at the tree trunks--the beginning of a tremendous upsurge in the U.S. multinational working class. These two movements, the communist and the working class movements, are beginning to merge.

As communists and advanced workers, our role is to lead this upsurge and, through our leadership, fuse these two movements. As our revolutionary teacher, Lenin, said, "...the mass movement places before us new theoretical, political and organizational tasks, far more complicated than those that might have satisfied us..."

In this period, revolutionary practice, such as propaganda and providing communist leadership to immediate struggles, serves to sharpen the focus of our theory which will in turn serve our practice. We cannot merely tail after spontaneous struggles unarmed, because to do so would do great harm to the proletariat. We must not loosen our grip on the chief feature of our party building task, theory. We are in the period where "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement".

To meet our task of leading all the different fronts of struggle, we must arm ourselves with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. We must smash revisionism and weed out the opportunist trends that poison our present-day movement in the context of our struggle against capitalism. There is no straight path to proletarian revolution. The communist movement goes forward in zigzags, in a fierce uphill battle against all shades of opportunism which has such a fertile material base in this country. Rapidly changing conditions internationally and nationally and the zigzags of bourgeois tactics in this economic and political crisis are intensifying this struggle.

To lead us in our battle, we need a vanguard party to serve as the general staff of the proletariat. Today this is the main obstacle on the road ahead. As comrade Stalin stated, we need "a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path of its goal. Without such a party, it is useless even to think of overthrowing imperialism, of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat." ("Foundations of Leninism", pp. 102-3)

The party of a new type must base itself on the proletariat, the most advanced, organized and disciplined class. It is the most thoroughgoing revolutionary class because they own no means of production but their own labor power, and have nothing to lose but their chains.

We must seize each and every opportunity to do propaganda and agitation in the heat of class struggle to win over the advanced to the side of communism.

BUILD THE PARTY ON THE PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGICAL PLANE, GRASP THE KEY LINK OF POLITICAL LINE!

"Build the party on the proletarian ideological plane, grasp the key link of political line!" The first half of the slogan refers to the character of the party -- what sort of party we want to build. Comrade Hill of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) has said that this question is extremely complicated in advanced capitalist countries because of the deep penetration of bourgeois ideology and particularities of the political systems.



For example, the particularly rapid historical development of U.S. capitalism in the late 19th century is linked to the concrete basis here for pragmatism and the belittling of theory. How do we prevent our party from falling into these pitfalls? And how do we guard against building a party that is thoroughly steeped in chauvinism (as the Revolutionary "Communist" Party) or in illusions of bourgeois democracy (as the October League) -- two other forms of bourgeois ideology that are especially strong in our country. It is precisely because they failed to grasp this vital question - the question of identifying and combatting nationally specific forms of bourgeois ideology - that so many party building efforts before us have degenerated, not only the revisionist "Communist" Party, U.S.A., but also the Provisional Organizing Committee and the Progressive Labor Party, and now the October League and the Revolutionary "Communist" Party, who are heading towards that same marsh.

The second part of the slogan refers to the key link, the link which, once grasped, will enable us to get hold of the whole chain, which will thrust the communist and working class movements forward. Political line is that sphere of ideology (there are other spheres, such as methodology) which is most closely linked to the state and to the economic base, and struggle over political lines is a reflection of class struggle in the communist movement.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The world's in great disorder today and this is a good thing.

On May Day, the International Workers' Day, the day that the international working class has wrested from international capital, we must reaffirm our resolute support for and salute the struggles of the working class and oppressed people and nationalities of the world!

A fundamental pillar of communism is proletarian internationalism. We would like to make a brief survey of the situation around the world.

In Africa, the mighty national liberation struggles are surging forward on an unprecedented scale. Increased superpower intervention in the internal affairs of African countries is a sign of rapidly changing events and attempts to gain control in a new way. After the Soviet social-imperialists stained their hands in Angolan blood with their "support" along with Cuban mercenary troops and arms and temporarily gained the upper hand, the U.S. imperialists are now madly rushing to the scene with new forces and new tricks to attempt to sabotage whatever they can get hold of. That's the significance of Kissinger's trip to Africa.

Zambia's closing of their border with Zimbabwe (under racist Ian Smith's regime), an act of national

sacrifice in support of liberation struggles in Zimbabwe, is a declaration of war for the whole of Africa to finish the racists off once and for all. And the U.S. imperialists' recent response, pretending they are for 'majority rule' and are willing even to give up their importation of Zimbabwe's chrome, are all signs of the strength of the people of Zimbabwe and has virtually sealed the doom of the racist Smith regime.

The Soviet Union has "concern for African liberation, after decades of a cold shoulder and scorn, fearing that these national liberation struggles will "spark off world war." They use blatantly chauvinist pretexts to contend and collaborate with the U.S. and Western imperialists. For example, they once said that "Algeria is France's internal problem" in order not to support that particular national liberation struggle. They similarly united with the Lon Nol regime against the Cambodian people, and only when people are winning, when victory is ensured, do they come around and pretend to be "Friends of the Third World." These unprincipled maneuvers are nothing but part of superpower contention over Africa to weaken each other and gain hegemony. The Soviet social-imperialists are particularly dangerous since they disguise themselves under a "progressive" cover of being "the natural ally of the Third World".

In the Middle East, Egypt's cutting off of their "Egyptian - Soviet Friendship and Co-operation Treaty" signifies a heightened realization of the imperialist nature of the Soviet Union. Years of "Soviet Aid" with strings attached to them have fed up the Egyptian people. For many years, for example, many Egyptian military planes couldn't even take off to fight the Zionist aggressors without the okay of Soviet "military advisors". This cutting off of the "Friendship Treaty" is reminiscent of the events of 1957, when the Soviet Union under Khrushchev violated the Chinese - Soviet Friendship Treaty, in pulling out all technicians and blueprints of factories because of China's disagreement with Soviet Union's position of opposing national liberation struggles around the world.

Recent struggles within occupied Palestinian territory within Zionist Israel by Palestinian workers and peasants in their "Day of the Land" signified ever-intensifying and spreading support for the right of self-determination of the Palestinian nation. This is a blow against the superpowers' mini-state plan, a blow against the Soviet social-imperialists' plan to maintain the status quo with their "no war, no peace" situation, through negotiated settlement.

In Asia, Soviet social-imperialism has suffered a defeat. In an attempt to take the place of the U.S. imperialists and dominate the region and encircle China, the Soviet social-imperialists have proposed an "Asian Security Treaty" which would give them military bases and intensified economic and political exploitation of the region. But this proposal has been firmly rejected by the Asian peoples, including India.

PHILISTINISM OF THE PRRWO & RWL EXPOSED!

(SEE W.V. JOURNAL VOL.2 #2,
ARTICLE ON PRRWO)

On Wednesday, April 28th, the New York May Day Organizing Committee scheduled a program at Brooklyn College to build for its May Day event. A member of Workers Viewpoint Organization and a member of the Boston Chapter of the February First Movement (FFM) had been asked to speak. The program included a film and discussion period to struggle for the correct line on student work.

As the first part of the program began (the showing of "Finally Got the News"), an RWL member (also a member of the New York FFM chapter) who was sitting between the film projector and the screen, screamed: "The first thing we're going to talk about is FFM! This Program won't go on! The former Boston Chapter of FFM is Menshevik of the WVO type! I just called the FFM Committee of Correspondence in D.C. and we have purged you right now."

The chair of the program instructed the individual to be seated in order to let the scheduled program resume and stated that enough time would be allotted for the two-line struggle to unfold (the hall had been reserved for 4 hours).

But the New York FFM member continued to curse and scream. When security attempted to remove the disruptor, RWL, PRSU and PRRWO members ran to attack the security comrade, and a fight began. Several students from the audience rose to defend the comrade on security and were drawn into the fight. RWL, PRSU, New York FFM and PRRWO members shouted "WVO Mensheviks" and cursed the program.

After 10 minutes, security and several students put a firm halt to the disrupters' attacks. Even then the chair of the program comradely asked the RWL, PRSU, New York FFM and PRRWO members to stay and struggle over line, but they refused, leaving the hall in a frenzy.

This event signifies the rapid degeneration of the "left" opportunist line, methodology and world outlook of PRRWO and RWL and its wrecking and splitting effect in the student movement (see the latest WVO Journal article on PRRWO). These "left" opportunists displayed their philistine attitude toward ideological struggle by refusing to let the program resume so their bankrupt line could be exposed. Furthermore, when the chair of the program comradely asked them to stay and struggle over line, they didn't dare but left! Their philistine methodology was further exposed when comrades later learned that the New York FFM chapter had purged half of its members for being "right opportunists" and by the proclamation that the entire Boston FFM chapter had been kicked out on the spot. The "left" opportunist is characterized by philistine style of line struggle, and structurally by kicking people out to attempt to enforce their opportunist line.

In the course of the disruption, their hustlerism and lumpen mentality jumped out when they shouted "How can you come to Brooklyn College? This is our territory!" When some PRSU women pushed and scratched out at some students and were pushed back, the opportunists screamed, "They hit our women!"

Clearly this shows their lumpen turf mentality and male chauvinism. Narrow nationalists to the core, the disruptors attacked a white comrade the hardest.

Clearly, on a small scale, this event typifies PRRWO's and RWL's hustlerism, the ideological degeneration of their "left" opportunist line. To avoid principled ideological struggle, to push forward principled line resolution in the interest of the working class and struggle for revolutionary socialism, they seek expedience, fast results, shortcuts through demagogy. These philistines think kicking out people before line struggle has started can resolve line differences. That's why they tried to disrupt the program and halt line struggle at any cost. They think that's how they can get it over!

Ensure your bankrupt line's survival by jamming it through bureaucratic centralism, by kicking out members who have principled line differences before the line struggle even gets started in the FFM.

The Wednesday afternoon program should be viewed as a good thing. It shows that sharp two-line struggle is unfolding within FFM, and that honest comrades are struggling against the bureaucratic rule of RWL's flip-flopping and centrism which has slipped and slid to PRRWO's "left" hustlerism.

All FFM comrades nationwide should deepen the line struggle to defeat, expose and beat back this attempt by the "left" opportunists to reverse the verdict by wrecking the FFM and splitting a revolutionary student movement!

CONT. FROM PAGE 10

Despite this firm rebuttal, the Soviet social-imperialists are still trying hard to establish themselves in that area. Their proposal to build a military base in Vietnam represents such an attempt.

Though U.S. imperialism has been defeated in Indochina, its hands are still in Asia. And they are still trying to make a desperate comeback in the area. The invasion of the reactionary Indonesian troops into East Timor, instigated and supported by U.S. imperialism, is one such example. Besides this new venture, the U.S. imperialists are still occupying southern Korea and China's Taiwan Province. The American people must give resolute support to the Korean and Chinese people in their fight for the liberation of southern Korea and Taiwan.

The strategic area of contention for both superpowers is still Europe. This is becoming clearer everyday as the maneuvering quickens and increases in pace. Recent warnings by U.S. imperialism against the participation of revisionist parties in the cabinets of Western European governments reveal one aspect of the Soviet social-imperialists' "detente" strategy -- to disintegrate NATO militarily. The Soviet social-imperialists are attempting to strengthen themselves economically through transfusions from U.S. and western European capital and technology.

Politically, Soviet social-imperialism is trying to "neutralize" countries like West Germany and Finland to facilitate their making headway into Western capitalist countries which are now still mainly under the domination of U.S. imperialism. If the Soviet social-imperialists are able to disintegrate NATO, neutralize Germany and other countries, this would create the conditions for the Soviet Union to move into many of the present NATO countries with revisionists in an electoral majority, just as they did in Czechoslovakia. Given those conditions, the U.S. imperialists would most likely intervene. That's why this kind of reckless maneuvering can spark off a new world war any day.

On the other hand, the proletariat and people of various countries are making tremendous gains. In many countries where there is no Marxist-Leninist party yet, Marxist-Leninist forces are developing splendidly and making great strides in their struggle against imperialism and capitalism. Coupled with the ever deepening and spreading struggle of the Third World and the Second World against the two superpowers, the movement of "Countries Want Liberation, Nations Want Liberation and the People Want Revolution" is developing at a tremendous speed.

These two trends, revolution and the danger of world war, are testimonies to the current situation in the world of two contending trends.

The immediate period ahead can be summed up by the slogan: "Either war will lead to revolution or revolution will prevent world war". These two contending trends are fiercely racing with each other.

Domestically, we face the two contending trends of revolution and fascism. Communist leadership in the immediate period ahead is decisive because any wavering or hesitancy on our part to take the offen-

sive against capitalism and to fight for socialism can result in fascism and delay proletarian revolution and socialism. The fight against the danger of fascism is one part of our minimum program. Revolution will prevent fascism or fascism will lead to revolution. But if fascism does come, we can and must turn it into a civil war. In either case, the revolutionary trend is irreversible! ■

MAYDAY IS INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY!

BUILD THE PARTY ON THE PROLETARIAN
IDEOLOGICAL PLANE!

GRASP THE KEY LINK OF POLITICAL LINE!

MARKSIST-LENINISTS UNITE, WIN THE
ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!



Thousands of workers march on May Day in the 1930's in Milwaukee. The U.S. workers' movement is marching in the direction of abolishing monopoly capitalism through socialist revolution!

On Angola:

Guardian Fully Degenerated No Longer in the Communist Movement

This is the text of a speech given by Workers Viewpoint Organization in Chicago in a forum on March 13, 1976.

The Angola issue has shown how a whole petty bourgeois revisionist trend, which spans from the revisionist "C" PUSA and Guardian, to Trotskyites and a whole layer of petty bourgeois "radicals," will openly side with the aggression of Soviet social-imperialism and its Cuban mercenary troops. The issue of Angola has shown how this trend will propagandize for social-imperialism, demonstrate for its "cause," send money in its support, and slander socialist China and the Third World liberation struggles that fight social-imperialism.

Workers Viewpoint Organization considers "Guardian" outside the communist movement. They are an example of how a right opportunist trend has fully matured and jumped out under rapidly changing conditions. They are an example of how a part of the communist movement, through its internal class and ideological basis, has surfaced as revisionist and is "flying a separate flag."

We applaud the decision made by China Books and Periodicals to dump "Guardian" and urge other comrades to expose and isolate this trend.

Comrades,

In the past 30 years, we have witnessed tremendous changes in the world situation. The struggle of the world's oppressed peoples against imperialism and all reaction has propelled the class struggle to higher levels. Everywhere, the contradictions are intensifying and growing more complex. We have seen the birth of socialist China which, today, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao, is in the vanguard of the international United Front against the Two Superpowers and the imperialist preparation for world war. With every struggle for independence, liberation, and revolution, the Third World is striking deadly blows at imperialism and advancing toward the victories that inevitably await them. We have also seen the Soviet Union degenerate, as a result of the full restoration of capitalism, from a revolutionary socialist country into a socialist imperialist country who is engaged in fierce contention with U.S. imperialism and who is, today, the main source of the danger of world war.

The struggle in Angola is a very complex one. In order to arrive at a correct understanding of the situation we must base our analysis on the stand, viewpoint and method of the proletariat. The most fundamental question is our stand with the proletariat and oppressed people.

As we said in Vol.2 #1 of the WV journal, in the article on the "Mini-State":

The principal task of the young communist movement is to make a fundamental rupture with revisionism and to build an anti-revisionist Communist Party. To make this break from revisionism, however, proletarian internationalism is key. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the modern revisionists.

The first cardinal principle of proletarian internationalism is that we draw a clear line of demarcation between the oppressed nations of the Third World and imperialism. On the one hand, we should unconditionally support all strug-

gles of the Third World countries and peoples for independence, liberation, and revolution, and we support the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles of the feudalists and national bourgeoisie (who may represent blatant self-interest as long as their struggles are objectively anti-imperialist.)

We must also grasp tightly the fundamental principle that it is the Third World proletariat and oppressed people, in the final analysis, who are the moving force behind these anti-imperialist struggles.

What is the stand of the Guardian, the chief representative of centrism on the question of Angola. They say:

Given the relationship of the forces in Angola today it is evident that the principal contradiction facing the country is the struggle of the Angolan people for independence, self-determination, and social progress versus the forces of Western imperialism..... Regarding the role of the Soviet Union we do not view social imperialism as the principal contradiction in Angola today, although superpower contention here and everywhere else is a factor which cannot be discounted. At times it is the fundamental factor -- but not today in Angola -- in our opinion.

That is a good example of standing without one's feet on the ground with the proletariat. That is phrasemongering about "independence, self-determination, and social progress" against U.S. imperialism on the one hand, while negating the struggle against Soviet social imperialism, a fight against both superpowers. Somehow, based on their "opinion", Soviet social imperialism is not driven by the objective laws of imperialism, which is based on the subjugation, annexation of colonies and export of finance capital. Their reason is that Soviet social imperialism is "not unmindful of what they stand to gain in influence and prestige with other liberation movements throughout the world by supporting that force in Angola which over the years has played the major role in the independence struggle." They are here speaking of themselves, of course. Only the social-chauvinists, and floating opportunist "internationalists" are "mindful" of the tricks and maneuvering of the imperialists which split up the Third World and confuse them with "influence and prestige" and worship the appearance and words of the enemy. Communists and revolutionaries are "mindful" only of the prestige and influence that unites the people against imperialism and which come from the persistent and heroic struggles of the masses against imperialism. The Guardian stand is no different than the stand of the revisionists on "detente", that somehow, imperialism can mean peace for the world.

To justify this bourgeois stand, the Guardian uses the worst kind of hodgepodge, goulash, sloppy-joe methodology that is typical of the bourgeois press. Nowhere is any of their analysis based on dialectical and historical materialism, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought: nothing on the general features of imperialism and the national liberation movement; on the fundamental contradiction that characterize the world today; on the principal contradiction at any given time and place; on the principal aspect of the principal contradiction; nor on the relationship between the principal and secondary contradictions. Instead, their reportage is based on isolated facts;

their petty bourgeois common sense; on "eyewitness news" type accounts that are saturated with class prejudices; and on their "popularity contest" approach to line struggle.

They will criticize U.S. aid while praising Soviet aid. They will openly support the blitzkrieg tactics of the Cuban mercenary troops, while denouncing the "atrocities" of the other liberation organizations when they resisted. They will raise the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples while negating the essence and the lessons of those revolutionary victories for national liberation and independence against imperialism. They will quote the word of the leader of one liberation organization who is not Marxist-Leninist as the truth, while denouncing other views as lies. They will support the revisionist "Communist" Party of Soviet Union, while slandering the great and glorious Communist Party of China who, together with the Albanian comrades, have taken the only correct position on the liberation movements in Angola and have historically given it consistent support.

Lenin stated in the "Collapse of the Second International":

Those who refuse to see the closest and unbreakable link between social-chauvinism and opportunism clutch at the individual instances - this opportunist or another, they say, has turned internationalist; this radical or another has turned chauvinist. But this kind of argument carries no weight as far as the development of trends is concerned.

The Guardian has traveled the road from centrism to outright revisionism. Showing how centrism serves revisionism and draws its strength from it, we said:

The theory of centrism is the theory of the "golden mean," taking the average of two opposites, balancing out the two aspects of an antagonistic contradiction, staying neutral in the struggle between two lines. Centrism is an eclectic theory of "on the one hand, and on the other..."; on the one hand, the revisionists are correct in a sense, and on the other hand, the Marxist-Leninists are correct in a sense, and in this patchwork of bits and pieces, it combines two into one and compromises between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism. So truth becomes all relative; one sees only the relative and not the absolute. Politically, this can only lead to collaboration with the revisionists and the bourgeoisie. But there is no neutral ground in a two-line struggle.

Workers Viewpoint Journal, Vol. 2, no.1, May, 1975, p.29.

The revisionist line of the Guardian which capitulates to and serves as a mouthpiece for the reactionary social-imperialist lies and slanders is not accidental. It comes out of the social basis of the petty bourgeoisie who refuse to see the sharpening antagonism between the oppressors and the oppressed. As Chairman Mao said:

We are opposed to die-hards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking fails to advance with changing objective circumstances and has manifested itself historically as Right opportunism. These people fail to

see that the struggle of opposites has already pushed the objective process forward while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage.

"On Practice," Four Essays on Philosophy, pp.17-18.

The line that openly supports the Soviet social imperialism is nothing new or "independent". It was very strong in the anti-war movement in the 60's when U.S. imperialism was the No.1 enemy of the people of the world. It historically took different forms. First, it was "Bring the boys home!" without taking a stand with the Vietnamese liberation movement; then, "Support Bangladesh", "Support the Mini-State" in Palestine while attacking the revolutionary forces who are waging armed struggle for the total self-determination of the Palestinian people.

Today the class struggle is at a higher level than yesterday. The U.S. imperialists are being exposed and are on the retreat. Posing as the "socialist liberator" of the world, the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to replace their U.S. rivals in the position of top dog. Soviet social-imperialism is more aggressive and is on the relative rise in comparison to U.S. imperialism. The two superpowers are contending heavily and preparing for world war. The imperialists always prepare for world war through local wars and conflicts, combined with fake peace like "detente," interfering wherever they can. This throws a whole new light on all Third World liberation struggles.

The Angolan people's struggle is not only a national liberation struggle. It is also a struggle against the rising danger of world war for the oppressed peoples of the world.

The superpower contention and the rising danger of world war is a new condition for revisionism and centrism to jump out. In World War I, the quick change of conditions from "peaceful" capitalism to war exposed Karl Kautsky and the Second International as a bunch of traitors to the proletariat.

In exposing these revisionists, Lenin wrote:

To defend and strengthen their privileged position as a petty-bourgeois "upper stratum" or aristocracy (and bureaucracy) of the working class -- such is the natural wartime continuation of petty-bourgeois opportunist hopes and the corresponding tactics, such is the economic foundation of present-day social-imperialism.* And, of course, the force of habit, the routine of relatively "peaceful" evolution, national prejudices, a fear of sharp turns and a disbelief in them -- all these were additional circumstances which enhanced both opportunism and hypocritical and a craven reconciliation with opportunism -- ostensibly only for a time and only because of extraordinary causes and motives. The war has changed this opportunism, which had been fostered for decades, raised it to a higher stage, increased the number and the variety of its shades, augmented the ranks of its adherents, enriched their arguments with a multitude of new sophisms, and has merged, so to say, many new streams and rivulets with the mainstream of opportunism.

"Collapse of the Second International," Lenin Collected Works, Vol. 21. (In Against Revisionism, Progress Publishers, pp.251-252).

Escalation of competition and contention between the two superpowers, directly, or more often, indirectly through third countries, will lead to a new world war. The only way to end the danger of world war is to uproot the cause of world war -- imperialism. As long as imperialism exists, there will inevitably be war. Potential hotspots for world war constantly flare up. There will be constant flare-ups. Successful national libera-

tion struggles and the strength of the Third World have tremendously reduced the danger of world war. It is only when people are divided such as in Europe, Cyprus, and Angola, that the superpowers can jump in and fish in troubled waters. Disunity among the oppressed countries, nations, and peoples are conditions for imperialist contention and world war. Imperialism itself is the main cause, the real basis for war.

Any weaknesses in the Third World, like in Angola, will create the conditions for the superpowers to sneak in with their treacherous, imperialist power politics, which further splits our forces, as in the OAU.

The basis for the contradictions and differences among the Angolan people exists because of the multi-national character of the state, with its varied regional, tribal, and linguistic groups, and with the varied history of struggle. But these are secondary contradictions. And the Angolan people have shown that they grasp the principal contradiction by uniting to kick the Portuguese imperialists out of Angola and making attempts to forge a coalition government to consolidate the unity and independence of their country. It is the vicious and despicable tricks and maneuvers of the social-imperialists who have split up the Angolan people. By raising the secondary contradictions into the principal one and by negating the real content of the class struggle in the world today, the Guardian is objectively aiding the Soviet social-imperialists' preparation of world war, aiding the revisionist line against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

The two lines reflect two stands of two opposing classes: one that is dying and reactionary and one that is on the rise and revolutionary.

The WVO upholds the position that the Angolan people have to choose their own government. In the long run, if the MPLA has a correct line, they will win the masses of Angolan people and consolidate their government. If UNITA or FNLA has the correct line, then they will win over the masses of Angolan people to their side.

But the present MPLA regime is imposed partly by Soviet social-imperialism and Cuban troops and does not represent the voluntary choice of the Angolan people. It is not the result of their internal struggle.

That's why we still uphold the position of the coalition government as the only correct solution now. The principal danger facing the Angolan people still remains the two superpowers, spearheaded by Cuban mercenary troops and troops of the South African apartheid regime. The coalition government, a particular form of the united front, will enhance the strength of the Angolan people against all foreign imperialists, including the South African regime.

Internal struggle should take place in the context of fighting the superpowers and South Africa. Whichever party proves

(Footnote:WVO.)

* Lenin is referring to the social-imperialists of the Second International who, under the signboard of "socialism," supported their own monopoly capitalist masters. Today, by social-imperialists we usually mean the revisionists in state power in the Soviet Union.

** It was reported in the Chicago Sun-Times that Al Fatah signed an agreement with the Rejection Front and specifically the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine not to attend the Geneva Peace Conference, called by the social-imperialists to try to push their "Mini-State" plan on the Palestinian people. The Rejection Front is those liberation forces in the Middle East who reject the "Mini-State" plan and all such superpower interference. (For deeper analysis of this issue, see our article on the Palestinian struggle in WV Journal Vol.2, no.1, May, 1975.)

to be the most staunch and consistent in resisting imperialism and the racist South African regime will be chosen by the Angolan people themselves. That part is inevitable.

The Guardian's position, which conciliates to the chauvinist slanders and vicious tricks of the social-imperialists, is doomed to apologetics. That is what happened to them on the "Mini-State" plan** and it is the historical, inevitable fate of all opportunists. Lenin once remarked that, as high as a chicken can try to fly, it will never be higher than the lowest that an eagle can swoop. While riding high on the temporary military victories of the Cuban mercenary troops today, the Guardian will have to apologize for the social-imperialists when the Angolan people march toward their inevitable victory.

The Angolan and all oppressed people will surely win!

KICK THE SUPERPOWERS AND S. AFRICA
OUT OF ANGOLA!

PEOPLE OF ANGOLA AND PEOPLE OF THE U.S.,
UNITE!

LONG LIVE THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE
FOR INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERATION!

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Fitzsimmons' Maneuver on Truckers Contract Can Only Fuel Workers' Struggle Against Capitalism!

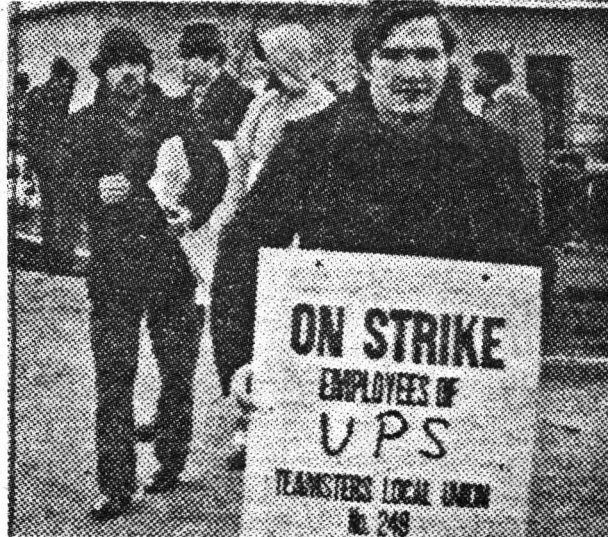
Last month 450,000 truckers made a settlement with the trucking industry. This settlement was a big sell-out. Starting with the demands, we got almost a dollar less in wages and half the Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) that we wanted over the next 3 years. There were no gains made in our fight against forced overtime or the hiring of part-time, casual drivers. Worst of all, the union leadership with Fitzsimmons at the head ran over us and sold us out right over our heads. There was nothing that brought us closer to having a say in the union and in the negotiations, which is something that we have been demanding for a long time. There was no improvement in the grievance procedures and the clearest thing of all was how the strike was turned on and off. We saw how Fitz swung from publicly speaking out against a strike to calling the strike because of strong rank and file pressures and then back to working double-time with the bosses and the Labor Department to cool the strike down as soon as it started. While calling a national strike in words, he urged all the locals to make "interim contracts" with the individual companies. Under the guise of "breaking the unity of the companies," the real effect was that it wrecked the unity of the union by pitting locals against each other.

Did any of us really feel the effects of the three-day national Teamsters strike with over 450,000 truckers off? NO, because the top union boss had already made his little deal with the companies that allowed him to call a "national strike" that wouldn't have any teeth in it. So who profited? The union boss was able to tell the ranks that he called the "historical" first national truckers' strike, yet the companies were spared the ordeal of a real strike because all the locals were allowed to make temporary deals with the individual companies! So the companies got what they wanted -- a quick end to the strike. And Fitz got what he wanted -- a splashy, highly publicized, but harmless display of his union "militancy." And what did the workers get? Shafted.

Why all the big write-ups and features in the business magazines and newspapers about this "big" contract year? Why all the fuss about this little, temporary ripple of a recovery? Why all the attention from the President himself through his main man Usury? Because this system of monopoly capitalism and imperialism is in deep trouble.

Monopoly capitalism, which is based on the exploitation of the workers here and the superexploitation of the Third World and less developed countries, cannot hold up against our resistance. Take this contract for instance. We know we'd be sold out if we didn't fight. That's why we had a rally in Indianapolis with 600 rank and filers. That's why we had wildcats that extended beyond the settlement date in Gary, in Detroit and other places. Everytime we fight back against the attacks and tricks thrown at us, we see through more into the rottenness of this capitalist system.

That's why the bourgeoisie needs to detract us from within our own ranks in order to prop up their rule. This is where labor hacks like Fitzsimmons come into the picture. If it's not clear from the big business, government, and hoodlum friends that he keeps, then it is really clear from the anti-working class stands that he takes that Frank Fitzsimmons has been bought off by the very forces he is supposedly protecting us from! And just as Meany (AFL-CIO), Miller (UMW), and Woodcock (UAW) are all bought off by big business, Fitz is part of that class of misleaders known as labor aristocracy. They pretend they're working for labor, but their real interest is with the "aristocracy" (bourgeoisie, big business). These guys are the most dangerous traitors to the working class struggle, because they do the capitalists' work from inside, inside the unions, and are paid for it by crumbs of superprofits gotten through the U.S. imperialists' superexploitation of Third World countries.



Our last contract is a clear example of how these misleaders sold us out. Three years ago, Fitz came back from contract negotiations and told us how he had done "the best I can" and that we had a "decent" contract under the circumstances. Today, on the eve of our new contract, we find ourselves with open start times, forced overtime, losing money due to 50 mph speed limits, and 7% further behind the Consumer Price Index than when we started 3 years ago! That means that our standard of living has actually dropped over the past 3 years under the old contract, due to "caps" on our COLA and skyrocketing inflation. Meanwhile, the profits of trucking companies like UPS rose steadily from 12.7% (during the recession) to 26% in more "normal" years.

Now if our buying power is shrinking while their profits are steadily rising, then it doesn't take much to figure out who's getting rich at whose expense! I.W. Abel of the United Steelworkers of America is a good example. He came in as a "reformer" in 1962 and the biggest thing he reformed in 15 years as President of the union was the right to strike. He worked hand in glove with the bosses to take that away from us through the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). Now when the rank and file is ready to kick him out, he is going to bow out by resigning next year with a full pension.

LESSONS FROM OTHER STRUGGLES: THE NEW YORK UPS STRIKE OF '74

In the summer of 1973, 4,000 UPS drivers, sorters, loaders for the five boroughs of New York City, Long Island, Westchester and Putnam Counties went on strike for a record 87 days stopping delivery of 265,000 packages per day. The main grievance was over the attempt of the company to play off full-time workers against part-timers, to split us up, by replacing all full-time inside workers with part-timers, a typical money-saving attack on the workers that is becoming a standard, along with extensive use of casuals, contract workers, etc. In the walk-out that followed, one Teamster was killed (run over by a scab truck) and a long and intense confrontation took place. In the end a number of factors worked to break the strike:

- * The company threatened to close down the New York City centers permanently.
- * The New Jersey local right across the river from Manhattan didn't honor the strike and UPS moved much of their operations there during the 87 days.
- * The U.S. Postal Service took up lots of the slack reopening 6 facilities, hiring 526 extra people, renting 195 extra trucks and handling 250,000 extra packages per day by the end of the strike.
- * Federal mediator (Bill Usury again!) was brought in to try to put things back together again.

Although certain concessions were won, the final contract only slowed down the company's plan to make

all inside workers part-time, and UPS national headquarters was eventually moved to Connecticut anyway.

The lesson for us is how lack of solidarity among different locals, coupled with capitalist-Government cooperation worked to defeat the valiant struggle of the workers temporarily.

Now what parallels can we draw between the '73 strike and our least contract struggle?

The capitalist press said that in the event of a national truckers strike, the U.S. Government will intervene "in the public interest" in the form of a Federal court injunction (an 60-day "cooling off period"). This means that our strike would be declared illegal, and we would be forced to go back to work without a contract for 60 days. This is a perfect example of how the government is a tool of the monopoly capitalist class and is used to oppress the working class.

An additional problem that might break union solidarity is the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH) who represents 5,000 owner-operator long-distance steel and related haulers. FASH engaged in violent strikes against the union in '67 and '70 because of the special provisions the IBT negotiated for owner-operators. They could easily decide to continue to work, since as small owners (the petty bourgeois class), their interests are not the same and they cannot be depended upon to give the workers consistent support. And at no time should we allow them to lead our struggles.

OUR STRUGGLE MUST BE LED BY A PARTY

The American working class has a rich history of struggle. We have won victories -- like the 8-hour day and the fight for trade unions. At every turn, Communists have played an active role in leading these struggles. This is more important today than ever before. As Stalin once said, "... imperialism was instrumental not only in making revolution a practical inevitability, but also in creating favorable conditions for a direct assault on the citadels of capitalism."

This assault will be successful only if Communists carry out our revolutionary duty to do protracted political exposures. While many truckers may be angry about the sell-out contract, the real basis for the maneuvers and tricks that Fitz pulled must be ruthlessly exposed by educating the workers about the class nature of the trade union bureaucrats and labor aristocracy. This is the only way to win the advanced to communism.

In order to do this, now when we don't have our party and need to build it, we must grasp tightly communist propaganda as the chief form of our activity. We must use every skirmish and battle to do propaganda and to provide communist leadership, and in that context win over the advanced to communism.

Our Party must be a genuine Communist Party, made up of the best and most-conscious fighters of the sons and daughters of our class. It must be able to lead the revolutionary struggle for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat through thick and thin and guide it through every twist and turn in the bitter class struggle. The degeneration of the old "C" PUSA which is now "a better defender of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself" by preaching freedom and democracy through the ballot box instead of revolution here and "detente" with the vicious Soviet social-imperialists instead of preparing us for the imperialist war, has deprived the class of its leadership. That's why the main task now in the U.S. is the building of a new genuine Communist Party that will base itself on the firm ideology of the proletariat, based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism-

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la posición primera especialmente por la precidencia y el control del departamento ejecutivo. Ellos necesitan la precidencia para empujar los intereses de su grupo y sus ganancias especialmente ahora en esta la crisis económica.

La desiciones sobre la guerra, la economía, el curso internacional y asta las elecciones presidenciales estan determinada por la competencia y negocios de estos grupos capitalistas monopolistas financieros y los políticos que ellos representan.

Claro, como capitalistas monopolistas, estos grupos estan todos unidos contra el interés de la clase obrera y las minorías oprimidas.

LAS ELECCIONES Y LA "DISTENCIÓN"

Una de las cuestiones en las elecciones de este año sera la "distención". En realidad la "distención" es nadamas que un cuyierto para la burquesía Americana y Soviética en su lucha por la dominación del mundo entero. Los imperialistas de los EEUU y los imperialistas sociales soviéticos los dos usan la "distención" para confundir a los obreros del mundo en creer que las dos superpotencias quieren "la paz" cuando en realidad se estan preparando para la guerra.

En los EEUU los candidates estan en favor o contra la "distención" no por que desean mas "paz" o mas "seguridad" sino por que una o otra de las direcciones ayudan hacer más ganancias para su grupo capitalista monopolista. Par sobrevivir la crisis algunos grupos capitalistas monopolistas necesitan el comercio con la Union Sovietica (como el grupo Morgan quien Ted Kennedy y la mayoría de los liberales del partido democratico representa) y por eso ellos empujan la idea de la "distención". Algunos grupos capitalistas monopolistas quieren tener más gastos para la defensa para alzar sus ganancias como el grupo de Reagan del Sud/Sudoeste y por esto ellos estan contra la "distención". El grupo de Rockefeller, el grupo mas grande y el grupo que corrientemente domina y que esta representado por Ford, Rockefeller y Kissinger quiere proteger sus investos imperialistas en Europa y el tercer mundo contra los imperialistas sociales Soviéticos (socialistas en palabra nadamas y imperialistas en accion).

Pero cualquiera de estos grupos empezarian una guerra ahora mismo si

ellos pensaban que esto ayudaría sus ganancias. Los políticos liberales son más listos y por eso mas peligrosos por que "pueden" enganar al pueblo más. Los que son como Ted Kennedy, Birch Bayh, Fred Harris y Mo Udall todos dicen que ellos apoyan la "distención" y la paz pero en realidad cuando la guerra serice necesaria para las ganancias de los EE ellos no vacilan ni un minuto. Recuerdense como Johnson llamaba a Goldwater un "monstro de guerra" en el año 1964? Y quien nos metió mas profundamente en Vietnam -- nadie mas que el "pacífico" LBJ. Quien se puede olvidar del "liberal" John Kennedy quien aparte de ser un putaño casi nos metió en una guerra nuclear con los imperialistas sociales Soviéticos. No hay ninguna manera que el obrero de los EEUU pueda cualquier partido burgues para mantenernos fuera de una guerra. El sistema imperialista necesita una guerra para extender sus ganancias.

UN ENGAÑO NUEVO DE LOS CAPITALISTAS: "CONTRA EL MONOPOLIO Y CONTRA EL NEGOCIO GRANDE" MENTIRAS DE LOS POLITICOS

En este año de crisis económica y política, de disgusto creciente entre los obreros y otras personas oprimidas con el sistema capitalista y los políticos burgueses la clase dominante esta tratando de encontrar nuevas maneras de engañarnos. Una manera en la cual ellos tratan de engañarnos es en manipular los sentimientos de los obreros contra el gobierno y contra el capitalismo. Preocupados por los sentimientos revolucionarios de los obreros los políticos tratan de desviar y defuse la bravesa creciente de los obreros. Por eso es que hay tantos populistas como Harris, Carter, Bayh, Udall y fascistas como Wallace y Reagan, todos cuales gritan por la disolución del "gobierno grande" y la "disolución de los monopolistas". Esto no es nada más que mentiras de los políticos burgueses para hacer a los obreros a creer que hay "alternativos" usando el sistema capitalista para tratar de desviarnos más lejo del unico alternativo y la uniuqa solución. -- la revolución socialista.

Esta raza nueva de capitalistas monopolistas dirán cualquier cosa que sea popular con el pueblo en esos momentos para ganarse los sentimientos de las masas usando la retórica popular que no dice mada. "Prometanle cualquier cosa pero denle el capitalismo" esto es sus mote, como si fueramos bobos. Ellos podran salir

como que estan en "contra del capitalismo" pero ellos todavia seran políticos capitalistas. Para lo que le interesa a ellos es mejor que los políticos engañen a las masas a que los obreros tengan su partido verdadero, un partido comunista revolucionario Marxista-Leninista que no solo habla de la situacion sino que en realidad cambiaran la situacion destruyendo el capitalismo.

Todos los políticos de los capitalistas conservativos, liberales o populistas estan tratando de confundir y desviar a la clase obrera del camino revolucionario. Si la burguesía no puede parar a los obreros usando mentiras y decepciones ellos estan preparados para usar el fascismo -- la dictadura terrorista. Ellos tratarán de preparar la opinion publica para esto usando fascistas como Wallace quien los capitalistas han estado apoyando por abajo de la mesa para mantenerlo a el y a racistas como el vivos politicamente. Se necesita mucho dinero para que alguien como el se pueda quedar en la carrera de la precidencia tanto tiempo y el ha recibido el dinero de los capitalistas igual que cuando Hitler fue mantenido por los capitalistas de Alemania en los 1920's y 30's.

Con medidas como la ley S-1 la cual nos quitaria muchos de nuestros derechos democraticos la clase dominante se esta preparando para el fascismo (el fiador de esta ley es Birch Bayh un liberal democrata uno de los aliados intemos de Ted Kennedy). Ellos están preparado a la policia, los guardias nacionales, la FBI y otras fuerzas para los "alborotos de comido", huelgas y otras formas de resistencia del pueblo contra los ataques a nuestros derechos y nuestro nivel de vida.

LA UNICA SOLUCIÓN

Todos los obreros tienen que hechar a un lado todas las ilusiones sobre la política burguesa y la democracia falsa, tienen que participar en la lucha contra los ataques capitalistas y tienen que ayudar a construir el unico partido politico que nos guiara hacia al camino fuera de la crisis económica presente y hacia la derrota de la burguesía y el establecimiento de la dictadura del proletario -- el partido comunista revolucionario Marxista-Leninista de los EEUU! ■

TEAMSTERS (CONTINUED)

Mao Tsetung Thought, and that will fight uncompromisingly in the interest of our class until victory.

The fight for better contracts and better unions is part of this steel-to-steel, class-to-class skirmish and will be successful only under the leadership of the party. The struggle for democracy in the unions and a voice in our contracts must not be seen as isolated struggles. We must not be short-sighted and get dragged into the old rut of having the right to choose between one sell-out contract against another sell-out contract or the right to vote between Miller and Boyle, or Sadlowski and Abel. The fight for union democracy is part of class struggle to take back our organizations -- the trade unions, and must be waged through ruthless struggle against the agents and representatives of the bourgeoisie within our own ranks. We must not fight for democracy under the rules of the bourgeoisie. Instead we must fight for genuine proletarian democracy which can come only by winning the advanced to communism and mobilizing the broad masses of workers to take up the struggle, advancing platforms and slates that represent our class, throwing out the sell-out bureaucrats, and making the unions serve the working class in our fight for socialism.

