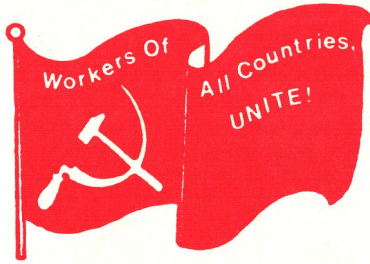


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EDITORIAL:

BLACK REBELLION IN MIAMI— FRUIT OF AMERICAN “JUSTICE”

RECESSION STALKS WORKERS

The entire world capitalist system is in the midst of a severe economic crisis. What we have seen already of the 1980 recession in the U.S. is but the tip of the iceberg. While Carter, Treasury Secretary Miller, and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Volcker in the public media cheerily assured the working class that this will be a brief and mild recession, the largest and most powerful financiers are telling a different story in private. The recent meeting of the Business Council, a major ruling class body that includes over 100 top corporate executives, forecast a steep recession followed only by an “anemic” recovery. The Council’s forecast, presented by Exxon board Chairman Clifton Garvin, Jr., was virtually unanimously supported by such other monopolist as Reginald Jones, Chairman of General Electric and also Chairman of the Business Council, Irving Shapiro, Chairman of the DuPont Company, Walter Wriston, Chairman of Citicorp, and many, many more. The capitalists must be a bit more frank with themselves about the decaying and crumbling of their economy than they are to the working class and the public in general, who they still try to convince that capitalism guarantees everybody prosperity, security, and justice. So, at the

Business Council meeting, “Top Administration economists now concede *privately* that their forecast is out of date and the recession is worst than they thought it would be.” (emphasis added, *New York Times*, May 10, 1980) So while such warnings appear on the financial pages of the newspapers, on the front page another song is sung.

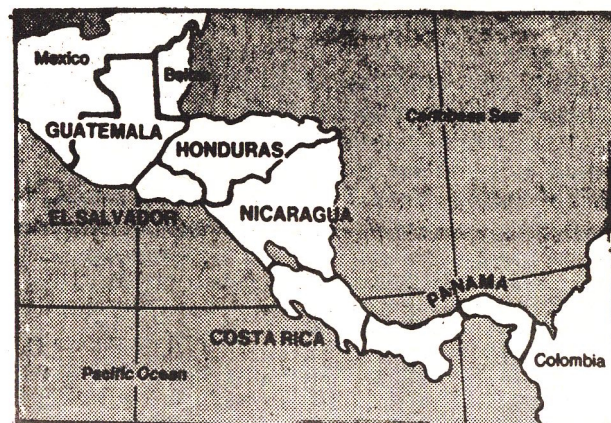
Already the economic crisis has had a devastating impact, even in its early stages. There are more and more plants closings and lay-offs. From March to April of this year alone, 825,000 more people were thrown out onto the streets into the ranks of the unemployed. And these “official” government statistics only count as unemployed those applying for unemployment benefits, ignoring the millions whose benefits ran out, who never had benefits, who stopped looking for work, who are under-employed, etc.. These new lay-offs mean that there are over one *million* new unemployed workers in 1980, bringing the “official” figure to 7,256,000 as of April. The unemployment rate is also two or three times higher among Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

Recession (cont. p. 12)

THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA: A VITAL REGION FOR IMPERIALISM

The Carter administration, in a state of perpetual crisis, found time in January of this year to call together a group of America’s largest industrial corporations for a private meeting of the State Department. The invitees included Standard Oil, Mobil Oil, Exxon, Westinghouse, General Electric, IBM, and Caterpillar Tractor. The topic: Central America. The countries of Central America, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama and Honduras are of vital interest to American corporations and hence to the government. Along with the Caribbean region, Central America becomes even more important as the danger of war between the imperialist countries comes closer.

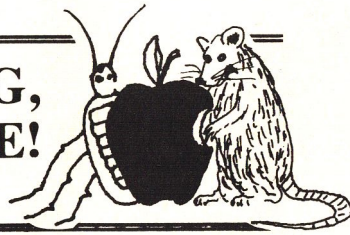
Oil is needed for the waging of war and fifty-two percent of all oil imported by the U.S. is carried by huge super-tankers through the Caribbean Sea. In order for the oil to arrive in Houston and New Orleans the tankers must pass along the coast of Central America. Aside from oil, the Caribbean and Central America are vital regions for military and commercial interests. The Panama Canal (a region which the U.S. has changed from colonial to semi-colonial status) is extremely important for U.S.



warships as well as its commercial vessels. In the Caribbean, 15% of the territory of Puerto Rico is occupied by military installations, with the island of Vieques having been turned into

Central America (cont. p. 7)

THE DECAYING, ROTTEN APPLE!



The capitalists, landlords, and their politicians have made New York City one great big decaying, rotten apple, despite their campaign to polish it as a shiny, red apple. Recent disclosures of *everyday life* in NYC have shown how the tyranny of these leeches strikes at the workers and oppressed national minorities.

The City Council of New York, with the backing of the *despicable, degenerate*, mayor of NYC - Koch - has passed a bill which will raise the monthly rents of 300,000 rent-controlled apartments. This bill will raise monthly rents retroactive to January 1st, by \$3.30 per room in order to compensate landlords for the increase of 23 cents a gallon in fuel oil prices between March 9, 1979 and December 31st. The politicians have ensured that their masters - the capitalists and landlords - receive their profit at the expense of the working class. Then, starting January 1st, 1981, and every year thereafter, landlords will be entitled to increase rents as fuel prices increase.

But what compensation will workers, unemployed and oppressed national minorities receive? None whatsoever! In fact, the Koch administration is stubbornly insisting that in labor negotiations, such as in the upcoming Municipal Labor negotiations, they will not budge on raising the wages.

For those poorest sections of the working class, the unemployed and oppressed national minorities who are forced to live on welfare, the suffering and deprivation have increased tremendously. Despite the increasing inflation, prices, rents, healthcare, etc., there has not been even a slight increase in welfare grants since 1974. The average welfare family of four receives a monthly check of \$258. And this is supposed to cover food and clothing plus Con Edison bills, and other necessities.

A welfare mother with six children, three of whom are physically or emotionally handicapped revealed the following.

"My rent is \$381 a month, but my welfare allotment for rent is \$249. So I have to take \$83 from what they call miscellaneous money that is supposed to take care of other things."

"I get \$104 in food stamps a month but that is very difficult when you have six growing children who eat \$20 worth

of food a day. One has lupus and needs a high-protein diet. She get \$218.74 a month in S.S.I., but I have to use some of that money for the rest of the family. All you do is get frustrated and angry as the days go by."

With a rent of \$381 monthly, plus lets' say at the minimum - for a family of seven - a monthly expense of \$400 in food (this is not even what she states in terms of needing \$20 a day for food which would amount to \$620 monthly) would amount to a total of \$781 in expenses. This would include nothing for clothing or travel - never mind leisure. Yet the actual income of this family is even less - a bare \$571 per month. How is a family like this expected to live!

Let's take another case in this "lovely" city of New York. In the Puerto Rican community of East Harlem, there recently was revealed the horrendous living situation of two tenants of an abandoned building of 20 apartments. Miss Cruz and her two children, a three year old girl and her one year old boy, and her neighbor, Mr. Comas, 75 years old, who came to the U.S. during the depression to find work, have been living in this building without heat, hot water or electricity and with rats roaming throughout. What happened? The landlord abandoned the building. In April 1979, the City condemned the building. Rent collectors stopped coming. Tenants left the building. In cases when the city takes over buildings and situations like this occur - which is every other day - they are supposed to find new homes for the tenants. But really, what the hell do these leeches care! Once they no longer make their profit, to hell with the working class. More than half of the buildings on this particular block are condemned or partly empty.

Mr. Comas, who has a heart condition and high blood pressure, lives in the first floor apartment, which is twice the size of a closet, with no windows. Miss Cruz lives on the third floor, has windows, but is afraid to leave them open long for fear of the criminal, lumpen elements which are roaming the streets of East Harlem.

How do they get by without heat, light, water, etc.? They have candles for light, the fire hydrant on the street for water and construction bricks placed in the licking flames on the burners of the gas stove - "courtesy" of Con Ed - for heat.

As for refrigeration, in the winter the food can be kept at the window ledge to keep from going bad. The catch is that illness is sure to strike the family.

In the building, stoves are stolen leaving behind dangerous gas leaks. Aside from lumpens, rats, etc. fire becomes a great fear for these tenants.

Mr. Comas lives on a grand total of social security and disability income of \$280 a month! As for Miss Cruz, the City stated that they will not move her family until she proves

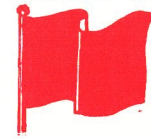
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Editorial



BLACK REBELLION IN MIAMI-- FRUIT OF AMERICAN "JUSTICE"

The rebellion of the Black community in Miami was bound to happen. The acquittal of four white cops, who had beaten to death a Black insurance man, Arthur McDuffie, sparked the rebellion. But this example of America's so-called "justice" was only one episode in a long string of police murders and beatings of Blacks in Miami. This time, when the all-white, all male jury delivered the not guilty verdict, a large demonstration, mostly of Blacks, but also including some whites, took to the streets to show their outrage and disgust with what amounted to a sanctioning of police murders of Blacks. The police once again practiced their modern-day lynch law by viciously attacking the demonstration. It was then that the rebellion spread throughout the entire Black community in Miami, only to be put down by some 4,000 National Guardsmen. It was obvious that this righteous spontaneous outburst, while stifled for now, could spread during the summer to other ghettos across the country as more state-sanctioned police murders would come. The evidence against the four cops, along with other cops who also beat McDuffie to death with clubs and flashlights, was so strong that even the Miami police department was forced to throw the four cops off the force.

Two former Miami cops testified at the trial that the four accused cops fatally beat McDuffie after stopping him on a traffic violation, and then falsified reports to make it look like he died in a traffic accident. The coroner testified that the head smashing McDuffie got was the worst head injury he had ever seen.

But the state made sure the cops would get acquitted in court through manipulations of jury selection, preparation of the prosecution, and moving of the trial to Tampa so the cops could supposedly get a "fair" trial. All this once again shows that the American system of "justice" and "democracy" only justifies terror and tyranny against Black people.

The acquittal of the four cops was a signal to Black people that a heightened wave of police terror and repression was about to be unleashed. Following the police attack on the demonstration, what happened can only be called an officially sanctioned police riot. Police and organized bands of whites patrolled Liberty City and North Coconut Grove sections of Miami hunting down Blacks; committing numerous armed attacks, and destroying Blacks' cars while painting the words "looter" and "thief" on the cars.

The government and the press portrayed the picture of the Blacks as a brutal, savage mob, killing any whites they would find. They especially howled about the killing of two 15-year old white youths. Yet witnesses say that these white youths were killed only after being caught riding through the streets of the Black community shooting at Blacks with a pistol. The bourgeois press raises these issues in the way they do to obscure the real injustices and oppression that led up to the rebellion and to blame the victims, the Black people, for the real crisis of police terror.

Of course, there exists sentiment in the Black community, both in Miami and throughout the country, against whites in general. This is in response to centuries of barbarianism and brutality practised against Blacks by white slaveowners, white

plantation owners and white capitalist bosses, and their legions of armed bands and police. After the defeat of reconstruction following the Civil War, the Black people in the Black Belt area of the South were forged into an oppressed nation. The Black nation first was almost entirely dominated by the plantation system and the tyrannical rule of the white plantation owners who were by and large the former slaveowners.

This oppression has historically not been opposed by large numbers of white workers, who are widely infected with the shameful ideas of white chauvinism that actually benefit only the capitalist class. So such distrust is inevitable especially in a situation as in Miami where the rebellion proceeded spontaneously without a clear plan, clear goals, and a clear analysis of what the source of the problem is. In such circumstances the capitalists can whip up the greatest amount of racist chauvinism among whites and nationalism among Blacks, so as to cloud the real issues and provoke a race war.

Black National Oppression Stems From Capitalism

Brutal terror against Black people in America has gone on since they were kidnapped in chains from Africa as slaves. Terror by police, the Klan, and other white vigilantes and mobs have had one purpose: to keep Black people exploited economically and subjugated politically. Slavery could not be enforced without such terror. The plantation system and the brutalities of sharecropping could not be enforced without lynch laws and "legal" segregation. The ghetto life of the worst and lowest paid jobs, slum housing, and massive unemployment could not be enforced without an army of police letting Black people know they should "stay in their place." Where terror was not sufficient, drugs were flooded into the community, aimed especially at immobilizing and controlling the youth and keeping them from rebelling.

Capitalism has benefited tremendously from this terror. American capitalism grew up and thrived on slave labor. Today the banks and corporations also profit from cheap Black labor. The average income of Blacks is still only 59 percent that of whites, while at least 40 percent of all black youth are without work. The old tale of "last hired, first fired" means that many Blacks are part of a reserve army of labor, used especially to keep down the wages of all workers. This is done, as is everything else under the capitalist system, for one and only one reason: to maximize profit. To enforce this economic exploitation, a whole system of political oppression is built up. So, while Black people compromise under 15 percent of the U.S. population, over 50 percent of the people killed by police are Black. A similar pattern holds true for other oppressed nationalities, including Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Dominicans, Haitians, and many others.

The situation for Black people in Miami is particularly distressing. Many Blacks migrated to Miami in the 1920's and after to work in the resort hotels in the worst and lowest paid service jobs. Today in Miami's ghettos the unemployment rate for Blacks is 40 percent, and probably double that for Black youths. The Liberty City section of Miami's ghetto has the highest

EDITORIAL:

concentration of poor people in Dade County, and has a median family income of \$5,771.00, only slightly above the official poverty line of \$5,500.00

Only ten percent of all whites and 18 percent of Latinos (mainly Cubans) are below the poverty level, 38 percent of all Blacks make less than this level. The official laws enforcing the Jim Crow system are gone, yet the deprivation, impoverishment, and terror against Black people remain. Since it is obvious to everyone that such conditions can only breed massive discontent and outrage, the response of the capitalists is to further shackle the Black people of Miami and elsewhere with a gestapo to keep them down.

Another trick used by Miami's rulers is to play Blacks off against Cubans. The growing influx of Cuban refugees has included both former capitalists and landowners who had prospered under the U.S. backed dictatorship of Batista, and workers and farmers fleeing the economic crisis and political oppression of Castro's phoney "communism". Some of these refugees, especially the elite, receive many privileges when they arrive in Miami. This is not only in stark contrast to the subjugation of Miami's Blacks, but also to the governments refusal to allow in significant numbers of Black Haitian workers and peasants fleeing the brutal Duvalier dictatorship. The resentment between Blacks and Cubans is being whipped up to divert all these oppressed workers and poor people from their common enemy, the capitalist system, which enslaves them all. It is a classic case of divide and conquer.

Also being brought into the act are the "responsible" Black leaders like Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson, and Vernon Jordan. These frauds are financed by the same corporations that rake in untold profits from the sweat and blood of Black labor. They called for Miami's Blacks to cool down, but were not successful. Young was booed upon his arrival to Miami, and forced to leave only one-half hour later. These Uncle Tom bootlickers will no doubt try to return with a more "militant" recipe for selling out the struggle for a few crumbs for the small Black bourgeoisie.

Another kind of Black opportunist is also seen in the situation like Miami. This type encourages rebellions, but *only* if they are unplanned and unorganized, as much of the Miami rebellion was. They can then let the people blow off some steam, spill some more blood to get some publicity, and then step in and demand a government program which will give only to themselves a bundle of privileges and money. A whole generation of poverty pimps was created in this way in the 1960's. Yet all the government commissions, all the "civil rights" laws, and all the so-called "gains" of the past only served to fatten a small group of middle class Blacks, while nothing of substance changed for the masses of Black people. These would-be poverty pimps, politicians, and the likes are merely auditioning for the role of successor to Jordan, Young, and the rest, and are just Uncle Toms-in-training. The only way to end the oppression of the masses of Black people is not to give some crumbs to these up-and-coming careerists, but to end the source of Black oppression, the profit-hungry system of capitalism.

More Miami s To Come

The summer months are bound to see more murders of Blacks by police and more rebellions like in Miami. What is needed, however, is not sporadic outbursts, since these, however righteous, offer no clear plan or direction to ending the oppression of Black people. They often also end up in needless deaths and sacrifices by both Black and white working people. What is required is organized, planned struggle, with pre-arranged

tactics that can advance the struggle in the best way in the given circumstances. This itself requires democratic organizations of self-defense among the Black people, something the "responsible" leaders and all opportunists seek to crush.

The struggle also requires the active participation of large numbers of white workers and other progressive white people. The petty economic and political privileges that most white workers get compared to Black and other nationally oppressed workers do not actually benefit the white workers. They actually serve to chain them to this system of wage-slavery and exploitation. As Karl Marx put it over 100 years ago, "**Labor can not emancipate itself in the white skin when in the black it is branded.**" (*Capital*, Vol. 1)

Only a minority of workers, the labor aristocracy, actually benefits from the super-profits and super exploitation made by the capitalist class from the oppression of the colonies, semi-colonies, and dependent countries. To the extent that the mass of white workers so shamefully identify their interests with that of the white capitalists and white labor aristocrats and support the oppression of Black and other oppressed peoples, they only betray their own class interests. Again, to quote Marx, "**A people which enslaves another people forges its own chains.**" (*Resolutions of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association*, 1869)

It is thus especially in the most vital *class* interest of white workers and all other workers to engage in the struggle against the oppression of Black people and all other oppressed people. To the extent the white workers fail to realize this, which is so considerable, they must be educated as to their real interests. Further, to the extent that Black and other oppressed workers and peoples see all whites as their enemy, this goes against their class interest. The enemy of all workers and oppressed peoples is the entire capitalist class. The struggle of the Black people against national oppression will only be successful if it becomes part of a class struggle of all working people against capitalism and for socialism.

No one knows for sure where the next Miami will be. Dozens of ghettos, from Harlem to Watts, from Newark to Birmingham from Bedford-Stuyvesant to Houston, and from Chicago's South Side to Atlanta, may boil over. The situation is especially volatile in the South, where the majority of black people live and where racism is often most open. In the Black Belt area of the South are many counties of Black majority, which form the core of the oppressed Black nation in the U.S. The economy is the most backward, often still agrarian or related to agriculture. The Klan is rising again in the Black nation, and also all throughout the U.S. All these are the ingredients for more tyrannical oppression of Blacks and more rebellions.

It is the task of the most politically advanced workers, of all races and nationalities, to take up and organize this struggle against this terror and oppression. The alternative is to accept the fate of a slave. ★

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Bolshevik Revolution will temporarily be coming out bi-monthly. This will not affect subscriptions, which remain for twelve issues.

U.S. INVADES IRAN-- THE POLITICAL CRISIS SHARPENS

One thing that is certain about the April 25th U.S. "rescue mission" to Iran and its utter failure, is that the truth about it has not yet been revealed. While the U.S. government desperately tries to lie its way out of the debacle, explaining its failure as due to coincidental and totally unexpected mechanical breakdowns, and the deaths of the commandos as due to experienced pilots flying their planes into one another, many people are finding it hard to believe a word of the fantastic story. The retreat of the military mission, which constituted an invasion of Iran even if on a small scale, was so hasty that secret documents and plans of the raid, as well as the bodies of the commandos, were left behind, along with the unburned helicopters. This hardly seems to be the result of the sober and reasonable discussion to call off the raid such as we are being asked to believe took place. Can the people believe that after this "rational" decision was made, everyone just "forgot" the secret maps, documents and equipment, and just "happened" to crash into each other while preparing to leave the area?

The bungled raid, and the clumsy cover-up that has followed it, are a further confirmation of the political crisis within the U.S. government. Contradictions are sharpening, as the Carter administration shows that it does not know how to manage government policy in such a way as to secure the spheres of influence of the U.S. The desperate attempt of the raid, which had the appearance of being calculated to bolster Carter's image as a presidential candidate and obliterate the impression of a "do-nothing", "non-violent" president, has actually resulted in even sharper divisions and more criticism. With the Vance resignation over the decision to carry out the raid, an event almost unheard of in U.S. history, divisions within the Trilateral Commission group have become more obvious. Backers of Reagan for president have started to come forward in Trilateral circles.

Rabid anti-Russian, anti-detente elements such as Alexander Solzenitsyn are being featured in Trilateral and Council on Foreign Relations publications. While the U.S. bourgeoisie is sharply divided as to how to proceed, and the government often simply does not know what to do, the Russians appear to be operating on a much more unified and long-range plan for war. Their invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, for example, was based on correct calculations that the U.S. was in no position to do anything about it. This is quite contrary to the picture painted by the adherents of the "three worlds" theory who describe the Russians as frantic and frothing at the mouth, and the U.S. as becoming more and more peace-loving. Neither is true. Both the planned moves of the Russian imperialists toward war, and the frenzied and desperate acts of the U.S. are a threat to the working people throughout the world and bring closer the danger of full-scale imperialist war.

What Really Happened?

Numerous speculations have appeared regarding what actually took place in the Iranian desert. It is noteworthy that many of these speculations and doubts are coming from the allies of the U.S., who have been critical of the Carter government both in

public and in private. One voice of the British bourgeoisie, for example (*The Economist*, April 19, 1980), stated, "A great power does not shape its strategy around the release of 50 POW's in a minor theater of war. The fact that Mr. Carter is doing just that suggests that he is letting his policy be dictated by the frustrations of election-year American public opinion; which does not add to one's confidence in Mr. Carter". This was *before* the raid took place, and in the context of a criticism that Carter was ignoring the dependence of the European Economic Community and Japan on Persian Gulf oil, and their consequent vulnerability to increased Russian control of the area (70% for the EEC and 67% for Japan).

Among the more likely speculations that have emerged are these possibilities:

- Indications that at least one of the aircraft was shot down.
- Advance notice of the operation to the Iranian Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh.
- More knowledge on the part of the Russians than the U.S. admits, and the possibility that a call was made on the hot line from Brezhnev to Carter, telling him to call off the raid or face Russian intervention, and the possibility that the plane was shot down by them.

There are convincing reasons to believe the latter explanation. Despite initial U.S. statements that the Russians knew nothing of the raid until open reports went out on it (interesting that they felt they had to make this point), it is hard to believe that an area so close to the border of Russia, and Afghanistan, would not be under close electronic surveillance. Or that there would not be Russian planes in the area capable of shooting down the U.S. aircraft. Russian involvement, and a warning to call off the raid or risk further confrontation, would also explain the extreme haste with which the U.S. commandos left the area. Otherwise, it strains one's credulity to believe that a highly trained group of mercenaries, the commandos of the Blue Light unit (also known as the Delta Team) dedicated to stop at nothing, including suicidal actions, in the service of U.S. imperialist interests, would leave the scene so hastily that the bodies of their fellow mercenaries, secret documents and maps, equipment and aircraft would all be left behind *intact!*

U.S. Frantic to Regain Control of Iran

The U.S. has in no way resigned itself to the loss of Iran. It is seeking to regain control over what was once a market for \$3.7 billion of U.S. goods annually (the 1978 figure), a market for over \$22 billion of weapons and military equipment, a source of billions of dollars in construction contracts. Iran was the source of billions of dollars of deposits in the Chase Manhattan Bank while the Shah was in power. The U.S. is not resigned to the loss of access to the \$23 billions in annual oil revenues, nor to the loss of its electronic intelligence stations aimed at the Russians. However, it is caught in the dilemma that all of its actions, from the military to imposing economic sanctions, are resulting in the increase of economic relations between Iran and the Russian-led bloc.

Iran recently announced an oil deal with Rumania for

CUBA: A SHOWCASE OF RUSSIAN CAPITALISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

The plan was to embarrass the Peruvian government for giving asylum to six embassy gate crashers. Fidel Castro announced that anyone wishing to leave Cuba could do so by going to the Peruvian embassy. He then removed Cuban guards from around the mission. The plan backfired when 10,000 people from all over Cuba crowded into the embassy grounds. Fidel may now be having some second thoughts.

Why not follow the recent examples of other capitalist and semi-colonial regimes which cloak their governments in socialist garb, such as China and Vietnam? China has exported its workers, students, and peasants to other countries in order to resolve its unemployment problems. Vietnam has allowed the exodus of its population (including the mercenaries that were at the pay of the U.S.) in order to ease its economic and political crisis. Now Cuba, too, has used the turn of events at the Peruvian embassy to ease some economic woes such as unemployment, inability to feed its population, and other such symptoms of its capitalist economy, styled in socialist garb by exporting its labor power that it cannot employ.

Who are the people who want to leave Cuba? Why are so many willing to leave their homes, family, and friends? To be sure, the refugees are a mixed group. Some are professionals from the petty bourgeois class (and probably egged on by U.S. anti-Castro propaganda). Others are marginal, unproductive members of society and criminal elements (what the Cubans have been calling scum). But a large number are clearly working class people who are leaving because of economic and political reasons.

Cuba bills itself as a workers' state, a socialist state. Reality proves otherwise. Obviously there has been a failure to provide for the needs of the thousands of Cuban workers now waiting to leave their country. This failure becomes clear when we look at Cuba's economy. After almost 30 years, of a supposedly planned, "socialist" economy, Cuba is still primarily a one crop, sugar economy. Every time the world sugar price drops, the Cuban proletariat and peasantry suffer privations. In addition to the low world market price of sugar, *Prensa Latina*, the Cuban Press Agency, itself admitted that Cuba's economic problems were caused by the "world crisis of capitalism" and "some deficiencies in the internal economic structure."

Indeed their "deficiencies in the internal economic structure" are none other than the anarchistic capitalist mode of production. This is why Castro does not mind exporting the "surplus" population and making it the problem of other capitalist regimes — the U.S. for starters.

As for problems caused by the world crisis of capitalism the Soviet Union proved in the 1930's that a truly socialist economy was able to withstand even the greatest of capitalism's crises. During the Great Depression, the proletariat of the Soviet Union experienced a steady rise in its standard of living. This was possible because at that time the

Soviet Union had a dictatorship of the proletariat. The society and economy were planned to serve the needs and interests of the proletariat. Unfortunately, today it is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie that reigns in both Cuba and Russia.

The Cuban-Russian bourgeoisie's connection has even more insidious aspects. They have made a pact that in exchange for Russian protection from internal and external attacks, Cuba will remain economically dependent, an exporter of raw materials and an importer of manufactured goods and capital. Part of the deal between the Russian and Cuban bourgeoisies also includes sending tens of thousands of the sons and daughters of the Cuban proletariat to Africa to defend Russia's imperialist interests. Cuban youth have been fighting and dying as part of world imperialism's scheme to keep the African masses enslaved. In addition, the allocation of scarce resources to Cuba's large military apparatus creates more strain on an already strained economy. Cuba's military adventures abroad are not tremendously popular with those who have to do the fighting and the sacrificing. These are some of the reasons why workers and youth want to leave Cuba.

The recent events at the Peruvian embassy expose some of Cuba's internal problems. Naturally, the U.S. bourgeoisie hopes to use this new Cuban crisis to its advantage. The recent breakup of detente and the escalation of war preparations have heightened the propaganda war being waged by the two major imperialist blocks, headed by Russia and the U.S. Demonstrations by Cuban refugees are being staged both in New York and Miami in support of the newest group of Cuban refugees. Virulently anti-communist propaganda is spread in an attempt to mislead the workers into thinking that Cuba is really a socialist country. These demonstrations are supported by the U.S. bourgeoisie as part of its efforts to whip up war hysteria against Russia and its allies.

The Cuban bourgeoisie is also sponsoring demonstrations and pep rallies in an attempt to convince the Cuban people that all of the thousands of men, women, and children wishing to leave Cuba are nothing but scum. The Cuban government is trying to win the support of the Cuban people by playing on their legitimate fears of U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean. *Granma*, the official newspaper of the "Communist" Party of Cuba, has featured interviews with Cuban military personnel who fought in Angola, Ethiopia, or the Bay of Pigs and who say they are prepared to do so again. In both the U.S. and Cuba, therefore, patriotism and nationalism are being invoked to bamboozle the proletariat into supporting imperialist war.

U.S. imperialists love to portray themselves as great humanitarian leaders, championing the cause of liberty and human rights. They like to pretend that their offer of asylum to 3,500 Cubans (which now numbers more than 40,000) was motivated by their concern for human rights. When we compare the treatment given to the recent influx of Haitian refugees with that given to the Cubans, the hypocrisy of this "concern" is revealed. It seems that "human rights" and asylum are only given to those fleeing the opposing "rival" instead. Unlike the Cubans, the Haitians are frequently deported immediately to face almost certain

Central America (from p. 1)

a target for Navy weapons practice and a staying area for "war games." What really worries the Pentagon officials and State Department diplomats is the increasing Soviet-Cuban influence in Central America and the Caribbean. The State Department considers virtually all the recent political turmoil in this area to be the result of stepped-up Cuban interference in the colonial and semi-colonial backyard of U.S. imperialism.

Last year's non-aligned conference in Havana highlighted the increased affinity between many government leaders in the Caribbean-Central American countries with the most lucrative-appearing relationship offered them by Russia through Cuba.

Because their countries have become utterly bankrupted economically, no longer will the myth of American "aid" continue without opposition from the workers and peasants.

Between the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and private U.S. banks, the loans that these wrecked economies have been forced to carry ensure the continued rapid decline in the standard of living. On the other hand, Cuba appears to be a bright beacon, if not for her economy (\$2 billion in debt to Moscow) at least for her anti-American stand. The worry of the American corporations, government and generals comes from the knowledge that intense anti-American feelings are again gripping the peasants, workers and students of their Caribbean-Central American colonies and semi-colonies. Even some of the government leaders who enjoy their positions via the grace of American imperialism are beginning to nip at the hand that feeds them. Michael Manley, prime minister of Jamaica, answered Western critics who said he had "anti-American" positions: "This is absolutely untrue, I have the profoundest admiration for both the people and the achievements of the great Western democracies." Two months earlier, he called Castro "Comrade President" seventeen times in a long anti-U.S., pro-Cuba speech. In February Manley informed the Jamaican people that his People's National Party had failed to agree to the terms of a loan from the IMF and he immediately borrowed money from Libya.

The terrible poverty of the Caribbean-Central American countries is maintained in order to satisfy the huge interest payments charged on the loans by the world capitalist bankers. Cheap labor and raw materials have driven the imperial slogans appearing on every wall in countries to maintain the colonial and semi-colonial status of these countries in order to extract profits often four to five times those in the "great" powers. As disease and unemployment, terrible housing and lack of food stir the anti-imperialist interests of the peoples of the colonies, Cuba is increasingly portrayed as the salvation of her regional neighbors. Appearing stable and well-fed, the Cuban model is constantly polished by the Kremlin chiefs while Castro's very real unemployment, housing, production and food problems are buried beneath the many-millions-a-day Soviet "aid" program which has made Cuba a puppet semi-colony of Russia.

Cuba (from previous page)

death when they return home. Despite the repressive conditions in Haiti, we are told the Haitians are merely economic not political refugees and that the U.S. can not be expected to make up for Haiti's economic shortcomings. The fact is that Haiti's economic and political shortcomings are largely because of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. bourgeoisie reaps millions in superprofits from the workers in Haiti and supports the Duvalier dictatorship that keeps the

Cuba's economic troubles are wide spread despite the massive Russian propaganda campaign designed to prop up Cuba's image. Meanwhile in Nicaragua and El Salvador, social unrest has led to the installation of liberal "pro-socialist" groups that spout Castro-like language while engaging in loan talks with David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan and the IMF. In Jamaica the IMF demanded that money be devalued, prices raised, and wage hikes halted, which dropped real incomes by thirty-five percent. When the government finally refused to meet the IMF's new loan conditions, private banks (which have lent \$450 million) refused to lend more or renegotiate present loan payments until the government resumed talks with the IMF. The ruling Nicaraguan Sandinistas (despite their anti-U.S. proclamations) are now in negotiations with the IMF for loans upwards of \$22 million.



In the present situation, Cuban-Soviet influence is bound to grow in Central America and the Caribbean. Therefore, the heads of some of the largest U.S. oil and industrial monopolies met in January to discuss ways to halt the inevitable anti-American, pro-Soviet shift taking place in their "backyard." It can be assumed that "Operation Bootstrap" (the forced industrialization of Puerto Rico beginning in 1950) type solutions are being worked on by the new group formed in Washington, as the leading corporate planners of "Bootstrap" — Westinghouse and General Electric — were invited to discuss prospects with the major oil companies.

The imperialist bankers and industrialists are in a tough spot — they cannot alleviate economic starvation in their colonies without the loss of profits and they cannot stop the advance of Soviet influence via Cuba so long as the masses suffer such misery. And the choice for the workers and peasants of being led by either a pro-U.S. or a pro-Russian "liberation" front is no choice at all. Semi-colonialism has proven to be no salvation whatsoever. ★

proletariat and peasantry enslaved. Just as the mass exodus of Cubans exposes the Cuban and Russian bourgeoisies, so the mass exodus of Haitians exposes the Haitian and U.S. bourgeoisies.

The proletariat must oppose all efforts by the bourgeoisie to use the plight of refugees for their own imperialist and warmongering ends. When the proletariat has overthrown the bourgeoisie and built socialism, the tragic plight of refugees will at last become a thing of the past. ★

Against Imperialist War And Pacifism

The growing threat of war leads to anti-war sentiments among wide sections of the population. But many diverse classes respond to the war danger in many diverse ways. The war-mongering "Carter doctrine," the crisis around Iran and Afghanistan, and the plans for draft registration have led to a growth in recent months of the "peace movement." This movement is almost entirely composed of intellectuals, students, professionals, and the like. Linked to it by the same social base and many of the same leaders have been the "anti-nuke" movement to abolish nuclear energy. A similar and related pacifism was seen in the April 26th "anti-nuke" rally that called for "zero nuclear weapons." This pacifism promotes the illusory notion that war can be ended without ending its source, imperialism. Thus the pacifists advance fantastic slogans of reforming the nature of imperialism.

The development of a pacifist movement is nothing new. In his work *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin traced its roots:

"Since the specific political features of imperialism are reaction all along the line and increased national oppression resulting from the oppression of the financial oligarchy and the elimination of free competition, a petty bourgeois democratic opposition to imperialism arose in the beginning of the twentieth century in nearly all imperialist countries." (FLP, p. 133)

Lenin scoffed at this movement to turn the clock back as "really reactionary in its economic basis" and ridiculed those "anti-imperialists" who opposed imperialist war while leaving the system of imperialism intact as being "the last of the Mohicans of bourgeois democracy." (*Ibid.*, p. 134) He concluded, "But while all this criticism shrank from recognizing the unseverable bond between imperialism and the trusts, and, therefore, between imperialism and the foundations of capitalism, while it shrank from joining the forces engendered by large-scale capitalism and its development — it remained a 'pious wish'." (*Ibid.*)

The present day peace movement is but a continuation of this same reformism. The petty bourgeois pacifist movement only wanted to remove some of the most blatant horrors of imperialism, such as war, while keeping the system intact that provided them with numerous privileges and otherwise comfortable lives. The likes of Jane Fonda are an example of this. Fonda, part of Tom Hayden's campaign for economic democracy, dreams of a return to competitive capitalism. Then she could make more millions and win more Oscars, while the rest of the petty bourgeoisie could pursue their prestigious careers, without disruptions or threats to their class privileges created by war and disaster. The petty bourgeoisie wants to go backward to competitive capitalism so they can get a chance at becoming big capitalists. To do this, they demand peace, a lower level of technology, and "no nukes."

The attitude of the class conscious workers to imperialist war is entirely different. The working class has no interest in waging imperialist wars to determine which capitalist robber will plunder which part of the world. But instead of demanding peace, the revolutionary proletariat works to overthrow the source of imperialist wars, the imperialist system itself. And if an imperialist war does break out, the proletariat must work to turn it into a civil war against the bourgeoisie.

Plainly put, the petty bourgeois peace movement diverts the genuine sentiments against imperialist war into dead-end directions that do not serve to weaken the source of war and the crises,

the capitalist system. War is a continuation of politics by other means. The present war preparations by the U.S. imperialists, the Russian imperialists, and all the other imperialists are the inevitable results of their striving to seek new markets, sources of raw materials (especially today oil), and spheres of influence. In the era of imperialism, the entire world is divided up among a handful of "great" powers. To expand, then, the world can only be *re*-divided. This cannot be done through peaceful agreements, but only forcibly, through military conquest. The imperialists wage war for annexations and spheres of influence, especially — the colonies and semi-colonies, where they can reap enormous super-profits. The whole bloody history of imperialism is living proof that wars are *inevitable* under this system, *inevitable* products of a system based on private property and production for maximum profit.

To abolish imperialist war, then, imperialism must be overthrown. It can not be made to change its nature. To call for a peace movement or disarmament only spreads the illusion that there is nothing wrong with the system, but only a problem of a few "misguided" politicians.

Further, it is not in the interests of the proletariat to oppose all war. First, there are *unjust* wars, such as imperialist wars of conquest to repartition the world. Second, there are *just* wars, such as revolutionary wars, wars to defend the working people from attempts to enslave them, national liberation wars, civil wars by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and wars for the defense of socialism. The proletariat must oppose all *unjust* wars while supporting all *just* wars. To do otherwise is to cut one's own throat and aide the world-wide plunder by imperialism.

A peace movement offers no solution to imperialist war. Only proletarian revolution can abolish imperialist war. At most a peace movement can only temporarily postpone a war, but not prevent it. If a war does break out, what solution does a peace movement offer? Only "peace." But we have seen many times that the "peace" that follows imperialist war is a robber's peace, a victory for imperialist annexations and expansion. If the imperialists launch a new war, the only solution for the proletariat is to utilize the heightening of the crisis caused by the war to turn it into a civil war against their "own" bourgeoisie, to work for the proletarian revolution and the defeat of their "own" bourgeoisie. This was the path taken by the Bolshevik Party in Russia led by Lenin and Stalin that saw the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution and the establishment of socialism. The earth-shaking blow to imperialism by the victory of the revolution in Russia and to the construction of socialism can in no way be negated by the later restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union by Khrushchev and co.

During the first world war, which was an inter-imperialist war, Lenin exposed the great damage done by the slogan of "peace."

"A propaganda of peace at the present time, if not accompanied by a call to revolutionary mass actions, is only capable of spreading illusions, of demoralising the proletariat by imbuing it with confidence in the humanitarianism of the bourgeoisie, and of making it a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of the possibility of 'a so-called democratic peace without a series of revolutions is deeply erroneous.'" ("Conference of the Foreign Sections of the R.S.D.L.P.," CW 18:149, 1930, International Publishers Edition)

How true!

The bourgeoisie is not at all unaware of the assistance that a peace movement is to them in diverting the proletariat from the path of revolution. During the first world war, the social-democrats of the Second International often called for peace while supporting the war by the bourgeoisie of their own countries. After the second world war, and during the cold war, the "socialist" International was reconstituted on a viciously anti-communist basis. Many socialist parties, especially Western Europe, received CIA funding to attack the Communists and throw them out of trade unions and split those unions the Communist Parties either led or influenced. More recently, Soares of the Portuguese Socialists was put on the CIA payroll, as revealed by ex-CIA agents like Philip Agee.

In the U.S., another Second International group the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), is presently trying to revitalize the peace movement. In its ranks, along with the usual assortment of petty bourgeois intellectuals and politicians, are several leaders of trade unions, including Victor Reuther, Victor Gotbaum, and others. They do not at all represent the mass of workers, but rather are representatives of the bribed upper stratum of the working class, the labor aristocracy. Sitting atop the multi-million enterprises that go by the name of "unions," these hacks, like the petty bourgeoisie, get crumbs from the superprofits of imperialism. They therefore benefit from the imperialist system and strive to maintain it to guard their privileges. Besides shackling the working class movement to endless exploitative contracts, these labor aristocrats, along with their petty bourgeois brethren in DSOC, are also calling for a peace movement.

Just as the capitalists reward the labor aristocrats for services rendered, so they are promoting the peace movement. At the March 22 peace rally in Washington, in which DSOC among others, played a major role, the official police estimate of the crowd was 30,000. This was at least *twice* the size that was actually there. The bourgeoisie wants to promote such counter-revolutionaries as DSOC so they can be a roadblock to large numbers of people seeking the path of revolution as the threat of war becomes a reality and the capitalist crisis sharpens. This is the safe, harmless alternative. The politics of DSOC and the other "peace" groups are no threat to imperialism. They argue against the "Carter doctrine" only because they say there is enough weaponry already to protect U.S. "security"! But these weapons are not for the security of the workers and oppressed people, but only for the security of the banks, oil companies, and other monopolies. DSOC and co. are nothing but chauvinists who support the right of U.S. imperialism to plunder the world. It should also come as no surprise that among the ranks of DSOC and co. is the bourgeois feminist Gloria Steinam. She was exposed by another group of bourgeois feminists, Redstockings, as having been the founder and director from 1959 to 1962 of a CIA funded front group called Independent Research Service. These facts have received wide circulation, and are well known. With a CIA agent in its ranks, it should be obvious to all just how DSOC will line up in a war between the U.S.-led imperialist bloc and the Russian-led imperialist bloc. Further evidence is the support by DSOC leader Michael Harrington in 1976 for Jimmy Carter's election as the "lesser evil."

Beyond the open social-democrats, many phoney "communists" and "revolutionaries" raise the banner of peace to cancel their true support for imperialist war. The CPUSA and others talk of "peace" and "detente", but support the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. Likewise, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites generally support Russian imperialism. The Maoists talk of "peace", but support the CIA-backed feudal "rebels" in Afghanistan and the U.S. -led NATO war machine.

Then there are those who talk of fighting the two "super-powers", such as Albania and their followers. They take up the same line as the "anti-nuke" movement, the social-democrats, and all the other petty bourgeois democrats by also calling for a peace movement. One of the followers of Albania in the U.S. CPUSA (M-L), even went so far as to characterize the pacifist March 22 anti-draft rally led by all sorts of reformists scoundrels as having "anti-imperialist aspects." (*Unite*, April 1, 1980) This is not Marxism-Leninism, but Kautskyism, which, as Lenin showed in *Imperialism*, does not combat the petty bourgeois reformist opposition, "but became merged with it in practice." (*Imperialism*, p. 133)

How "peaceful" Albania and its followers are is seen in their support one day for the Russian - backed invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam, and in their support the next for the U.S. - backed "freedom fighters" of Afghanistan. They also try to justify their calls for a peace movement by comparing the present situation to the one following the second world war when the Soviet Union, which was then still socialist, called for a peace movement. But the situation today is entirely different. No longer is the Soviet Union the bastion and great defender of world peace as it was under Lenin and Stalin. The present situation does not involve war between imperialism and socialism, but war between imperialist countries and or imperialist aggression against semi-colonies (e.g. Iran). To talk of a peace movement as being able to prevent war covers up the nature of imperialism and only puts brakes on preparations for revolutions.

In 1952 at a time when the peace movement did exist, J.V. Stalin stated:

"What is most likely is that the present-day peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace, in the resignation of a bellicose government and its supersession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That of course will be good. Even very good. But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. It will not be enough, because, for all the successes of the peace movement, imperialism will remain, continue in force — and consequently, the inevitability of wars will continue in force. To eliminate the inevitability of war it is necessary to abolish imperialism." (*Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, Chapter 6, International Publishers)

However, the PLA distorts what Stalin analyzes. Under the mask of opposition to imperialist war, the PLA promotes a social-pacifist solution to prevent war. The PLA states:

"But is the situation in the world today less favourable for the peoples, for the peace-loving forces? Is it not possible today to avoid a third world war if, as Stalin said, the peoples take the question of peace in their hands and carry it through to the end? To preach the inevitability of a new world war means to mistrust the revolutionary, democratic and peace loving forces of the peoples, means to paralyze their will and efforts to secure peace, means to encourage and incite the armaments' race, to leave the imperialist warmongers a free hand to unleash war." (*Albania Today*, No. 2, 1979)

And in the case that imperialist world war does break out, Enver Hoxha concludes the following: "If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war." (Enver Hoxha, *Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA*, p. 191, English ed.)

Thus, in case of a world war, Albania calls not for turning it

Nuclear Energy: Technology is Not the Problem, Capitalism Is!



The danger of nuclear energy, both as power and as weapons, has caused great concern among millions of people. The Three Mile Island Plant has still not been cleaned up. Despite the promises given by corporation representatives and politicians, the threat of more such "accidents" continues.

It would be wrong to conclude from this, however, that the present dangers from nuclear technology mean that the root of the problem is nuclear technology itself. The fact is that nuclear reactors are dangerous because they are designed dangerously. It is well known that the nuclear industry is dominated by large capitalist monopolies like Exxon, Westinghouse, G.E., Babcock and Wilcox (which manufactured the Three Mile Island reactors), Kerr-McGee, etc. These giant monopolies are interested not in production for use, which includes safety for the public and their workers, but rather in production for maximum profit. Exxon's profits for the first quarter of 1980 alone were \$1.93 billion, the largest one quarter profit record in U.S. history. But safety is just not as profitable for them.

It is more profitable for these monopolies to cut corners and skimp on safety. This is just as true for the Ford Pinto, for example, as it is for nuclear energy. It was more profitable for Ford to make dangerous cars. Similarly, it is more profitable for the nuclear industry to make extremely large nuclear plants, like Three Mile Island, that, at the present level of technology, are the most complex and have the greatest chance of mechanical failure and human error. Smaller plants are simpler to design and easier to make safely, but are less efficient and less profitable. At present nuclear waste disposal also offers no profit. Instead of developing technology even further to solve these safety problems, the capitalists do the absolute minimum. In cases where repair work can be made profitable, this business itself could only thrive on accidents, not reducing the dangers at all. Capitalist "safety" downplays preventative maintenance in general, because this is more costly and less profitable. Further, all industry more and more depends on "planned obsolescence", that is, designing machinery and products to fall apart quickly so new ones must be bought as replacements. The system of production for profit can only spell disaster for public safety in general, and especially when the complexities of nuclear technology are involved.

Attacking technology itself, rather than the *system* that uses this technology so perilously, is not the answer. Science is used under capitalism as a vehicle for maximizing profits. Developing mass murder weapons so some oil companies can safely plunder the natural resources of the Middle East, or some banks can bleed the rest of the world dry through loans with skyrocketing interest, serves the billionaires quite well. But decent mass transit or massive new low rent housing just won't improve their standing in the Fortune 500.

The solution, however, is not to call for an abandonment of nuclear technology, as do those who call for a "non-nuclear world". The only way to end the danger from nuclear technology is to end the system that *made* the reactors and power plants so dangerous in the first place. Following the logic of some, because of the recent explosions at chemical dumps and plants in New Jersey and New York, and at a fertilizer plant

in Idaho, we should also be for the abolition of chemicals and fertilizer because, under capitalism, they are dangerous! With such a view, we would still be rubbing two sticks together in the jungle.

Science under this system only serves the tiny handful who hold the purse strings. But this does not mean that science can *never* conquer the dangers from nuclear energy, or, for that matter, from industry in general. The world is knowable. Science and technology under socialism can and will serve the vital interests of the millions of working and oppressed people, the majority of the population. The proletariat will use science to master the world. To argue that science can *never* overcome the dangers from nuclear energy is to obscure the real source of the problem, the capitalist system.

Some point to the nuclear accident in the Soviet Union in the late 1950's as proof that nuclear energy is not safe under socialism either. But this case proves exactly the opposite. This accident occurred under the Khrushchevites, who had overthrown and abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat and restored capitalism and production for profit. Khrushchev even openly abolished socialist planning of the economy by abolishing the planning ministries. So a nuclear accident under these revisionists was a result of capitalism, and not socialism.

Many of the alternatives proposed by "anti-nuke" groups lead not to overthrowing the monopolies and establishing socialism, but backwards to pre-monopoly capitalism. Such schemes as "industrial democracy", reforming and regulating the monopolies, etc., are mere pious wishes that cannot at all change the reactionary nature of monopoly capitalism. The stage of monopoly capitalism, imperialism, is the highest and natural result of competitive capitalism, where a few giant corporations and banks dominate the whole economy after out-"competing" and taking over, through every means possible, the smaller businesses. Going back to competitive capitalism is a reactionary and impossible dream.

The proposals for reforming the energy industry while keeping capitalism intact also offer no solution. The monopolies show no interest in solar or wind power, since they cannot make a profit by selling the sun and wind, as they do by selling oil, uranium, gas, coal, and electricity. Solar technology such as solar cells are being monopolized by the same oil, utility, and other monopolies that control the nuclear energy. They are deliberately pigeon-holing this technology and slowing its development. Even if they one day find it profitable to develop it, it will merely be fraught with the same risks as any other capitalist plant.

An argument in favor of solar energy by Mobilization for Survival (MFS), a leading "anti-nuke" group, is that solar energy will create more jobs than nuclear energy. But who, we ask, would *own* these plants, and who would *work* in them? MFS complains that nuclear technology is too "capital intensive" and too little "labor intensive". (see "Some Myths About the 'Need' for Nuclear Energy", distributed by MFS) As we said, the same giant conglomerates have already monopolized solar technology. So MFS's "solution" for the working class is harder, more "labor intensive" work for the same monopolies that gave us Three Mile Island and the Pinto!

MFS also complains that nuclear energy is unnecessary because reserve margins of energy are too high and that industry demands for more power plants and generating capacity are

NYC TRANSIT STRIKE, WHO WON AND WHO LOST?

The New York City transit strike *could* have been an important defense by the working class of its economic and political interests against the offensive of the banks and corporations that is escalating during this economic crisis. But it was not. Instead, the rank-and-file was manipulated into defeat by collaboration of the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) and the leadership of the transit workers unions. The 11 day strike was sold out.

The new contract gave a wage "increase" half the rate of inflation. A movement to vote the contract down collapsed. At the same time, the transit workers are even more isolated from the workers of New York who depend on the subways and buses for basic transportation. The MTA is using the strike as a cover to step up the attacks on *all* workers through fare and toll increases, ending half-fare programs for the elderly and on weekends, and hold back services in general.

Looking at the history of the contract negotiations and the strike itself reveals the reasons for its defeat. The bourgeois press has widely exposed how, prior to the strike, a deal was worked out between MTA head Ravitch, a wealthy capitalist himself, and John Lawe, head of Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, the largest transit union, for a seven percent wage increase. Also part of the deal were "give-backs", including an end to paid wash-up time and the hiring of part-time workers for some jobs. This was a particular sell-out for Black, Puerto Rican, and other oppressed nationality workers, who get the worst jobs, pay, and conditions. The snag, however, came when Lawe could not push the deal through the TWU's leadership.

If the MTA could not get this deal, then they wanted to provoke a strike. Having a strike if such cut-throat terms were not accepted by the unions was urged by the *New York Daily News*, financial King David Rockefeller (also head of New York City's Chamber of Commerce), and William Proxmire of the Senate Banking Committee, which oversees the federal loan program to New York. The MTA would actually benefit economically from a strike since the subways and buses are run at a loss, and closing them meant not paying daily expenses. The strike was called on April 1, when schools were out and during the week of Passover and Easter, when transit use would be light. Also, New York's vicious Taylor Law fines public employees two days pay for each day out on strike. The bottom line was that the MTA actually *gained* \$26.5 million from the strike. Even though the two-year contract called for raises of nine and eight percent, the MTA still came out way ahead and used this gain to pay the extra cost of the contract. The contract also granted many of the "give-backs". So the workers, besides getting a settlement half the rate of inflation, actually paid for their own contract. This is just hidden wage slashing.

The union leaders went along with this deal because they are part of the same capitalist system the MTA is, and the strike had begun to hurt the city's business.

The TWU, like many other large unions in the U.S., has actually become a business itself that has a large financial network of investments, pension funds, and the collection of workers' dues. The leaders are parasites who reap the profits from all this. The capitalist nature of the TWU was seen when a dispute arose in the union over its investments in companies that

do business in South Africa. The union leaders wanted to continue accumulating super-profits from the colonial and semi-colonial countries in collaboration with the apartheid system that crushes South African blacks.

It should therefore not be surprising that rank-and-file transit workers have about as much control in running Local 100 as do the workers in any other capitalist enterprise.

Democracy Extinct In Transit Union

The lack of democracy for the workers was vividly seen when the executive board voted a 22-22 tie on the proposed contract. The vote was taken when one board member, a definite "no" vote and part of Lawe's opposition, was away on National Guard duty after having been informed by the leadership that no decisive vote was imminent. Lawe said the tie vote meant approval and called off the strike. Weeks later, after the momentum of the strike was filled, a mail ballot was sent to the members for ratification which involved a warning that a no vote would mean that the MTA would, by law, impose its previous six percent offer. All this undercover maneuvering, plus the weakness of the opposition, resulted in a three to one margin in favor of ratification. Lawe had let the workers blow off some steam by a strike, and then set up the sell-out. The city and the MTA fulfilled their part of the deal with Lawe by not jailing him, although the strike was technically "illegal."

The strike also posed serious questions of the relations of public workers, like transit workers, to the majority of working people who rely on their services. The strike penalized *all* workers in New York. Hardest hit were those without cars, who could not get to work, the welfare offices, the hospitals and medical centers, the schools, etc. Employers used this as an excuse to fire many workers. Conditions became worse for the working class when the commuter railroads coming from the suburbs bypassed normal stops within the city. This reserved the trains for the business and professional people, while stranding workers, many of them Black, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Haitian, Jamaican, and other oppressed nationalities.

Instead of countering these tactics of isolating the transit workers, the unions again worked with the bosses against all workers. Not a word of sympathy or assistance came from the union leaders to the workers stranded by the strike. No attempt was made to show how fare increases are not the result of wage increases, but the result of profit-making by the MTA.

The strike's tactics also isolated the transit workers. Had they proposed to keep at least some buses and subways running while collecting *no fares* so long as there was no contract, they would have shown all workers a sign of solidarity that would have rallied support for the strike. Even with all the tactical difficulties involved and organization required to successfully carry out such tactics, simply proposing them could have begun to counter the isolation of the transit workers.

Weakness of the Rank-and-File

Implementing these or any other effective tactics depend entirely on the strength and organization of the rank-and-file. The opposition to Lawe in Local 100 was widespread, but was divided and weak. One "opposition" leader, George MacDonald, was bought off with a \$30,000 a year local vice-presidency after endorsing the sell-out contract. Other factions were either unable or unwilling to mobilize and organize the opposition. Thus this movement collapsed at the crucial point of the strike. So as long as the workers have no democratically run organization of their own, they will face defeat

Collapse of the U.S. Auto Industry

In the auto industry, one out of every three production workers is out of a job. While many auto workers initially receive unemployment benefits that equal a large portion of their wages, these benefits only cover the duration of "normal" lay-offs. Today the U.S. auto industry is not being hit by just temporary lay-offs, but the effects of economic and political crisis that all compound each other.

Even after the jump in oil prices in the early 1970's, the U.S. auto companies still continued to concentrate production on large cars that used fuel inefficiently, the gas-guzzlers. This was because these larger cars were more profitable to make than smaller, more fuel-efficient cars. The profit on a big luxury car, for example, is often six times the profit on a subcompact. The problem was not merely one of technology. In 1936, fuel efficiency for cars was 15.4 miles per gallon, while in 1972, with more modern technology, it had sunk to 13.5 miles per gallon. As fuel prices continued to skyrocket, buyers turned more and more to the smaller more fuel-efficient, and often cheaper imports. Today more than one out of every four cars sold in the U.S. is an import, with the bulk being Japanese. The imports now sell more in the U.S. than either Ford or Chrysler. The U.S. auto industry, like so many American companies, has been unable to effectively compete with the Japanese and West European capitalists. This has meant that the effects of both inflation and the current recession have hit the auto industry with particular intensity.

Chrysler is a step away from bankruptcy, avoiding extinction only by the possibility of massive government loans. Ford lost \$1 billion in its domestic car operations last year, only offsetting these losses by huge profits overseas. For the first quarter of 1980, Ford lost \$163.6 million overall. After having announced the closing of its Los Angeles plant, in April Ford announced it was closing its Mahwah, New Jersey plant, which was its largest assembly plant in North America. 3,732 workers were thus axed in one stroke. Even mighty GM saw its sales for the first quarter of 1980 fall 12 percent compared to last year, and its profits plunge 88 percent. The decline in auto is directly related to the decline in the tire and rubber industries, and will lead to greater declines in other industries related to car production, such as steel, glass, and others. Since the auto industry is such a cornerstone of the U.S. economy, its collapse could lead to the collapse of the whole economy.

What is required this time for the U.S. auto industry to rebound is not the "ordinary" infusion of capital to spur production, but an almost unprecedented comprehensive re-tooling and massive investment program. The auto companies want to be able to make profitable small cars. Yet there are enormous obstacles to doing this research and development alone for this changeover could cost up to \$100 billion from now to 1995. GM plans to spend \$38 billion on fixed investments (new products, tools, facilities, etc.) between now and 1985. This is equal to what they spent from 1965 to 1979. Ford had planned to spend some \$20 billion between now and 1984, most of it in North America, although already they are reducing that amount.

The total amount for capital investment that U.S. auto companies want to spend from 1978 to 1985, is \$80 billion, which is two to three times the amount usually allocated. Former Ford, president Philip Caldwell drooled with delight at this mammoth investment which he called "the most massive and profound industrial revolution in peace-time history."

However, before these monopolists can begin to cash their dividends and clip their coupons, they must solve an insoluble problem where all this money to invest will come from. These are time of innumerable problems mounted on top of each other.

Financially there is chronic high inflation, instability in the world-wide position of the dollar caused in large degree by inflation and high interest rates. There are lower profits and even great losses by the auto companies themselves. There are high prices for fuel and uncertainty about future sources of energy. There is a general consensus among the largest capitalists and their political representatives in government that the money supply must be tightly controlled (the dominance of "monetarist" economics). The financial crisis, compounded by weakness of commercial banks and both the stock and bond markets, makes the outlook for such massive capital investment most unlikely. For example, while capital spending on plants and equipment in the U.S. rose at an annual average rate of seven percent in the decade of the 1960's, by the 1970's, that rate had dropped to only 2.5 percent. This overall crisis will lead to bankruptcy around the world for some major auto companies. One prediction by bourgeois economists is of the more than 30 auto companies in the West, about 15 will be driven out of business by the end of this decade. This even greater monopolization of the auto industry can also be accompanied by heightened trade wars and protectionist tariffs as the remaining monopolies compete for their share of the world's market.

One way the U.S. auto companies will try to raise these funds is by charging even higher prices for their smaller cars. By doing this they could price themselves out of the market. Such a move in a recession will only further aggravate the crisis. A more likely course is to seek all sorts of benefits from the government, including loans, tax write-offs for new investments, etc. This will either intensify the economic crisis by creating more inflation or by leading to cutbacks in government spending that were aimed at spurring consumption by the people. The latter will also deepen the recession and make the "recovery" more anemic than predicted, or even more existent.

The most likely prop for the auto industry will come from increased war preparations. This is the only part of the federal budget likely to expand in the next few years. As the crisis of imperialism continues and inter-imperialist antagonisms grow, the auto companies will turn more to production of tanks and other armoured vehicles. This is a key reason the government is so interested in saving Chrysler, which is the sole U.S. producer of tanks. Just as it was after the depression of the 1930's, war spending may be the only "salvation" for the auto industry. But the consequences of such a "solution" will be devastating to the working class and oppressed peoples of the world.

The crisis that has crippled the auto industry has also had grave effects on the rest of the economy. The sharpest hit by the recession are those lowest paid sections of the working class that are either non-unionized, or whose unions offer absolutely no protection for the laid-off. For example, many workers in the garment center in New York, which includes many immigrants from Latin America and mostly women workers, recently learned that they would have no more severance pay. This allows the sweatshops bosses to toss the workers out on the streets and even close the shop down for good without any notice to the workers. The employer can then move to the South or Southwest or overseas for cheaper, non-unionized labor. The timing of the ending of severance pay is not accidental, but done precisely at a time when mass layoffs and shop closings are being carried out and planned for. Last year thousands of garment workers lost their jobs, and upwards of 9,000 more could be sacked this year.

Workers in public sector jobs are also facing growing hardships. The government now accounts for about one-third of the U.S. economy and is thus a major employer, especially of service and clerical workers. A variety of factors, such as budget cuts to reduce inflation, decreased tax revenues because of recession, higher interest rates for loans by the government,

and a greater channeling of funds for investment in private corporations has led to an assault on the government worker. Lay-offs, speed-ups and hidden wage slashing through wage "increases" that are barely half the rate of inflation all depress the living standards of these workers.

The crisis is also affecting much wider sections of the population than the urban working class. The industrial and financial crises are bound up with a severe agricultural crisis in the U.S. Farm prices are ten percent below last year's, while farm income is 27 percent lower than last year. Along with high interest rates, tight credit, the grain embargo to the Soviet Union and rising fuel prices, this is the worst farm crisis since the Great Depression. Particularly hard hit are migrant farmers, agricultural laborers, and the poorest of the individual family farmers. The farm industry employs directly or indirectly one out of every four workers in the U.S. Its collapse will only intensify the overall economic crisis. Already there are significant declines in purchases of major farm equipment, such as tractors which dropped 29 percent since last year and hay balers, which dropped 44 percent.

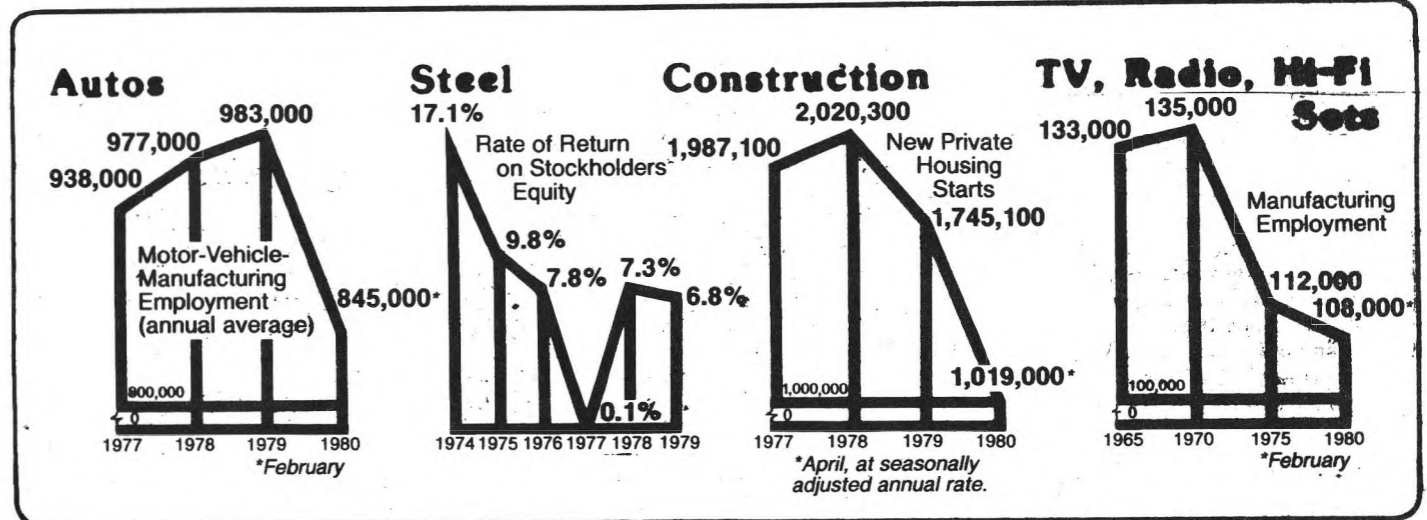
The Crisis of Overproduction and the General Crisis of Capitalism

What we see in the auto industry is but a microcosm of the economic crisis gripping the entire capitalist system.

which temporarily lessened the gravity of the crisis, the general crisis of capitalism continues. The contradictions among the imperialist wolves who are gearing up for war to re-divide the world are sharpening daily. There is no area of economic, political, social, or cultural life under imperialism that is not hit by one grave crisis or another. The crisis of overproduction thus takes place on the basis of, in the context of the general crisis of capitalism.

Inflation and the Economic Crises

A favorite "solution" adopted to supposedly end the crisis of overproduction was the inflationary policies known as Keynesian economics. The theory was that if the government would simply prop up consumer demand through government jobs, poverty programs, etc., demand would increase and erase the overproduction crisis. The new tax revenues would then erase the deficit, and inflation would also disappear, so the theory went. But nothing could prevent the inevitability of overproduction crisis. At most, the Keynesian gimmicks eased or postponed some of the worst effects in the U.S. of some economic crises — but only to lay the basis for even worse and more damaging crises later. The government deficit spending and financing through interest-bearing loans and bonds would create a chronic inflation that only further drove down the living standards of the working class and thus only hastened the onset of new crises of overproduction. More deficit spending and



The basis of this economic crisis is what Marxist-Leninist political economy calls the crisis of overproduction. Production under capitalism is done for one purpose: to maximize profit. In order to do this, they strive to expand their production to an unrestrained degree, providing as much as possible. At the same time, to maximize profits, they must exploit the working class as much as possible and keep their wages and standard of living at a minimum level. This leads to a reduction of the effective demand of the majority of the population who are the bulk of the producers, a shrinking of their ability to purchase in the market what they produced at the factory. This contradiction results in the periodic crisis of overproduction, what the capitalists call recession. Goods remain unsold, production is reduced, workers are laid off, real wages fall, and the crisis deepens.

In the era of imperialism, of monopoly capitalism, the crisis of overproduction does not occur by itself. On the contrary, capitalism is engulfed in a general crisis, in an interlocked and continuing all-round economic and political crisis. With the First World War and the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, this general crisis of capitalism began. Although capitalism has since been restored in the Soviet Union, and Russia has once again become an imperialist power,

more artificial gimmicks for creating demand only led to more inflation and more erosion of the mass living standards. In the past 12 years alone, the average U.S. workers' purchasing power has declined 14 percent.

In recent years, much of the employed working class has been encouraged to spend freely on credit cards, through credit unions, etc. Thus, by 1979 total consumer personal debt, excluding mortgages, was in the order of about \$300 billion. This works out to about \$1,300 or \$1,400 for every man, woman and child in the U.S., or over \$5,000 for every family of four. On top of this, consumers owe about \$1 trillion in mortgages. The whole U.S. economy had become buoyed up on credit. Yet the charges for credit, the interest paid on loans to companies who had to borrow to pay for expenses while waiting to receive their installment on credit payments, all added to the chronic inflation. Again a crisis of overproduction was hastened by the contradictions in capitalism. Again what happened was something that all the bourgeois economists told us would never happen — high inflation, high unemployment, and a recession.

The measures the capitalist politicians take to curb inflation and protect the dollar, such as record high interest rates and credit controls, only serve to bring on and intensify recession.

The measures they take to curb recession, such as tax incentives, government job programs, and easy credit only serve to bring on and intensify inflation.

The imposing of credit controls in March helped aggravate the recession, while the easing of credit controls in May will only serve to accelerate inflation.

Further, the U.S. economy entered this over-production crisis after having only had the official unemployment rate hit bottom at 5.6 percent last summer. Before the recession, the unemployment rate had bottomed at 4.6 percent. This meant that the new crisis was begun with about one million more unemployed than the last one. All these scars of previous crises inhibit the prospects for recovery, even an "anemic" one. As the example of the auto industry shows, all the crises and difficulties compounded upon each other only intensify both the overproduction crisis and the all round general crisis of capitalism.

This recession comes at a time when numerous other economic problems have been piled up one on top of the other. The U.S. oil companies, in league with OPEC, continue to raise their prices and collect almost unimaginable profits. Exxon's profits for 1979 alone were over \$4 billion. If this continues, other sections of the capitalist economy could be bankrupted, possibly even leading to a new depression. Such an economic collapse would result in devastating impoverishment and widespread starvation for the working class and the oppressed national minorities and nationalities.

The onslaught of both inflation and recession in the context of the intensification of the world struggle for markets, raw materials, and spheres of influence has led to an abandonment of Keynesian economics by most of the U.S. bourgeoisie. Most capitalist economists now favor what is called "supply-side" economics, that is, using tax and budgetary measures to directly beef up corporate profits. Coupled with this one moves to relax government regulations in industry. The old Keynesian economics is just to inflationary to work any more. But there is nothing new in these "supply-side" theories. It is the old "trickle down" theory of the likes of Herbert Hoover. It is a plea for a return to the economics of competitive capitalism. In the era of monopoly capitalism, this is only a recipe for a new depression, for a prolonged period of low production, high unemployment, and general economic stagnation.

As for so-called "wage-price controls", proposed by Kennedy, *Business Week*, and others, the working class has learned this is a sick joke. Designed exclusively by big business to serve exclusively big business, these controls end up holding down wages much more than prices or profits. It would amount to a wage freeze and actual wage slashing, just as it did under Nixon.

When the gimmicks stop working, when the economy is about to collapse, the imperialists have one more "solution". They desperately need new markets. Yet the whole world has been divided up already. The only way to get these new markets is forcibly, through war. This is the ultimate "solution" the capitalists have to their economic woes. This is the "bright future", the "American dream" they have made for us. This is why overthrowing this savage, bestial system and replacing it with socialism is a matter of survival for the working class and oppressed people of the world, for the vast majority of humanity. *

Energy (from p. 10)

merely a ploy for greater profits and higher rates. The conclusion we draw from this is that *less* energy is needed. MFS mentions in particular the Indian Point plant of Con Edison that serves New York City. For the working class, however, that is freezing in the winter, sweltering in the summer, and blowing fuses because of the junk wiring put in by the landlords, more and better energy is needed, and not "conservation" or less energy. That this cannot happen under capitalism, and happen safely and cheaply, only means that socialism is necessary, and not that abolition of nuclear energy is the solution. The interests of the working class are not opposed to nuclear energy, but to the dangers caused by its utilization by capitalism.

The call to end nuclear energy under capitalism can only mean a return to coal, which, besides being filthy, is a danger to the miners who toil underground in the mines owned by capitalists. Any attempt to re-organize the energy industry under capitalism, if this were possible, would just result in shuffling the crises and exploitation around. The working class and oppressed peoples would still get attacked. To demand otherwise is to demand that capitalism cease being capitalism, which is impossible.

The tactics chosen by the "anti-nuke" groups reflect the same wrong views about capitalism. The Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World justifies "non-violent civil disobedience" in their handbook this way: "Effective legal protest against nuclear proliferation has repeatedly failed in the United States. It is irresponsible and unrealistic to expect the government and its corporations, with so much money and power invested in nuclear technology, to change themselves." But the Coalition's tactics are just as ineffective and even more irresponsible. Mass arrests of demonstrators only make the surveillance job of the FBI and CIA easier. The Coalition itself is also collecting signatures of the civil disobedience protestors. Such tactics have always been impotent in the face of the repression of the government, and in fact are the preferred tactics of the government — for obvious reasons.

More importantly, blocking a few street corners in Washington for a few minutes will also change nothing. Capitalism, the cause of the dangers of nuclear energy and imperialist war, cannot be changed non-violently. Only a socialist revolution can abolish capitalism. This requires planned and conscious class struggle, and not independent small, loose "affinity groups" functioning anarchistically and with advance notice to the police and agent-provocateurs. Non-violent civil disobedience will at best be a publicity stunt that relies on the media that is financed by the same Exxons and G.E.'s we must fight. It is a counter-productive dead end that only needlessly endangers thousands of protestors.

If one wants to end the dangers from nuclear energy, one must fight to end capitalism. *

THE CAPITALISTS STARVE WORKERS FOR A PROFIT!

For the past few years a 59-year old grower of naval oranges in Orange Cove, California, has been fighting the U.S. government. Mr. Jacques Gidden, a grower, has been forced to throw away "perfectly good food in a hungry world" by the Department of Agriculture in order to meet the Federal marketing quota law. The Department of Agriculture has forced Mr. Gidden and other growers to get rid of any surplus in order to maintain the market prices.

In 1976, after selling 3,441 cartons of oranges above the quota set by the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Gidden was fined \$12,620 by the government. When he declined to pay, the U.S. Attorney's Office in Fresno placed a lien on his ranch. Despite protests and suits against the government, the grower lost the fight. Not only did the U.S. District Court in Fresno throw out his suit, but last month the U.S. Attorney moved to garnishee all funds that were due Mr. Gidden from sales of oranges to a packing house. His \$12,000 fine grew to \$16,000 with interest.

Capitalism has no interest whatsoever in feeding the hungry or in producing goods to meet the needs of the working class. The basic law of monopoly capitalism is the striving for maximum profit. Despite the fact that there exist millions of people in America and throughout the world who are hungry and in dire need, capitalists burn or dump any goods from which they will not make profit.

There are numerous instances of capitalism destroying its products due to unprofitability. In the 1920's, thousands of

gallons of milk were poured into the rivers and creeks of Southern Illinois. In 1921, placards were placed along highways in the Mid-Western states advising farmers to burn corn instead of coal. In 1924, thousands of packages of cucumbers and other fresh vegetables were dumped in the rivers. Every year a large percentage of the Maine potato crop is left to rot due to its unprofitability. This phenomenon is not limited to American capitalism. The Canadian bourgeoisie has seen fit to dump thousands of gallons of milk and to let millions of eggs rot in recent years in order to maintain high prices.

This confirms the truth as stated by a great leader of the working class: "Hence, the aim of capitalist production is profit-making. As to consumption, capitalism needs it only in so far as it ensures the making of profit. Outside of this, consumption means nothing to capitalism. Man and his needs disappear from its field of vision." (J.V. Stalin, *Selected Works*, Cardinal Publishers, p. 363)

The destruction of "surplus" food in the face of world hunger illustrates this capitalist indifference to human needs. One must begin to question the "humanitarian" gestures of the food and "aid" programs of the selfsame capitalists who force the dumping of U.S. oranges. Pious words about feeding the starving masses of other countries cover the motive of imperialist expansion around the world. A system whose survival depends on securing maximum profits can never make people's needs a priority. *

American "Justice" Acquits Ford Motor Murderers

In 1973, three Indiana teenagers were burned to death in their Ford Pinto when it burst into flames after being hit in the back by another car. These are just three more among an estimated 500 who have been killed by fiery accidents in the Ford Pintos.

The Ford Motor Murderers, knowing that their Pinto was a death hazard, produced it due to the enormous profits they sought to gain. Ford preferred to make its product cheaper and run the risk of paying accident victims, rather than cutting its profits by improving the safety mechanisms.

As a result of the deaths of the three Indiana teenagers, an Indiana Grand Jury accused Ford Motor murderers of knowingly manufacturing a car with a badly designed gas tank system. Evidence showed that company officials willfully refused to correct the hazard or warn drivers of the danger. However, in March, 1980, American "justice" acquitted the Ford Motor murderers of the three charges of reckless homicide in the case of the defective Pintos.

Once again monopoly capitalism shows whose interest indeed the court system serves. Once again, American bourgeois justice triumphs and tips the balance in their favor resulting in plunder and death of the masses of people. *

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Strike (from p. 11)

after defeat. Although Lawe's unpopular and undemocratic maneuvers undermined his position in the union hierarchy, replacing him with some other bureaucrat will just sidetrack the workers' movement into a dead-end.

The same is true of reliance on the various phoney "leftists", who flock to the union bureaucracies so they can join them and get their share of the pie, and become new John Lawes. These groups opposed mass democratic organizations of the workers. Their goal has always been to take them over and destroy their democratic character. If this cannot be done, then they smash the groups by constant bickering and underhanded jockeying for leadership positions.

The transit strike has posed important questions to the working class, especially with the strong possibility of a municipal workers strike in New York on July first. The workers remain divided along national and job lines. They have no organization to defend themselves as they bear the brunt of the economic crisis capitalism is going through. Defeating the stranglehold of the union bureaucrats over the workers is an immediate imperative if the workers' movement is to serve the interests of the workers and not the bosses. ★

Against War and Pacifism (from p. 9)

into a civil war, but for a "liberation war", that is defense of the imperialist fatherland, and the siding with one imperialist bloc or another. They thus support a pacifist movement to oppose whoever may invade Albania while keeping the imperialist system intact for their imperialist allies. Such treachery has nothing in common with the proletarian internationalist principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The crisis of imperialism also gives rise to another variety of petty bourgeois opposition, the maddened, frenzied elements that resort to terrorist or semi-terrorist, adventurist provocations. Their wild antics are no more capable of overthrowing imperialism than are the pitiful pleadings of the pacifists. Among the petty bourgeois semi-terrorists is the RCP. Their nationwide campaign of social-fascist shouting, screaming, and isolated disruptions is aimed at exciting the working class to action. RCP's mad tactics are merely the flip side of pacifism and open reformism. Both oppose a conscious, scientific plan for a working class revolutionary movement, the pacifists from the angle of reformism, the terrorists and semi-terrorists from the angle of individual indignation and isolated acts.

To conclude, there is no possibility of a return to competitive capitalism as an alternative to imperialism. There is also no short-cut to revolution through excitative gimmicks. The petty bourgeoisie wants to go in reverse to save its own class privileges. The interests of the proletariat, on the other hand, do not oppose all wars, but support revolutionary wars while opposing imperialist wars. The choice that confronts all those who are genuinely concerned about imperialist war is whether to attempt to go backward with the impossible dreams of the petty bourgeoisie, or to go forward with the socialist revolution of the proletariat ★

Iran (from p. 5)

100,000 barrels per day at its recently increased price of \$35 per barrel. In addition, with arms sales from U.S. allies cut off, Iran will undoubtedly find the Russian bloc countries a willing supplier. To prepare against the threats of a U.S. blockade or mining of the Persian Gulf, Iran is increasingly utilizing land routes through the USSR for trade. In addition to the Rumanian oil deal, other trade with Warsaw Pact countries is increasing. Says a U.S. Commerce Department Official (quoted in *Time*, April 21, 1980), "There are eight planeloads of Polish meat flying into Iran every day. Iranian airports are littered with cargo planes from Rumania and East Germany."

The recently bungled military operation can only make this relationship closer. There is little wonder that it has also heightened the contradictions within the U.S. bloc, as the Western European and Japanese imperialists see their worst fears coming true. Japan, for example, is Iran's biggest trading partner and risks a permanent cutoff of Iranian oil if it takes part in the sanctions. Canada (the CIA-sponsored smuggling of diplomats out of Iran) appears to be the most sympathetic and supportive of America's allies. Indeed, the dilemma is real — they are damned if they do and damned if they don't. It is confirmation of Lenin's teachings that imperialism as a worldwide system is riddled with contradictions and crises that it is unable to resolve. They inevitably become sharper and more profound, wreaking havoc on the imperialist system and governments and weakening their ability to rule over the masses who are facing increasingly the horrors of world war. ★

RCP (from p. 18)

Communist International, No. 2, 1932, part III)

In other words, social-fascist activity results in repression on the working class at a time when it is not organized to deal with such attacks. It also provides the government with excuses to outlaw the work of genuine communists.

Thus, the work of the social-fascists is police work. These enemies can be paralyzed only through the heightened vigilance of the workers. We call on all working men and women to reject the endless bourgeois demagoguery of the RCP and not be fooled into believing that this is the work of communism. The reason the news media pushes the RCP is to give the workers the misconception that communism equals madness. RCP truly benefits the interest of the capitalists. ★

N.Y.C. (from p. 2)

that she was paying rent before the building was condemned.

This is the life that capitalism has in store for the workers and oppressed nationalities. The "I Love New York" Campaign is not so much the love of the downtrodden, but moreso the love of the capitalists, landlords, political hacks and those bribed and privileged sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and worker aristocracy. New York City is truly a microcosm of the the decaying, and rotten system of capitalism in America. It is for reasons like this that the great leader of the workers of the world, Karl Marx, concluded that the working class has nothing to lose but its chains, it has a *world to win* - in the fight for socialism. ★

Correspondence

Dear B.L.,

In the past I was aware that of the two opportunist trends, social-chauvinism and centrism, centrism posed the greatest threat to the genuine Marxist-Leninist movement, but I underestimated the extent centrism has played in sabotaging the Marxist-Leninist movement internationally. I also underestimated the sly trickery that the centrists use to disguise themselves as genuine Marxist-Leninist. The centrists are nothing but chameleon communists, who change their colors to blend into the international marxist-leninist movement, with the intent of subordinating the Lefts to the Rights!

Enclosed are two articles that reinforced the exposure of the PLA by BU. I came across these articles by researching, on my own, the conclusions drawn by the BU, over the PLA's centrism. The article in *Newsweek*, May 1976 exposes the extent, Hoxha and the PLA, pursued and forced their reactionary nationalism upon the Albanian proletariat. * It is obvious from the first sentence that Hoxha and In Struggle of Canada have much in common, which is their paranoid about anything foreign, books, names, Lenin, Stalin, . . . etc. Hoxha is trying desperately to rid Albania of "foreign influences". The genuine Marxist-Leninists know that the PLA has been trying to destroy anything foreign for over the past 26 years. This offensive, by the PLA against foreign influence is directed against one thing, Marxism-Leninism! After all Lenin and Stalin were Russians and Marx and Engels were Germans. Hoxha would have nothing to do with these FOREIGNERS, let alone read their books!

The article in *Business Week*, (February 13, 1979), is one more piece of proof the "socialist" Albania is becoming increasingly dependent on the World Capitalist System. Albania is aggressively pursuing trade relations with the "well intentioned" capitalists of the "second world," Italy, Greece, France, and Portugal. The PLA has sunk so low that even Yugoslavia and the U.S.A. are added to the growing list of trading partners! (see article) Isn't it progressive of Hoxha that he does not let his reactionary nationalism and his fear of "foreign influence" get in his way when a profit is to be made!

The article in the second issue of *Bolshevik Revolution*, exposing George Menay, was a fierce blow to the bourgeois labor aristocracy! The death of George Meany is no loss to the U.S. proletariat! As a matter of fact his death came 30 years too late! The bourgeois media, especially the national television networks, ABC, NBC, and CBS, were all extending their condolences and shedding their crocodile tears. Why was the Rockefeller controlled media upset at the loss of this so-called leader of the working class: Because the bourgeoisie were worried that they would never find such a skilled class-collaborator as good old George, to take over leading the unions

*In the last issue of *Bolshevik Revolution* we reprinted these lines in the Give Em Enough Rope Section.

of this nation down the reactionary road of class betrayal. The bourgeoisie tried to pass Meany off as some kind of "Labor Hero", he was a hero alright, a hero of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie in their endless eulogies tried to give the impression that Meany loved and fought for the "little guy" "the working man". But a brief look at the facts reveal how Meany showed his love of the U.S. proletariat and who he really fought for.

Meany showed his "love" or should we say fear of the working class by constantly flaunting his rabid anti-communism. Meany was deathly afraid that the U.S. proletariat would grasp the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and with the increasing class consciousness of the workers he would be exposed. So, in an attempt to crush the "Foreign Influence" (sound familiar?) of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin, Meany supported the imperialist war in Korea, Meany split the World Federation of Trade Unions, Meany purged the U.S. unions of so-called communists, most of whom were followers of the revisionist Foster of the CPUSA. Meany showed his "love" for the U.S. proletariat by duping workers to send their sons to fight the bourgeoisie's war in South-East Asia, which resulted in the deaths of over one million people. And to put the icing on the cake, Meany went so far as to praise Rockefeller. When Nelson Rockefeller died, Meany, this defender of the "working class," had this to say in the pages of the AFL-CIO News: "America has lost a devoted and distinguished servant and the trade union movement has lost a good friend." With friends like Rockefeller or Meany for that matter, the U.S. proletariat does not need any enemies!

The Rockefeller empire and family name are stained with the blood of not only the U.S. proletariat but the proletariat of other nations as well as the oppressed peoples of South America, Africa, and Asia. And all the crocodile tears shed by Meany can never cleanse the sacred Rockefeller family name. And the flood of tears shed by the bourgeoisie won't ever erase the facts of of George Meany, whose life has been one of class collaboration, betrayal and of service to the bourgeoisie. The only tears you see in the eyes of the proletariat are tears of joy!

In Proletarian Solidarity,
A Correspondent

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RCP's May Day: Not Revolutionary But Revolting!

Only the few individuals who read the ragsheets of the "Revolutionary Communist Party"-USA were aware that May 1, 1980 was the "beginning of a revolution in the U.S." Most of us missed "the first salvos of a new decade of revolutionary upheaval" which "echo (ed) across this land." (*Revolutionary Worker*, March 14, 1980, p. 2) These "salvos" consisted of throwing paint on a U.N. ambassador and inciting a crowd of office workers in Cleveland to attack the "revolutionaries" with sticks.

These RCP antics were just a replay of their "organizing" activities for a mythical May Day rebellion. On March 28, 1980, three members of their "Revolutionary May Day Brigade", complete with red flag and bullhorn had scaled the wall of The Alamo in Texas. With no way down except via police helicopter, the three were certain to be arrested - a favorite past-time of the Brigade. Their "organizing" consisted of haranguing people below through the bullhorn until an enraged crowd gathered. One man shouted, "It's lucky for them that the police got them or they would've had to deal with us!"

A few days earlier, a group of May Day Brigaders with red flags and upraised fists had marched through the main street of the mining town of Beckley, West Virginia. Shouting slogans like, "The lines are drawn, which side are you on? Pick up the red flag!" (*RW*, March 21, 1980, p. 6), they provoked a riot. The RCP paper quotes the UPI report, "... the matrons waded in, umbrellas flying. They were joined by old men throwing punches and young ones grabbing red flags from the badly outnumbered demonstrators." (*Ibid.*, p. 8) Just as the bourgeois press account dramatizes the attack on the RCP, the RCP account dramatizes the provocation: "*Coalfields of West Virginia*: Slaves raising the red flag struck like a cross to a vampire. Thirty one are arrested." (*Ibid.*) It makes no difference to these social-fascists if the hatred they are whipping up is from the Left or from the Right. Their banner reads "Weld all who hate this shit into a class conscious force!" (*RW*, April 11, 1980, p. 15) They encourage the most backward elements among the working class to participate in anarchy and disruption, including attacks on their own RCP cadres. As RCP Chairman Bob Avakian told the Brigade volunteers, "A lot of us don't realize how lucky we are when the masses curse us." (*RW*, March 14, 1980, p. 9)

Are Avakian and Co. simply a bunch of kooks or is there a method to their madness? To answer this, we must remember that the bourgeoisie has spread confusion and hostility against socialist ideas amongst the working class to keep it enslaved. RCP's social-fascist antics reinforce this. Thus, the bourgeois media publicizes these parodies of "communists" from coast to coast. Furthermore, openly fascist vigilantes respond to RCP's provocations with increased terroristic attacks on workers and oppressed nationalities.

RCP's Views on the Working Class

Despite its claims to be the vanguard of the U.S. proletariat, the RCP has nothing but contempt for the working

class. Instead of scientific analysis, the workers are treated to childish and vulgar demagoguery in the pages of the RCP press. In actuality, the RCP appeals to the lumpenproletariat and to these middle class elements who find these criminal elements attractive.

To the RCP, there is nothing potentially revolutionary in the organization and discipline of the proletariat. Proletarians should give up the "regimentation" of their jobs and run in the streets. If not they are portrayed as "lunkheads". (*RW*, March 14, 1980, p. 8), "grunting cavemen," (*RW*, March 21, 1980, p. 7), and "backward fools." And of what do these workers remind Chairman Avakian? "They remind me of a goddam prostitute who goes out here night after night and can't say nothing bad about her pimp." (*Ibid.*, p. 16)

Contrary to the claims of RCP, those who rally to this nauseating line are *not* workers, least of all advanced workers. Lenin describes the advanced as those with "so much character and will power that they study, study, study and turn themselves into conscious Social-Democrats - the working class intelligentsia, who can win the respect of the laboring masses." ("A Retrograde Trend in Social-Democracy," *LCW*, 4:280-1) It is only genuine Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, which will satisfy such workers. What the RCP offers is not Marxism-Leninism, but Mao Zedong Thought.

Maoists - Not Marxist-Leninists

Mao Zedong, idol of the RCP, provided the forces of opportunism internationally with a revision of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin had warned that revisionists would learn better and better how to hide themselves: "An ever subtler falsification of Marxism, an ever subtler presentation of anti-materialist doctrines under the guise of Marxism - this is the characteristic feature of modern revisionism." (*Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, FLP, p. 400) Mao was such a modern revisionist.

Maoism feeds the provocative tactics of social-fascists. Mao put forth the ridiculous assertion that "It is good if we are attacked by the enemy... It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly." ("To Be Attacked by the Enemy Is Not a Bad Thing but a Good Thing," FLP, 1966, p. 2) The RCP uses this to glorify repression and martyrdom. Their propaganda boasts about self-provoked beatings and jailings. (e.g. "over 160 arrests of May Day organizers in the last 5 weeks!" (*RW*, March 21, 1980, p. 8)

Along with this goes the paramilitarism so beloved by the social-fascists. The very program and constitution of the RCP are advertised as "A Call to Battle, a Challenge to Dare." A huge picture in *Revolutionary Worker* shows a "Time for Milk?" billboard that has been amended to read, "Time for M-16?" (*RW*, March 7, 1980, p. 8)

Whether this provokes a few workers or high school students into beating up or joining with the RCP Brigades, the bourgeoisie is given an excuse to step up repression in general. In this light the Comintern explained phenomena like the RCP May Day campaign: "The United States is particularly ingenious in provoking strikes and various other movements of the proletariat at the most inopportune moments in order to disrupt them and demoralize the masses. This provocative method is often used by the social-fascist parties to disrupt the growing labor movement." ("The Struggle Against the Provocateur," *The*

GIVE 'EM ENOUGH ROPE

On The Road To Disintegration

The latest open revisionists that the "Communist" Party of China (CPC) has reconciled with is the old "Communist" Party of Italy (PCI). The PCI grabbed a lot of attention after the Khrushchev clique seized power in the Soviet Union by crying that the clique did not attack Stalin enough! It put forward the theory of "polycentrism," that is, no center for the international communist movement. Today the PCI runs the local government in every major city in Italy. It has made clear that if it is brought into the national government of Italy it will support keeping Italy in NATO. This was but one more indication that in the event of a war, the PCI would side with its own bourgeoisie to defend the fatherland, even in a war with the Soviet Union. The PCI recently opposed the Russians' attempt to unite all the old CP's in favor of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. The social-chauvinist support by the PCI for the US-led imperialist bloc pleased the revisionists in Beijing so much that they added the PCI to the list of rehabilitated revisionists, headed by Tito and Liu Shaoqi.

Willingly following this latest flip-flop by the CPC is CPML, which by now can perform such tricks with its eyes closed (and some say that CPML's eyes have *always* been closed). The April 28, 1980 *The Call* now refers to the Italian, French, and Spanish old-line CP's as part of the "European communist movement." But this presents a dilemma for the so-called "new communist movement," CPML included. If all the old CP's are still part of the communist movement, and if all they must do to win the CPC's approval is to place some distance between themselves and the Soviet Union, just what special role do these "new" parties have? Certainly dropping opposition to the line of peaceful transition to socialism is not hard for the "three-world"-ist parties, since they have long ago given up any pretense of being for revolution. And changing their line without any explanation, self-criticism, or even indication that a line was changed has never bothered CPML, where principles don't count. But what happens to the "anti-revisionist" groups when their patron, the CPC, gives the old revisionists the franchise?

It is now clear to all who bother to look and think that the only criterion the CPC *ever* used in labeling parties revisionist or not was whether they served the interests of China's national bourgeoisie. When PCI allied with the Russians in the early 1960's, it was called revisionist. Now when PCI and CPC have parallel imperialist interests, all is forgotten and forgiven. More Maoist dialectics of simple transformation of a thing into its opposite! But in the interim, China had encouraged and financed a whole series of petty bourgeois sects that also called themselves "communist parties." The CPC has now given the indication that these sects must now also turn into their opposites — from barely existing to definitely *not* existing.

The first "three world"-ist party to be caught up in this dilemma has been the KPD of Germany. It recently voted to dissolve itself because it just had too many irreconcilable factions. Some wanted to work in the Green Party, the petty-bourgeois ecology party that is growing in Germany. Others will go to the ruling Social-Democratic Party. Good riddance!

But how much can all these "three world"-ists take? In the US, the League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS) has remained silent about these events. The Revolutionary Workers Headquarters has remained silent about *everything* these days, ceas-

ing any regular publication. CPML has taken its own name off the masthead of *The Call*, and now just says that its paper is the "voice for socialism in the U.S." All these forces include many ex-CP members, and have long been looking for a faction of the CPUSA to unite with. If they can find a sufficiently pro-U.S., anti-Russian faction, they're in.

The last straw for some of these "three world"-ists may be an open attack on Mao by the CPC, an attack which appears to be imminent. Or it may possibly be the open announcement by the CPC that the Soviet Union is still socialist. Some of them may reach their limit of Maoist dialectics when told that Mao himself has turned into his opposite four years after his death. Some already find it hard to swallow the CPC's line that Liu's rehabilitation was in keeping with Mao's "thought." And if Liu, "China's Khrushchev," is O.K., then what about the original Khrushchev? This would indeed be too much for those die-hard "three world"-ist supporters of U.S. imperialism.

We thus can expect more splits among the "three-world"-ists that parallel the splits in the CPC. But most of these "parties" are weak, fragile sects that can ill afford a major split and still be able to convince their memberships that they are "communist parties." The road of revisionism is turning out more and more to be the road of liquidation for these sects.

We appeal to Mr. Klonsky of the CPML: Why not follow the model of your German "comrades" and disband, too? That might be the only good thing you would ever do for the proletariat. Mr. Klonsky, the ball is in your court. ★

Genghis The "Great"

The Chinese Communist Party has recently announced the "rehabilitation" of such "great" historic figures as Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia, and Liu Shaoqi of China, both renowned as arch opponents of socialism and the working class in their respective countries. Both had been condemned by international communism as agents of capitalism within the socialist movement — and Tito had fought particularly hard against Stalin and the unity of the socialist camp. It is hardly surprising, then, that one of history's most ruthless barbarians, Genghis Khan, has been "rehabilitated" as well.

He was praised in the Party's daily press, *People's Daily*, as "an outstanding military strategist. . . ." China seems so interested in provoking a war among different imperialist states, in order to grab new markets for herself, that even the most brutal, but "outstanding" military strategists are useful in this regard. Following is the story, as it appeared in the *New York Daily News*, May, 13, 1980.

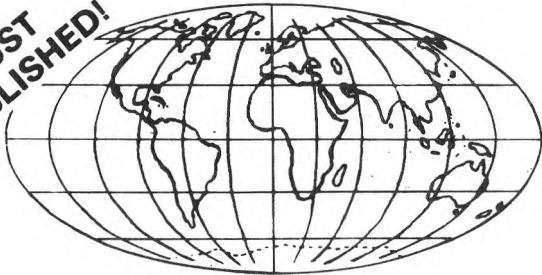
An Ex-Khan Is Rehabilitated

Peking (UPI) — China formally rehabilitated yesterday warlord Genghis Khan, the Mongol whose empire stretched to eastern Europe more than 750 years ago and led to a Mongol dynasty that dominated Russia for three centuries.

The Chinese Communist Party newspaper *People's Daily* praised "one of history's most vilified barbarians" as "the Mongolian leader of Chinese and foreign peoples, an outstanding military strategist and statesman."

The newspaper also officially blessed weekend ceremonies marking the 753th anniversary of his death at his tomb in China's Inner Mongolia autonomous region. ★

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SPRING-SUMMER 1980

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