

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

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



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

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US IMPERIALISM CONSOLIDATES FOR WAR

CARTER'S ENERGY PLAN

The implementation of Carter's recent energy plan will mean an increase in the role of the government over energy regulation and control. The strategic importance of oil and gas has increased simultaneously with the growing contention and war preparations of the two superpowers. US imperialism's hegemony over oil resources has declined in face of rising solidarity among the countries and peoples of the Third World. An important aim of the energy plan is to lessen the political dangers the imperialists face due to the increasing dependence of the highly industrialized capitalist countries on the third world for oil supplies. Due to this dependence, the US monopoly capitalists and their allies are in a definite position of weakness to the Soviet social imperialists who have far greater domestic energy reserves. Faced with a decline in its military power and economic strength relative to the Soviet Union, the US imperialist bourgeoisie will use its state apparatus to coerce the US working class into financing this latest aspect of its war preparations and will also use the state where necessary to force obstinate capitalist groupings into line around its energy policies.

The recent publicity given to the role of the Trilateral Commission in the shaping of present governmental policies had not been unwarranted. The Commission is an organization of powerful capitalists and bourgeois politicians and intel-

lectuals from North America, Japan and Western Europe. It is under the control of dominant finance capitalists such as David Rockefeller of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and played a leading role in Jimmy Carter's rise to the presidency. In the Washington Post recently this summary of the Commission's policy on energy was written:

"The Trilateral countries (Japan, Western Europe and North America) must cooperate to maintain their financial health in the face of existing oil prices and to establish arrangements for sharing energy in any future emergency resulting from cutoffs of Arab oil supplies. For the medium term, through 1985, the trilateral countries must start now to work toward reductions of their dependence on uncertain external energy sources... While not pessimistic about the long-term future, the task force sees a transitional period of extraordinary difficulty and adjustment ahead as trilateral societies adapt insecure, expensive, perhaps reduced energy supplies, and to slower economic growth. It is a real question whether the necessary sacrifices will in fact be accepted by powerful elements in the body politic. Countries must remain sensitive to each other's problems and agree on sharing burdens and shortages."

Clearly Carter's plan falls within this framework. While the US is in a better position than western Europe and Japan in re-

gards to domestic oil supplies, it must cooperate in order to maintain its strategic alliance with these other imperialist powers. The Trilateral Commission has stressed that the present economic crisis has given rise to frictions and disagreements among the trilateral countries. One aspect of this is that Japan and particularly Western Europe suffered grave economic problems due to the recent oil price hikes. There is concern that this situation could lead to a disintegration of the alliance and force the present allies of US imperialism into closer ties with the third world countries, or even more importantly in a time of growing international contention and war preparations, into closer ties with the Soviet Union which presently exports oil.

GROWING POWER OF THE THIRD WORLD

Carter's speeches on energy emphasized the concern of the US bourgeoisie over the growing economic power forged from the unity of the third world countries, particularly those in OPEC. While Carter tried to present an image of world-wide energy shortages in the next decade (which was disputed by a recent UN study of energy supplies which estimated far greater resources), the call for conservation in the US was based on a concern for the worsening position of US imperialism and its allies, not any magnanimous concern over the depletion of world resources in the future. "Im-

ports have doubled in the last five years. Our nation's independence of action is becoming increasingly constrained." "Now we have a choice. But if we wait we will live in fear of embargoes. We could endanger our freedom as a sovereign nation to act in foreign affairs." This demagoguery, full of great nation chauvinism, reveals the fear of the bourgeoisie that its "freedom" to pursue its contention with the Soviet Union over the extension of national oppression, its "freedom" to rape and loot the countries of the world is limited by the growing control exercised by third world countries over petroleum supplies. Since the OPEC countries have adjusted prices for their petroleum to minimally fair levels after years of plunder by the oil monopolies, the US bourgeoisie have faced increasing political pressure both inside and outside the US. The fact that the "energy crises" have been manufactured by the oil monopolies has become popular knowledge and the bourgeoisie fears the increased political awareness and class consciousness this has brought to rise. The "national sense of purpose" that Carter tried to create in his speeches on the energy plan, which he described as "the moral equivalent of war", is meant to lay the groundwork for a "national sense of purpose" around imperialist war itself, whether inter-imperialist war with the Soviet Union or US military intervention to suppress national liber-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

SCWG

MAY DAY STATEMENT

May Day, the international holiday of the world proletariat, is a day for the American Marxist-Leninists to reaffirm our commitment to our central task of party building. While the forces of the world proletarian revolution are advancing vigorously in opposition to the forces of world imperialism headed by US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, we must understand that the US proletariat can make a greater contribution to world revolution only under the leadership of a genuine proletarian party. May Day as a commemorative day of the working class is also a time for us to remind ourselves that the real motive force for revolution in this country is the working class and no other class. This realization compels us to concentrate our work in the working class and implement the slogan put forth by the Workers Congress, "Deeper into the Industrial Masses". Lenin as far back as 1897 explained this general orientation in "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats": "Our work is primarily and mainly directed to the factory, urban workers. Russian Social-Democracy must not dissipate its forces; it must concentrate its activities on the industrial proletariat, who are most susceptible to Social-Democratic ideas,

most developed intellectually and politically, and most important by virtue of their numbers and concentration in the country's large political centers."

For us these words of Lenin mean that we must concentrate our efforts not on single-issue anti-imperialist coalitions or the more popular community struggles, etc. but rather we must concentrate on the factory workers right at the place of work. But in our orientation toward the working class we cannot concentrate on all workers -- we must concentrate on the advanced, i.e. those workers who see the practical (and not merely academic) necessity for Marxist-Leninist theory and who are ready to put that theory to revolutionary practice. By winning these advanced workers to communism and organizationally consolidating them into centrally-directed factory nuclei, we are in a position to energize and revolutionize the middle elements and activate the broad masses of the workers. In this way we build the Marxist-Leninist Party, the vanguard detachment of the working class, right in the midst of the working class itself. In this way we fuse communism with the workers movement in such a way that communism plays the leading

role and gives the workers' struggles a revolutionary direction.

This process of winning the advanced workers to communism and building the Party in the midst of the working class will move forward as we develop the one central organ of the US communist movement, the Iskra-type newspaper. This newspaper will be one that the workers increasingly see as their own -- a paper that educates them, that provides them with Marxist-Leninist analysis and with guidance in their struggles and which also serves as a tribune from which their voices can be heard. We can see that an Iskra-type newspaper is not only an instrument for facilitating ideological struggle among Marxist-Leninists, but is also an instrument for winning advanced workers to communism.

The arduous task of building the Communist Party still remains before us. The self-proclamations of the "Revolutionary Communist Party", the October League's "Communist Party (M-L)" and others that they are the genuine Marxist-Leninist Party in no way relieves us of our duty to build the Party of the proletariat. On the contrary, just as China and Albania learned from the negative example of Khrushchev's

capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union in order to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in their countries, likewise we should learn from the negative examples of these opportunist groupings and their incorrect approach to the question of party-building. We must step up our efforts to grasp well the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Chairman Mao and in a deliberate, not frenzied, manner learn to better distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism, oppose all forms and manifestations of opportunism right in the working class and move the party building process forward. This is how the Marxist-Leninists and all class conscious workers must celebrate May Day, 1977.

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!

WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM

BUILD THE PARTY BY BUILDING THE ISKRA-TYPE NEWSPAPER!

(This article was submitted by the Seattle Communist Workers Group.)

SCWG can be contacted at:
SCWG
PO Box 3193
Seattle, Washington 98104

ation struggles. In 1974 the US government allowed information to leak to the press that it had definite contingency plans for military invasion of Saudi Arabia, Libya and Kuwait in order to take control of the oil production facilities. War exercises in California's Mojave Desert were carried out in preparation for this plan. While it seems that the retrenchment and conservation policies presently taken demonstrate that the US bourgeoisie feels that such an invasion is not practical at this time for political and military reasons, such an action can not be overlooked.

The present strategy of the US is to develop an independence from the third world petroleum. The billion dollar oil reserve to be developed in the US attempts to insulate the US from future oil boycotts. For years the US imperialists have been able to steal natural resources from countries for below market cost while vastly overcharging them for finished products and industrial supplies shipped from the US. But the third world countries have been better able to thwart this robbery through the formation of economic cartels, such as OPEC. The US imperialists hope to counteract this growing strength by increasing their independence from oil imports. This increased independence will in turn enable them to use the dominance they still have over technology and industrial supplies to maintain their control over foreign markets and therefore maintain the super-profits they have been able to reap from this control.

MILITARY IMPORTANCE OF ENERGY PLAN

The attempts by the US imperialist to safeguard itself from oil boycotts and price hikes have importance in light of the growing danger of war. Oil supplies must be guaranteed because a modern military machine cannot be run without oil. Also, any curtailment of energy supplies during war-time would be disastrous to war-time production. The US imperialist bourgeoisie is not leaving the question of oil and gas supplies up to chance, nor to the vacillations of the "free market system". That is why it is turning to increased governmental control.

Compared to the Soviet Union, the US and its allies are in a weak position. The Soviet social imperialists have much greater energy supplies within their borders though they are still behind the US in the technology needed to fully exploit these resources. Nevertheless the Soviet Union now exports oil while the US and Western European countries import it. This is a significant aspect in the world balance of power between the two superpowers. Some energy experts have pointed out that output and export of the Soviet Union has increased. Some authorities estimate potential Soviet oil reserves at 81 billion barrels, which is enough to meet the present Soviet plan to increase its oil production by 5.4% a year until 1980. The Soviet Union, which violated the Arab boycott by selling its oil at inflated prices on the world market during the boycott, has used the income from oil exports to finance its growing war machine.

The Soviet Union is better able to coordinate its oil production with its war preparations because of its highly developed form of state monopoly capitalism. The social imperialists have a more highly centralized control over all aspects of industry and the economy than the US imperialists.

"Compared with the capitalist imperialist countries, state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union is highly monopolistic, highly concentrated and tightly controlled by the state. All economic life-lines, the war industry included, are directly controlled by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which has a firm hand on the state machinery. This special feature gives the Soviet Union a resemblance to the Germany before and after World War I - in many respects, that is in technology and production, it is THE COMMUNIST/PAGE 2

inferior to the United States, but in respect of the organization of finance capitalism and the transformation of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism, it is superior to the United States." (PEKING REVIEW, #45, Nov. 7, 1975, pp.19-20)

It is important to look at the increased role of the US government over energy production and distribution in this light. It is unclear as to the final legislative form the proposed energy plan will take after it passes through the house and the Senate, but it is clear that the government's role will be increased. As part of this process it is also centralizing the various bureaucracies of government that presently relate to energy. This single governmental center will be the Department of Energy, built by consolidating the Energy Research and Development Association, the Federal Energy Commission and the Federal Power Commission, as well as energy-related functions of six different agencies.

Centralization such as this is a precondition for imperialist war. A sign as to the military significance of energy is the fact that the new Department of Energy will be headed by James Schlesinger, Carter's present energy advisor. Schlesinger is a bourgeois intellectual who came to Washington in 1969 and soon rose to the prominent positions of chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, head of the CIA and Secretary of the Defense. Schlesinger, who is known for his outspokenness on the danger of increased Soviet military strength, played a dominant role in the formulation of the present energy plan. It is clear that with his background, his orientation is toward not just the economic but also the political and military importance of energy.

The link between Carter's energy plan and US imperialism's preparations for imperialist war was confirmed in recent testimony by the Secretary of Defense, Harold Brown. Appearing before the special House Energy Committee, Brown stated that: "Much less attention has been given to the potential for a much more serious interruption of oil supply by hostile forces in time of war." "In the event of some future confrontation, the Soviet Union might be able to restrict access of the western world to its essential oil supplies to a degree of severity and duration greater than any embargo by the oil producers." "The USSR might attempt to deny access to the oil of the Persian Gulf by direct attack on the facilities of the major oil-loading ports, which lie near Soviet territory." "Simultaneous action to interdict on the high seas tanker movement of oil from other exporting nations could vastly exacerbate the oil supply situation for the US and its allies." "There is no clearer or more serious threat to the long-term security of the US and to its allies than that which stems from the growing deficiency of secure and assured energy resources."

An energy plan designed to protect the interests of declining US imperialism in its contention with the Soviet Union and in preparation for war - this is the political importance of Carter's proposed plan. This is the primary basis on which this plan should be exposed to the US working class and the primary basis on which it must be opposed.

It would be wrong to evaluate the economic aspects of the plan only. It is clear that the economic costs for this plan will hit hardest on the US working class, and we must use this fact in our agitation. However, opportunists of all kinds, will focus only on this aspect of the plan. Already the revisionist "C" PUSA which attempts to blind the US people to the danger of war, has run headlines on the energy plan such as "RIPOFF OF WORKERS, PROFITS FOR THE RICH". In order to provide proletarian leadership, we must expose the connection between the energy plan and the growing danger of war, focusing in on the increased role given to the government so it can coordinate its energy policies with its war preparations.

The bourgeoisie has foreseen resistance to the plan by the working class on the basis that it favors the oil companies' need for increased profits. In an interview, by BUSINESS WEEK of James Schlesinger, Schlesinger stated that "public support" would depend on whether or not they were assured that "the burden of the problem is being shared equitably. That points to an important issue. The stature of the business community is not inspiring at the moment with the general public. It is indispensable that the public believes

that our comprehensive energy policy is not subterfuge or an opportunity for being ripped off by business in the way they perceive they have in the past. That is a prerequisite for public support."

This understanding was clearly revealed in Carter's emphasis on the "fairness" of the plan, that it would not result in "windfall profits", and the references to tax rebates to the general public from government taxes that result in higher prices.

Does this mean that the energy plan is really "fair"? Of course not. There is not one fragment of fairness in the proposal. It asks the working class to make sacrifices so that the power of their oppressors will be maintained and so that the bourgeoisie can move forward in their war preparations. This is in opposition to the interests of the US working class and to the interests of the international proletariat and the oppressed countries and people of the world. However, it is dangerous to assume that the energy plan is meeting fully the interests of the oil monopolies as a group. In an area where the interests of the US monopoly capitalist class as a whole are at stake it is possible that some compromises will be made in order to meet the demands of war preparations. Of course, there is no question that the oil companies will reap millions in profits from the present plan. Schlesinger said that it "is indispensable that the public believes" the plan to be "fair", he did not state that it had to be fair.

In Carter's speech to Congress he said "One of the principles of our energy policy is that the price of energy should reflect its true replacement cost... Realistic pricing is especially important." Of course this means increases in the prices of all energy sources. Oil will

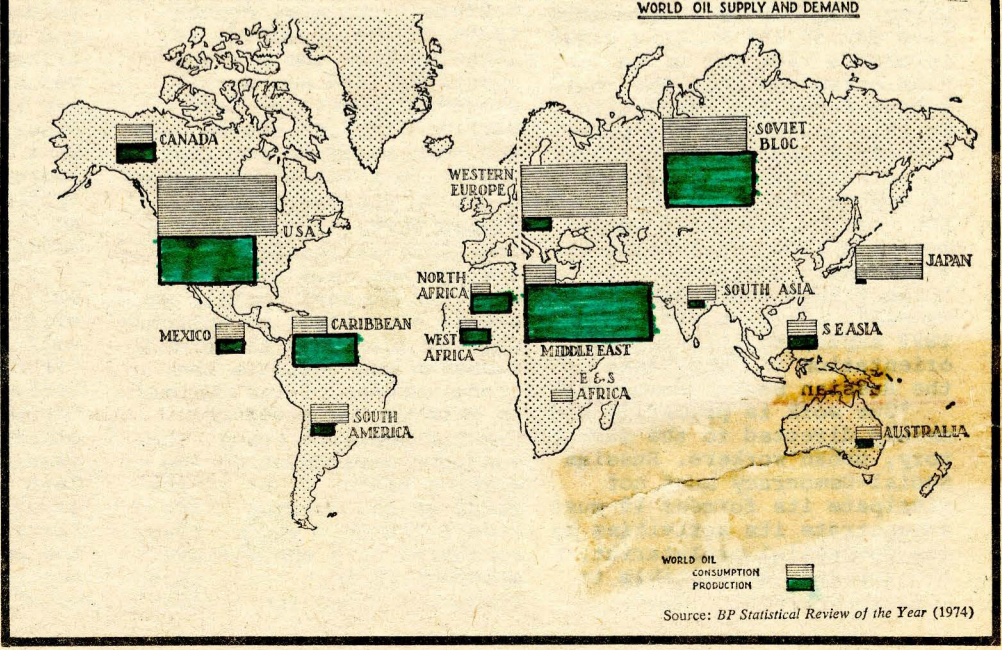
for industrial waste, etc. the feet of the working class. But this is absurd. It is the anarchistic development of capitalism that has led to the tremendous, often wasteful amount of energy consumed in the US today. Technology that could have reduced this has been suppressed by the auto and oil monopolies. Lack of planning that could benefit the interests of the masses is a result of capitalist competition.

There are many glaring inconsistencies in the energy plan. While Carter called for a cut-back in gas usage, he has also recently vetoed new funds for mass transit programs. Since many workers now have to travel long distances to get to their jobs, his call for reduction in gas usage flies in the face of capitalist society's inability to provide alternative means of travel or decent housing near places of work. Carter's veto indefinitely postpones the construction of mass transit programs that are now ready to begin development. The energy plan also calls for industry to change from oil and gas to coal, and projects a minimal increase of coal production of 400 million tons a year. The cost of this transformation is enormous and the government plans on subsidizing this through tax breaks to industry. Ultimately the working class will have to foot this bill and it is probable that environmental standards will be overlooked for the sake of increased coal production.

The increased governmental participation and control over oil and other energy resources in no way alters the role of the state in serving the interests of the bourgeois class over the US working class and oppressed nations of the world. It merely reflects that the US bourgeoisie considers greater planning and centralization over energy necessary for their class to weather the present crisis and to maintain its hegemonic position in the world over the third world and increase its war preparations in contention with its competitor, Soviet social imperialism. We must use this step taken by the US bourgeoisie towards greater energy planning to propagate even more intensely socialist propaganda and agitation.

In THE STATE AND REVOLUTION, Lenin stated: "The trusts, of course, never produced, do not now produce, and cannot produce complete planning. But however much they do plan, however much the capitalist magnates calculate in advance the volume of production on a national scale, and however much they systematically regulate it, we still remain under CAPITALISM-capitalism in its new stage (imperialism - ed.) it is true, but still undoubtedly, capitalism. The "proximity" of SUCH capitalism to Socialism should serve the genuine representatives of the proletariat as an argument proving the proximity, facility, feasibility and urgency of the socialist revolution, and not at all as an argument in favour of tolerating the repudiation of such a revolution and the efforts to make capitalism look more attractive, an occupation in which all the reformists are engaged."

Carter's demagogy laid the blame for "gas-guzzling" cars,



Proletarian Internationalism Or Social-Chauvinism

May Day is an international working class holiday. It affirms the international solidarity of the working class and oppressed peoples. May Day is a good time, therefore, to take stock of the struggle against social chauvinism in our movement. Especially this is so in view of the rising danger of imperialist world war.

Social chauvinism is an opportunist trend in the international working class movement. Lenin defines social chauvinists as "socialists in words, but chauvinists in deeds, who are helping 'their own' bourgeoisie to rob other countries and enslave other nations." He continues, "That is the very substance of chauvinism-- to defend one's 'own' fatherland even when its acts are aimed at enslaving other people's fatherlands." OPPORTUNISM AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL (Lenin, Collected Works, v. 22, p.109). In SOCIALISM AND WAR Lenin identifies the economic basis of social chauvinism -- "the interests of a tiny stratum of privileged workers and of the petty bourgeoisie who are defending their privileged position, their 'right' to crumbs of the profits 'their' national bourgeoisie obtains from robbing other nations, etc." Politically social chauvinism means "collaboration of classes instead of class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle helping one's 'own' government in its embarrassed situation instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments for revolution."

Imperialist war and imperialist war preparations feed social chauvinism. For that reason, now, with the increasing danger of a new world war between the U.S. and the USSR, we must place to the forefront of our tasks the struggle against social chauvinism. Only by defeating this opportunist trend do we lay the basis for an independent communist policy to lead the proletariat and oppressed masses in conditions of war.

Party building, therefore, is directly connected to the struggle against social chauvinism, and the rupture required with the positions of petty bourgeois democracy is also a rupture with social chauvinism. Preparing the conditions for a new Marxist-Leninist party means purging our ranks of social chauvinism and of every tendency to confusion and vacillation on the question. Significant debates on the international situation in our movement show that this task has not yet been accomplished. The Draft Program of the Communist Party (ML) recently published by the Organizing Committee for the Marxist-Leninist Party (OC) is the most important example of confusion on fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism leading necessarily to social chauvinism.

THE OC'S DRAFT PROGRAM

The Draft Program reads:

"The Soviet Union is not only an imperialist superpower; it is also the center of modern revisionism, which is the main social prop of imperialism in the international working class movement. The Soviet Union, which carries out its aggression under the signboard of socialism, is the most dangerous of the two superpowers. Therefore, while we oppose both superpowers, as part of the worldwide movement against imperialism, we must direct our main blow internationally at Soviet social-imperialism." (THE CALL, April 4, 1977).

DIRECT THE MAIN BLOW AT THE COMPROMISING PARTIES

The October League (OL) has argued in its polemics over the last year that US revolutionaries should direct their main blow internationally at the USSR because the Soviet Union was "the main prop of imperialism". The OL relied here on Stalin's argument that we must direct our main blow against the parties of compromise with imperialism which are the social support or props of imperialism. (See

FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM AND THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE TACTICS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS.) Summing up the experience of the Bolshevik party in the October Revolution, Stalin writes:

"In this period the petty bourgeois democratic parties, the parties of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, were the most dangerous social support of imperialism. Why? Because these parties were the compromising parties, the parties of compromise between imperialism and the laboring masses. Naturally, the Bolsheviks at that time directed their main blows at these parties, for unless these parties were isolated there could be no hope of a rupture between the laboring masses and imperialism, and unless this rupture was ensured there could be no hope of the victory of the Soviet revolution." (ON THE OPPOSITION, p. 166)

In other words, the main blow is directed at the compromising parties in order to facilitate and hasten the victory over the principal enemy. It is a means of organizing and preparing the conditions for revolution by breaking the influence of the disorganizing forces among the ranks of the people who attempt to subordinate the working masses to the leadership of the bourgeoisie at every turn. No party was as thoroughgoing as the Bolshevik party in preparing the conditions for that rupture and winning the broad masses of working people from the influence of the compromising parties -- this was one of the decisive factors of the Bolshevik revolution. And no party was as ruthless with itself in overcoming those influences in its own ranks. That is why Bolshevization retains its significance as a party building slogan for us today.

However, the OL and the OC have never grasped the significance of the rupture required with the influence of the parties of compromise with imperialism and have proposed to form a new revolutionary party without demonstrating leadership in that struggle. As a result, they miss the point of Stalin's analysis. Instead, they took up dogmatically the positions of Stalin and used them to justify their view on a connected but somewhat different issue -- that the main blow of communists internationally ought to be directed against the USSR. In the CALL of December 6, 1976, they wrote:

"The October League, along with the organizations inside the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party (OC), holds that, while the objective of the revolutionary struggle in the US is aimed at the overthrow of U.S. imperialism, internationally we must direct the main blow at the Soviet Union. Because it is the center of modern revisionism, the USSR is the main prop of imperialism internationally."

In other words, the USSR is a social support or party of compromise with imperialism. For Marxist Leninists this position is absurd. The USSR is not a party of compromise with or social support of imperialism -- it is imperialism. It is not a prop of the enemy of the revolution -- it is an enemy of the revolution.

Internationally, modern revisionism is the main party of compromise with imperialism -- that much is true. In the international communist movement revisionism is the main danger and Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations direct their main blow against it. It is also true that the Soviet Union is the center of modern revisionism. But it is empty dogmatism to conclude from this that the USSR is a party of compromise and a social prop. The ideological, political and organizational center of every opportunist and compromising party will inevitably be found at the general headquarters of the bourgeoisie.

This phenomena is not peculiar to modern revisionism. In fact, that is the significance of the collapse of the Second International. With the crisis of the First imperialist war, the social chauvinist and compromising parties of European Social Democracy found their center not with the organizational leadership of the international proletariat, but instead with their own bourgeois governments.

REVISIONISM IN POWER IS THE RISE TO POWER OF THE BOURGEOISIE

What is confused in the OL's presentation is that the USSR is not a "party" but a bourgeois state exercising class dictatorship. Stalin pointed out that after the February revolution in Russia the party of the liberal bourgeoisie, that is the party of compromise with the tsar in the bourgeois democratic revolution, "had been transformed from a compromising force into a governing force, into the ruling force of imperialism." The same kind of consideration applies here. While modern revisionism out of power is a compromising force, in power it is a governing force, in the Soviet Union, the ruling force of Soviet social imperialism. As Mao Tsetung said, "The rise to power of revisionism is the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." (quoted at the Tenth Party Congress)

Revisionism in power is no longer a compromising party that must be isolated, but a class in power that must be overthrown. Under conditions of a fascist one party dictatorship in the USSR, compromising elements must be found among the middle and lower levels of the party and trade union bureaucracy, as well as the workers aristocracy, where an opportunist and reformist petty bourgeoisie has emerged whose role is to suppress class conflict and subordinate the goals of the working class to the needs of the new bourgeoisie and the state monopoly capitalist system it commands.

The paragraph of the Draft Program we have quoted is somewhat better than OL's arguments in THE CALL and, on its face, neither defends nor depends on these polemics. The statement of the Draft Program is:

"The Soviet Union is not only an imperialist superpower; it is also the center of modern revisionism, which is the main social prop of imperialism in the international working class movement." Accurately understood, this is correct. Modern revisionism is the main social prop and the USSR is the center of modern revisionism, as we have pointed out.

However, if the language of the Draft represented a conscious correction and repudiation of the confusion of OL's earlier positions, we would have expected the Commentary to the Draft to explain this and include a self-criticism. But with a stylish superficiality that has come to characterize the OC's work, the problem is ignored. Comrades would therefore be wrong to conclude that the language of the Draft represents an advance.

DIRECT THE MAIN BLOW AT THE PRINCIPAL ENEMY

In any case, the basic confusion of the Draft Program is not on the question of compromising parties. OL was led into error on that question because of its confusion on a more fundamental issue. Clearly from Klonsky's first use of the concept of the main blow in the CALL interview last year, OL has been concerned with the broader question raised in Stalin's essay on STRATEGY AND TACTICS. Stalin there is not considering the main blow of the party required to isolate compromising forces, but the main blow of the class and its allies required to overthrow the principal enemy. Stalin writes:

"The most important function of strategy is to determine the main direction which ought to be taken by the working class movement, and along which the proletariat can most advantageously deliver the main blow at its enemy in order to achieve the aims formulated in the programme. A strategic plan is a plan of the organization of the decisive blow in the direction in which the blow is most likely to achieve the maximum results... The strategic plan defines the main blow to be delivered by the revolutionary forces and the corresponding disposition of the vast masses on the social front."

Here Stalin is speaking to the strategic alignment of all revolutionary forces to accomplish the tasks of a particular stage of the revolution. It is no longer a question of how the party of the proletariat should use its main weapons during a period of preparation in order to win the broad masses of working people away from the influence of the compromising forces, facilitating their organization. Stalin is now speaking of the strategic disposition of the proletariat itself and its allies along the main line which can be taken to deliver the main blow against the principal enemy of the revolution.

With this meaning, is the Draft Program correct? No it is not. The strategic lesson Stalin brings forward is to deliver the main blow at the principal enemy. The Draft Program does not identify the USSR as the principal enemy, but calls for revolutionaries to direct their main blow against it anyway.

TOGETHER THE TWO SUPERPOWERS CONSTITUTE THE MAIN ENEMY Identifying the main blow internationally is a question of the strategic alignment of forces and of our strategic plan. Today, this turns on an appraisal of the two superpowers. US imperialism, while still economically and financially more farflung than Soviet social imperialism, has nonetheless entered its decline. Decisively defeated in Indochina, weakened economically, politically, and militarily, relatively well exposed before the peoples of the world -- for these reasons, US imperialism is on the defensive. The USSR, on the other hand, is an imperialist power on the offensive. Like Germany before World War I, it is a younger, more aggressive imperialist power seeking to push its way into every corner of the globe. It is a latecomer to the imperialist banquet and has geared up for war to demand a larger share of the pie. It is a war economy with 60% of industrial enterprises bound up to military purposes and has more than double the US forces under arms. The Soviet revisionist clique in charge of the state machine directly controls the entire national economy and all economic lifelines and there is a higher concentration and organization of state monopoly capital than in the US. Most important, the USSR carries out its rivalry for hegemony with the US under the signboard of socialism, falsely pretending to inherit the Bolshevik tradition of proletarian internationalism. Many are still confused by its phony claim to be a "natural ally" of the Third World. For all these reasons, the USSR is the most dangerous source of war. For these reasons also, it is at this time the more dangerous of the two superpowers.

Does this mean that our strategic plan, the main direction along which the proletariat and its allies can most advantageously deliver the main blow is, internationally, against the Soviet Union? The point is a crucial one. As a part of a world wide revolutionary united front, the US proletariat has no goals internationally different from other workers movements. Our most important contribution to world revolution is the overthrow of US imperialism, but world-wide we have no objectives different from those of the international working class. CONTINUED ON PAGE 6 THE COMMUNIST/page 3

VOL. 5 OF MAO TSETUNG A VICTORIOUS RECORD OF STRUGGLE

Volume 5 of the Selected Works of Mao Tsetung has just come off the press and is being distributed throughout China. This is a great event for the people of China and for the people of the world. Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time and his thought is a brilliant beacon for our struggle. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party said:

"The banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory, a banner under which the Chinese people fight in unity and continue the revolution."

Mao Tsetung thought is also a treasure shared in common by the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all peoples and nations. Long lines of workers rightly say that Comrade Mao Tsetung's thought and teachings will live forever.

The publication of Volume 5 is a major event in the political life of the Chinese people as well as in the development of Marxism. Just as it will be a weapon to unify the thinking and action of the party, army and people of all nationalities throughout China, so too it will be of far reaching historic importance in the international communist movement and for the liberation of oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world. In China it will be a mighty force for achieving Chairman Hua's strategic policy decision on grasping the key link in running the country well and for deepening the exposure and criticism of the gang of four.

The Chinese People Have Stood Up! is an important historical document proclaiming the founding of the great People's Republic of China. It solemnly declares to the whole world: "The Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up." This document defines New China's state system, sets forth its tasks in the political, economic, cultural, military and other fields and formulates its foreign policy. Chairman Mao stressed: "Our state system, the people's democratic dictatorship, is a powerful weapon for safeguarding the fruits of victory of the people's revolution and for thwarting the plots of domestic and foreign enemies to stage a comeback, and this weapon we must firmly grasp." Our national defence must be consolidated and no imperialists will ever again be allowed to invade our land. "Our people's armed forces must be maintained and developed with the heroic and steely People's Liberation Army as the foundation. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy."

In *Criticize Han Chauvinism*, Chairman Mao stated: "We must go to the root and criticize the Han chauvinist ideas which exist to a serious degree among many Party members and cadres, namely, the reactionary ideas of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, or the ideas characteristic of the Kuomintang, which are manifested in the relations between nationalities. Mistakes in this respect must be corrected at once." In subsequent writings, Chairman Mao repeatedly took up the point that emphasis must be put on opposing Han chauvinism while local-nationality chauvinism must also be opposed so as to secure the unity of the nationalities.

In the article *Refute Right Deviationist Views That Depart From the General Line*, Chairman Mao sharply criticized Liu Shao-chi's mistakes. After the victory of the new-democratic revolution, Liu Shao-chi wanted to follow the capitalist road instead of carrying out socialist transformation, and put forward such Right deviationist views as "firmly establish the new-democratic social order." Chairman Mao pointed out: "The period of transition is full of contradictions and struggles. Our present revolutionary struggle is even more profound than the revolutionary armed struggle of the past. It is a revolution that will bury the capitalist system

Throughout the international communist movement it will be a force for party building which will strengthen Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations ideologically and theoretically. In China it will be a powerful force for developing the socialist revolution and socialist construction and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. REVOLUTIONARY ENTHUSIASM GREETES VOLUME 5

Early on the morning of the publication of Volume 5, colorfully decorated vans began crossing the city of Peking to carry copies of the book to factories, villages, army camps, offices and schools. Decorated with red flags and bunting, bookshops all over the city started distributing the book. Long lines of workers, peasants, soldiers and other people extended for hundreds and hundreds of yards from the downtown bookstore and there were cheers and fireworks. In Shanghai, gongs and drums beat continuously for two days as people in government offices, army units and schools and peoples communes on the outskirts held meetings to celebrate the publication of Volume 5. Long lines were in front of all the bookstores and festively decorated trucks delivered copies to factories, government offices, schools and communes. Over 600,000 people in Shanghai got their copies on the first day after publication.

Over 200,000,000 copies are being printed in China and the first 15,000,000 are being distributed now. Work is also progressing on publishing the vol-

ume for the minority peoples of China in Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean languages. English, French, Japanese and Spanish translations are also being prepared and will be available soon.

ALL OUT FOR SWIFT PUBLICATION

From the Committee for the Editing and Publication of the Works of Chairman Mao under the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua to the printing house workers in various places, preparations for the publication of Volume 5 were carried out with tremendous enthusiasm. Enormous efforts to assure swift publication show the devotion of the Chinese people to Chairman Mao. People on all kinds of jobs regarded it as an honored political task to help with preparation and distribution of the new volume. Retired workers returned to their printing plants to apply for voluntary work. Sales assistants from bookstores and rural supply and marketing cooperatives made special trips to factories, mines, rural people's communes and herdsmen's communities to gather people's requirements with regard to volume 5. Workers and staff members of publishing houses and printing plants in Peking and Shanghai demonstrated selfless revolutionary initiative and energy as they undertook the tasks of composing, plate making and supplying the nation with paper matrices for the volume. Good coordination between different work processes reduced the time needed for typesetting, proofreading and platemaking.

Workers in the Tientsin Paper Mill which supplies paper for Volume 5 summed up the spirit of the Chinese people in readying the book for publication: "Chairman Mao's works are a valuable heritage for the proletariat and other working people. We will certainly pass on the great banner of Mao Tsetung Thought from generation to generation."

In Peking the Engine Crew of the "Mao Tsetung Locomotive" said "Locomotives cannot run without rails and making revolution depends on Mao Tsetung thought. In order to run the affairs of our country well, we must study Chairman Mao's

Instead of waiting for delivery, various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions sent people to Peking and Shanghai in order to pick up the matrices as soon as they were available. Thus the first batch was distributed throughout the country in record time. Civil aviation departments took the initiative to contact publication departments and gave priority to air delivery of the matrices.

Printing house workers in various places plunged into the work immediately upon receiving the matrices. Workers carried their beddings to workshops and stayed there for days at a stretch without going home. Printing workers in many places launched vigorous emulation drives in an effort to fulfill their tasks ahead of time.

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socialism and capitalism and the gradual resolution of this contradiction—that is the main theme, the key link. Grasp this key link, and all kinds of political and economic work to help the peasants will be subordinated to it." In this article Chairman Mao criticized such bourgeois concepts as "firmly protecting private property" and the "four freedoms" and gave the Party committees at various levels the instruction that in their work they should put the stress on the socialist transformation of agriculture.

In *Refutation of "Uniformity of Public Opinion"* is one of the editor's notes written by Chairman Mao for the *Material on the Counter-Revolutionary Hu Feng Clique* and is included as a separate article in this volume because of its theoretical importance. It applies the law of the unity of opposites and sets forth the dialectical relationship between the uniformity and the non-uniformity of public opinion, and thus reveals the existence of the two different types of contradictions in socialist society—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people—and advances the basic ideas of correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions.

Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward the Party's Traditions is Chairman Mao's speech at the first session of the preparatory meeting for the Eighth Party Congress. After making a comparison between the conditions of our country and those of the United States, he suggested that we overtake the United States economically in 50 or 60 years. He said: "This is an obligation. You have such a big population, such a vast territory and such rich resources, and what is more, it has been said that you are building socialism, which is supposed to be superior; if after much ado for fifty or sixty years you are still unable to overtake the United States, what a sorry figure you will cut! You should be read off the face of the earth. Therefore, to overtake the United States is not only possible, but absolutely necessary and obligatory. If we don't, we the Chinese nation will be letting the nations of the world down and we will not be making much of a contribution to mankind." Chairman Mao went on to point out that we should carry forward the fine traditions of our Party with respect to ideology and the style of work and combat subjectivism, sectarianism and bureaucracy. And we must do a good job of uniting the whole Party. "By unity we mean uniting with those

works well, hold high the Great Banner of Chairman Mao and place Mao Tsetung Thought in command of our continued struggle."

At the celebration meeting of the Sunho production brigade of the China-Albania Friendship People's Commune, the party secretary of the production brigade said:

"The Gang of Four opposed Chairman Mao and invincible Mao Tsetung Thought and they tried in every way to disrupt and sabotage the publication of volume 5. It is one of Chairman Hua's outstanding contributions that this new volume of Chairman Mao's works reached the poor and lower middle peasants in just about six months after the Gang of Four was smashed."

In Shanghai as workers of the Shanghai No. One Textile Mill received their copies, some of them immediately opened the book and began reading the first article "THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE STOOD UP!" They said:

"It was Chairman Mao who led the Chinese people in overthrowing the three crushing burdens of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and delivered them from the abyss of suffering. We stood up thanks to his leadership. We must, in response to the Call of the Party Central Committee, launch a new upsurge in studying his works, deepen the

who have differences with you, who look down upon you or show little respect for you, who have had a bone to pick with you or waged struggles against you and at whose hands you have suffered." Moreover, on the question of electing the Central Committee, he elucidated the fundamental hows and whys of uniting with comrades who erred in political line.

In his *Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*, Chairman Mao, in view of the Right deviationist mistakes of the time, discussed the dialectical relationship between advance and retreat, getting on and off the horse, and equilibrium and disequilibrium in economic work.

Chairman Mao criticized the mistakes of the Khrushchov clique in wildly attacking Stalin and in preaching the seizure of political power through the parliamentary road. He said: "I think there are two 'swords': one is Lenin and the other Stalin. The sword of Stalin has now been discarded by the Russians." And "the sword of Lenin" was "by and large . . . thrown out" by them. "We Chinese have not thrown it away. First, we protect Stalin, and second, we at the same time criticize his mistakes, and we have written the article 'On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.' Unlike some people who have tried to defame and destroy Stalin, we are acting in accordance with objective reality." Chairman Mao also pointed out that the fundamental problem with some East European countries was that they had not done a good job of waging class struggle, so they had to reap what they had sown. We had been mobilizing the masses to wage class struggle in both the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. "Not to rely on the masses in waging class struggle and not to make a clear distinction between the people and the enemy—that would be very dangerous."

Be Activists in Promoting the Revolution is an important speech by Chairman Mao at the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Chairman Mao explained our Party's basic viewpoints on the question of Stalin and the question of peaceful transition and criticized Khrushchov revisionism. He pointed out: "Stalin's achievements are primary and his

exposure and criticism of the gang of four and strive to win new victories in revolution and production."

A VICTORIOUS RECORD OF STRUGGLE

Volume 5 is a compilation of important writings of the great leader and teacher, Mao Tsetung, from September 1949 to 1957. Whereas Volumes 1-4 of the Selected Works deal with the period of the New Democratic Revolution, Volume 5 is important because it begins the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction in China. It is a victorious record and scientific summation of the struggle which Chairman Mao led the Chinese party, army and people in waging against the landlord class and bourgeoisie of China, the Kuo Kang-Jao Shu-Shih anti party alliance and Liu Shao-Chi's revisionist line internally in the first eight years after the founding of the People's Republic of China and also externally against U.S. imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism.

In this new historical period, Chairman Mao systematically summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and other countries and applied the fundamental viewpoint of materialist dialectics, that is, the unity of opposites, to the analysis of contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society, thus setting forth the law governing the development of socialist society and advancing the great theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship

shortcomings and mistakes secondary." "We have put up Stalin's portrait in Tien An Men Square. This accords with the wishes of working people the world over and indicates the fundamental differences between us and Khrushchov." Peaceful change-over is a tactical slogan. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie will never hand over their political power of their own accord but will use violence. To seize political power by armed force is a strategic slogan. "Generally speaking, political parties of the proletariat had better be prepared for two possibilities: one, a gentleman reasons things out and does not resort to his fists, but two, if a bastard uses his fists, I'll use mine. Putting the matter this way takes care of both possibilities and leaves no loophole."

In his *Talks at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Party Committees*, Chairman Mao set an outstanding example in applying dialectics to analysing and solving major internal and external questions.

Chairman Mao analysed the contradictions among nations, pointing out that "the embroilment of the imperialist countries contending for colonies is the bigger contradiction. They try to cover up the contradictions between themselves by playing up their contradiction with us." From the Suez Canal incident it was clear that "in the Middle East, two kinds of contradictions and three kinds of forces are in conflict. The two kinds of contradictions are: first, those between different imperialist powers, that is, between the United States and Britain and between the United States and France; second, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations. The three kinds of forces are: one, the United States, the biggest imperialist power; two, Britain and France, second-rate imperialist powers; and three, the oppressed nations." Later, in line with the changes in international class relations, Chairman Mao developed these brilliant ideas into the scientific thesis on the division of the three worlds.

Chairman Mao sharply criticized Khrushchov revisionism and great-power chauvinism. He said: "This time when our delegation went to the Soviet Union, we came straight to the point on a number of questions. I told Comrade Chou En-lai over the phone that these people are blinded by their gains and the best way to deal with them is to give them a good dressing down. What are their gains? Nothing but 50 million tons of steel, 400 million tons of

of the proletariat, preventing a restoration of capitalism and building socialism. As a result he greatly enriched the treasure house of Marxist-Leninist theory in fields of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. The volume is made up of 70 articles, 46 of which have never before been published. STUDY VOLUME 5!

On April 15 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published its decision to launch a mass movement to study Volume 5 and bring about a new high tide in the study of Chairman Mao's works in the Party, the army and among the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Communists and friends in the U.S. should also begin preparation to take up vigorously study around Volume 5. In so doing, we also can participate in the campaign to intensify education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought so as to better distinguish between Marxism and revisionism, between correct and erroneous lines, between materialism and dialectics on the one hand and idealism and metaphysics on the other and in the course of struggle, integrating theory and practice, raise our political and ideological consciousness and remould our world outlook. The Central Committee Decision says:

"The study of Volume 5 of the Selected Works of Mao Tsetung is a major task in building our Party ideologically and theoretically, and Party committees at all levels must grasp this major task firmly and well. Leading

Party cadres at all levels, the senior cadres in particular, should take the lead in studying well. They should act in line with Chairman Mao's teaching "Read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism. It is necessary to organize the cadres and workers, peasants and soldiers to study in a variety of ways, such as studying at their posts and running spare-time political schools, reading classes or study classes. The Central Party School and the local Party schools at various levels should run reading classes attended in turn by cadres. Those attending May 7 cadre schools should combine study with production. Efforts should be made to strengthen theoretical research work in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It is necessary to give scope to the role of professional and worker-peasant-soldier theoretical contingents in the study and expand the ranks of theoretical workers in the study of Marxism. The newspaper and theoretical journals should make great efforts to publicize the central ideas and basic contents of the present volume, and help the cadres and masses in their study."

We reprint below excerpts from the Introduction to Volume 5 by the Committee for Editing and Publishing Chairman Mao Tsetung's Works, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Volume 5 will soon be a weapon in our hands to rid entire humanity of the shackles of exploitation and oppression once and for all!

coal, and 80 million tons of petroleum. Does this amount to much? Not at all. Now at the sight of this much their heads are swollen. What Communists! What Marxists! I say multiply all that tenfold, or even a hundredfold, it still doesn't amount to much. All you have done is to extract something from the earth, turn it into steel and make some cars, aeroplanes and what not. What is so remarkable about it? And yet you make all this such a heavy burden on your back that you even cast away revolutionary principles. Isn't this being blinded by gains? If one reaches high office, one can be blinded by gain too. To be the first secretary of a Party committee is a kind of gain, which is also liable to swell one's head. When a man's head gets too swelled, we have to give him a good dressing down one way or another. This time in Moscow, Comrade Chou En-lai did not stand on ceremony and took them on and so they kicked up a row. This is good, straightening things out face to face." "If they insist on having their own way, sooner or later we will have to bring everything into the open."

A Dialectical Approach to Inner-Party Unity is an important article on applying dialectics to solving inner-Party contradictions. Chairman Mao said that we should take the attitude of uniting with any comrade, provided he is not a hostile element or a saboteur. We should adopt a dialectical, and not a metaphysical, approach towards him. The metaphysical approach is to totally crush anyone not to one's liking. The dialectical approach is: "With a comrade who has made mistakes we should first wage a struggle to thoroughly rid him of his wrong ideas. Second, we should help him as well. Point one, 'struggle, and point two, help. We should proceed with good will and help him correct his mistakes so that he will have a way out." Chairman Mao clearly stated: "The concept of the unity of opposites, dialectics, must be widely propagated. I say dialectics should move from the small circle of philosophers to the broad masses of the people."

Furthermore, the tasks of revolution in the US are always subordinate to those of world revolution. To direct the main blow against the Soviet Union is to subordinate the overthrow of US imperialism to that task.

The OC's Draft Program is in error on this point. The strategic plan put forward by Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations world-wide does not call for the US or other revolutionary movements to direct their main blow at the Soviet Union, but calls for a united front against both superpowers. The Draft Program's views on the international situation are fundamentally inconsistent. The OL's position on the main blow has undermined positions of the Draft Program that are otherwise correct.

The Draft Program correctly states:

"The United States, along with the Soviet Union, stands today as one of the two imperialist superpowers who are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters. Together, they constitute the main enemy of the peoples, nations, and countries of the world." (Our emphasis.)

From this, the Draft Program correctly concludes:

"The US working class must firmly unite with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and peoples of the world, with all the countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference and control or bullying by imperialism or social imperialism to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism and especially against the two superpowers."

These statements correctly identify the strategic plan and main direction along which the proletariat and its allies world wide can most advantageously deliver the main blow at its principal enemy. They identify the disposition of the vast revolutionary masses on the social front.

DIRECT THE MAIN BLOW AGAINST BOTH SUPERPOWERS

In other words, internationally, the strategic plan put forward by Marxist-Leninists is a united front against imperialism and especially against the hegemonism of the two superpowers. If we are to speak of the direction of the main blow of the international proletariat against its main enemy, the only position consistent with this strategic plan is to deliver the main blow against both superpowers which are together the main enemy of the peoples, nations and countries of the world.

But the OC vacillates on the point and offers a typical petty bourgeois attempt to compromise the positions of proletarian revolution with the positions of social chauvinism. It wants to have it both ways. If we direct the main blow against US imperialism, our strategic plan is to call for the people of the world to unite to defeat US imperialism and all its running dogs. If we direct the main blow against Soviet social imperialism, our strategic plan calls for a united front against Soviet social imperialism and its running dogs. At this time, however, the strategic plan of Marxist-Leninists calls for neither of these. At this time the call is for the broadest possible united front against imperialism, and particularly against the hegemonism of the two superpowers.

Under present circumstances, the call to deliver the main blow against one or the other superpower only, objectively aids its rival in the struggle for hegemony. It is social chauvinism: "the defense of the privileges, advantages, robbery and violence of ones 'own' (or every) imperialist bourgeoisie." The OC has not succeeded in purging its ranks of social chauvinism. The position of the Draft Program, which must lead to error and confusion on the international front, is particularly serious in view of the grave danger of imperialist war.

We do not speculate as to what historic turns may lay ahead in the course of world revolution. A united front against social facism, for example, is a possibility we cannot exclude. That, however, is not our strategic plan at this time and under present conditions.

The OC would like to reduce the question of the main blow to

WHAT IS SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM?

Social-chauvinism is advocacy of the idea of "defence of the fatherland" in the present war. Further, this idea logically leads to the abandonment of the class struggle during the war, to voting war credits, etc. Actually, the social-chauvinists are pursuing an anti-proletarian, bourgeois policy; for actually, they are championing not "defence of the fatherland" in the sense of fighting foreign oppression, but the "right" of one or other of the "great" powers to plunder colonies and to oppress other nations. The social-chauvinists repeat the bourgeois deception of the people that the war is being waged to protect the freedom and existence of nations, and thereby they go over to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. In the category of social-chauvinists are those who justify and embellish the governments and bourgeoisie of one of the belligerent groups of powers, as well as those who, like Kautsky, argue that the Socialists of all the belligerent powers have an equal right to "defend the fatherland." Social-chauvinism, being actually defence of the privileges, advantages, robbery and violence of one's "own" (or every) imperialist bourgeoisie, is the utter betrayal of all socialist convictions and of the decision of the Basle International Socialist Congress.

a matter of uneven development between imperialist superpowers. Uneven development, however, is a constant phenomena of imperialism. Because of uneven development the USSR at this time constitutes the main danger to war -- it is more aggressive, the least exposed and the more dangerous. For these reasons we must pay special attention to exposing its savage features and dragging its true character to the light of day. But the question of the main blow is a question of the strategic alignment of forces. It depends on our identification of the main enemy. At present the two superpowers together are the main enemy and everything depends on a principled stand toward this question. Until a turn in world history changes that situation, requiring a change in our strategic plan -- that is, the whole alignment of revolutionary forces -- we must direct our decisive blow at both superpowers.

The consolidation of the forces in the OC into a new Marxist-Leninist organization calling itself a party and based on the confusion of the Draft Program's positions on the international situation as well as its failure to thoroughly carry forward the struggle against social chauvinism would be a setback for our movement. Comrades in the OC and throughout the movement must give highest priority to the struggle against this deviation from the principles of orthodox Marxism-Leninism.

REVISIONISM ON STRATEGY AND TACTICS

It is important to comment on the Revolutionary Communist Party Party's (RCP) polemics against OL on the main blow.

The RCP correctly ridiculed OL's position that the Soviet Union is a social prop for or a party of compromise with imperialism. But they can find no other way to do this than by a revisionist criticism of Stalin. After quoting Stalin's analysis in THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND TACTICS, the RCP says, "In fact, the RCP does not agree with the formulation in these articles by Stalin" (REVOLUTION, February 1977). Ignoring the plain meaning of words they call Stalin inconsistent and go on to counterpose the strategic lessons of the Bolshevik party to the practice of the Chinese revolution led by Mao Tsetung. They complain that Stalin's formulation "came down to a policy of isolating middle of the road social and political forces in any given revolutionary period. To this is counterposed the practice of the Chinese revolution--directing the main blow at the chief enemy to isolate it, while for the middle forces, a policy is recommended of both uniting with them and struggling against them so they are at least neutralized and a basis provided for efforts to win them from neutrality to alliance with the revolutionary forces."

Under the guise of upholding the contributions of Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party to the science of revolution, this is a shamefaced

attack on orthodox Marxism-Leninism. Not so long ago the Revolutionary Union, which formed the RCP, proposed that US Marxist-Leninists could ignore the fundamental scientific characteristics of a nation as summed up by Stalin --in order to make room for a stale revisionist theory of their

own. We thought they had backed off that. But there has been no repudiation. The source of the error clearly has not been rooted out. In the RCP we still have to do with a clique of "creative" Marxists who think they can match their few years of "building the mass movement" against a generation of stubborn Bolshevik revolutionary experience. What they offer now is revisionism on strategy and tactics.

MIDDLE FORCES AND COMPROMISING PARTIES

In the first place the RCP confuses middle forces with compromising parties. In fact there will be no middle forces won over at all unless the parties of compromise with imperialism are isolated. In WORK OF THE XIV CONFERENCE OF R.C.P. (B), Stalin said:

"Hence the task of the communist elements in the colonial countries is to link up with the revolutionary elements of the bourgeoisie, and above all with the peasantry, against the bloc of imperialism and the compromising elements of 'their own' bourgeoisie, in order, under the leadership of the proletariat to wage a genuinely revolutionary struggle for liberation from imperialism."

What is there to contradict the theory and practice of the Chinese revolution in this? Nothing of course! In a war of national liberation against imperialism, the chief enemy is the imperialist oppressor nation and the compromising parties are national parties of capitulation and betrayal. These are the forces that sell out and attempt to disorganize the national struggle. Mao Tsetung wrote constantly on the subject and, for example pursued a policy of isolating the diehard wing of the Kuomintang which represented not middle forces of the Chinese nation, but primarily the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie. This was the wing which fostered a spirit of defeatism and national capitulation and sought accommodation with imperialism rather than liberation, asking communists to "fold up their tents," etc.

THE MAIN BLOW OF THE PARTY AND THE MAIN BLOW OF THE CLASS

In the second place, the RCP confuses the main weapon or blow of the proletarian party with the main blow of the proletarian class and its allies. In OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND TACTICS, Stalin makes clear he is talking about the weapons of the Bolshevik party -- e.g. "Naturally, the Party at that time directed its main blows at the Cadets," or "Naturally, the Bolsheviks at that time directed their main blows at these parties. . . ." A vanguard party of the proletariat uses its main weapons to organize the working masses in a period of revolutionary preparation. But it is the masses themselves, not the party which makes revolution. Under the leadership of a vanguard party a revolutionary class delivers its main blow at its chief enemy. The Bolshevik Party directed its main blow against the parties of petty bourgeois democracy, but the Russian proletariat, together with its allies, directed its main blow at the Russian bourgeoisie, not the petty bourgeoisie.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE VANGUARD

Comrades who grasp this point will not be confused by the RCP's base attack on Stalin for a sup-

posed inconsistency concerning the main blow. As we pointed out above, in STRATEGY AND TACTICS, Stalin discusses the strategic alignment of the class and its allies against the principal enemy. In THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND TACTICS, he is speaking to the leadership the vanguard of the proletariat must give in order to prepare this strategic alignment. Thus in OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND TACTICS, Stalin asks,

"The preparation for October thus proceeded under the leadership of one party, the Bolshevik Party. But how did the Party carry out this leadership, along what line did the latter proceed? This leadership proceeded along the line of isolating the compromising parties, as the most dangerous groupings in the period of the outbreak of the revolution, the line of isolating the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks."

This Stalin calls the fundamental strategic rule of Leninism. In throwing it down, the RCP has once again attacked the leading role of a vanguard party. The RCP proclaims an onslaught against the chief enemy, but repudiates the tasks necessary to prepare the conditions for that onslaught.

The RCP repudiates Stalin on this question because it is a representative of the petty bourgeois democratic trend in our movement masquerading under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the RCP does not want to make a rupture with the positions of the compromising petty bourgeoisie, ideologically, politically and organizationally. What the RCP wants to do -- as we know from its campaign in steel -- is to make a place in its mass work for the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

On strategy and tactics, as with the national question, the RCP tries to drive a wedge between Lenin and Stalin. But the ideas Stalin fought for are a summation of positions consistently developed by Lenin from the experience of 1905 on. For example, TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION turns on an appraisal of the compromising parties of the bourgeois democratic revolution. Stalin's quote from Lenin's Address to the Constituent Assembly shows the continuity of Bolshevik thinking in spite of Trotskyite slanders:

"in order to win the majority of the population to its side the proletariat must...entirely destroy the influence of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois compromisers over the majority of the non-proletarian toiling masses.... (ON THE OPPOSITION, p. 280).

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE VANGUARD AND THE HEGEMONY OF THE PROLETARIAT

By abandoning the struggle against the parties of compromise with imperialism, the RCP abandons the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution. This is the lesson of Lenin and Stalin on strategy and tactics and the significance of the RCP's revisionism on the question.

In the second issue of its theoretical journal, May 1, 1977, the RCP has again reaffirmed its position that prior to 1974, party building could not be the main task of communists (p. 77), even though the proletariat had no vanguard party. The particular circumstance, they claim, of mass upsurge in the US prevented it. However, this view reduces the question of the need of the class for vanguard leadership to a question of particular conditions and circumstances. The correct view is that whenever the class lacks a vanguard, the main task of communists is to build one.

The RCP's attack on the leadership of the vanguard in the revolution is, therefore, only further developed and consolidated in its polemics on the main blow. Whereas the task of Bolshevization, which is essential to party building, requires a decisive break with the compromising parties and trends of our movement, the RCP comes forward to say that no such rupture is required, to say that this task contradicts the experience of the Chinese revolution. The necessary consequence is to abandon not only the leadership of the vanguard, but also the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution.

A "revolutionary" "communist" party that repudiates the leading role of the party at every stage of the revolution and the hegemony of the proletariat -- there is the measure of the RCP's degeneration!

In one case, main blow delivered by poor class against main enemy - in second case, delivered at vanguard's oppo frontiers, class collaborationist party with slow forward movement of party with class struggle & class struggle

TASS STATEMENT ON ZAIRE GANGSTER LOGIC

Soviet-backed aggression in Zaire is a premeditated step taken by the USSR after its occupation of Angola to consolidate its positions on the African continent and to extend its drive for hegemony. Angola is necessary to the USSR as a stable base of operations in the South Atlantic. The social imperialists have attempted to bring about the disintegration of Zaire as a means of opening the door to central Africa. In addition, strategic minerals from Zaire are exported to Europe and Soviet control over the huge resources of that country, concentrated in the Shaba region, is a means of gaining a strangle hold over Europe in its contention with US imperialism.

All this is plain for anyone to see, yet on April 12, 1977, TASS, the official Soviet news agency, issued a statement brazenly denying any suggestion of involvement by the Soviet Union in what it hypocritically called an internal struggle.

And because the USSR's drive for neo-colonial hegemony in Africa confronts its main obstacle in the unity of African people and countries of Africa and the third world, the TASS statement also launched a slanderous attack on the African countries that have come to the aid of the Zairian people.

Here is some of what the TASS statement, released April 12, said: "The past weeks have seen unrest in Zaire: Action against the central government began in the southern region of that country (the former province of Katanga). It would seem that the situation is perfectly clear - one deals with a strictly internal conflict which need not concern anyone outside that country."

The TASS release went on to attack other countries who support Zaire: "The leading circles of the

Soviet Union deem it inadmissible for any external forces to interfere in the internal struggle in Zaire." Countries and peoples supporting Zaire are accused of "trying to create a new international problem and another hotbed of tension" and to warm their hands over the fire to which they themselves are adding fuel. The article also accuses countries supporting Zaire of trying "to impose on the people of Zaire their own order."

On April 18, Brezhnev reiterated this theme. He accused those countries supporting the people of Zaire in its legitimate defense of national independence and territorial integrity of "violating one of the basic principles of inter-state relations -- the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs" and "meddling in other people's affairs."

All this is hypocrisy through and through. The facts speak for themselves. The "insurrectionists" are a reactionary splittist force who had been used by other colonialist powers in the past. After their separationist movement failed over a decade ago, they were used by the Portuguese to stir up trouble in the region, in order to link up the Shaba region to Angola which the Portuguese at that time controlled. Now these same forces work for hire for the Soviet Union, first in order to suppress Angolan National Liberation forces, and today participating in the invasion of Zaire. It is the Soviet Union who trains these forces, arming them with the latest weaponry and missiles to further their wild expansionist aims into Zaire.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat said, "As to the Civil War in Zaire, it is obviously not an internal affair, as one claims." Referring to the large amount of

Soviet tanks used by the invading mercenaries, he said, "These tanks are not dropped from the skies." A captured prisoner of war of the mercenary forces confessed that Cuban combat troops accompanied my company when we entered Shaba province." Soviet-made Kalachnikov rifles and mines and a box of Russian anti-tank mines have also been captured in battle.

Soviet threats and bluster designed to prevent the African countries from acting in concert to repulse the superpower interference and aggression have only stiffened the resistance of the African people to defend the sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of Zaire. Africa belongs to the African people and Zaire to the people of Zaire. The African people not only dare to struggle, they are also good at waging struggle. African countries have unreservedly condemned this savage invasion by the mercenaries with Soviet-Cuban support and see the invasion as direct violation of the OAU charter's principle of safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states. In that spirit, Morocco and Egypt have sent armed forces to the Southern region in solidarity with the people of Zaire and to defend the OAU charter. Other African states such as Sudan, Tunisia, Chad, Mauritania, Liberia, Ghana, the Central African Empire and Rwanda have also supported the Zairian government. The President of the Sudan said: "The Sudan, sharing a common border with Zaire, is making all preparations for providing the Zairian government with all assistance needed in counter-attacking the invasion...The foreign invasion upon Zaire violates the UN Charter and the OAU Charter, as both charters disallow intervention in the internal affairs

of the member states."

African support for Zaire's struggle against Soviet-backed invasion is an important part of the struggle against the two super-powers, and particularly against Soviet expansion in the whole of Africa. The Secretary General of the OAU recently warned that Africa is becoming a theatre for developing hegemony. He called for efforts to prevent the war for hegemony from penetrating into the African family. Egyptian President Sadat said, "The Soviet Union is hatching sinister maneuvers everywhere in this continent." The Kenyan "Daily Nation" carried a reader's letter on April 11, demanding that "The Soviet social-imperialists should go home now."

As Chairman Mao put it, a just cause enjoys abundant support. It is the mutual support and the unity in this struggle shown by the peoples of Africa and the third world against Soviet encroachment that will rip the thin veil from the ugly ambitions of the new czars to bring the whole of Africa under its jackboot. Common action by the OAU and African countries in defense of the independence and territorial integrity of Zaire is a very significant step forward for the third world struggle against imperialism, racism and hegemonism.

The TASS statement is an effort to mislead the public by denying that the Soviet Union is the mastermind behind the current invasion of Zaire. But contrary to the intentions of the new czars, it merely serves to highlight their treachery and drive home the fact that Soviet social-imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people of Zaire and Africa in general.

TEAMSTER-UFW PACT

T.U. BUREAUCRACY WEAKENS FARMWORKERS

"The UFW seems to be acting as a more responsible union-more like a trade union as opposed to a social movement...it appears to be a more respectable union than in the past." (THE PACKER - the chief California Growers Association newspaper). The monopoly capitalist fruit and vegetable growers still fear the UFW because of the long history of class struggle they and their families for four generations have waged in the fields and packinghouses of California. However, as long as their chief social prop Cesar Chavez and his fellow social democrats and reformists are in control, they can breathe a little easier.

The agreement reached March 10 in the Teamsters million dollar headquarters in Burlingame, California, between the Teamsters leadership, Frank Fitzsimmons and Chavez, formally splits the working class that has been struggling for decades to achieve unity. Under the five year agreement the Teamsters will be allowed to organize the proletariat covered by the NLRA of 1935 - the packinghouse workers, and truck drivers who carry the produce between the fields and canneries (or packinghouses). The UFW will organize all those workers not under the NLRA, but under the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975-the proletariat in the fields.

On the one hand the very fact that the Teamsters would pull out of the fields is a victory due to the militant class struggle waged by the rank and file of the UFW - including the breaking of several of their contracts in wildcat strikes (all UFW contracts have 'no strike' clauses - a decision made against the clear sentiment of the rank and file). However,

the proletariat as far back as WWI realized that the unity of the class in one union - including the cannery and packinghouse workers and field workers was their greatest weapon.

Since the beginning of this century, farmworkers saw clearly that they would have no chance against the already multinational monopoly capitalist fruit corporations, led by Del Monte, if they did not attempt to organize the proletariat in the fields and canneries. This approach to organizing was carried on in the early thirties first by the Trade Union Unity League, led by the then revolutionary CPUSA, which was active in the Cannery and Agricultural industrial workers union (CAWIU). In 1933, the CAWIU had led 31 major strikes affecting almost 50,000 workers. One of the most successful was at the height of the peach season in August 1933 when 2000 workers in the fields and canneries won a contract calling for the doubling of their wages and other benefits. Del Monte was forced by the strike to give an increase because both the fields and canneries were tied up by the strike. Due to economist errors the CAWIU was driven out of California by 1935 by the Associated Farmers of California (organized by Del Monte).

The unity of the class rose up again in July of 1937 in Denver when the CIO formed the United Cannery, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA). Faced with a national union (the CAWIU was organized before the CIO and was independent) allied with thousands of industrial workers, the growers turned to their reliable allies - the AFL. The capitalists had successfully excluded agricultural workers from

the NLRA passed in 1935. This attempt was supported by the AFL and marked an important step forward in their drive to divide and weaken the class. In response to the UCAPAWA, the capitalist growers formed the California Processors and Growers Association which in turned called on the AFL to mobilize the Teamsters to undermine the CIO. This alliance proved successful and in 1945, the AFL gave the Teamsters total jurisdiction over the cannery workers.

Yet many of the 70,000 cannery workers in California are not unionized and some of those in the Teamsters have been struggling to reunite with their class brothers and sisters in the fields. But ever since the UFWO was first organized in 1966, their attempts have been thwarted by the class collaborationist stands of Chavez in his agreements with the Teamsters. Beginning in 1967 after the UFWOC successfully organized the field workers at the 20,000 acre DiGiorgio fruit company but lost the cannery workers to the Teamsters, Chavez signed an agreement dividing up the cannery and field workers - similar to the agreement 4 weeks ago, "This agreement persuaded other growers to allow union elections and by the end of the year, UFWOC had 11 contracts" - success at the expense of dividing of the working class.

Ever since Chavez has been in leadership of the UFW we have seen many examples of splitting the working class. In 1968, Chavez was faced with rising refusal of the proletariat to abide by his bourgeois pacifism. He brought in Robert Kennedy, fasted for a month and marched 300 miles to stem the correct line. Throughout his reign Chavez has opposed the Bracero pro-

gram saying Mexicans, since they did not have legal rights here, would be scabs. In 1975 he came out in support of the Rodino bill which legitimized the mass round up of thousands of Mexicans and chicanos to be shipped backed to Mexico. The response from the proletariat has forced him to modify his views. In 1975, he kicked the UFW of Texas out of the union for opposing the Rodino Bill, refusing to leave Texas to spend their time and money talking to liberal petty bourgeois forces in the east and North, and for using armed self-defense in the face of murderous attacks by the Texas Rangers. Gil Padilla, national VP of the UFW called the proletariat of the fields who used rifles to defend themselves 'agent provocateurs'.

As communists we fight for the unity of the class in all forms of organization. The proletariat of the fields and in the canneries have a long history of class struggle united against the monopoly capitalists and their state. They will not sit back passively as Chavez would like and accept this latest class collaborationist agreement. It is not primarily Teamster-grower collaboration that has weakened the UFW as some pretend, but social democratic leadership. It is time for Marxist-Leninists, who by and large have tailed this leadership, to go to the fields and canneries, integrating with the masses, and fight for leadership of the struggle by taking on the challenge to expose the social democrats who hold back our class from revolution.

IN CELEBRATION OF THE 60th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

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60690

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A Despicable Treaty Of Peace

Only forty years ago, steel workers fought along side their fellow workers in the CIO for the right to unionize. It was the active participation of hundreds of thousands of steelworkers, fighting in their own class interests, that overwhelmed the brutal opposition of the steel monopoly capitalists. The rank and file, courageously battling the armed thugs, police and national guardsmen who served the steel barons, built their union as a fighting working class organization.

Now, forty years later, the rank and file steelworkers have to fight to regain possession of their union. The steel capitalists have bought off the top leadership of the union and uses these labor bureaucrats to suppress the militancy and revolutionary spirit of the rank and file. The latest contract negotiations of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) clearly demonstrates this. In no way did the rank and file steelworkers have any say in these negotiations over the sale of their labor power. The bureaucrats, headed by I.W. Abel and president-elect Lloyd McBride, and the steel monopolists negotiated the contract like a conspiracy between heads of state. They allowed no hint or trace of the proceedings to leak out. While the conspirators gathered in luxurious offices, in the plants the workers faced the heat and smoke of the furnaces, dodged the swinging tons of steel beams and bore the weight of overwork from job combinations, speed up and forced overtime. Once the sell-out contract was unveiled, the rank and file still had no say because they do not vote on the national contract. This contract, which the workers will have to labor under for another three years, was ratified only by the labor bureaucrats themselves.

THE ENA IS CONTINUED

One of the great achievements of the CIO was that it organized workers on a national industry-wide basis. This enabled the workers to coordinate their struggle against the monopolists on a national basis and therefore defeat divide-and-conquer tactics. Industrial unions also broke down narrow trade divisions among the working class and helped promote class consciousness. But the weapon of the nation-wide strike has been sold away by the bureaucrats in the steel union. The steelworkers continue to be chained by the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) for three more years. The ENA, which prohibits national strikes, and only allows for local strikes over local issues, is no accident. The steel industry is one of the backbones of US imperialism, particularly at this time as the US imperialist bourgeoisie prepares for a war for redivision of the world with Russian social-imperialism. The capitalists want to be assured of "industrial peace" so that their war production can continue unimpaired. As partners in this plan the capitalists have the union bureaucrats who loyally wave the bloody imperialist flag within the workers' movement. The bourgeoisie is trying to suppress a class conscious revolutionary workers' movement which will not only militantly oppose the present economic attacks, but also oppose the present war preparations and fight for the overthrow of the US bourgeoisie when war breaks out.

CONTRACT A STEP BACKWARD

The final conditions of the contract were a slap in the face to the 350,000 workers in basic steel. The main issues were wages health and safety, the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) and what the bureaucrats characterized as "life-time job security for all". The steel workers will only receive a microscopic 80 cents raise over the next three years. Even the bourgeois representatives on the government's wage and price control board hailed this settlement as "non-inflationary".

HEALTH AND SAFETY IGNORED

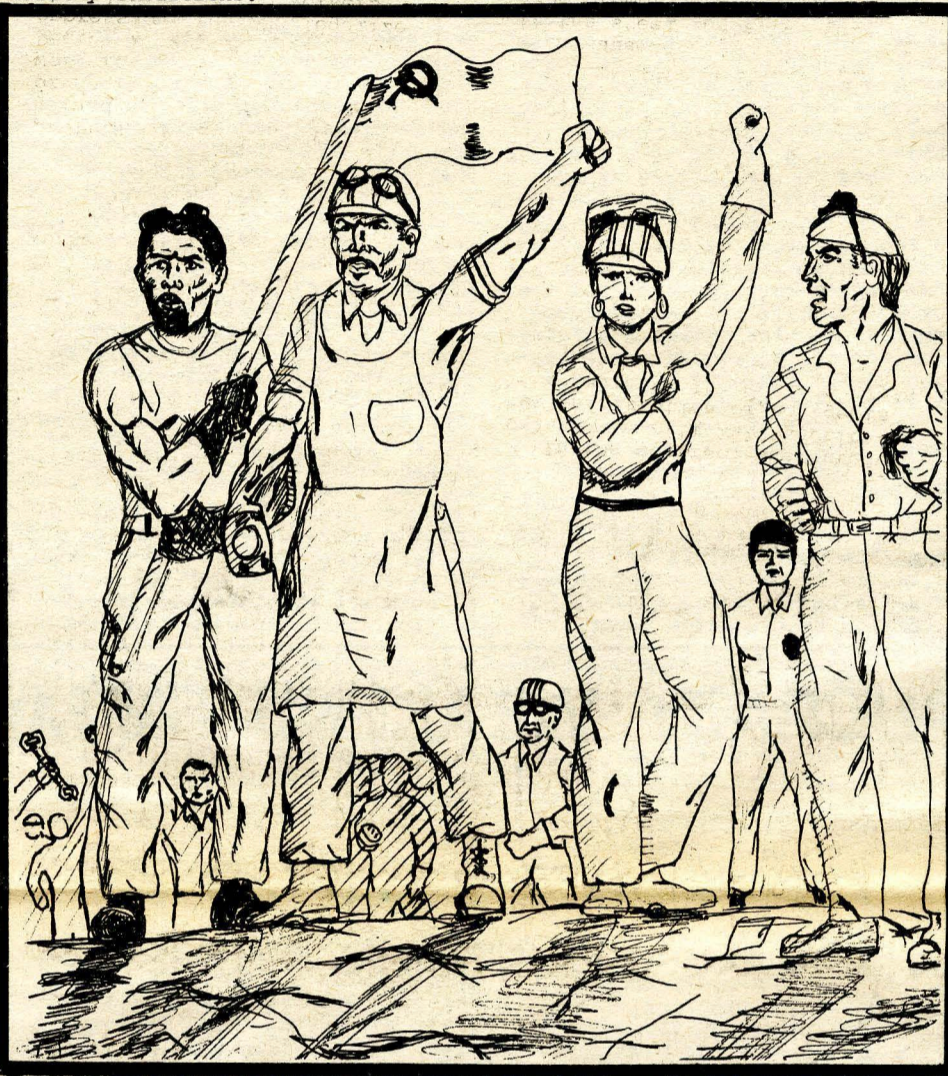
Nothing was done to better the working conditions for the steel workers. This betrayal occurred at the same time as workers' lives are increasingly being sacrificed for the sake of the capitalists' profits. Recently two outside repairmen were killed by gas fumes and two more died in a rescue attempt at Wisconsin Steel on Chicago's southside. At Republic Steel three workers were severely burned in an explosion. Coke oven workers daily face murderous conditions. These workers, of whom 80% are minority workers, are 7 times as likely to develop cancer than other steel workers. Yet there was not even a whisper in the contract about getting rid of these unhealthy conditions.

Furthermore, in order to qualify for the extended benefits, workers must accept transfers to other plants owned by the same company. This will cause hardships for workers and their families who would be uprooted from their communities.

Other travesties were that basic SUB funds were not really increased but only adjusted for inflation. Pensions were increased by only \$2.50 a month. "Contracting out" - the practice of the companies to hire specialty workers from outside the union - was given only a "review commission". Life insurance for early retirees was reduced from \$10,000 to \$3,000 a year and all medical and life insurance for probationary employees was eliminated.

in his bid for the USWA presidency, voted against the contract, but raised no opposition to the ENA or consent decree. Most importantly, this gutless liberal, who was one of the district directors on the negotiating panel, cooperated with the steel barons in maintaining the curtain of conspiratorial silence. His opposition to the contract meant nothing as he did not lift a finger to mobilize workers against it.

Acting in ideological concert with left-feigning opportunists like Sadlowski, the "Communist" Party ("C" PUSA) continued to spread its class collaborationist revisionist ideology. In their paper THE DAILY WORLD they blast Abel and McBride, but do so from a position of loyal opposition - never do they expose the class character of the union bureaucracy. They are content with their economist drivel which does nothing to bring class consciousness to the proletariat. Though they try to look as if they are interested in the mobilization of the rank and file, they cowardly accept the legal shackles that restrain the workers from revolutionary activity. They piteously limit the workers' struggle for democracy to a plea for "another vote" on the contract by the trade union bureaucrats. Their concept of democracy is the substitution of one bureaucracy for another. Like the bourgeoisie they fear the "elemental destructive force of the crowd" which is channeled by conscious revolutionary leadership to break free from the bonds of bourgeois legality. The "C" PUSA slanders the courageous wild-cat strikes by miners last year as "irresponsible" and "provocative". The "C" PUSA, along with the bourgeoisie, tries to prevent the merger of the conscious revolutionary forces with the upsurge in rank and file action and discontent by anti-communist tirades labelling Marxist-Leninists as "ultra-leftists" and "company agents". No matter how loudly the revisionists proclaim themselves the "party of the working class", their actions condemn them as liars and traitors to the proletarian cause.



CONSENT DECREE REMAINS

As with the ENA which disarmed the steelworkers as a whole, the extension of the Consent Decree in the new contract continued to disarm minority and women workers from redressing their grievances. The Consent Decree was pushed through over a year ago by the traitorous bureaucrats. The Decree stipulates that once workers accept checks averaging about \$700 dollars they give up their right to protest future discrimination. This is a cheap price to be paid for the super profits the capitalists have gained from the special oppression of national minority and women workers. Just as the Consent Decree legalizes this special oppression, the ENA legalizes the slavery of the workers, as they are forced to work under a contract they have no say over. Imperialism is political reaction all down the line. The collaboration of the bureaucrats in union leadership with the steel workers has turned the union into an organization of peonage under the feudal control of the monopoly capitalists of steel.

FAKE "LIFE-TIME SECURITY"

The newspaper headlines dutifully blared that the new contract guaranteed "life-time security" for steelworkers. But this was pure distortion. The majority of steel workers actually lost security. The contract extends SUB benefits from 52 to 104 weeks but only for workers with 20 years or more seniority. The funds for this will be taken from funds that would go to workers with less seniority. Therefore the benefits were cut for those most likely to be laid off. The company will save money by this revision while younger workers will face increasing difficulties taking care of their families during a lay-off period.

LATEST CONTRACT A WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF THE CAPITALISTS

In the contract the bureaucrats gave official sanction to the infiltration of bourgeois ideology into the working class. They agreed to finance a worker indoctrination program at the cost of \$500,000 a year out of the workers' dues money, and the steel barons will match this amount. Under this program, new steelworkers will be forced to attend sessions where they will be taught that strikes are bad for both workers and management, how increased "productivity" through speed-up and forced overtime will also benefit workers and that foreign imports are the main cause of job eliminations in the steel industry. This program promoting class collaboration and great nation chauvinism, combined with the no-strike agreement, the consent decree and the economic attacks, reveals this latest contract as a weapon constructed by the steel monopolists and the right-hand men, the labor bureaucrats, to be used against the class interests of the steel workers. It clearly reveals the intent behind the alliance of the capitalists and the bureaucrats which is to enchain the working class from use of its collective power through legal shackles like the ENA, and to enchain the working class ideologically through the ideology of class collaboration and class peace that runs like a common thread throughout the ENA, the Consent Decree and most openly in the joint indoctrination program.

OPPORTUNISTS AND REVISIONISTS

The "opposition" of opportunists to the contract did nothing to break the chains that immobilize the rank and file. Ed Sadlowski, who was recently defeated

COMMUNIST FACTORY NUCLEI

Presently the workers are confronted with many obstacles - the traitorous leadership of the trade union bureaucrats, legalistic restrictions, and the open promotion of class collaboration in their unions - which reflect the political subservience of the unions to bourgeois ideology. The fight against this ideology, the fight for union democracy, cannot be waged successfully on the basis of trade unionism, even militant trade unionism. Only the leadership of a vanguard communist party can guarantee victory in that struggle.

Our primary task at this time is to build this Marxist-Leninist party. In light of this task we must focus our factory work on building the primary form of working class organization in the work-place - communist factory nuclei. Through these nuclei the leadership of the party will be exercised in the unions, guaranteeing that the fight for democracy in the unions is firmly linked to the fight for the complete abolition of the wages system. The steelworker union must become an organizational center of the working class under the vanguard leadership of a revolutionary Marxist Leninist party.

In the next issue of THE COMMUNIST, we will resume our series on the book by Filip Kota, a comrade in the Party of Labor of Albania, called TWO OPPOSING LINES IN THE WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.