



Revolutionary Cause

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT

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COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION

Class struggle intensifies

HOW TO CELEBRATE MAY DAY!

"We... consider that the only events that can have a real and serious 'agitational' (stimulating), and not only stimulating but also (and this is far more important) educational effect are events in which the masses themselves are the actors, events which are born of the sentiments of the masses and not staged 'for a special purpose' by one organization or another." (Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 6, p. 279)

On May 1 nearly 400 people arrived early in the morning at the Browning Ferris Industries (BFI) plant gates in Santa Barbara, California to celebrate May Day, an international workers holiday, by expressing their militant support for the striking garbage workers of BFI.

BFI is a large multinational corporation with 140 branches in the U.S., Canada, and Puerto Rico and yearly profits of \$28 million. On January 21, 1976 seventy workers from BFI went out on strike for better wages, benefits and working conditions. 95% of the workers are Mexicanos and Chicanos (the rest include two Afro-Americans and a Puerto Rican) an oppressed national minority who, like those of other oppressed nationalities lack, in general, their democratic rights, and are generally super-exploited (exploited above and beyond the "normal" standard for workers). BFI is merely a part of the system of imperialism which lives off of the exploitation of the labor of the working class, and the exploitation of nations and peoples around the world. National oppression (the oppression of nations and peoples such as Mexicanos, Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, etc.) is part and parcel of the system of imperialism -- it can't live without it!

The May Day demonstration was supported by the United Front to Support the BFI Strikers, the New American Movement, CINAC (a Chicano Student organization which supports the struggle of immigrant workers for democratic rights), El Congreso de la Raza (the University of California at Santa Barbara Chicano student organization), the Isla Vista Tenants Union, the Farmworkers Support Committee, the August Twenty-Ninth Movement and others.

The slogan for the day was "Shut Down BFI, Stop the Trucks!" This was followed by several political and economic demands:

- 1) Unconditional support of BFI workers and their demands.
- 2) End government protection of corporations -- the City Council must stop aiding BFI and force BFI to negotiate in good faith.

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REVOLUTION CAN PREVENT WAR!

The danger of war increases

The world situation is increasingly complex, with unemployment, inflation, wars, strikes, marches, etc. dominating the daily news. Underlying all these various phenomena are two distinct trends, both of which are growing -- the dominant trend of revolution, and the rapidly growing trend of war. We would like to examine the motion and interrelationship of these trends, show why revolution is the main trend, and an assessment of our tasks in regard to the current war danger

IMPERIALISM MEANS WAR!

Today the danger of a new world war comes from the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union for control of the world. This is in contrast to the first imperialist world war, and the second world war (which began as an imperialist war) which involved ALL of the so-called "Great Powers" (meaning they have carried out the "greatest" robbery of the working people of the world). The U.S. and the USSR are superpowers -- so economically, politically and militarily strong that they can menace and bully even former "Great Powers". Both of the superpowers are imperialist countries -

- the U.S. is capitalist-imperialist and the USSR is social-imperialist, i.e., it hides its imperialism behind a "socialist" facade. Imperialism and social-imperialism have as their economic essence, monopoly, i.e., their economies are no longer characterized by free competition, but by the concentration and centralization of national capital in the hands of a few giant trusts, cartels and monopolies

To give just a brief idea of what this means to the United States --

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INSIDE

FIGHT FOR
E.R.A. 2

PALESTIAN
STRUGGLE 3

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN

The role of communists

No one can deny that the masses of women in the United States lack full democratic rights. This lack of rights is felt particularly severely by working class women who do not have the same rights as men to jobs, job training, job promotions, equal pay for equal work, etc. For oppressed nationality working women this inequality is interwoven with the national oppression they face into a bleak fabric of capitalist brutality. The great masses of women also lack many other elementary rights such as the right to free and safe abortion on demand and an end to forced sterilizations (of oppressed nationality women), and an end to being used as guinea pigs for testing of birth control pills, etc.

The current economic crisis has intensely affected working women as they face massive lay-offs, cut-backs in the work week, fewer and fewer job opportunities, higher prices, and general cut-backs in social services.

All the various types and instances of women's oppression are reflective of their lack of democratic rights, (the "right" to be equal wage slaves with men). It is the task of communists to analyze the movement of women -- historically and currently -- and to synthesize the struggle of women around partial demands. In doing this we develop the commonality of those struggles -- the mass line -- **EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN!!**

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

The struggle of women for their rights is a historic one, whose current manifestations have found expression in the heroic stand of the Farah and Oneita strikers -- most of whom were oppressed nationality women, and who raised special demands regarding women. However the overall political movement of women has historically been led by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women (particularly the movement to win women the vote). There is nothing at all strange in this. Capitalism sees to it that the working masses are kept culturally and politically backward -- otherwise it would not be capitalism. As the most cultured and best-educated among the masses of women it is natural for them to articulate the political demands of women and to try and win leadership of the movement of women for democracy. As Comrade Lenin remarked -- every democratic demand put forward by communists has been put forward before us by the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie. And, of course, they put these demands forward in their own class interests. There is nothing profound about this observation either -- it is an ABC of Marxism. The petty-bourgeoisie have expressed the demand for women's right by fighting for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. This is a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution which reads "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or by any State on account of sex. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." Various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces



have attempted without success, to pass this amendment since 1923, but with the impetus of the massive uprisings of the oppressed nationalities in the 1960's, the women were again stirred into motion in the struggle for their democratic rights and the fight for the passage of the ERA was resumed. ATM believes that those groups which opposed the ERA because it is being championed by the petty-bourgeoisie are incorrect, and are, in fact, capitulating leadership of the women's democratic movement to the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie.

As we have said, capitalism makes it inevitable that the more educated representatives from among the masses will be the first to put forward democratic demands. And of course, the bourgeoisie will often be split (tactically) in their attitude toward these demands. For instance, Gerald Ford, Nelson Rockefeller, the AFL-CIO and others support the passage of the ERA. Opponents include the Teamsters, the Mormon Church, Barry Goldwater, the CPUSA, etc. The Rockefeller and company see the ERA as a way to pacify the rising demands of women and at the same time will try to use it to attack protective legislation. The Goldwaters and company see only the aspects of formal equality and are afraid that their profits will be cut by having to give equal pay for equal work, etc. (Goldwater and other "conservatives" like him represent the interests of the smaller monopolists, or non-monopoly capitalists who often operate in the South and Southwest where it is somewhat easier for them to super-exploit women workers). We don't know of any democratic demand which doesn't call for such tactical differences among the capitalist class. This doesn't mean that we base OUR (communists) stand on what one or another capitalist grouping does, (although we must take such contradictions into account). The questions that communists must ask in determining their position are. (1) what does this movement represent, and can we win the leadership of it, (and if so, how?), (2) can the ERA represent a step forward for the masses of women, especially working women?

**THE ONLY REAL FREEDOM
IS SOCIALISM!**

Before answering these questions we want to make clear that NO reform

can truly emancipate women. As long as capitalism exists, with a handful of parasites controlling all the land, banks and factories, with the rest of us HAVING to work for them to survive -- women will face oppression and exploitation. Only socialism, a system run by and for working people, can emancipate women and create the real conditions for their equality. This does not mean however that we cannot better the condition of the masses of women, even under capitalism. WE CAN -- if we fight to do so.

WHY ARE THERE COMMUNISTS??

In examining the historic struggle for women we can see that this movement involves the broad masses of working women, and is aimed at the capitalist class.

In March 1908 thousands of the working women of New York City took to the streets in demand of the 8 hour working day, the right to vote, and an end to child labor.

In 1909, 30,000 women members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union from New York, Philadelphia and Chicago went on strike. Their strike brought the union shop to the garment industry and represented a great step of advance for the entire working class. (Note: As an example of the special oppression of women, they were excluded from unions for decades. The American Federation of Labor, founded in 1880, excluded both women and oppressed nationalities from membership.)

The 1960's and 1970's has witnessed the thousands of Farah working women standing up to the cops, dogs and tear gas in struggle against the oppression they faced as Chicanas, as workers and as women. It was the

NOTE TO OUR READERS:

WE APOLOGIZE TO OUR READERS FOR BEING LATE WITH REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE. WE WILL WORK HARDER TO BE ON SCHEDULE WITH FUTURE ISSUES.



-- FIGHT FOR THE E.R.A.!

united strength of both Black and White women which brought a union to the Oneita Knitting Mills located in the Black Belt South.

At present the women's movement is under the leadership of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women. The National Organization of Women is more or less the organizational embodiment of this leadership. However it need not REMAIN UNDER THEIR LEADERSHIP if only communists show themselves to be willing, able and effective organizers of their struggle for equality -- if communists think and act like REVOLUTIONARIES, instead of cowering in fear of what the bourgeoisie MIGHT do with the ERA. If we are merely content to sit on the sidelines and look down upon the women's movement, then of course, it will remain essentially reformist. But this is not the path of communists. We are revolutionaries--eager

to respond to any challenge if it will help lead the masses towards socialist revolution. Our ONLY reason for existence is to give leadership to the spontaneous struggles of the masses, to organize that struggle and give it a conscious direction. We do not exist merely to write polemics, to talk profoundly, or to congratulate ourselves on the correctness of our line. No comrades we communists are people of ACTION, and we CAN win the leadership of the masses of women if we answer the question of ERA correctly.

IS THE ERA A "SHAM" REFORM?

To pose the question of the ERA as one of "genuine" or "sham" reform is to betray one's total ignorance of Marxism-Leninism. The Workers Viewpoint Organization is particularly famous for this creative pro-

fundity. The WVO purports to be telling us something exciting and new by saying that the bourgeoisie will try and use various reforms to split the working class, to channel its energy along the line of least resistance, etc. This observation is as profound as saying "capitalism means exploitation" -- the most backward worker knows this. The most backward worker also knows that the capitalists will also try to strengthen their hands through trade union contracts! Yes, astonished comrades from WVO -- those nasty capitalists try and use trade union contracts to divide the working class (particularly skilled and unskilled), to channel the workers' struggle along the path of least resistance (extended grievance procedure, arbitration, etc.). And, of course, what is true in the realm

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SUPPORT STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!

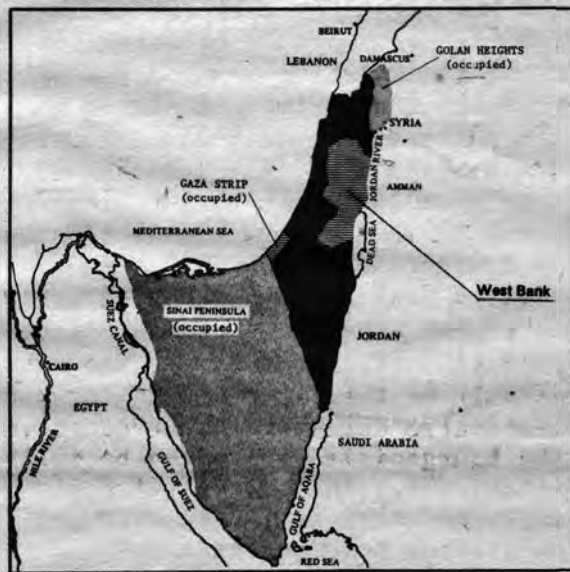
We have a common enemy

For the past couple months we have been hearing reports about the so-called "riots" occurring in Jerusalem, in the occupied West Bank of Jordan. During the course of these "riots" several Arabs have been killed, and scores wounded. What is going on in the West Bank?

HOMELAND STOLEN

In the late 1940's over a million Palestinian's were forcibly removed from their historic homeland -- forced to migrate into foreign countries as "refugees" by the Israelis who occupied 524 Arab towns and villages, of which they completely destroyed 385. When they left Palestine, they were mostly penniless, having lost not only their land, but their homes, businesses and farms. This shameful act was committed by the Zionists (Zionism is a movement inspired by British capitalism to "create" a Jewish nation in the mid-east by settling it with European Jews, under the leadership of Jewish capitalism in order to protect and expand British interests in that region.), who were financed and militarily equipped by the capitalists of Britain and the United States. Having driven out the Palestinian people the Zionists then proceeded to bring in Jewish settlers from all over the world. These were people from Europe, the United States, and the Third World. What did they have in common? Mainly their religion.

On the other hand, the Palestinian people had inhabited their homeland for centuries, developing their land, their language and their culture. While the majority of the people were of the Moslem faith, they lived in harmony with both Christian and Jews. (Before the first wave of Jewish immigrants started arriving in 1881, Palestine had a population of half a million, most of whom were either Moslem or Christian, only 20,000 were Jewish.) The Palestinian people were self-governing and were known for their art, their industry and their independence. Ever since the Zionist movement began (in the late 19th century) the Palestinian



people have fought to maintain their sovereignty and independence against British colonialism and U.S. imperialism.

So we have a contrast

Israel: an artificially created state which lacks anything in the way of common historical development, (other than its theft of Palestine),

Palestine. a nation developed throughout the course of hundreds of years, with its own land, language and culture

Why, then, was Israel created?

1. To give the United States a foothold in the Middle East. By creating a puppet state, dependent on itself, the United States could begin to realize its expansionist ambitions in the Middle East, (Israel has trip

led in size, through WARS since it was first established).

2. To have a permanent "policeman" to do its dirty-work in the Mid-East, to keep especially the oil-producing states "in line".

3. To solve the "Jewish problem". Rather than dealing with the historical anti-Semitism (particularly of the European countries), the capitalists chose to export it to the Middle East at the expense of the Palestinians.

And of course the Zionist capitalists are rewarded for their treachery (towards both Palestinians and Jews), with fat government salaries, directorships of companies and banks etc. In the meantime the ordinary Jewish citizen has to pay the world's highest taxes, continually fight imperialist wars, and, for the dark-skinned Jews -- face racism and social and economic discrimination.

HEROIC PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!!

From the day they were driven from their land the Palestinians have been fighting heroically to regain it. In spite of the fact that the Zionist army is one of the best equipped in the world including atomic weapons, the Palestinians have fought them at every turn. Starting out at first with old used weapons (often captured from the Zionists), they have today a modern,

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Young Palestinian liberation fighters.

MAY DAY...

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3) Stop the anti-labor news media coverage.

4) End the special oppression of Mexicans, Chicanos, Afro-Americans, other national minorities, nations and women.

ATM and other Marxist-Leninists active in support of the strike have used these demands as a starting point for Communist political agitation. In the course of our work we have been patiently explaining -- through verbal and written agitation and propaganda -- that imperialism is the source of all national oppression, that because of this people all over the world are struggling against our common enemy -- that the national liberation struggles of the world's peoples are the firm allies of the working class and oppressed peoples of the United States. We have shown, through our agitation, our propaganda and through summing up the struggle itself that as long as imperialism exists there will never be "equality" or justice for the working class and oppressed nationalities -- that only socialism, a society where the workers hold political power and run society for their own benefit -- can end the exploitation of the working class and the oppression of the nationalities.

WORKERS KEEP OUT THE SCABS!

The May 1st picket line succeeded in keeping out the scabs from BFI for over an hour, in spite of the fact that the scabs had police protection. They didn't keep them out with chants either! Those scabs and the capitalist state felt the might of the workers. Armed for the most part with only their bare hands, the strikers and their supporters took on fully armed police and forced them to retreat! Immediately the cops declared the picket line an unlawful assembly and moved in for arrests. While over 50 city police converged on the picket line from one end, scores of county sheriffs deputies prepared to attack from another direction. The local cops and the Santa Barbara county sheriff's deputies were backed up by a SWAT team with heavy weapons. The cops made a conscious effort not to arrest the actual strikers though they beat several and arrested a striker and



his wife by "mistake" (as the strikers themselves attested) in order to be able to blame the demonstration on "outside agitators". After the confrontation the cops went on television to display the "Communist propaganda" which exposed the system of imperialism, its state and its social props from the union bureaucracy and the local City Council. The "propaganda" pointed out to the workers that no amount of "peaceful" struggle could end the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. Of course this was merely a slick maneuver on the part of the state to attempt to "prove" that there was a conspiracy to commit violence. And of course there was! It was the capitalists and their state (the cops) who came prepared to attack unarmed workers and strike supporters. But of course they did not take into account the fighting will of the people and they failed to stop the growing movement in support of the BFI strike.

But it was the politics that the police feared most. The capitalists can deal with a militant picket line, but not with the TRUTH: That imperialism, and its state, are the source of exploitation and national oppression and that the people are bound to overthrow this system someday!

In the face of police attack the majority of people attempted to stand their ground, with many defending themselves valiantly against the police. Over 30 people were arrested and some injured. Several police also "got hurt". Those arrested continued to chant political

slogans, to sing fighting songs and to harass the police until they were jailed three hours later. Inside the jail, Communists and some of the more class conscious workers who were mixed in with other inmates explained to them the nature of the strike, the role of the state, the significance of May Day and the role the reformists (social props) had attempted to play in order to channel the workers militancy into the "legal path". This agitation met with an enthusiastic reception from the inmates, most of whom were unemployed Blacks and Chicanos, who were also harassed by the cops for openly expressing their sympathy for the strike and demonstration. Later that day, after having been chased and attacked by the police all over downtown Santa Barbara for several hours the strikers and supporters regrouped and marched, 200 strong, to the police station to demand the immediate release of those arrested, and to condemn the police and the entire capitalist state.

WHICH DIRECTION FOR THE STRIKE!!!

From the beginning of the strike there has been struggle over which direction it should take. The key question has been whether or not the strikers should rely on their own strength, and on revolutionary struggle to achieve their objectives; or whether they should rely mainly on the trade union bureaucrats and a Chicano City councilman and reformist methods of struggle. ATM and other Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries have consistently pointed out the role of the social props, such as the bureaucrats and the councilman as watchdogs for the interests of the capitalists. In doing this exposure we have had to do continual battle with the reformists of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the New American Movement, and a few of the elements of the leadership from CINAC (who say they agree with us, but in practice conciliate or vacillate from one side to the other) as well as other so-called "socialists". These forces have consistently preached reliance on, particularly, the Chicano City Councilman (who is also a business agent for the Lathers Union). This reformist social-prop, bought and paid for by capitalism, has resorted to maneuver after maneuver in his attempts to pacify the workers and to compromise their demands. On the other hand the RCP, which calls itself the "vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat" said that

AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT

The August Twenty-Ninth Movement is a multi-national communist organization formed in May of 1974. It takes its name from the great anti-imperialist march and demonstration which took place August 29, 1970 in the largest Chicano barrio in the United States -- the east side of Los Angeles, California. The demonstration was multi-national and mostly of working class origin. However the overwhelming number of demonstrators were from the Chicano oppressed nationality, and the event had a decidedly nationalist character -- i.e., protesting the use of Chicano youth as cannon fodder in the imperialist war in Viet Nam and protesting the lack of democratic rights for Chicano people. As such this event stands out as a shining symbol of the willingness of the people to struggle determinedly against their oppression and exploitation. Moreover it confirmed in the heat of storm and fire that the struggle of the oppressed nationalities is a component part of the world revolution.

Our organization bases itself on the principles of proletarian rev-

olution as summed-up by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung. We strive to achieve proletarian dictatorship, socialism and ultimately a classless communist society. This can only be achieved through forging the unity of the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities of this country and the armed overthrow of the existing bourgeois state. This overthrow can only occur as a result of a long protracted struggle led by the proletariat under the banner of its vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party. The building of such a party is the central task of all communists and advanced workers of the United States. This has been our task since the treacherous betrayal of the working class by the revisionist "Communist" Party of the USA.

This new party and socialist revolution in general cannot be achieved without a consistent, relentless battle against any and every type of opportunism -- right opportunism and revisionism, and left opportunism and trotskism -- but most especially against the main danger world-wide and nation-

ally, revisionism and right opportunism. The "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union leads the revisionist parties, such as the "CP" - PUSA in promoting revisionism and counter-revolution.

We stand together with all the world's peoples in recognizing the leading role of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China with Chairman Mao Tse-Tung at its head, and the People's Republic of Albania under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania and Chairman Enver Hoxha in the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. As part of this struggle we are duty-bound to uphold the right of nations to self-determination and to give direct support to the national liberation struggles of the peoples against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. At the present time the storm center of this struggle is in the Third World.

We pledge ourselves to unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninists to carry out our tasks and to fulfill our proletarian internationalist duty.

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MAY DAY...

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only the company and the Teamster leadership are the enemy, not the Chicano "liberal" politician ("the working class needs allies") as if social props of the capitalist class could not come out of a national movement! Later these elements conceded to "attack the whole city council, not just one individual." We had to struggle against this centrist position also -- it was precisely this "one individual" who was most prominent in pacifying the workers (especially by appealing to their nationalism) and breeding reformist illusions among them. Lenin, that great leader of the working class, told us repeatedly that we can have no socialist revolution unless we drive all the social-props out of the working class and national movements, that we can only do this by

PALESTINE...

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well-equipped people's army which wages continual guerilla war against the Zionists. In spite of all their weapons and brutality (such as napalm raids on the Palestinian camps in Lebanon), the Zionists have been unable to defeat their foe. While the Zionist demagogues have tried to play on world sympathy as a "small" country surrounded by huge Arab states ("David and Goliath") -- this lie has been exposed and the Zionists now find themselves exposed as the imperialists they are. This is nowhere more clear than in the United Nations where the Zionists have been continually condemned for their actions, where their racism has been exposed, and where the case of the Palestinian people was brought to light. And the Majority of the nations of the world have united against Zionism because they see that it represents nothing more than an outpost for the same common enemy of the world's peoples -- the U.S. capitalist class. The same greedy bunch who throw us out of work while they reap fantastic profits, the same thieves who gouge us for more taxes to build their war machine rather than housing, education and medical care; the same crooks who bribe and corrupt governments around the world (as well as their own), the same gangsters who forced us to fight their imperialist war in Viet Nam -- which gave us death and suffering and gave them fabulous profits from their "defense" industries.

But this common enemy is meeting defeat in the Middle East just like it was defeated in Viet Nam. They are being defeated because the entire Palestinian people are united in their determination to free their homeland -- the Palestinian army is the Palestinian people. That is why the Zionists have been unable to "control" the rebellions in the West Bank (even though they have shot down - murdered - seven Palestinian patriots in cold blood), and they are rebellions, and not riots -- rebellions against their racist colonizers who attack both their land and their religious customs. Sparked by the announcement of Zionist plans to steal even more

winning the masses away from their reformist influence. And of course the struggle on May Day confirmed to the workers, especially the most class conscious, the correctness of what we had been saying all along.

LESSONS!

Marxists-Leninists and Class Conscious Workers and Revolutionaries! Let us congratulate the BFI strikers and supporters for celebrating May Day the way it should be celebrated. Along with the workers of Paris, Rome and other cities throughout the world, the BFI workers gave the capitalists a lesson in class struggle that they won't soon forget! At the same time the workers have learned, in the course of their struggle, and under the leadership of communists, that imperialism is their enemy, that it is not reformism but revolutionary struggle which spells the way to victory! In REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE

lands from them, the Palestinian people, led by the youth, took to the streets to make their protest heard. Aroused to righteous hatred by this latest act of thievery, the people began to "take care of business" -- destroying Zionist property fighting the Zionist police, etc. Armed with only rocks, the Palestinians fought heavily armed police who made use of machine guns, tear gas, armored cars, etc. In spite of such odds, the Zionists have not been able to subdue the rebels for over two months. It has even forced their minister to cancel his trip to see his Washington masters (because of the "grave situation" in the West Bank).

UNITE!!

Workers and Revolutionaries -- let us unite with the struggle of our Palestinian brothers and sisters. It is up to us to make our support visible and militant. Particularly must we oppose all further military and economic aid to the Zionist aggressors. Right now, the Congress is on the verge of sending over \$2 BILLION to Israel (they are quibbling among themselves as to whether to add another \$500 million to this amount). \$2 billion to kill our class brothers, \$2 billion to strengthen the hand of our common enemy, \$2 billion which will not go to medical care, housing and education. Comrades, we must unite with the peoples of the world in opposing Zionism -- we must demand that the U.S. government support anti-Zionist resolutions in the United Nations, as well as to recognize the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, we must demand recognition of the national rights of Palestinian people. It is up to us to uphold our inter-nationalist duty to support the struggle of the Palestinian people, to help them to bring closer their inevitable and final victory!!

END ALL "AID" TO ZIONIST ISRAEL!!

RECOGNIZE THE PLO!!!

SELF DETERMINATION FOR PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!!

#3 we laid out that reformism and right opportunism are the main danger in the communist, working class and national movements. The struggle at BFI is but one example of what this means in actual practice. The planned police attack on the demonstrators is only part of the overall repression and move toward fascism by the capitalist state. Under these conditions the struggle against reformism (whether it has a Marxist-Leninist, a nationalist, or a liberal cover) must be escalated. We must struggle ten times harder to explain politically to the masses (especially the most politically conscious) the nature of the state, the cause of the current economic crisis, the growing danger of war and fascism, etc. To leave the workers disarmed and with illusions about the state and reformism is CRIMINAL AND TRAITOROUS!

REVOLUTION...

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in 1974 alone the top 10 corporations in this country had total profits of almost 12 billion dollars, and had an employee army of 2,672,500 -- both figures surpass that of many nations of the world. With this type of wealth and power competitors are quickly defeated, markets are soon gobbled up, and sources of raw materials are cornered and monopolized. However monopoly does not do away with competition, it only makes it fiercer and more intense. Instead of several individual industrialists scrambling for top position, we now have a handful of GIANTS, who control huge banking and industrial empires, squaring off to battle for first place. (This process takes place both within countries, and between countries) In the United States 20 or so financial groupings control over 75 different banking operations, around 50 insurance companies, 20 utilities companies, a dozen railroad lines, 13 steel companies, 13 petroleum companies, etc., etc., (note These figures are from 1969 - since that time concentration has INCREASED!)

Obviously the home market cannot absorb the vast amounts of capital produced by such a productive system. Following the law of "expand or die" the U.S. has for decades

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REVOLUTION...

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used its wealth to plunder the resources of most of the world. After World War II it was able to grab off the colonies, or former colonies of the defeated powers (bring them under its "sphere of influence"), as well as those of its capitalist "allies" (U.S. investment in Europe had the primary purpose of putting Europe, a potential competitor, under U.S. control. This, more than the actual return on its investment, although that was obviously also important, motivated U.S. Marshall Plan -- along with U.S. fear of "communist takeover" in Western European countries). After the war the U.S. was "riding high". Even at that time, however, Josef Stalin pointed out to the world's peoples that the U.S. empire was built on quicksand and was bound to crumble. And, of course time has proven Stalin correct -- while U.S. industrial production accounted for 53.4% of that of the entire capitalist world in 1948, it had fallen to 41.3% in 1970 and has continued to decline as Europe, Japan, the USSR, etc. scramble in competition with the U.S., and as the Third World countries unite against its plunder. The U.S. also had 32.4% of the world export trade in 1947. Its share had dropped to 15% by 1969. It was just recently announced that the U.S. had fallen from first to fifth place in per capita income among the nations of the world.

In the Soviet Union, there exists almost a pure form of state monopoly capitalism. As we have pointed out these tremendous productive forces quickly saturate the domestic market and necessitate the export of capital for survival. The export of capital has as its aim the control of international markets and sources of raw materials. Monopoly, to the extent that it is developed, enhances the potential of companies, industries and nations for rapid growth. Monopoly means the concentration and centralization of sources of raw materials, banking, actual production, as well as transportation and communication. The USSR has grown to superpower status in only 20 years time because of its state monopoly form. When the revisionists took control of the Soviet state they took immediate control of ALL the industry, foreign exchange, banking, communications, transportation, the state farms, etc. In addition their total state monopoly is much more efficiently organized than the monopoly capitalism of the U.S.

However the Soviet Union has serious deficiencies in its economy -- in its agricultural and industrial sectors particularly -- which keeps it in second place to the U.S. It "compensates" by beefing up its military. It intends to take by force what it cannot win economically and politically. It wants Western Europe for its markets, etc., but most especially to weaken the U.S.

"An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony, i.e., for the conquest of territory, not so much directly for themselves as to weaken the adversary (emphasis ours - ATM) and undermine his hegemony." (Lenin)

The loss of Western Europe would "finish" the U.S. as the number one

superpower. We will show later what the militarization of the USSR means in concrete terms. It is clear that the Soviet Union is now the greatest threat to world peace, because of its aggressiveness (born of its military might) and its expansionist ambitions.

It is important to recognize that even though the Soviet Union is a bourgeois-fascist state, and the United States a bourgeois-democratic one (at least for the present) -- war between the two will NOT represent a war between progressive democracy and fascism. The present policy of the two superpowers is the exploitation of nations and peoples. The USSR plunders, dominates and bullies many of the nations of Eastern Europe, and the Outer Mongolians, Azerbaijanians, Georgians, Ukrainians and many others inside its frontiers. The United States subjugates the Afro-American nation, Puerto Rico, The Chicano people, as well as trying to exploit and control Western Europe. Both superpowers, as we have shown, are trying their best control the whole world. A war between the two superpowers will represent a continuation of this policy and nothing else -- a war between robbers to re-divide the world. There will be nothing progressive about such a war, (except that it will hasten their doom).

We say that imperialism means war because:

- (1) those countries which are exploited for their raw materials, resources, etc., inevitably resist -- taking up arms in struggle for their liberation (such as is occurring in Southern Africa right now). In the case of this type of war it is the duty of the proletariat to render direct and determined support to the oppressed nation(s) fighting for liberation and independence.
- (2) Since the world has already been

divided up among the imperialist countries, there is NO OTHER WAY for a rising power (such as the U.S.S.R.) to get their "piece of the pie" except through TAKING IT by force (military force) from its competitors. There is little of the world which is not already a colony, semi-colony or under the sphere of influence of one or another imperialist power -- particularly the two superpowers. The only recourse left for our and coming imperialist powers is a war against the old line imperialist powers on a "winner take all" basis.

HOW THE U.S. HAS PLUNDERED THE THIRD WORLD

We would like to point out just a few examples of U.S. robbery of the Third World. Remember the capital stolen from these countries is inevitably used against the working class -- that is, it is turned into more police, bureaucracy, propaganda, factories, etc. which the capitalist class uses to maintain itself in power.

Sixty percent of the multinational corporations of the capitalist world are U.S. corporations. Their investment overseas exceeds one-half of the capital invested by the capitalist's world's multinational companies in other countries. For example, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler have set up subsidiaries in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela, and Chile in Latin America, and in many Asian and African countries. U.S. investments account for over half the foreign investment in Asia, Africa and Latin America, (nearly 2/3's of total foreign investment in Latin America). One example of the theft perpetrated by the U.S. is the fact that the U.S. has taken \$10 billion in profits

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DEATH TO US IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM!!

REVOLUTION...

(Continued from page 6)

out of Venezuela alone in the last 50 years. Although just over 1/4 of its \$94 billion in direct foreign investment is in the Third World, the RATE of profit from Asia, Africa and Latin America is much higher than that of its European investments. In 1953 the U.S. invested \$7 million in the Marcona company in Peru. By 1972 the assets of that company were \$200 million. In 1934 the U.S. invested \$50 million in the Kennecott Company in Chile. By 1972 it had realized \$3.5 billion dollars in profit from this investment. Between 1946 and 1972, U.S. multinationals realized \$62.5 billion in profits from investments in Asian, African and Latin American countries. By contrast, the 3/4's of its direct foreign investment in developed countries returned "only" \$49 billion in profits over the same period. (Which is why we say that European investment is primarily for control of potential competitors.)

These few examples show why U.S. imperialism has earned the hatred of the people of the entire world. And of course, as the example of Chile makes clear, where the U.S. financed and orchestrated the fascist military coup when it found its economic interests "threatened" -- the U.S. does not hesitate to use the GUN to protect its investments.

In fact, since World War II, the United States has sent its troops into battle to protect its political and economic position in Korea, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Cambodia, Laos, Cuba, and has supported the Belgian, Portuguese and the French colonialists in their attempt to forcibly hold onto their old empires. Despite these bullying tactics the U.S. has suffered military defeat in Korea, all of its Southeast Asian adventures, saw its mercenary army crushed by the Cuban people in 1961; and saw all of its colonialist allies defeated.

It is not hard to see that the U.S. is like a drunk on the edge of a cliff -- one hard push and over he goes. And standing in the wings, waiting to do the shoving is the social-imperialist U.S.S.R.

SOCIALISM IN WORDS, IMPERIALISM IN DEEDS!

The Soviet Union was once a socialist country (c f., RC #1, Nov. 1975), but after 1956 the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was taken over by bureaucratized elements, who revised Marxism-Leninism and utilized their position to seize the entire state apparatus to purge the Bolsheviks and to completely restore capitalism. They, of course, do not admit this fact openly as this would expose them to the hatred of the peoples in the same manner as the U.S. The new Soviet rulers call themselves "socialist" and "Communists", but we shall see whether their deeds are compatible with socialism or capitalism. (Note: Right now the Communist Labor Party is preparing a document which claims to prove that the U.S.S.R. is "fully socialist" and that it is "impossible" to restore capitalism once socialism has been established. This position has led them to direct attack on the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China and Albania.)

Let's look at a few facts.

(1) From a country which was becoming self-sufficient in grain in the time of Stalin, the U.S.S.R. has now become a major grain importer. The Soviet grain harvest FELL in 4 out of 5 years between 1971 and 1975. There have been 7 decreases in grain production in the past 11 years. In per capita consumption, the 1975 crop was even lower than that of tsarist Russia in 1913. In 1975 alone the U.S.S.R. had to import almost 3 billion tons of grain. It is neither accident nor bad luck that revisionist agriculture is in such a sorry state. With fully 60% of its industry bound up, in one way or another, with military production it is not surprising that agricultural development gets little attention. Contrast this with the U.S.S.R. under Stalin where extensive investments were made in agricultural machinery in order to BETTER THE WELFARE OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE. With profit as its motive, the Soviet bourgeoisie has chosen the get-rich-quick role of arms merchant -- with its high rate of profit. The U.S.S.R. has sold almost 30 billion in arms in the last 20 years. "Better bombs than tractors" could be the Soviet motto. Does this sound like the doings of a socialist country, or a capitalist one?

(2) Since the U.S.S.R. capitalists have begun to measure labor productivity to gauge profit they have learned how to exceed the capitalists in tsarist Russia in rate of exploitation of the working class. It was a "mere" 100% in tsarist Russia, the new "efficient" Soviet bourgeoisie had raised it to as high as 200% by 1973. Along with this "productivity" has come unemployment inflation, and high taxes. Is this a "socialist paradise" or a capitalist hell?

(3) In contrast to the U.S.S.R. under Stalin, where the standard of living of ALL the peoples of the Soviet Union was being constantly raised, and where the gap between the Russian and non-Russian peoples was narrowed to almost nothing -- we get the following picture today: in Byelorussia the average monthly wages are 16% lower than in Russia; they are 20% lower in Georgia than Russia, 21% lower in Moldavia, etc. Is this typical of "socialism" or of capitalism?

(4) In stark contrast to the socialist Soviet Union, which was run to meet the needs of the peoples, and which gave SPECIAL ATTENTION to the central Asian republics in terms of economic development, education and medical care, we find in the capitalist USSR today the following small, but typical example: there are 1/3 less doctors per 10,000 people in these republics than in Russia. In the meantime the social-imperialist have increased their army from 3 million men to 4.2 million. The Central Asian people get bayonets instead of medical care. In contrast, in Socialist China, thousands of doctors, medical teams, medical centers etc. have been opened up in national minority areas in the past 20 years.

(5) In contrast to the socialist U.S.S.R. which was reducing, and was on its way to eventually doing away with taxes, we see that the social-imperialist Soviet Union has increased the average tax per employee from 84.1 rubles in 1960 to 157.6 rubles in 1973. And it seems that these taxes do not go to help the working people -- the Soviet Union has spent \$100 billion on nuclear weapons ALONE while the Soviet peo-

ple do without basic consumer items, and face annual meat and grain shortages. Socialism? Or capitalism?

(6) Under Stalin and the Bolshevik Party the U.S.S.R. was transformed from a backward capitalist country into an advanced socialist country which provided full employment, and eliminated most crime and poverty. Today the Brezhnev clique has transformed socialist U.S.S.R. into a capitalist paradise where 1/2 of its farm members and 20% of its urban population live below the "official" poverty level, and where the existence of street crime, prostitution, drug and alcohol problems, government and state corruption have become common knowledge -- reluctantly admitted even by the new tsars. Are these features common to a socialist society, or to a capitalist one?

(7) From a once socialist country where prices were stabilized and were even being reduced, there are consistent price INCREASES under the revisionists -- state retail prices on flour, pork, beef, milk, cabbage and tomatoes have all risen in the U.S.S.R. -- an average of almost 30%! In China and Albania, prices for such staples have been going down over the last 20 years. We had always thought that inflation was typical only of capitalist countries.

(8) Under Stalin unemployment was eliminated in the Soviet Union. Today capitalist U.S.S.R. has growing unemployment. It is hidden behind the euphemism "mobility of cadres". In the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and Kazakhstan, job applicants ("mobile cadres") totaled several million between 1969 and 1974. And how do these workers become so "mobile"? In "normal" capitalist countries, bosses lay-off workers to maintain and increase their profits. In the U.S.S.R. 1300 workers and staff were fired from the Shchekino Chemical Complex in 6 years. 70,000 workers and staff members in 292 Russian enterprises were fired by 1973. In the Armenian republic 1/4 of the workers in industrial enterprises was fired in 1974, and another 12.3% in the first half of 1975. It would seem that the Soviet capitalists use the same "normal" methods as their Western counterparts. Or is all this typical of socialism?

(9) As a socialist country under

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REVOLUTION...

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Stalin and the Bolshevik Party the working people were masters of their society, ran it for their benefit through their Soviets, and were happy and prosperous. Since the restoration of capitalism there have been massive strikes, demonstrations and slowdowns in numerous cities throughout the U.S.S.R.-- which have been repressed with TANKS! Since 1968 a number of revolutionary organizations in the Soviet Union have published articles and leaflets calling on the masses to overthrow the revisionist clique and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialist Russia, or Social-Imperialist Russia?

(10) Under Stalin and the Bolshevik Party the USSR was known for having resolved the national question. The oppressed nations and minority peoples were provided special aid to hasten their economic, political and cultural development. All nations of the USSR were sovereign equals. Under revisionist leadership the USSR has again become a "prison house of nations" -- oppressed nations are being forced to adopt the language and culture of the Great Russians, anti-Semitism has again become a common fact of life. The oppressed nations of the revisionist USSR are becoming economic vassals of Great Russia. We had always thought that national oppression was a typical feature of imperialism, not of socialism.

"NATURAL ALLY"? OR EXPORTER OF CAPITAL?

Let's examine the U.S.S.R.'s capital export and see whether it is consistent with "socialism" or capitalism.

We have given some examples of the vast fortunes the U.S. has plundered from the countries of the Third World. Many people, however, are unaware of how the social-imperialist Soviet Union is trying to get its fingers into the pie, disguising its exploitation as "internationalist aid", and "fraternal help from a socialist country", "international division of labor", etc.

(1) Rather than providing arms FREE as does China for instance, to the Arab countries to fight Israeli Zionist aggression, the Soviet Union forces them to pay for them in cash, or to pay in oil at below world market prices. Many Arab countries which lacked cash had to borrow it from European banks -- so, the Soviet Union gets the cash and European im-

perialism gets the interest! With the low priced oil it got from the Arab oil producing countries, the U.S.S.R., after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war turned a neat \$4 billion profit on the European market. Socialist aid? Or capitalist scheming?

(2) Soviet loans to the Third World, (which has 70% of the earth's population and gets only 30% of its revenue) are usually short-term and high interest, with the usual stipulation that purchases are restricted to Soviet goods, (an old U.S. trick) Countries must repay with their raw materials, foreign exchange, or the products from the mines or factories built with the Soviet "aid" For example, for providing fishing trawlers, the U.S.S.R. demands 50% of the catch -- real 'internationalism'! Contrast this with Socialist China which provides long-term, low, or interest-free loans to many Third World countries. In the case of Tanzania, China not only provided an interest free loan to build a trans-continental railroad, but even provided technicians and workmen to help build it, who lived and worked with the Tanzanian workers -- all at no cost whatsoever! Which is the socialist country, and which is the capitalist one?

(3) India, one of the poorest countries in the world, must repay the U.S.S.R. 125 rupees for every 100 rupees it borrows, IN THE SAME YEAR! The U.S.S.R. also controls 80% of India's machine-building industry, 60% of its electrical appliance industry, and 30% of its steel production. Such "fraternal help" India doesn't need. In fact, she used to get the same type of "aid" from colonial Britain.

(4) The U.S.S.R., in its dealings with Third World countries, buys primary products and raw materials at 10% to 15% lower than world market prices. On the other hand Soviet Exports to developing countries cost from 15 to 25 percent more than they cost Western countries -- a real "natural ally" of the Third World. Hardly sounds like the dealings of a socialist country does it?

(5) In 14 years the U.S.S.R. plundered Africa for almost \$5 billion worth of food and raw materials

(6) To help coordinate its "aid" the new tsars have the Moscow People's Bank in Singapore, which invests in more than 100 enterprises in Southeast Asia alone. As Lenin once remarked, "The rentier state is a state of parasitic, decaying capitalism..."

"SOCIALIST COMMUNITY" -- RIPE FOR SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

The social-imperialists are fond of pointing to the "socialist community" as a shining example of their "accomplishments" Let's take a close look

(1) While the Soviet Union is only one of several countries in the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (COM-ECON), its share of industrial production is over 75%, and it controls the Comecon Bank with a 40% investment. Is it because Bulgaria, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Outer Mongolia, Czechoslovakia, etc. are "too backward" that industrial production and banking figures are so lopsided? We think not. We think that it is because the U.S.S.R. has taken control of Comecon AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES.

The U.S.S.R. has "persuaded" its "Socialist brothers" to invest in the development of the Siberian oil fields. And the happy result? By 1980 Eastern Europe will be dependent on the U.S.S.R. for oil. Is such maneuvering typical of capitalism or socialism?

(2) Because the U.S.S.R. has so "generously" aided Hungary, the latter gets 90% of its crude oil imports from the former, as well as 98% of its gasoline, 92% of its machine oil, 96% of its iron ore, and 90% of its pig iron. Too bad some of the Soviet "aid" can't go to helping Hungary develop its own extractive and metallurgical industries so that it could lessen its dependency on the U.S.S.R. Chinese aid to Albania, for instance, has gone towards the development of Albania's steel, iron, mining, and petrochemical industries. Independence, rather than dependency has been the result. Which actions sound socialist, and which sound capitalist?

(3) Let's see how the Brezhnev clique has helped "fraternal" Bulgaria. Bulgaria imports 70-80 percent of its oil from the U.S.S.R., 50-60 percent of its coke, 100% of its coal, 60-80 percent of its iron ore, 75% of its iron and steel, 67% of its rolled steel, and 90-100 percent of its timber. In the meantime the Soviet imperialists have forced Bulgaria to tailor its economy to meet Soviet needs -- e.g., more than 90% of Bulgaria's combine harvesters, fodder crushers and electronic computers go to the U.S.S.R., at Soviet-dictated prices of course. In the meantime Bulgaria's own agriculture, which could use those implements, continues to suffer and decline. The revisionists even resort to robbing Bulgarian manpower -- in 1972, 290 Soviet projects had Bulgarian workers helping on them, 5000 Bulgarian workers were sent to the Kursk metallurgical combine, 2000 to the Arkhangel'sk pulp mill and 8200 to Komi to fell timber.

These few examples help to show us that the Soviet Union is now a major exporter of capital and a superpower -- monopoly capitalism domestically and internationally.

POLITICAL REACTION

Lenin proved that the development of monopoly (dying) capitalism brought along with it the tendency towards political reaction. From a capitalist liberator of nations from feudalism, imperialism becomes the greatest oppressor of nations. From a promoter of democracy against feudal privilege, imperialism tends towards fascism and the complete elim-

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REVOLUTION...

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ination of democracy.

What has the restoration of capitalism, and the turning of the U.S.-S.R. into a social-imperialist country meant politically?

(1) Fascist dictatorship at home. Thousands of workers and revolutionaries are prisoners in Soviet concentration camps. Many thousands more are sent to mental hospitals for "rehabilitation", where they are subjected to shock treatments and the use of mind-altering drugs to turn them from the path of revolution. There is no freedom of speech, assembly, or press in the U.S.S.R. Remember, demonstrations and strikes are dispersed with tanks! -- Open naked terror!

(2) Hegemonism abroad. In 1962 the U.S.S.R. engineered a rebellion in the Sinkiang province of China. The same year the U.S.S.R. provided the jets and military hardware which capitalist India used to invade the borders of socialist China.

In 1968 the U.S.S.R. invaded "fraternal" Czechoslovakia with planes, tanks and troops.

In 1970 the U.S.S.R. backed up India's expansionist war of dismemberment against Pakistan. The USSR is one of the few countries to praise the recent fascization of the Indian state.

After the 1973 war in the middle East, the USSR refused to even sell arms to Egypt and has refused to renegotiate the terms of its "loans" to Egypt. Some internationalism.

In 1974 the USSR backed up India's forced annexation of Sikkim. The USSR continues to supply Zionist Israel with manpower in order to try and get "most favored nation" trading status from the U.S. A real "friend" of the Palestinian people.

At the same time that it was calling for an "Asian Collective Security System" the USSR was flying 200-300 sorties a year over Japan. Some security!

The USSR continued to recognize the puppet Lon Nol clique in Cambodia until almost the day they were defeated.

In 1975 the USSR instigated a bloody civil war in Angola in order to gain a foothold in strategically important Southern Africa in struggle for hegemony with the U.S. Supplying one organization with heavy military equipment which they refused to supply when the Angolan people were fighting Portuguese colonialism -- they succeeded in splitting the unity of Angolan people and causing the death of 150,000 Angolans (more than were killed in the last 20 years of struggle against Portuguese colonialism). Not a "natural ally", but a natural imperialist.

All of these things taken together would seem to point in the direction of social-imperialism, and not socialism.

CONTENTION IS ABSOLUTE

Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have their major investments in Europe. In addition most of their military might is concentrated in and around Europe. For this reason Europe is the strategic focus of their contention. What are some of the ways in which this contention has expressed itself?

In recent years the U.S. has been maneuvering to get into Eastern Eu-

rope. They have loaned Hungary \$100 million to buy Western industrial equipment, and the U.S. is selling large quantities of grain to Poland. General Motors is setting up a huge lorry plant in Poland.

The U.S.S.R. responds in kind: it has increased its West European exports from 1.1 billion rubles in 1958 to 5.6 billion in 1973. While the U.S. leads in the absolute value of exports to Western Europe, the U.S.S.R. leads in annual rate of increase -- 9.2% as compared to 6.8% for the United States.

Realizing that Europe is dependent on Mid-East oil both superpowers strive to control that area. The US props up Israel with billion of dollars in weapons and economic assistance, while the U.S.S.R. tries to use arms sales to control the Arab countries -- having sold them billions of dollars worth since 1955, (while at the same time having "secret" meetings with Zionist diplomats to jockey for position with the U.S.). Both superpowers try to use their arms "aid" to force the Middle East countries to do their bidding -- e.g., the U.S.S.R. withheld arms from Egypt after 1973 to try and get that country to agree to Soviet interference in Mid-East peace talks. Egypt, of course, stood up to the U.S.S.R.'s bullying.

The U.S. recently has increased its "aid" to the middle East and Southern Europe (the strategically important "soft underbelly" of Europe). It has allocated \$750 million for Egypt, \$90 million for Syria, and \$2.2 billion for Israel. It has also increased its "aid" allotments to Greece, Turkey and Portugal. The USSR has tried to step into the Cyprus conflict to promote discord between Greece and Turkey, and to take advantage of such discord to gain a step up on the U.S. in the struggle for hegemony. The Soviets invested millions of rubles in the revisionist Communist Party of Portugal in a vain attempt to put in a puppet government. Both countries have millions invested in various political parties in Italy to try and subvert that government to their own interests. And of course, both superpowers maintain a spy apparatus numbering in the thousands (the Soviet Union has the "honor" of having the largest), which exists for no other reason than to subvert, interfere, and meddle in the affairs of sovereign states -- to try and put them under the control of one or the other superpower.

Militarily, the U.S. has begun beefing up its military bases in the Mediterranean with manpower and equipment. It has increased its annual military budget to over \$90 billion a year, and is discussing production of the new strategic long-range B-1 bomber. The US has 3/5's of its overseas forces stationed in Europe and will increase the actual combat forces in Europe from its present 62% to 71% by 1977. It increased its army aviation forces in Europe from 200 a few years ago to 800 by 1975. It recently assigned the nuclear aircraft carrier "Nimitz" to European waters as well as a number of Poseidon submarines. The U.S. presently has a little over 2 million men in the armed forces, of which over 300,000 are stationed in Europe.

As for the USSR it has increased its annual military budget from 13.1% of its annual national income to 91.6% of its national income by 1974. It has thus surpassed even Hitler's pre-war fascist Germany in

its war preparations: pre-war Hitler Germany never made it passed 19%, and the U.S. "only" reached 15% during the Korean War, and 10% during Viet Nam. The estimated present annual military budget for the USSR is \$94 billion, \$4 billion more than the U.S. In comparison, Soviet national income is only 2/3's that of the U.S. The Soviet Union has increased its nuclear ICBM's from 75 in 1962 to 1618 in 1975; its submarine guided missiles from 100 in 1963 to 784 in 1975. It has increased its armed forces from 3 million in the 1960's to 4.2 million today. Three-fourths of the USSR's troops are deployed in Europe (including the European part of the Soviet Union). It has 25 million reservists, about 6 million of whom have active military experience.

The Soviet Union has a tank force of 40,000 -- surpassing that of the U.S. and Western Europe combined.

The Soviet Union has 3/4 of its long range aircraft, 3/4 of its medium range missiles, 3/4 of its major naval vessels and 1/2 of its missile subs stationed in and around Europe.

These facts would seem to tell us that the USSR is hardly a peace-loving "socialist" country. The U.S. while it has laid stress (since the Viet Nam defeat especially) on countering the Soviet Union with financial and political maneuvers, is now beginning to emphasize military strength as a counter-measure. It is obvious that the superpowers are preparing for war.

"The bourgeois states are furiously arming and rearming. What for? Not for friendly chats, of course, but for war." (J.V. Stalin)

"KNOW THE ENEMY"

Before we examine how the peoples of the world have lined up against the superpowers, let us briefly sum up the present situation of these two paper tigers:

- (1) They have tremendous political, military and economic power.
- (2) Capitalism has been restored in a number of formerly socialist countries.
- (3) Many (100's) of formerly communist parties throughout the world have degenerated into revisionist parties.
- (4) Many of these revisionist parties, particularly in Europe have extensive mass influence.
- (5) There are no vanguard Marxist-Leninist parties in either the U.S. or the USSR, (as far as we know).
- (6) Some socialist countries do not as yet recognize the USSR as a social-imperialist country.
- (7) Some Third World countries, and some national liberation movements still consider the Soviet Union a socialist country.
- (8) There are divisions among the

(Continued on page 10)

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REVOLUTION...

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peoples, and within the working classes of the US and the USSR.

(9) The decline of US imperialism and ascendancy of Soviet social-imperialism.

We don't pretend of course, that this is an exhaustive look at the two imperialist giants, these facts are just meant to give a major indication of their strength.

OPPRESSION BREEDS RESISTANCE!

How have the peoples of the World stood up to the two superbullies?

First of all by the armed resistance of the Third World liberation struggles. The recent victories of the Palestinian, Arab, IndoChinese, Mozambican, the people of Guinea-Bissau, and the continuing armed struggles in Southern Africa, the Middle East, East Timor, the Philippines, Thailand, Burma, and many parts of Latin America are literally hammer blows to the two superpowers -- particularly U.S. imperialism. It is mostly this armed struggle which makes the Third World the main force of world revolution today.

The development of economic and political unity by the Third World against imperialism

(1) The demand of the Third World countries, led by Latin America, that the nautical limit be extended to 200 miles in order to keep the superpowers from plundering the fish and mineral resources from their coastal area

(2) The demand by many Third World countries that the U.S. and USSR sign the Treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America, and that they sign the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace (sponsored by Sri Lanka and 26 other countries).

(3) On August 1, 1973 four independent Caribbean countries and seven territories with a total population of 4.5 million and a gross national product of \$2.2 billion, established the Caribbean Community and the Caribbean Common Market to strengthen economic and trade cooperation between members, unite them gradually (against imperialism) into a unified common market with a common protective policy and to co-ordinate their respective foreign policies, in the interest of the development of their national economies. It is easy to see why they took this step -- the United States had taken out more than \$1 billion in profits dur-

ing the 1960's from Jamaica and Trinidad (Community member states) alone

(4) Since the 1960's Third World countries have set up 15 raw material consortiums to strengthen their hand against the superpowers which constantly try to force down prices of raw materials. The consortiums are for oil, coffee, natural rubber, copper, bauxite, cocoa, mercury, iron ore, tungsten, phosphate, oilseeds, forestry and timber, lumber, bananas, and sugar

The Second World has also moved to strengthen its position against the two superpowers.

(1) In 1971, at the Rome "Conference of the Group of Ten", (Belgium, Britain, Canada, West Germany, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Japan, Sweden, and the US), the United States tried to force the nine other countries to revalue their currency as the cost of lifting its 10% import surcharge. The nine countries refused and the U.S. was forced to devalue its own currency. This historic step helped to knock the dollar off its "perch" as the number 1 currency of the capitalist world

(2) In spite of pressure from the US to "confront" the Third World, the Second World is moving more and more towards consultation with the Third World on economic matters.

Witness the Lome Convention of 1975 signed by 9 countries in the European Economic Community and 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific developing countries. This convention lets the products of the signatories from the developing countries duty and quota free and sets up a fund provided by the EEC to compensate the developing countries if the prices of primary products and raw materials fall

(3) Recent developments in the military sphere find more and more European governments calling for unity against outside military threat and for the standardization of weaponry. Austria recently held large-scale military maneuvers to test their ability to counter-attack mechanized invaders, (remember those 40,000 tanks of the USSR). Sweden has just introduced a compulsory military draft so as to be able to increase their army from 100,000 to 700,000 in case of war and is building extensive underground defense works. Switzerland has ordered all male citizens between twenty and fifty to undergo military training so that at least 600,000 civilians can be mobilized in the event of invasion (from the Soviet Union). They are also renovating their artillery

equipment, improving their anti-tank weaponry, strengthening their air force and increasing oil stockpiles (in case their Mid-East oil supply is cut off by the Soviet Navy, which now prowls every ocean in the world).

These are just a few examples of how the peoples of the world are getting prepared in case of war. We will return to this question for a more thorough sum-up.

THE MASSES MAKE HISTORY!

In spite of their frightful appearance the superpowers are actually very weak. Standing against them we have the following

(1) The national and class struggles within each superpower, as well as the struggle of the intellectuals for freedom and the masses of women for democracy.

(2) The armed national liberation struggles in the Third World.

(3) The growing political and economic unity of the Third World, as well as the continuing atmosphere of dialogue between the Third World and Second World countries.

(4) The growing economic, political and military unity of Europe

(5) The growth and development of the socialist countries led by China and Albania, which give direct aid and support to the national liberation struggles, as well as ideological and political guidance to the many Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations which have grown strong in the struggle against revisionism

(6) The growing contradictions within Comecon -- particularly with the Soviet Union

(7) The USSR is seeing its "sister" revisionist parties in Western Europe break loose from its orbit, (however, many of the West European revisionist parties are still potential fifth columns for the Soviet fascists).

(8) The growth and development of Marxist-Leninist parties which are forging wide contacts among the masses, bringing them under communist influence. Just recently, for instance, Marxist-Leninists in Italy led over 10,000 people in a demonstration against the capitalists and the revisionists. We know that the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Spain was responsible in large part for the recent general strikes in Spain, as well as leading the struggle of the Basque and Catalonian people for liberation. It is important to realize, however, that none of the Western European Marxist-Leninist parties or organizations as yet have the mass influence of the revisionist parties.

(9) In the United States, Marxist-Leninist organizations are struggling to unite all revolutionary Marxists and advanced workers into one vanguard party. They face strong opposition from the numerically and organizationally stronger opportunists -- but it is in precisely such struggle that Marxist-Leninists are tempered.

(10) In the Soviet Union, revolutionary Marxist underground organizations have developed, although we don't know whether an actual vanguard party has been formed

All of these things taken together form a world wide united front against the two superpowers, and show why revolution is the main world trend. This united front is led and strengthened by the People's Republic of China as even a cursory glance

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REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE

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E.R.A...

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of economics is at least as true in the realm of politics. Does WVO really believe that even in its progressive period the bourgeoisie saw political democracy as anything besides a ruse with which to fool the working masses? WVO does not answer with facts, the question -- can the ERA represent a forward step for the masses of women? They instead chose to rant and rave about how the ERA will "split the working class" (with no proof offered of course):

"They (the liberals) help to lay the groundwork for women to fight with men for jobs, pitting women against men and helping to pro-

mote a split in the working class, diverting attention from the real enemy -- the bourgeoisie."

(Workers Viewpoint, vol.1,#1,p.20)

And they go on to say that the ERA will not bring even temporary benefits to working people. These are certainly fine assertions -- unfortunately WVO offers not ONE fact to back them up! What is a fact is that women's inequality is, by and large, sanctioned by law and "custom". It is a fact that masses of women are fighting against this. It is a fact that the ERA will knock down those barriers, as long as its passage is won through revolutionary mass struggle.

"But wait a minute", WVO will say, "What about protective legislation"?

Anyone who believes that the bourgeoisie needs an ERA to attack the hard-won gains of workers really

does have illusions about capitalism. The bourgeoisie is attacking protective legislation all over the country -- NOT because of the ERA (which hasn't even been passed) -- but because they are in the middle of a severe economic crisis, and because COMMUNISTS are not leading the struggle of the masses to defend protective legislation and to expand it to cover all workers.

No, the WVO acts in the manner of those petty-bourgeois politicians referred to by the Comintern in 1930 in their resolution on the Negro Question. The WVO refuses to fight for "formal" equality. "In the U.S. today where bourgeois democracy is highly consummated, to demand constitutional reforms (as distinct from concrete legislation such as specific protective legislation) that only grant abstract principles

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REVOLUTION...

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ce will show. their construction of socialism, aid to liberation struggles, encouragement of the unity of the Second world countries, their policy of dialogue with the Third world countries, their exposure of social-imperialism, sham Detente, etc.

ONLY REVOLUTION CAN PREVENT WAR!!

Given the current situation and the present balance of forces, what are our tasks?

Concretely the task of communists is to rouse the masses in revolutionary struggle against the war danger. This means that we must conduct propaganda among communists and the advanced elements on this question and train them to rouse and lead the masses in struggle against the source of war. We can win over the advanced ONLY by providing correct leadership to the mass struggles -- linking the partial demands of the masses to the demands for democracy, self-determination, jobs, not imperialist War, and for socialism. This leadership must be revolutionary and not reformist which means that we must train the advanced in those struggles -- for this, propaganda alone is insufficient. The advanced must be taught HOW to lead the legal struggles, HOW to organize illegal work; HOW to agitate among the masses, etc., etc. We must work with the advanced and intermediate elements to link every democratic and economic struggle to the war danger -- to show the masses step by step, that only the overthrow of capitalism can put an end to war!

We must develop and lead the struggles of the oppressed nationalities. The national movements have dealt the sharpest blows internally to U.S imperialism since the Civil War. We must give these movements consistent revolutionary direction -- by direct involvement in them, and by isolating and exposing the reformists and revisionists whose influence is growing and expanding in these movements.

In the trade unions we must oppose the jingoism, chauvinism and patriotism of the trade union bureaucrats -- with our internationalism -- leading the struggle to organize the unorganized (a large percentage of whom are oppressed nationalities), to end the deportation of undocumented workers and showing the workers what a war between the superpow-

ers would really mean

We must do systematic agitation and propaganda among the masses to get them to give material support to the liberation struggles of the Third World, and to support the construction, development and policies of the socialist countries, led by China and Albania. We must also build their support for the Second and Third World countries insofar as they are objectively opposing superpower control, interference and bullying

We must lead the masses in opposing sham detente and phony disarmament and demand instead that the US and the USSR pledge themselves never to be the first to use nuclear weapons, that both superpowers destroy all their nuclear weapons and that they dismantle and remove all their foreign military bases.

In response to the war danger, there is bound to be an increase in the peace sentiments of the masses. We must utilize these sentiments to lead the struggle for peace in a revolutionary way opposing social-pacifism -- mass demonstrations, political strikes, etc., led in the direction of the struggle for democracy, self-determination for the oppressed nations and for socialism.

WAR!!

If a war should break out we must do widespread agitation under the slogan "Turn the Imperialist War Into a Civil War!" In order to do this will require, of course, a functioning and well-organized illegal underground apparatus which we cannot wait until the event of a war to create. Failure to get prepared now will prove fatal in wartime.

It will be our task to utilize the war situation (which heightens capitalist contradictions to the extreme) to work for the DEFEAT of our government -- to facilitate its defeat by agitating and leading the masses in mass action against the war.

"A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war (e.g., Viet Nam - ATM), and cannot fail to see that the latter's military reverses must facilitate its overthrow." (Lenin)

A world war will undoubtedly create a massive crisis in the U.S., and result in enormous mass suffering and misery. This will inevitably give rise to revolutionary sentiments among the masses.

"It is our duty to help the masses become conscious of these moods, deepen them and give them shape

This task finds correct expression only in the slogan. convert the imperialist war into a civil war; all consistently waged class struggles in wartime and all seriously conducted 'mass action' tactics inevitably lead to this. It is impossible to foretell whether a powerful revolutionary movement will flare up in connection with, during or after the first or the second imperialist war of the Great Powers; in any case it is our bounden duty to work systematically and unswervingly in this direction." (Lenin, SOCIALISM AND WAR)

Comrades, our slogan does not mean we expect the masses to immediately rise up in arms if a war breaks out. We know that we still lack a Marxist Leninist Party at all -- let alone one with a history of work and widespread connections among the masses. Nevertheless, we cannot use this as an excuse, even in wartime, to fail to do systematic agitation among the masses -- to tell them the TRUTH about the war and to lead the struggle against it.

REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND!!

JOBS, NOT IMPERIALIST WAR!!

SMASH THE IMPERIALIST WAR PREPARATIONS!!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!!

All references come from the following sources.

- (1) Peking Review -- all from 1970-1976.
- (2) Albania Today -- all from 1974-1976.
- (3) Lenin Collected Works, vol. 20, the article SOCIALISM AND WAR.

next ISSUE

- 1 1976 ELECTIONS - PHONEY DEMOCRACY
2. STOP POLICE REPRESSION!
3. CURRENT STATE OF OUR MOVEMENT
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(Continued from page 11) of equality is nothing but reactionary!" (ibid. pg. 18). The Comintern said in reference to those who would substitute the revolutionary formulation of democratic demands (such as Equal Rights for Women) with long lists of "concrete" demands:

"One should not venture to draw up a complete program of some kind, or a system of 'positive' partial demands. Such programs on the part of petty-bourgeois politicians should be exposed as attempts to divert the masses from the necessary hard struggles by fostering reformist and democratic illusions among them."

But the WVO would have to say that the CI was wrong, that they don't understand that imperialism is reaction all along the line, that bourgeois democracy -- "has not become thoroughly reactionary, and.. serves to usher in fascism." (op cit., pg 18) No, rather than starting from the partial demands of women (for daycare, welfare, equal pay for equal work, right to jobs, etc) and linking those partial struggles to the basic democratic demand for equal rights and mobilizing and organizing a revolutionary struggle for that demand -- WVO would rather break the basic demand down into small component partial demands, which are of course, "realizable" and "concrete". Lenin had to deal with the same type of arguments and he responded as follows:

"That objection reveals complete failure to understand the relation between democracy in general and capitalism. The conditions that make it impossible for the oppressed classes to 'exercise' their democratic rights are not the exception under capitalism; they are typical of the system. In most cases the right of divorce will remain unrealizable under capitalism, for the oppressed sex is subjugated economically. No matter how much democracy there is under capitalism, the woman remains a 'domestic slave', a slave locked up in the bedroom, nursery, kitchen. The right to elect their 'own' people's judges, officials, school-teachers, jurymen, etc., is likewise in most cases unrealizable under capitalism precisely because of the economic subjection of the workers and peasants. The same applies to the democratic republic. our programme defines it as 'government by the people' though all (communists) know perfectly well that under capitalism, even in the most democratic republic, there is bound to be bribery of officials by the bourgeoisie and an alliance of stock exchange and the government.

"Only those who cannot think straight or have no knowledge of Marxism will conclude so there is no point in having a republic, no point in freedom of divorce, no point in democracy, no point in self-determination of nations! But Marxists know that democracy does not abolish class oppression. It only makes the class struggle more direct, wider, more open and pronounced, and that is what we need. The fuller the freedom of divorce, the clearer will women see that the source of their

'domestic' slavery is capitalism, not lack of rights. The more democratic the system of government, the clearer will the workers see that the root evil is capitalism, not lack of rights." (LCW, vol. 23, pg. 73)

It is WVO's failure to grasp the relationship between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism that leads them to their dead end. Socialism does not occur as the result of one big battle which happens after communists do a certain amount of agitation and propaganda. Socialism will occur as a result of numerous battles on the economic and political front, during which communists try to lead the masses, THROUGH THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE to the conclusion that revolution is necessary and inevitable. Moreover, someday the proletariat will have to exercise a system of proletarian democracy (as well as dictatorship). It will not learn how to do this except through the most consistent struggle for democracy (especially for oppressed nationalities and women) under capitalism, thirdly the masses will learn that only revolutionary struggle can win them any type of meaningful concession from the bourgeoisie. Lastly, the masses will learn that it is not the lack of democracy which underlies their misery -- but capitalism, that only socialism can bring women true equality and emancipation.

OUR TASKS

Presently there is a big debate going on inside of the National Organization of Women between the bourgeoisie and upper petty-bourgeoisie who want to confine NOW to strictly feminist issues and to the organizing of professional women; and the petty-bourgeoisie who want to concentrate on organizing working women and minorities, raising issues pertinent to the latter. Right now, the latter are gaining the upper hand and they will take their feminist stand and viewpoint into the class, (witness Alice Doesn't Day, which caught all Communists unprepared to lead). We can't let them win the leadership of the masses of working women

"It is our direct duty to concern ourselves with every liberal question, to determine our Social-Democratic attitude towards it, to help the proletariat to take an active part in its solution and to accomplish the solution in its own, proletarian way. Those who refrain from concerning themselves



in this way (whatever their intentions) in actuality leave the liberals in command, place in their hands the political education of the workers, and concede the hegemony in the political struggle to elements which, in the final analysis, are leaders of bourgeois democracy." (LCW, vol. 5, pg. 341)

We communists must be the hardest fighters for the demands of women but we MUST link it to the struggle for Equal Rights. We must be the one who organize the entire working class to strike and demonstrate for the passage of the ERA, in order to force a genuine concession from the capitalists. In the course of this struggle we must show the masses that only socialism can grant true democracy to women. If we don't, then the ERA will result only in a few token jobs for professional women, it will be used to split the class, and it will end up as a "sham" reform, (witness what happened to the democratic movement of Afro-Americans when there were no communist organizations capable of maintaining the momentum of that struggle, of organizing it and giving it a consistently revolutionary direction).

FASCISM

WVO is fond of saying that the ERA is a capitalist device for ushering in fascism. It is true that every bourgeois-democratic state contains within itself the seeds of fascism - this is elementary knowledge. However we don't defeat fascism by NOT fighting for democracy. we defeat fascism by utilizing the economic and political struggles of the masses to organize and lead truly mass actions which break the boundaries of bourgeois legality -- to organize revolutionary struggle. Because ONLY revolutionary struggle can prevent fascism - can beat back the fascist front groups which play upon the degenerate culture promoted by the liberals to push women "back into the home", to chain them with passivity, to confine them to domestic slavery. (And it is not "proof" that the ERA helps usher in fascism because fascist groups use it to push "women-back-to-the-home" ideology. The fascists are going to attack ALL progressive and revolutionary demands - especially self-determination and socialism - does this mean that we don't raise them?) What is despicable and opportunist about the WVO's assertions in this regard is that they substitute facts with quotes from Dimitroff taken out of context to "prove" their assertion.

CONCLUSION

We call upon all Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionaries to take up the struggle for women's equal rights, to win the leadership of the struggle for the ERA; to expose the petty-bourgeois reformists who try to channel this struggle into petition drives and congressional pressure campaigns. Let us organize this struggle so that the masses can learn, through their own experience, HOW to fight a revolution, HOW to struggle for democracy, and WHY socialist revolution is inevitable.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN -- FIGHT FOR THE ERA!!!
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!!!