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**Draft Programme
for the Party of the
U.S. Working Class**

**Proposed for the
Founding Party Congress**

By the Revolutionary Union

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Introduction

Since the betrayal by the Communist Party, U.S.A., the forming of a genuine communist party has been an urgent necessity. And it is now an immediate possibility. This is a tribute to the struggle of the working class and the masses of people.

On the basis of summing up this struggle, through discussion in our ranks and with others, the Revolutionary Union is submitting the following draft programme for this party. This draft contains the basic political line which we believe must guide the party's work. It also suggests a name, the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.A., we are proposing for the new party.

We hope this draft will both encourage and focus broad and deep-going discussion among workers and in the revolutionary movement generally. Centered around developing the eventual party programme, this discussion and struggle can make use of past and present experience to serve the future. We hope and fully expect this struggle will enrich and deepen the revolutionary content of the programme to be adopted at the founding congress of the party.

A communist programme is a concentration of the party's basic aims, strategy, and tasks. It sets forth to the working class the goal of its struggle and the means to achieve its high goal. So it is not only a focus for struggle and sum-up among communists; it is mainly a guide to action. For that reason we have tried to write this draft as the final party programme must be written—as a statement to the U.S. working class from its party.

FORWARD TO THE PARTY!

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The Present Situation

THE WORLD IS IN GREAT TURMOIL

Prices towering over wages, massive layoffs and millions out of work, debts piling up and coming due, divorce almost as common as marriage, education, health care and transportation rotten and falling apart, drugs and pornography everywhere, police running amuck, politicians lying through their teeth, the cities getting more and more unliveable—to the great majority of its people this country seems to be going to hell.

The capitalist rulers of this country, who cannot continue as capitalist rulers without plunging the country into one war after another, now threaten to drag the people of the U.S., and the world, into another world war, in their quenchless thirst for more profit. They deal and double-deal with others like them in other countries, and despite their fanfare of "detente," contend most sharply with their counterparts in the Soviet Union for domination in Europe, the Middle East and all parts of the world.

They keep saying they have solutions, but they all come down to one thing—tightening their belts around the people's necks. To save their own necks they demand that the people sacrifice—and sacrifice some more, even to the point of sacrificing thousands or millions of sons in a war to plunder other peoples.

First they say they have made this into the best of all possible countries, then they say the American people will just have to get used to the fact that things are bad and will keep getting worse.

Despite what they preach, things do not have to be like this, and the people will never be satisfied living this way. Throughout this country and all over the world people are rising up to fight back against those, like the rulers of the U.S., whose wealth and power have been built over centuries on the backs of the world's working people. Revolutions are sweeping the world, and in this country more and more people are talking of revolution.

At the very heart of this struggle is the basic conflict between the *working class*—the millions who have no means to live except through their labor, and whose labor is the driving force in society—and the *capitalist class*—the handful who do no productive work but live and accumulate billions from the labor of the workers, and continually grind the workers down in accumulating more.

The working class possesses tremendous potential power to change the world, a fact that is shown every day in the process and product of its labor. It is the task of the working class, in alliance with all forces oppressed by the capitalist bloodsuckers, to wield its mighty power to smash the rule of the capitalists and remake society to serve the interests of the great majority of the people.

CAPITALISM BREEDS CRISIS

The great majority of American people, like the people in all countries, are hard-working and have produced wonders through their labor. The country is rich in many resources, and because of the toil of generations here, and in many other parts of the world, the United States has achieved a high level of science and technology.

Production is on a massive scale, but with the present economic relations, the basic producers, the workers, are increasingly unable to buy masses of goods they have produced. Goods pile up and stare the workers in the face, for lack of one thing—money. Under the capitalist system, production only takes place if those who control production, the capitalists, can make profit from it. And they can make profit only by wringing it out of the workers, and constantly pushing their wages down to the lowest level, allowing the workers only enough to keep working—and to bring up new generations of workers to further enrich capital.

The great store of society's wealth is created by the millions of workers who with their labor mine, grow, and transport raw materials, construct machinery, and use the machines to transform raw materials into finished products. The machines, raw materials and other means of production created by the workers are an important part of the productive forces of society, but the most important part is the working class itself without whose labor the means of production would rust and rot. But in the hands of the capitalists the means of production become tools for the continued enslavement and impoverishment of the working class.

Part of the workers' labor covers the cost of maintaining themselves and their families—their wages—and the rest is unpaid labor that produces *surplus value* for the capitalists, the source of their profit. This *exploitation* of the workers to create private profit for the capitalists is the basis of the whole capitalist system and all its evils.

Capital chases after the highest rate of profit, as surely as iron is drawn to a magnet—this is a law beyond anyone's will, even the capitalists', and it will continue in force so long as society is ruled by capital. Capitalists battle each other for profit, and those who lose out go under, even huge corporations like Penn Central Railroad, or giant banks like Franklin National. While each capitalist tries to plan production, the private ownership, the blind drive for profit and the cut-throat competition continually upsets their best-laid plans, and anarchy reigns in the economy as a whole.

Capitalists constantly pull their capital out of one area of investment and into another and bring in new

machines to speed up production. Some capitalists temporarily surge ahead and expand while others fall behind or are forced out of business altogether. With each of these developments, thousands of workers are thrown into the streets and forced once again to search for a new master to exploit them.

All this is why, from its beginning, capitalism has gone from crisis to crisis. And the way the capitalists get out of these crises only lays the basis for worse ones—they destroy goods and even the means to produce goods, and scramble to grab up more markets. The strongest survive, and in surviving concentrate more of the means of production in their hands and hurl more of the smaller producers into the ranks of the working class. As capitalism develops, society more and more divides into two antagonistic camps—at one pole tremendous wealth and greater concentration of ownership in fewer and fewer hands; at the other pole tremendous misery for the millions who can live only by working for the owners and can work only so long as they produce profit for them.

Through all this, and especially in times of the sharpest crisis, the basic contradiction of capitalism stands out all the more starkly: production itself is highly socialized—it requires large concentrations of workers, each performing part of the total process and all essential to its completion, and it is capable of massive output on this basis; but the ownership of the means of production and the appropriation of the wealth produced is “private”—in the hands of a few, competing owners of capital.

IMPERIALISM IS CAPITALISM ON ITS DEATHBED

But so long as capitalism is not overthrown, it finds some way out of the crisis—temporarily. Through a series of such crises, in the U.S., and the major capitalist countries of Europe, and Japan, large corporations have come to dominate and monopolize the major industries. Banks have increasingly merged their capital into industry, creating finance capital and monopolizing credit as well, interlocking it with industry.

Monopoly has become the rule where competition once was, but competition still exists, and in fact grows more intense—between different monopoly capitalists within these countries and internationally, and between the monopolies and smaller capital that seeks to expand and challenge the existing monopolies. Anarchy and the chase of competing capitalists after higher profit remain in effect. The laws of capitalism remain in force, especially the commandment: “expand or die.”

The market of the “home” country is too limited for the continued expansion of capital. So, backed by the military might of their governments, the monopolies penetrate into every possible part of the globe, not only or mainly to sell goods, but to exploit labor, grab up supplies of raw materials—for their own production process and to keep them out of the hands of the competitors—and to set up production in other countries to “secure” their markets.

In the nations they have seized as direct or indirect colonies they distort development to fit their own profit drives, allying with the landlords, the handful of big capitalists and government officials in these nations, and turning them into their junior partners in the plunder. In this way they try to keep these nations in an enforced state of backwardness, in order to rob their resources and make superprofits by working the people in starvation conditions. To back up this international robbery they ring the globe with their armed forces. These monopoly capitalists are modern day imperialists, having empires far greater than the ancient Roman, Greek, Persian and Egyptian rulers.

As imperialists they must enforce ever more exploitation at home, while constantly expanding their exploitation abroad. They use superprofits stolen from the colonies and other countries to bribe an upper section of the labor movement in their “home” country, especially the top leaders of the trade unions. They promote these leaders as “labor statesmen” but they are really nothing but labor lieutenants of the capitalists—siding with them against the masses of workers whose exploitation continues to grow more intense with the continuing growth of capital.

But the same laws that have driven the imperialists to carve up the whole world force them to battle each other to re-divide it. Especially in the stage of imperialism, when crises become all the more devastating and shake the entire world network of capitalist relations, war, including world war, is sooner or later the outcome, and the danger of world war exists and grows. This was the reason for WW 1, a war between two camps of international looters.

This, too, is what gave rise to WW 2. But since the end of WW 1, the world had changed—the Soviet Union had been established, a workers’ republic closed off to the rule and plunder of capital. So, with the German invasion of the USSR in 1941, WW 2 changed. It was no longer just a battle for the spoils among the imperialists. It became a battle for the defense of the future, as it was already being realized by the Soviet working people in building socialism. Millions of workers and other oppressed people around the world fought and died to defeat the fascist Axis in order to defend socialism and to advance their own march toward socialist revolution.

For the U.S. imperialists, WW 2 became a way out of the crisis of the 1930s and a means to strengthen their position among the imperialists. Removed from the main arenas of battle, the U.S. imperialists let the Soviet Union, the Chinese people, and the people of Europe and Asia as a whole carry the main burden of the fight. Then, when they saw the great victories scored by these forces, the U.S. imperialists moved in quick with full force to clean up on all the spoils they could.

U.S. productive capacity was untouched by the war, and in fact the war geared up the economy and opened up new markets for U.S. monopoly capital.

American capital declared an "American Century"—it would salvage imperialism and build it to new heights, with itself on top. But the foundation itself had long since been crumbling.

Though the U.S. imperialists expanded their control within the imperialist world, the imperialist world itself was already being shrunk by the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of many countries. The "American Century" was ending almost at the same time as it was beginning. Just as WW 1 gave rise to the first socialist revolution in Russia, WW 2 was followed shortly by socialist revolutions in China, parts of Korea and Vietnam and many countries in Eastern Europe. Peoples throughout the colonial countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were rising up as never before to battle imperialist domination, while the working class was shaking the rule of capital in a number of imperialist countries, both victors and vanquished in the war.

In fact, bound by the laws of capitalism, the very means the U.S. imperialists used to get out of the '30s depression, temporarily avoid a new one and build themselves to new heights at the end of the war, have only laid the basis for an even bigger crash than ever before.

Europe and Japan had to be rebuilt, and so to stave off socialist revolution, grab up more markets and make tremendous profits, American capital flooded in to seize the opportunity. But, as this rebuilding proceeded and the economies of these countries cranked up, industrialists and financiers there, also bound by the laws of capitalism, began battling the U.S. imperialists more fiercely, for the markets in Europe and Japan, in other parts of the world, and even in the U.S. itself. Inevitably, "partnership" revealed itself to be the same mad scramble for more profit.

At the end of the war, the former colonial powers, like England, France, Japan and the Netherlands, were no longer able to hang onto their colonies. Into their place stepped the U.S. imperialists. They often conceded formal "independence" but fastened their hold more tightly, in the thinly disguised form of indirect or "neo-colonialism," as they had done for some time in Latin America.

But the people of these countries were not fooled or "content" with the "democratic" imperialism of the U.S. ruling class. By grabbing up the lion's share of colonies, the U.S. imperialists made themselves the main target of the tide of anti-colonial revolutions that was sweeping these countries.

The tremendous military spending of WW 2 had "started up" the U.S. economy, and even greater military spending became necessary to try to enforce the rule of the U.S. imperialists throughout their empire. But this put a tremendous strain on the economy, building up huge deficits in dollars that had to be exported abroad to finance this global "defense" network.

For awhile U.S. imperialism was able to make other countries pay for its deficits, by forcing them

to accept the dollar, rather than gold, as the standard of all currencies. The dollar was backed up by U.S. armed forces. But as the U.S. imperialists were first defeated in Korea and then routed in Vietnam, the dollar, which had grown flabby over the years, was collected, hoarded, then thrown back at the U.S. finance capitalists—for hard gold.

The dollar was knocked from its perch to float in the money market. Overweight, it sank, leading to the inflation that pushed the prices of everything in the U.S. out of sight. The U.S. imperialists had to mortgage the future to maintain their strength after WW 2—and now their bills are coming due!

In rebuilding Europe and Japan, through the "Marshall Plan," the U.S. imperialists encircled the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, stationing their own troops and commandeering the forces of the West European countries. The "Iron Curtain" was erected by U.S. imperialism.

Waving the atomic bomb which they had barbarously used against Japan—after it had already offered to surrender—at the end of WW 2, the U.S. imperialists continued their attempt to intimidate the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and to aid forces within these countries working for a return to capitalism. They attempted to choke these socialist countries economically, while at the same time trying to penetrate the markets of Eastern Europe with the dollar.

In 1956 the forces of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, headed at that time by Khrushchev, did succeed in seizing power from the working class. They turned the Soviet Union itself into an imperialist country and turned most of Eastern Europe into its colonies. But, now itself bound by the same laws of capitalism as the U.S. (fundamentally "expand or die"), the Soviet Union is pushing out in every part of the world, and has become the main rival to U.S. imperialism for world domination.

The further development of the present imperialist crisis, which threatens to bankrupt not only large companies but whole countries, has given rise to even more cut-throat competition among the capitalist countries, as alliances are more and more breaking down. In this situation, the contention between the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, is rocking the whole world, as these two giants slug it out, and is the main force pushing things toward a new world war.

Crisis and war, devastation and destruction, temporary and partial recovery and then worse crisis and war—this is what capitalism means. And this is all the more the case, once capitalism has developed to the stage of imperialism. Imperialism is capitalism on the decline and in decay, trying to prolong its existence through the most desperate attempts to expand and intensify exploitation. And each attempt of the imperialists to deal with the effects of its continual crises only aggravates the underlying cause—only heightens the contradiction between socialized

production represented by the working class, and "private" ownership of the means of production, represented by the capitalist class.

Once capitalism has reached the stage of imperialism it becomes all the more clear that on the one hand the development of capitalism has laid the basis for a life undreamed of in the past, but on the other hand the continued existence of capitalism keeps the great majority of society from attaining this.

It is impossible to "reform" imperialism or to go back to the "competitive" stage of capitalism. The only solution is to go forward, to *socialize* the ownership of the means of production and the appropriation of the products of production, in order to bring them into conformity with the highly socialized nature of production itself. This requires a political revolution, the overthrow of the rule of capital by the working class, which, in its socialized productive labor, represents the embryonic organization of the future, socialist society.

In fact, the era of imperialism is the era of capitalism rotten ripe for revolution. And this is why, in every country where the working class does not yet hold political power and therefore has not yet embarked on the road of building socialism, its struggle must and will be built toward that aim.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S. HAS BEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CLASS STRUGGLE

The American Revolution of 1776-1783 involved the masses of American people in armed uprising to throw off the yoke of British colonial rule. *At that time* this was an historic advance—it smashed the barriers to the development of capitalism in the U.S. and gave inspiration to bourgeois (capitalist) revolutions against the feudal system in Europe. But even as a bourgeois revolution, it was limited. It granted few rights to the small farmers and propertyless workers in towns and the countryside. And most important, it did not abolish slavery.

In fact, slavery remained the economic mainstay of the newborn United States, and the southern, slave-owning class was extremely influential in the new state. They used their economic and political power to hold back the northern capitalists, who were developing manufacturing and fighting for total control of the government.

These early industrialists created not only factories, but also their mortal enemy—the working class. The first strikes in America took place in the late 1700s, and by the 1800s workers were building primitive unions and political parties.

The struggle against slavery was intensifying, too. The slaves themselves were the main force in this battle. The beginning of slavery in this country was also the beginning of slave revolts against it, rebellions which continued until the end of the slave system itself and were crucial in undermining and eventually overthrowing it. There were more than 250 such re-

volts recorded—and many more that were never recorded because the slaveowners not only viciously suppressed them, but all knowledge of them, for fear that these uprisings would set off a chain reaction that would bring down the whole barbaric slave rule.

The workers and small farmers in the North and much of the South were the slaves' allies, taking part in the abolition movement, helping run the underground railroad that aided slaves to escape the South, and organizing to smash slavery.

Slavery met its end with the Civil War. For the capitalists centered in the North it established their complete rule; and it set the economy firmly on the path of industrialism and monopoly. But the slaves and the workers and small farmers were the mainstay of the Union Army; they fought to exterminate the slave system, and were victorious.

The defeat of slavery propelled forward the struggle of the working class, especially the eight hour day movement. 1877 stands out as a year marked by a mighty strike wave in which the workers, enraged by exploitation, fought police and the army and actually seized control of entire cities for a time. But this was only one high point in a struggle that grew year by year. The country was swept by demonstrations and strikes to cut down the working day from 10, 12 or more hours to eight hours. Nor did the struggle end when much of the working class secured the eight hour day. The contradiction between labor and capital continued to intensify and was more and more clearly the main factor determining how society was developing.

Depressions and inflationary booms alternated as the capitalists competed to build and expand their economic empires. To man their expanding factories the capitalists were forced to bring in workers from outside this country's borders. Generations of immigrant workers, from the far corners of the earth, were driven by exploitation and grinding poverty in their own lands to this country, where they faced discrimination and more exploitation and poverty. They added their strength and experience in struggle to the American working class, playing a vital part in nearly every major battle between labor and capital.

The American working class has, through its struggle, given birth to two international working class holidays, celebrated by hundreds of millions of working people throughout the world—May Day, May 1, born out of the fight for the eight hour day in the U.S. at the end of the last century, and International Women's Day, March 8, arising from the militant struggle of immigrant women workers in the garment industry in New York at the beginning of this century. American workers proudly fought together with workers of other lands against wars of aggression and plunder by the major capitalist powers, in support of revolutionary movements throughout the world and in defense of the first workers' republic, the Soviet Union.

It was precisely this intense and growing struggle of the working class on all fronts against the bourgeoisie that was the soil for the development of the communist movement in the U.S. Workers turned to Marxism in the tens and hundreds of thousands because it could not only aid their day to day struggles, but showed how to make those struggles part of the overall battle to end exploitation and oppression forever. In this soil the Communist Party, USA, was formed in 1919, advancing the struggle of the working class.

The struggle of the proletariat continued to grow and threaten the bourgeoisie. Even in the depths of the 1930s depression, in the face of massive unemployment, hunger, and homelessness, the workers of this country rose up and united in millions of all nationalities, employed and unemployed, and smashed the sabotage of the AFL craft-union leaders to build the CIO. Unions in basic industry, unemployed compensation, and social security were among the important victories of the decade. The great sit-down strike at the Flint, Michigan GM plants, the 1934 dock and general strike in San Francisco, the struggles of workers in rubber, mining and other basic industries, the huge demonstrations of unemployed and other major battles in this period, mark high points in the history of the workers' movement.

The links between the struggle of Black people for emancipation and that of the whole working class, forged during the anti-slavery struggle, were not destroyed even when the masses of Black people were forced back onto the plantations by the 1880s, now as sharecroppers—basically serfs of the plantation owners. During and after WW 1, when Blacks for the first time came in large numbers to the North as workers, they added a powerful thrust to the workers' movement.

The capitalists, of course, practiced and promoted all kinds of discrimination against them and tried to use them as scabs. But this was spitting into the wind. Unity was built in the course of mighty struggle, especially as the working class, led by the Communist Party, took up the fight against this discrimination, against lynching and other terror the capitalist rulers used to hound Black people, North and South, in order to keep its chains on them and shackle the whole working class.

Following WW 2 the capitalists and their agents sabotaged the unions and succeeded to some degree in holding back the overall workers' movement. They built up hacks who had entrenched themselves at the top of the unions which millions of rank and file workers had built through heroic struggle and great sacrifice. At the same time, they put through new laws, like the Taft-Hartley anti-strike provisions, that were direct attacks on labor; and they bent every effort to beat back the militant strike waves of the late 1940s. They used their labor lieutenants to drive militants, and especially communists, out of the labor movement.

They developed the practice of "installment buying", which trapped millions of working people in a net of credit, while trying to convince them that indeed there was "great opportunity." With their temporary position of ascendancy within the imperialist camp, the rulers of the U.S. were able for a time to give a little in the face of the workers' demands for better wages and benefits. And so, where the capitalists and the union hacks could not smash or sabotage the workers' struggle, they made some concessions—with an eyedropper—while preparing to snatch them, and more, back—with a steamshovel. This, together with the fact that the Communist Party deserted the working class and gave up the goal of revolution, explains the relative lull in the workers' movement, during the period of the 1950s and early '60s.

Despite this period of setback for the overall workers' struggle, a mighty storm was gathering in the Black people's struggle which erupted in the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. This struggle began as a "civil rights movement," mainly aimed at smashing "Jim Crow"—the laws and practices which, since the ending of Reconstruction in the South, had kept Black people segregated and in serf-like conditions.

This modern civil rights movement was linked closely with important changes in the economic position of the masses of Black people in the U.S. Following WW 2, the monopoly capitalists who controlled the plantation system in the South, in their pursuit for profit, ended most sharecropping and instituted mechanized capitalist agriculture. Millions of Black people—as well as many whites—went to the cities of the North and South, seeking work and a better life. Once again, according to the laws of the capitalist system, production, this time in agriculture, was expanded and developed only for the profit of the few, resulting in massive displacement and suffering. But in the end it only brought closer the day when the ruling class will be overthrown. Black people were more and more able to resist their oppression, and with millions of Black men and women joining the industrial workforce in both the North and South, their struggle became continually more bound up with that of the whole working class.

Faced with the anti-colonial struggles, especially in Africa, and needing to cover their colonialism with a "democratic" mask, the U.S. imperialists had to make a few token concessions to the fight against segregation in the U.S.—such as the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation. But it was the determined struggle of millions of Black people themselves—supported by broad sections of youth and students and many workers of all nationalities—that knocked down barriers to public accommodations, smashed the imperialists' lynch-terror, and forced them to open up more jobs to Black people.

The break-up of the plantation system in the South, the transformation of millions of Black people from serf-like sharecroppers to industrial workers, and the

tremendous struggle of Black people that arose in connection with this, were the major factors that changed the face of this country, from the mid-50s into the mid and late '60s.

The Black people's movement was not just an inspiration to other oppressed nationalities, and to students and youth, women and other sections of the people who were also engaged in sharp struggles against the ruling class during this period. Especially as it developed from simply a civil rights movement into a Black liberation movement aimed more squarely at the imperialist system, it became the main force pushing ahead all other struggles against the capitalist rulers at that time, including the struggle of the working class itself. At a time when the working class movement was weakened and without a revolutionary vanguard party, the Black liberation struggle rekindled revolutionary spirit among people of all nationalities, and raised again the question of the overthrow of imperialism.

But this struggle could not accomplish the overthrow of imperialism and the real liberation of Black people. The struggle of Black people can and does deal powerful blows to the monopoly capitalists and to the various forms of discrimination and racist trash they foster to make profit and maintain their power. But by itself it cannot end Black people's oppression because it cannot resolve the basic contradiction that the masses of Black people, in common with the working class as a whole, have with the ruling class. Thus, the advance of the Black people's struggle, in bringing up the question of revolution has also brought up the fact that the working class as a whole must lead in making revolution, and that the Black people's struggle must and will be developed as part of the overall working class struggle to overthrow capitalism.

As the links between the Black people's struggle and the general working class struggle grew stronger, as the need for a revolution to smash capitalist rule began to stand out, some forces among Black people, especially the professionals and businessmen, began to waver in their support of the Black liberation movement. Some of these even joined the ranks of the ruling class lackeys, as the imperialists put out more money to build up some Black businesses and bureaucrats in poverty programs, and allowed more openings to Black professionals and intellectuals, in an effort to misdirect the Black people's struggle away from the imperialists themselves and aim it instead at white workers, and workers of other nationalities.

But through their own experience, the masses of Black people are increasingly coming to see that the basic conflict in this country is not between Black and white, but between the handful of rich and the masses of working people of all nationalities. And millions of white workers are also seeing that the Black people's struggle is a powerful part of the same struggle they are engaged in against exploitation and oppression, and has been a decisive force advancing

the workers' movement as a whole to a new stage.

The working class as a whole never for a minute stopped battling for its day to day needs, even during the period of the '50s and early '60s. This resistance to capital has erupted in the last few years in a great upsurge of rank and file struggle—in strikes, wildcats, slowdowns, even plant seizures. Workers took part in large numbers in the mass movement against the war in Vietnam, through which they learned many valuable lessons about the nature of the ruling class and how to fight it. Workers are ready to fight, and are beginning again to fight the ruling class on many fronts. Despite the divide and conquer schemes of the imperialist rulers, the unity of the working class is being built through these struggles.

Increasingly united and with powerful allies in the movements of the oppressed nationalities, the working class is intensifying its mighty historic battle against capital. It is the basic contradiction of capitalism, and the class struggle that arises from it, between the working class and the capitalist class, that stands even more prominently at the center of the stage in the United States today.

CLASS STRUGGLE MOVES HISTORY AHEAD

From the standpoint of historical development, capitalism was a great advance over the feudal system of landlord-serf relations that preceded it, but capitalism still represents the rule of an exploiting minority over the laboring majority. The "democracy" of capitalism (bourgeois democracy) is really democracy only for the capitalist rulers, just as ancient Greek "democracy" was democracy only for the small minority of slaveowners. Capitalist rule is still a form of dictatorship, and capitalism still a form of slavery for the working class.

In its early stages of development, when it was on the rise against the feudal system, the capitalist class raised the banner of "freedom." It meant "free trade" and "free competition," which were then spurs to the development of the economy. But more than that it meant the freedom to exploit the workers.

Capitalism created the "free proletarian" by separating the masses of working people from ownership of land and other means of production and forcing them to work in ever larger factories, and in large-scale agriculture. For the workers, capitalist "freedom" means in essence the freedom to choose between slaving for some capitalist or starving—and in times of crisis even the first choice disappears for millions.

The rise of capitalism, though brought about through great oppression of the people, was historically progressive, because it prepared the conditions for the overthrow of capitalism itself and its replacement by a higher form of society, which would be able to finally eliminate all forms of exploitation, all domination of one section of society over another, and to open up completely new possibilities for the

domination of humanity as a whole over nature. More, capitalism has brought into being and concentrated as a mighty army that class, the modern proletariat, which can carry out this historic mission.

The history of society (since classes first developed in ancient times) is the history of class struggle. The continuing development of society from a lower level to a qualitatively higher one has been accomplished throughout history by the overthrow of one class by another which represents a more advanced form of organization of production and society as a whole.

Thousands of years ago, when the development of the productive forces first made possible the accumulation of a surplus above what people needed to live, and the accumulation of privately owned means of production, the slave-owning class arose and established the slave system.

As the productive forces developed, the feudal landlord class arose within the slave system, finally

overthrew the slave system and established the feudal system.

With the further development of the productive forces the capitalist class arose within the feudal system, finally overthrew the feudal system and established the capitalist system.

And now it is the turn of the proletariat to overthrow the capitalist system and build a completely new kind of society.

Underlying all this progress throughout history has been the struggle of the masses of people—struggle to develop production and science and to fight exploitation and oppression under the existing society. But only now, with the development of the proletariat under capitalism, has it become possible for the masses of people to finally take their place as masters of society and smash all social chains enslaving the producers and shackling production itself.

Socialism and Communism

SMASH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE, ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The first great step of the proletariat in realizing its historic mission is to overthrow the dictatorship of the capitalist class (bourgeoisie) and establish its own rule: the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This means that the masses of workers must rise up in arms, forcibly smash and dismantle the armed forces and political apparatus of the bourgeoisie and create in their place the organs of power of the armed working class. The working class, of course, would rather win its emancipation through peaceful means, but all of history argues against such a possibility.

No ruling class in history—whether slaveowning, feudal or capitalist—has stepped down from the political stage simply because the system it rules has become a brake on the development of society. In fact, all such ruling classes use the greatest force to remain in power, and the more clearly it is exposed that they stand in the way of progress, the more viciously they resort to suppression against the oppressed classes. And, once overthrown, all reactionary classes inevitably work for a comeback and try to organize attempts, including armed attempts, at restoring the old order.

The imperialists cannot be talked out or voted out. This does not mean that communists refuse in principle to take part in elections. But where they do it is always for the purpose of exposing the nature of the system and its crimes before the masses of people, and using elections (and political office when they win it) to put forward their programme, representing the revolutionary interests of the working class. Communists see participation in the electoral process as one possible tactic for building the struggle of the working class in its millions and preparing for the eventual armed onslaught on the bourgeois state.

In an advanced capitalist country such as the United States, the armed seizure of power by the working class can only mean mass insurrection followed by civil war. The idea of seizing power through "urban warfare" carried out by isolated "guerrilla bands," or any other attempt to substitute the actions of a small group for the armed uprising of the masses, can only lead to defeat and demoralization, just as the notion of the "peaceful road to socialism" can only set the masses up for an ambush.

In carrying out the insurrection and civil war, the working class, while waging all-out warfare against the armed forces that remain under the command of the bourgeoisie, must also make every effort to win over or at least neutralize as much of the bourgeois armed forces as possible, before as well as during the actual stage of warfare. The great majority of soldiers in the bourgeois armed forces are drawn from the working class and other oppressed groups in society. In the insurrection and civil war, the bourgeoisie will call on them to shoot down their own people; if the forces of the working class struggle correctly, they can win large sections of these soldiers to turn their guns around at the real enemy.

The bourgeoisie, especially of this country, tries to frighten the working class and oppressed people with its extensive arsenal of weapons. But weapons do not decide warfare in the end—the people do. In the final analysis the proletariat is bound to defeat the bourgeoisie on the battlefield, because the proletariat represents the great majority of people and fights in the interests of freeing them from all oppression, while the bourgeoisie represents only a handful of decadent exploiters who try to use armed force to keep the masses enslaved and are hated by the great majority of the people.

The bourgeoisie tries to paint proletarian revolution as a disaster and the destruction of everything civilized. But a revolution, especially in the era of proletarian revolution, is a festival of the oppressed; and the proletariat in rising up to strike down the bourgeoisie brings the bright dawn of a whole new and higher form of civilization. The overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is certain!

The dictatorship of the proletariat is fundamentally different from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and all previous forms of state. All states represent the rule (or dictatorship) of one class over another, but for the first time in history, the dictatorship of the proletariat represents the rule of the majority over the minority. It makes possible for the first time real democracy and political power for the masses of people. And its purpose is not to enforce exploitation, to allow one class to live parasitically off another, but to end all exploitation and create the community of working people, without class distinction.

The capitalists have exercised their dictatorship over the working class for hundreds of years, and they believe they should go on doing so, however much they cover this up with talk about "democracy." So why should the working class, having overthrown them, not exercise dictatorship over them to prevent them from regaining their rule and re-establishing their exploitation?

But the proletarian dictatorship will go one further—it will eventually eliminate the bourgeoisie as a class and make the capitalists become workers. The capitalists cannot eliminate the working class—and certainly cannot convert the working class into capitalists—for then whose labor would the capitalists live off! The working class, on the other hand, can run production and all of society much better without any capitalists at all.

THE WORKING CLASS WILL TRANSFORM ALL OF SOCIETY

Having seized power, the proletariat will take into its own hands, through its state, the ownership of the means of production, and control of credit and trade, stripping the capitalist bankers and corporation heads of the economic basis of their power. But the proletariat cannot stop there. Through the exercise of its dictatorship it must move to transform all of society and overcome all the ulcers left over from capitalist society. The working class in power will have inherited from capitalism its "division of labor"—division between mental and manual workers, between workers in industry and working people in agriculture, between the city and the countryside, and between workers in different branches of the economy. The working class must break down these divisions. It must overcome the inequalities that capitalism fosters between men and women and between different nationalities, as well as the differences in regional devel-

opment caused by capitalism.

Beyond this, the working class must revolutionize the political institutions, the culture, educational system and the very philosophy of the people, in order to bring them into conformity with the task of developing production according to the principles of cooperation. And the working class must consciously grasp the laws of development of nature and society, in order to carry out production and organize society according to a rational plan which makes possible all-around, balanced development and provides for the constantly rising material and cultural standards of the people.

In carrying out its revolutionary tasks, the working class must ally with all possible forces, all those oppressed by the old system, including small-scale producers and traders, both in order to overthrow the old ruling class, and to suppress it once overthrown. But at the same time the working class, the only class which has no stake in the preservation of capitalism or its "division of labor," must give leadership to these other forces, and must struggle against their tendencies to compromise with the old ruling class or to resist the complete transformation of society.

LIFE UNDER SOCIALISM

When all of society has been transformed, the ulcers left over from capitalism have been eliminated, and the community of workers has been established, then, communism, completely classless society, will have been achieved, and humanity will enter a whole new stage of history. There will no longer be the need for the state, since there will no longer be any class to suppress, and the state will be replaced with common administration by all of society.

But the advance from capitalism to communism requires a long period of transition. This transition

period is socialism, which is the first, and lower, stage of communism. During this entire transition period, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be defended and strengthened by the working class.

Although socialism is not yet full communism, it is a tremendous advance over capitalism, and opens the road to communism. Socialism eliminates the anarchy of capitalism and its crises, by collective planning, controlled by the working class through its state. This removes the tremendous barriers to production that capitalist relations have erected.

Unemployment will be ended, because socialism will be able to make full use of the labor of everyone in society, while at the same time developing and introducing new machinery and scientific methods to expand output. As machines can replace workers, workers will not be thrown into the streets, but transferred to other jobs—according to an overall plan—and gradually the work day for all workers will be reduced.

The nature of work itself will change completely, because the labor of the workers will no longer go to enrich capital to further enslave the working class, but to improve life today, while providing for the future, according to the conscious plan of the working class itself. The pride that workers have in their work will be unhindered by any sense that they are working themselves, or someone else, out of a job, or that they are being driven to produce for the private benefit of some money-bags, under the orders of his foremen and the constant threat of being fired.

Machines will no longer be weapons in the hands of the capitalists to grind down the working class, and workers will no longer be a mere extension of the machine, as they are under capitalism. Instead machines will become weapons in the hands of the working class in its own struggle to revolutionize society and conquer nature.

The organization of work will be the province of the working class itself. All this will unleash the stored-up knowledge of the working class, based on its direct experience in production, and inspire workers to make new breakthroughs in improving production. Work itself will become a joy and enrichment of the worker's life, instead of a miserable means to sustain existence, as it is under capitalism.

With state power and the ownership of the means of production in its hands, the working class will take up the ending of all inequalities between nationalities as a crucial part of building socialism. Special attention will be paid to overcoming the depressed conditions in the regions, areas and communities where capitalism has concentrated and subjugated minority nationalities. Discrimination in work and all areas of society will be wiped out. Suppression of the languages and cultures of minority nationalities will be abolished, and the proletariat will devote great effort to assisting the development of those cultures and languages.

This old way of speaking is now only confusing.

National oppression and inequality only serve capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The proletariat has no interest in preserving them and every interest in eliminating every aspect of them. This it will fully accomplish under socialism, as a key part of strengthening its rule, continuing to revolutionize society and advancing to communism.

The working class will have a variety of organizations to involve the masses of people in the process of ruling and remaking society. The revolutionary party of the working class will be the leading organized force within the government and every aspect of society, but other forms will be developed to involve the maximum number of non-party fighters. Within the framework of centralized national plans which the working class as a whole will set through its party and state, the workers in every factory will themselves set production plans and goals. They will select factory committees to supervise the implementation of their plans.

Besides a regular army, the working class will have armed militias drawn from its ranks and other previously oppressed groups to protect socialist America from subversion and aggression by the overthrown bourgeoisie and its agents within the country and the bourgeoisies of remaining capitalist countries. In fact, organs of power like factory committees and militias will exist in every plant and community to mobilize the masses of people in carrying out socialist revolution, to maintain social order and see that the workers' specific needs are met. These mass organs will act in coordination with the government under the leadership of the party of the proletariat.

Socialism will make possible the building of well-constructed housing for the masses of people. Under capitalism, it is more profitable to speculate in land, maintain slum housing and put capital into buildings for big business than to build decent housing for the masses.

The working class, once it has seized power, will take the land and buildings held by the banks, insurance companies and other such capitalist parasites; any mortgages and other debts they hold against people's homes, as well as cars and other personal property, will be immediately cancelled. The slums will be ripped down, and in their place new homes and other facilities for the masses of people will be built.

More than that, the working class will develop housing construction as part of its overall plan, in a rational way, so that homes are built near factories, with easy access to stores, clinics, nurseries for children, schools and other social services. If all this seems like a mere dream now, it is only because the rule of capital has so greatly distorted development, and brought such decay.

Health care under capitalism is a nightmare for the people and big business for the drug companies, hospital corporations and others who make billions from the butchery of the people. Under socialism health

care and hospitals will no longer be a means to make profit, but a means for the working class to prevent disease and to preserve the health of the people. Doctors, as well as other hospital staff, will take their turns working in the factories and other work places, so they will know the health problems of the workers. They will be politically educated and supervised by the working class and learn to value the lives of workers as the most valuable of all society's resources.

Education in any society instills in the youth the values and outlook of the ruling class. Under capitalism this means that history is distorted to make it revolve around the "brilliant ideas" and individual heroism of great "geniuses," Kings, Emperors, Presidents, bankers, industrialists and other representatives of the exploiting classes throughout history. Children are taught to compete against each other and that competition is what "makes this country great." Reality is stood on its head, so that it seems that capital, not labor, is the source of all progress and that the workers live by the grace of the capitalists.

Education in socialist society will put reality back on its feet and expose this bourgeois propaganda. It will instill in the youth the understanding that the laboring people throughout history have been the backbone of society and the source of its development. It will promote cooperation in place of competition, and equality between nationalities, between countries and peoples, and between men and women, in place of the bourgeois garbage that one nation should be over another, that men are superior and women inferior, etc. In place of the bourgeois view of history that presents it as a jumble of unrelated events, stemming from the personalities of "great men," it will teach the youth that history is determined by the struggle between classes and will enable them to determine the class outlook of all ideas.

Socialist education will stress the living link between theory and practice, between knowing and doing, and will help develop workers who are capable of combining mental and manual labor. In short, socialist education will be a crucial part of raising new generations that can carry forward the revolutionary role of the working class.

In capitalist society many workers and other oppressed people are drawn to religion because it represents their hopes and aspirations for a better life—projected, however, into the future and into another realm completely beyond man's ability to understand. The bourgeoisie promotes religion to convince people that since life is miserable on this earth—and it cannot be denied that this is so under capitalism—the answer is to hope for a better life "beyond this one."

Further, religion serves capitalism by telling people that they are basically helpless before the forces of nature—and the rulers of society!—and they should put their faith not in the ability of the masses of people to change the world, but in a supreme, supernatural being, or beings. And if that isn't enough, religion

IS THIS A
CONCESSION
TO
RELIGION?

???

can call up the image of fire and brimstone to threaten people.

More, those who control major organized religions make huge fortunes from collecting large sums from their members, investing much of these sums and exploiting labor. While telling the people to wait for "pie in the sky," these hypocritical leeches live like kings, right here and now, from the sweat and blood, hopes and fears, of the people. At the same time, in every community petty hustlers (preachers) prey on workers and other poor people, promising them all kinds of miracles to ease their misery—for a nice fee (donation), of course.

While protecting freedom of religion, socialist society will eliminate all use of religion to exploit and oppress the people. And the party of the working class will lead a consistent political and ideological struggle to arm the masses of people with the understanding that they are the true force that changes the world and that they can conquer nature. The outlook of the working class is scientific—it recognizes that the causes of things lie in the living struggle of opposing forces, in nature and society. While at any time there are things that are not yet known, there is nothing unknowable, there is nothing that is not bound by the laws of nature and society and nothing in the universe which cannot be harnessed and transformed in the interests of the people, once the basic laws governing it have been discovered and grasped by the masses of people. The working class, once it becomes conscious of all this, has no need for belief in supernatural beings or forces of any kind.

Culture, like education, represents the viewpoint of one class or another and is a powerful weapon in the hands of that class for creating "public opinion." The capitalist class spreads its culture, not only through the educational system, but through its vast mass media—its newspapers, magazines, television, radio and movies, and other forms. Bourgeois culture, which reflects the outlook of the capitalists, is decadent. It glorifies parasites—whether bank president, gangster or pimp—and those who do the dirty work of the bourgeoisie in suppressing the people, like cops. It promotes cynicism, despair, and the lie that the masses of people are at fault for all the problems of society—since these can hardly be covered up. It tries to demoralize people with the idea that they are the helpless pawn of mysterious and sinister forces.

When it deals with the problems ordinary people face every day, it tries to paint them as purely "personal problems" not stemming from the nature of society itself, or at most as the fault of some "bad" people with "bad" ideas, not representing any class. In all its forms it aims at deflecting the anger of the people away from the ruling class back onto themselves—hate people of another nationality, or the other sex, hate yourself, hate people in general, hate anything but the ruling class itself.

Proletarian culture is the exact opposite of bour-

geois culture. It arises from and reflects the outlook and interests of the working class in its revolutionary struggle. Because the proletariat is the productive class and because it has the historic mission of advancing society to a qualitatively new stage, proletarian culture presents, in place of the glitter "glory" of bourgeois parasites, the true glory of working people in moving society forward. It points to the bright future. It shines a spotlight on the crimes of the bourgeoisie, illuminates the real reason for the evils and the sufferings of the people in society—capitalist exploitation—and portrays the joy of the working class in uniting to smash down the rule of capital and eliminate all exploiting classes.

Developing and promoting proletarian culture is a crucial part of building the revolutionary struggle of the working class to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Once having won political power, the proletariat, in building socialist society, will continue the revolution in the field of culture, to wipe out the influences of bourgeois decadence and give full expression to proletarian values. Socialist society will use television, movies, songs, plays, literature and art to portray workers, working class families and the proletariat as a whole contributing to the cause of building socialism and advancing to communism. The true heroes of history, the masses of working people, will take their rightful place on the stage.

Cultural workers will join in productive labor together with the masses of people, and new cultural workers will be developed from among the masses. In this way culture will truly become the weapon of the whole working class.

This country is made up of people of many different nationalities, from all parts of the world. This provides a great potential wealth of culture. The proletariat and its socialist society will unlock this great treasure so that workers of all nationalities can learn from each other's cultures and, through many different forms, stress the common class bond and the common content of revolutionary struggle. This will make possible both great diversity and great unity, and will tremendously enrich society.

Like other aspects of culture, sports is big business under capitalism. Most people are reduced to "spectators" and decent facilities for the youth and working people as a whole are very few. Socialism will build sports as a mass activity and, not bound by the laws of private profit, will construct facilities for sports in all neighborhoods. And sports will promote the bonds between working people, above competition among them.

Socialist society will wipe out the decadence of capitalism in all spheres. Prostitution, drug addiction, homosexuality and other practices which bourgeois society breeds and the bourgeoisie promotes to degrade and enslave the masses of people, will be abolished. The prostitutes, drug addicts, homosexuals and others who are caught up in these things will be

ISNT THIS A CONTRADICTION? THE ESSENCE OF RELIGION IS AS AN IDEOLOGICAL TOOL TO OPPRESS

re-educated to become productive members of society, with working class consciousness. The shame connected with these practices will be taken from the shoulders of these victims and the guilt will be placed where it belongs—on the bourgeoisie.

Capitalist society, which is based on the robbery of the working class by the bourgeoisie, breeds crime on all levels. The capitalists themselves are the greatest criminals and murderers of all time, and there is no way they can eliminate crime. Socialist society will eliminate crime, along with eliminating the criminal capitalist class.

Those who, in capitalist society, are forced into crime for survival, because they cannot find work—at least not at a living wage—will no longer have the need to do so. They, too, will be re-educated and will take their place in the ranks of the revolutionary working class. Those who have made crime their business and have built whole criminal syndicates, like the Mafia, will be ruthlessly punished. Their organizations will be smashed by the armed power of the working class.

In promoting the proletarian values of cooperation and equality between men and women, as well as between different nationalities, socialist society will transform social and family relations. The family itself will become a fighting unit of the proletariat, where men and women share in household work and support each other in contributing to revolution and helping to raise future generations of proletarian revolutionaries.

But more fundamentally, socialist society will make available to the masses of people public laundries, cafeterias, nurseries and other facilities near the home and work. This will make it possible to greatly reduce the burden of household work, and free women—and men as well—to play a greater part in productive labor and the political role of the working class in ruling and revolutionizing society. The right of divorce will remain, but as these new proletarian relations are fully developed in the family, and society as a whole is transformed, marriage will more and more be based on a voluntary union, free of economic compulsion, and combining genuine feelings of love with the joy of the proletariat in building a new world.

THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNIST SOCIETY

Socialism will mean all this, and much more. But none of this will come as a "gift," or "automatically" as a result of seizing political power.

The experience of socialist countries has shown that the transformation of society by the working class is a protracted process, which must develop step by step, and is marked by the most intense struggle between the proletariat and the overthrown bourgeoisie at every step. All during this process, the proletariat must exercise the most ruthless dictatorship over the old ruling class and must continue to break down the old "division of labor" and the old self-seeking ideas of capitalism. Otherwise, it will lose power to the bourgeoisie, and capitalism with all its misery will be restored.

Seizing the large-scale means of production from the overthrown bourgeoisie is an act which can be accomplished almost immediately once the proletariat has won political power. And it is an act which must be carried out swiftly, backed up by the guns of the proletariat. But eliminating small-scale production and trade and the narrow outlook that characterizes small-scale operators, can only be accomplished gradually, through a series of steps, in tempo with the overall development of the economy and society, under the rule of the proletarian state. To achieve this the proletariat cannot rely on armed compulsion, but must rely on persuasion and political education to show these people that their only hope for the future lies with the proletariat in eliminating all vestiges of capitalism, all private ownership of means of production, and advancing to communism.

But beyond that, the ideas and outlook of the capitalists, and other exploiting classes which have ruled society for thousands of years, have become deeply entrenched in society, and have largely acquired the "force of habit." The bourgeoisie takes advantage of this to promote the so-called "theory of human nature," which says that people are basically selfish and will never change, so socialism is bound to fail and communism is a hopeless utopia.

This bourgeois "theory" is age-old garbage. There is no such thing as "human nature" in the abstract, divorced from classes. Each class in history has its own nature, reflecting its position in society stemming from its relation to production.

In the slave system, it was considered "natural" for one group of people, the slave-owners, to own

other people, the slaves. In capitalist society, this idea is regarded as criminal and absurd, because the bourgeoisie has no need for slaves as private property (at least not in its own country). But it has every need for wage-slaves, proletarians. So it presents as "natural" the kind of society where a small group, the capitalists, own the means of production and on that basis force the great majority of society to work to enrich them.

The slave-owners and the capitalists have one fundamental thing in common—they are both exploiters, and they both regard it as the correct and perfect order of things for a small group of parasites to live off the majority of laboring people. They differ only in the form in which they exploit and therefore in their view of how society should be organized to ensure this exploitation.

When humanity has advanced to communism, society as a whole will consciously reject the idea that any one group should privately own the means of production. Then wage-slavery, based on the ownership of capital as private property, will be seen as just as criminal and absurd as ancient slavery, based on the ownership of other people as private property.

The proletariat, by its own nature as a class, has no interest in promoting private gain at the expense of others and every interest in promoting cooperation. For only in this way can it emancipate itself and all humanity.

But the outlook of the bourgeoisie, including its "theory of human nature," has influence within every class in society, including the working class itself. So long as classes continue to exist, so long as there is a bourgeoisie and other non-proletarian groups in society which benefit from capitalism or at least stand above the working class as a result of capitalism's "division of labor," there will be social forces that actively promote the reactionary ideology (philosophical outlook) of the bourgeoisie. This remains true throughout the socialist transition period, and it is most decisive for the ruling proletariat to wage continual struggle against this ideology in all its forms and in all spheres of society.

One of the key aspects of the bourgeoisie's ideology is national chauvinism, or the theory that one nation (the nation of the particular capitalist class) is superior to others and that the other nations are incapable of handling their own affairs. Frequently the bourgeoisie presents this as a theory of "racial inferiority," "cultural backwardness," or other ideas which put the blame for the depressed conditions of the other countries, especially the colonies, and of minority nationalities at home, on these people themselves, and cover up the fact that it is oppression by imperialism that is the cause. This aids the imperialists in their drive to rob superprofits from these peoples, and is part and parcel of their exploitation of the workers of "their own" nation and of their view that the bourgeoisie should "naturally" rule over the proletariat.

The proletariat, in its revolutionary struggle, smashes this rotten theory. Capital, in its international scramble for profit, has transformed the world in its own image, but as part of this it has formed the workers of all countries into an international army. The working class in each country is one division in this army, and only by uniting in the common battle can the working class free itself once and for all from the rule of capital.

Further, the attempt of the ruling classes of the imperialist countries to maintain the rest of the nations in the world as colonies or dependent countries gives rise to a storm of struggle by the peoples of the oppressed nations to free themselves from imperialist rule. This struggle, which especially since WW 2 has swept most of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, has struck tremendous blows against the imperialists. It has been a great support to the struggle of the workers in the imperialist countries themselves, weakening the imperialists and bringing closer the day when the working class in the imperialist countries can finally bring down the imperialists. This is why the workers in the imperialist countries, as they become conscious of the historic role of their class, support as their own the struggle of the oppressed nations for liberation.

This is especially important for the working class of the United States, one of the two imperialist superpowers. The U.S. ruling class is one of the two main enemies of the people of the world, and one of the two main pillars still holding up imperialist rule in the world. In the struggle against its imperialist rulers, the U.S. working class is greatly aided by the struggles of people throughout the world against imperialism, and especially against the rulers of the two superpowers. And in finally overthrowing U.S. imperialism, the U.S. working class will strike a great blow for the liberation of people throughout the world.

When the working class in this country has seized power, a crucial part of its task in building socialism will be to give every possible assistance to the masses of people in other countries, especially the former colonies of the U.S., in their revolutionary struggle. The socialist state in the U.S. will immediately end all colonial relationships, direct or indirect, with other nations; will renounce all privileges extorted from less developed nations at the point of a gun by the imperialists; and will establish relations with all countries on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual non-aggression, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. And it will establish the firmest unity with the working class in power in other socialist countries.

Beyond that, having liberated the productive forces in this country from the shackles of capitalism, the working class of the U.S. will unleash them not only to bring tremendous improvement in the lives of the people here, but to assist the development of other countries. This will mean genuine aid and will

be nothing like the "foreign aid" of the imperialists, which robs the money of the people in the imperialist countries and uses it to further enslave the people in other countries.

For the proletariat, aiding the struggle of people in other countries has nothing to do with so-called "charity." So long as capitalism and exploitation exist in any country, this will be a base for the bourgeoisie in its attempts to defeat the working class and restore capitalism everywhere. And wherever capitalism rules and maintains backwardness, it stands as a great barrier to the workers of all countries in developing the rational use of the world's resources and the mighty productive forces that labor has created over centuries.

The international working class can emancipate itself only by emancipating all humanity, it can achieve communism only by eliminating the rule of capital and the chains of exploitation everywhere. Once communism has been achieved, the division of the world into nations will be replaced by the world community of people, cooperating to conquer nature, harness its forces and advance to heights undreamed of now.

The working class has already seized power in many countries, and today more than one quarter of humanity is advancing along the socialist road. The experience of the Soviet Union and some other countries has shown that the overthrown bourgeoisie can succeed

in restoring capitalism, and that the danger of this capitalist restoration exists all throughout the socialist period. But the experience of China shows that by continuing to revolutionize society, the working class can beat back the bourgeoisie's attempt at regaining power and can continue the march toward communism. There, in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the masses of people have risen up in their millions, led by Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, and smashed the attempts of the bourgeoisie, including traitors within the Party itself, to subvert the proletarian state from within and re-establish the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as happened in the Soviet Union.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union means the re-establishment of its basic contradiction, and all the evils that flow from this. Therefore this restoration can only be temporary, and the working class will once more seize power in the Soviet Union, as it will in every country.

Nothing can save capitalism in the long run, because it has long since become a barrier to progress and long since prepared the conditions for its own destruction. The movement of history, propelled forward by class struggle, is irresistible. The advance of the proletariat, the greatest and most powerful class in history, to communism, to the elimination of class society, is inevitable.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.A.

TO DEFEAT IMPERIALISM AND BUILD SOCIALISM THE PROLETARIAT NEEDS A COMMUNIST PARTY

In their everyday life workers pour their sweat into production and, in capitalist society, experience the life-killing exploitation on which the system is built. They take part in struggles, together with fellow workers and others, against the abuses and outrages of the capitalist system. Each worker perceives a part of the reality of capitalism, but none by himself can grasp the overall picture, fully discover the source of his oppression or grasp the laws of nature and society that determine the development of the class struggle.

In order to become conscious of itself as a class, and to know and change the world in accordance with its revolutionary interests, the working class must have the leadership of its own political party, a party that takes part in and leads the battles of the working class and its allies against the capitalist rulers and consistently points the way forward toward the goal of overthrowing the rule of capital, building socialism and advancing to communism. In every country where the working class has seized and held power and continued on the socialist road, it has had the leadership of such a party.

The working class in each country needs only one party. The capitalists usually have more than one party, because of their need to compete with each other and to deceive the masses of people. Different blocs and sectors of capital seek to advance their interests by competing both through and within these parties. Each party tries to cover up the capitalist dictatorship with talk about "democracy for all the people."

The working class has no interest in competition in its ranks—it is the rule of capital that forces the workers to compete for jobs and for survival. The working class has no need for masks—it openly proclaims its intention to overthrow and dictate to the exploiting minority.

The working class needs a single party to unite it as a mighty fist, to build its understanding of the historical mission of ending all class society. The working class needs a party to draw up a battle plan and lead the overall battle against the enemy. One party, representing the interests of one class, and through these interests, the great majority of humanity.

The Revolutionary Communist Party is the party of the working class in the U.S. It is a part of the working class, the advanced detachment of the working class, its vanguard in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. It has no interests apart from the interests

of the working class. It is part of the life and struggles of the masses of people, and constantly works to deepen its ties with the class as a whole, for the separation of the party from the class robs the party of its life blood, its very reason for existence. But at the same time the party brings to the class an understanding of the laws of struggle and enables it to consciously change the world and make revolution.

THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION BELONGS TO THE WORKING CLASS

The Revolutionary Communist Party bases itself on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. In the middle of the 19th century Karl Marx founded the science of revolution. Analyzing the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie that was intensifying with the development of capitalism in a number of countries, Marx brought to light the basic contradiction of capitalist society and showed how this contradiction could only be resolved through proletarian revolution to overthrow and eliminate the capitalist class, and with it, all class society.

From this revolutionary standpoint of the working class, Marx, together with his collaborator, Frederick Engels, showed that the history of all human society was the history of class struggle. Marxism, as it came to be called, removed for the first time the fog of mystery that had surrounded the relations between man and nature and between man and man.

Marxism shows that all societies are basically an organized way that the people carry out the production and distribution of the material requirements of life. And that the political system, the culture and other aspects of society are a superstructure that arises on the basis of the relations of production—the economic relations in society—and in turn serve to preserve those relations of production. Marxism analyzes how, after a certain point in the development of the productive forces, the old relations of production, and the superstructure that serves them, become a brake on production itself and have to be overthrown.

The revolutionary class throughout history, Marxism shows, was the class which at the time represented the more advanced relations of production, the higher form of organizing production to correspond with the development of the productive forces. And Marx scientifically explained how the exploitation of the working class to create surplus value is the foundation of the capitalist system. It was on this basis that Marx showed that the working class was bound to

overthrow the capitalist class, socialize the ownership of the means of production and remove all social chains on the development of the productive forces, by advancing to classless society, communism. And Marx showed that a forcible revolution by the proletariat and its forcible suppression of the overthrown bourgeoisie were necessary to carry out its revolutionary role.

It was not because of "personal genius" or because "he was one of those great men who come along every few hundred years" that Marx was able to found the science of revolution. It was because capitalism, with its high level of science and technology and its constant replacement of scattered with more concentrated production, had developed, and along with it the modern proletariat, representing highly socialized production. And it was because Marx actively took part in the struggle of the proletariat. In the past the basic laws of nature and society were hidden from man, but now it became possible for the first time to bring them to light. This Marx did and in so doing created a great weapon for the working class.

But Marxism is a living science and must continue to develop with the development of society itself. Marx lived in the era before capitalism had developed into imperialism. V.I. Lenin analyzed this process and demonstrated that imperialism was the highest and final stage of capitalism, giving birth to revolution even as it died. The rule of capital could be first overthrown, Lenin showed, not necessarily where capitalism was most developed, but where the link in the world imperialist chain was weakest. While before it was believed that socialism could only succeed if it was established in several countries at once, Lenin now showed that it was possible to build socialism in one country, even a relatively undeveloped country. And together with the Bolshevik Party he headed, Lenin led the workers of Russia, in alliance with the masses of peasants, in making socialist revolution.

Lenin formulated the principles for the party of the proletariat as a disciplined, iron-like vanguard, embodying the unity of will and unity of action necessary to lead the proletariat in actually making revolution. Lenin thus forged a new weapon for the working class, and through all these contributions developed Marxism to a new stage. As Joseph Stalin, who followed Lenin in leading the Soviet socialist revolution, summed up, "Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution." Therefore the science of revolution now bears the name of Lenin as well as Marx—Marxism has become Marxism-Leninism.

Since Lenin's death in 1924, although there have been great changes in the world the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution has not changed. But as society and the revolutionary struggle for socialism have changed and advanced, Marxism-Leninism has also been advanced.

Mao Tsetung, in leading the Chinese revolution for many decades, has enriched Marxism-Leninism

in many areas—in its application to warfare, culture, revolution in colonial countries, in philosophy and in other fields. Most importantly, in leading the Chinese proletariat's struggle to prevent the restoration of capitalism, Mao Tsetung has developed the theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, showing how the working class must continue to transform society in order to carry through the full transition to communism. Mao Tsetung's application of Marxism-Leninism to the revolutionary struggle in China and his development of it on that basis has come to be called Mao Tsetung Thought. This is not a new stage of Marxism in the same way that Leninism was, because Mao Tsetung's contributions, while many, and great, do not and cannot represent an analysis of a new era in the world.

Nevertheless, Mao Tsetung Thought has come to stand for both the defense of Marxism-Leninism against its modern-day enemies and a further development of it. Marxism, from the very beginning, has had to fight every inch of the way against the "theories" of the bourgeoisie, both open and disguised. This struggle is the reflection in the field of philosophy of the material struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and in turn greatly influences that struggle. Therefore it is bound to be very intense.

After the death of Marx—and Engels—bourgeois agents came forward to distort Marxism in the name of Marxism and revise the revolutionary heart out of it, in an attempt to reconcile the working class to capitalist rule. Lenin, in defending and developing Marxism, had to wage a tireless struggle against these revisionists, as they came to be known. He ripped the veil from their "theories" and exposed their bourgeois stand, and in so doing illuminated the path of struggle for the proletariat more clearly.

So, too, after the death of Lenin and his successor, Stalin, modern-day revisionists, led by the traitors in the Soviet Union itself who have restored capitalism there, came forward to distort Marxism-Leninism and attempt to rob the proletariat of its revolutionary science. Mao Tsetung has led the way in exposing these renegades and in so doing has further sharpened the science of revolution as a weapon of the working class. Mao Tsetung today represents the struggle of Marxism-Leninism vs. revisionism, of the proletariat vs. the bourgeoisie. For this reason, the Revolutionary Communist Party proudly raises the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and bases itself on the application of it to the revolutionary struggle in the U.S.

One of the most basic principles of this revolutionary science is that the masses are the makers of history and that correct ideas arise from and in turn serve the struggle of the masses of people. The masses, in their millions, in their daily experiences in class struggle, in production and in scientific experimentation of all kinds, amass great but scattered and unsystematic

knowledge. Understanding this, the party of the working class, in leading the class, applies the *mass line*. It takes these scattered and partial experiences and ideas, and by applying the science of revolution, sums them up, concentrates what is correct, what corresponds to the development of society and will move the class struggle ahead. The party returns these concentrated ideas to the masses and they become a tremendous material force as the masses take them up as their own and use them to transform the world through class struggle.

It is in this way that the party develops and applies its ideological and political line—its basic philosophy, its analysis of the objective reality facing the working class and its programme for mobilizing the masses to change reality in a revolutionary way. The question of ideological and political line, its conformity with the revolutionary interests and outlook that characterize the proletariat as a class—this is the decisive question for the party in playing its vanguard role. The party must wage consistent struggle within in its own ranks to determine and develop the correct line, and to defeat incorrect lines and the influence of the bourgeoisie within the party itself.

The party of the working class is based on the principles of organization that enable it to most correctly concentrate the experiences and ideas of the masses, to formulate in this way the strategy and tactics to advance the struggle of the working class and its allies, and to carry out these policies with an unbreakable unity. These principles, *democratic centralism*, combine the greatest degree of discipline with the fullest discussion and struggle over policy within the organization and the selection and supervision of party leaders by the party membership. They make possible the unity of will and unity of action for the party. The party reflects and concentrates the organization and discipline of the working class itself, and steels it with an iron will in the struggle against capitalism.

The party actively seeks out the criticism of the masses, to whom its every action must be accountable. The party must be bold in criticizing its own mistakes and thorough in correcting them. This is a key part of learning from the masses and educating both the masses and party members.

The party of the working class draws its members from the most dedicated, self-sacrificing, far-seeing fighters of all classes and groups in society—but it builds its main base in the most socialized sections of the working class, and it represents only the stand and viewpoint of the working class. Party members, from all classes, but especially those from outside the working class, must transform themselves in the course of class struggle, discarding ideas and practices which are alien to the working class and taking up wholeheartedly the revolutionary outlook of the working class.

The party is made up of people who dedicate their entire life to building the revolutionary struggle. Par-

ty members put the interests of the revolution, of the working class, first in all their actions.

The party continually trains and recruits to its ranks those who come to the fore as leaders of mass struggle, especially in the working class. The party makes fighters *from* the class fighters *for* the class. As broader and broader sections of the working class become class conscious and join the ranks of the party, it is more and more able to fulfill its role as the vanguard of the proletariat and to apply the mass line more thoroughly.

The party of the working class is the party of revolution. It is the instrument through which the working class wields its weapons of class struggle. It forges and leads a powerful united front of all oppressed classes and people, defeating all attempts at compromise with the enemy, and constantly directing the struggle forward to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. One important way the party does this is through its press—regular newspapers and theoretical journals—as well as non-party publications in which its members work.

The party organizes and directs the armed forces of the working class, in smashing the bourgeois state and suppressing the bourgeoisie. The party leads the working class in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat and in advancing to communism. Only when the goal of communism has been attained will the party itself cease to exist, because then classes and class struggle will have been eliminated and all of society will consciously apply the principles of communism.

A GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY FIGHTS FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

As the party of the U.S. working class, the Revolutionary Communist Party is fundamentally opposed to the so-called Communist Party, USA (CPUSA, or CP). These impostors have no more right to the name "Communist" than do their models, the revisionist traitors in the Soviet Union who have restored capitalism there. They do everything in their power to hold back and misdirect the struggle of the proletariat. They hold up "liberal" trade union bureaucrats as great leaders of the working class. They urge fighters for Black liberation to make their final goal "assimilation" into the dying capitalist system, instead of uniting with the working class struggle for socialist revolution. They deny the essence of class struggle, saying "all the people" must unite to "break up the monopolies." They push the one or other group of bourgeois politicians, saying there is no choice but "the lesser of two evils." They can't stand even the thought of armed proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party, USA revisionists are not dangerous just because they claim to represent the interests of the working class while actually serving the bourgeoisie—there will be many individuals, groups and "parties" doing this. They are dangerous because they wrap themselves in the cloak of history—for the CPUSA was once the fighting vanguard of the American proletariat. During the period from its founding in 1919, to the mid-1950s, the CPUSA led the greatest struggles of the working class and many of the other important battles against the bourgeoisie.

The history of the CPUSA contains invaluable lessons for the revolutionary struggle of today, both the positive lessons of the leadership given by the Communist Party to the mass struggle, and the negative lessons of the CP's errors which made possible its transformation into a counter-revolutionary organization.

When the CP kept its revolutionary aims in mind and put the interests of the working class foremost, it truly led the working class forward. At the beginning of the Great Depression, the CP was alone in demanding unemployment insurance; politicians, phoney "socialists" and trade union hacks denounced it as an "Un-American" idea. But millions of workers answered the Communist Party's call, "Fight, Don't Starve," joined the Unemployed Councils and won unemployment compensation.

Fifteen years of CP leadership in the battle for industrial unions paid off in the giant CIO drives, for which it provided many of the organizers.

The CP fought lynch-terror in the South and for equality for Black people everywhere. It did this not to "give the downtrodden and backward a hand," but to build powerful struggle against the bourgeoisie, and unite the Black people's struggle with the workers' struggle.

The CP upheld proletarian internationalism. It sup-

ported the Soviet Union and fought to force U.S. recognition of it, while popularizing the great achievements of the Soviet people in building socialism. It gave aid to revolutionary struggle around the world, even sending a battalion to fight the reactionaries under Franco in Spain. In the early 1950s when it was under intense attack from the U.S. government and McCarthyism, the CP undertook the fight against the U.S. invasion of Korea. Although the bourgeoisie redoubled its anti-communist offensive, crippling the CP, the CP helped mobilize millions of workers to reject appeals to patriotism and fight against the capitalists, weakening the imperialist war effort and aiding the Korean people.

The decay of a fighting party such as this must be studied to learn the causes, so they can be avoided. Failure to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in the U.S., to apply the mass line to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the masses in the course of struggle, and to really rely on the working class as the revolutionary class—this is the basis of the CP's degeneration.

Building the revolutionary movement of the working class is a long and complex process, full of twists and turns. At each stage the proletariat and its party is confronted with decisive questions that determine the direction of the struggle. In any given situation there are always lines or programs that are more correct, that more fully represent the interests of the working class. And there are always opinions and programs that are incorrect, that won't advance the cause of the working class.

But beyond that, the party exists within class society, and the ideas and outlook of the exploiting classes have influence on everyone in society, including communists. Certain individuals in the party—and especially those whose positions in the party involve full-time leadership functions and tend to remove them from direct contact with the masses—can abandon the cause of the class, go over to the stand of the exploiters and push their interests within the party itself. Linking the party as a whole, including its leadership, with the masses, and conducting struggle throughout the party to determine the correct line based on the study of Marxism-Leninism and its application to the actual situation—this is the only way the party can build on advances, overcome mistakes and continue to lead the working class forward to the revolutionary goal. And this is what the CP failed fundamentally to do.

By the early 1930s the CP, overcoming earlier internal divisions and weaknesses, was at the head of many large-scale struggles of the workers in this country. But even then, during its best period, the CP, though making many advances in leading the proletariat and bringing the question of revolution to the masses, worked on the erroneous premise that the U.S. was entering a revolutionary situation.

A revolutionary situation is a crisis in which the ruling class is no longer able to rule in the old way;

the workers and other oppressed people can no longer live in the old way and millions are prepared to give their lives to achieve fundamental change; and the party of the proletariat leads the class in preparing to seize power. In fact, the crisis was deep, in the early '30s especially, but the bourgeoisie was not totally crippled; the masses were in motion and demanding answers, but were not convinced that revolution was necessary. Thus, instead of actually basing themselves on the masses and continuing to lead them forward, the CP leaders tried to impose their own wishes on the situation.

This basic failure to really rely on the masses was not rooted out, even when the CP recognized that a revolutionary situation was not right around the corner. Instead, it led the CP in the direction of abandoning revolution altogether. By the late 1930s the CP, under the leadership of Earl Browder, had flip-flopped and taken up the theory that socialism could be achieved in the U.S. through reforms and elections. In reality, the CP gave up the struggle for socialism.

Even as the CP grew in strength and influence through its work, the leaders grew more divorced from the struggles of the masses, becoming bureaucrats in little offices. Because the revolution they had expected hadn't arrived, they not only looked with contempt on the working class, they became intimidated by the power of the ruling class that had survived such a deep crisis. And all this developed exactly as the CP was increasingly influencing mass struggles, through which it could have exposed the system, raised revolutionary consciousness, trained revolutionary leaders and in this way, laid more foundations for all-out revolutionary struggle in the future.

In this situation the Communist Party fell into pragmatism, an American ruling class philosophy which says, "It is not really possible to know the laws that govern nature and society; if something seems to work, never mind the reasons, do it." This leads straight to revisionism which proclaims, "The movement is everything, the final aim nothing." Following this philosophy, the CP no longer based itself on the working class, but tried to act as the party of the "left," tailing behind whatever gave the appearance of being progressive at any time—even Roosevelt!

Under Browder, all the CP's gains became dust. The unions which had been so hard won became ends in themselves, not "schools for revolution." And in the unions the CP was more interested in influencing a few top leaders than building the struggle of the rank and file.

With the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 and the change in the character of WW 2, Browder completely threw out class struggle. The immediate task of the proletariat was in fact to defend the Soviet Union and defeat the fascist Axis. But Browder used this to cover up the nature of imperialism and the fact that U.S. imperialism, while fighting the fascist countries, was also aiming to strengthen its

position as an imperialist power. He openly called on the workers in the U.S. to give up all struggle against the capitalists and follow Roosevelt to the promised land.

Browder turned the tactic of temporarily cooperating with the U.S. ruling class—for the sole purpose of defeating the fascist Axis—into a strategy for total and long-term cooperation with imperialism. His line was so corrupt the CP actually supported the U.S. ruling class when it carried out a "relocation act" during WW 2, through which it herded tens of thousands of Japanese-Americans in California into concentration camps and stole their land—justifying this with chauvinist propaganda that branded them all a potential "fifth column" for an attack by Japan on the U.S.

Browder explained that the Black people's struggle was over, since the ruling class was giving them equality and, along with everyone else, a good life. He even dropped "peaceful transition to socialism" in favor of *no* transition to socialism, and offered the ruling class the help of the U.S. workers in looting other nations. By 1944 Browder had drawn the logical conclusion of his treacherous theories and dissolved the Communist Party itself, replacing it with an "educational association."

Although there was resistance to Browder's revisionism, especially from the rank and file of the CP, it was not clear or effective. Much of this was due to the downplaying of political education—a policy Browder encouraged. CPUSA members were not trained in Marxism-Leninism, or in the spirit of constant struggle within the Party to determine the real situation and the road ahead.

Browder was finally thrown out in 1945 and the CPUSA restarted, but many of his followers and his ideas remained. During the next years, honest CP leaders and members fought a sharp battle to defeat revisionism. They attacked many revisionist policies in a scattershot way, but never developed a genuinely revolutionary line and strategy to replace "the peaceful transition to socialism."

The Communist Party shrank in size under the blows of the ruling class anti-communist offensive in the late '40s and early '50s. The general response of the CP was to apologize for its ideas, and to try to prove that they really didn't threaten the bourgeoisie. This laid the final groundwork for the destruction of the CP as an organization of the working class. By the time Khrushchev and Co. seized control of the Soviet Union in 1956, thousands were leaving the CPUSA, depressed, confused or angry. The revisionists consolidated their control and launched an all-out attack on what remained of revolutionary ideas or activity.

This betrayal robbed the U.S. working class for almost 20 years of a vanguard party to represent its revolutionary interests. The present CPUSA stands as a grim warning of the results of failure to rely on the working class, and substituting pragmatism for the science of revolution.

The Revolutionary Communist Party is determined to heed this warning. The Revolutionary Communist Party is also determined to take up as its own the gen-

uinely revolutionary heritage the fighters of the old CPUSA struggled, sacrificed, and even died creating.

The United Front

UNITE ALL WHO CAN BE UNITED TO DEFEAT THE REAL ENEMY

One of the key weapons that the proletariat, through its party, must wield in its revolutionary struggle is the United Front. This means that at each stage of the struggle the proletariat isolates the main enemy to the greatest degree possible, by concentrating its attack on that enemy, and unites all who can be united against the enemy. In carrying out this united front strategy the proletariat not only forges a powerful unity with its main allies, but seeks to win over, or at least neutralize, weak and vacillating allies. And it skillfully makes use of contradictions within the enemy camp to advance the revolutionary struggle, without falling into the trap of "uniting" with one part of the main enemy against another—which means giving up the revolutionary struggle and giving in to the enemy.

The present situation in the U.S. and the world is an extremely favorable one for the working class. The rulers of this country are caught in the quicksand of capitalism's inevitable crisis and there is great turmoil in their ranks, as shown by Watergate and the many other political scandals that have come to the surface and highlighted sharpening contradictions within the ruling class. This provides the proletariat with a great opportunity to expose and attack the ruling class, to rally broader forces in striking at it, and turn the widespread anger and unrest among the American people into a powerful movement of millions aimed at the imperialist rulers.

In the same way, the great disorder internationally provides a great opportunity for the proletariat throughout the world. Crises are also rocking the ruling classes throughout the capitalist and imperialist countries, and alliances among them are shifting and breaking down.

At the heart of this disorder is the contention between the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, which are scrambling all over the globe for domination and are being battered on all sides by resistance and revolutionary struggle.

WORLD-WIDE UNITED FRONT

At the present time, these two top dogs of the imperialist system are the main enemies of the people of the world. The working class of all countries faces the task of building the broadest united front, on a world scale, aimed at the ruling classes of these two superpowers, while at the same time uniting all who can be united within each country to continue the battle for socialist revolution. The working class and its party has to learn how to correctly combine these tasks, so that it neither narrows the international united front nor loses sight of the goal of socialism.

To do this, it is essential to keep in mind the fundamental principle that the masses are the makers of history and to rely on the masses of people in every country as the backbone of the struggle against the rulers of the two superpowers. With this in mind, it is possible and absolutely necessary for the working class of the U.S. to determine and unite with its allies in other countries.

First are the workers of all countries, and especially those who have already seized power and are building socialism. The bourgeoisie in this country hopes to divide the U.S. workers from the rest of the international army of the working class, in order to crush them under its heel. It especially tries to slander the great achievements of the working class in the socialist countries—and in doing so takes special advantage of the "socialist" cover of the new Soviet bourgeoisie—in order to demoralize workers in this country, convince them that there is no alternative to capitalism, and keep them from recognizing that the socialist countries belong to the international working class and that it is the duty of the international working class to defend them. At the same time, with its "Buy American" campaigns and other chauvinist appeals, the bourgeoisie tries to put the blame for its crisis and the sufferings of the American people on workers exploited in other countries.

The working class answers this with proletarian internationalism—the unity of the workers of all countries as one mighty force, the alliance with all struggles throughout the world against imperialism and for revolution, and the unwavering support and defense of the genuine socialist countries.

Besides the workers in every country, the proletariat in the U.S. has as its allies in the international arena today the great struggles of nations throughout the "underdeveloped world" or "Third World" for liberation from colonialism and imperialism. The backbone of these struggles are the hundreds of millions of peasants, who make up the majority of the population in most of these countries and, particularly under

the leadership of the working class and its party, are the bulwark of the armed struggle against the imperialists and their feudal and bourgeois junior partners. With the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation, these national liberation struggles can also involve broad strata of the population, including intellectuals and students, professionals and shopkeepers and even some smaller-scale merchants and factory owners who are more held down than built up by imperialist rule in these countries.

In these struggles there are patriotic sections of the bourgeoisie in these countries—generally the smaller-scale capitalists—which play a positive role in the fight for independence from imperialism. Even where these forces have leadership in this fight, the proletariat unites with them insofar as they continue to oppose imperialism. But only the working class and its party can lead the struggle forward to thoroughly defeat imperialism, achieve socialism and eliminate all exploitation.

In addition, in the world today, with the decline of U.S. imperialism and the increase of its world-wide contention with Soviet social imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds), a number of non-socialist governments in the Third World, including even some that represent the rule of the landlords and big capitalists in those countries, are to one degree or other resisting the domination of the imperialists, especially the two superpowers. While in the final analysis these forces are fighting for a bigger chunk of the exploitation of their own peoples, and while they cannot and will not fight for complete independence from imperialism, nevertheless their resistance to superpower domination helps to weaken the main enemies of the people of the world.

For this reason, the working class supports them insofar as they oppose this domination and encourages them to put up more resistance. This is especially crucial for the working class in the United States, where the imperialist rulers are bending every effort to shift the blame for the crisis onto the Third World countries, particularly the Arab governments that have used oil as a weapon in resisting superpower and other imperialist domination.

At the same time, the working class gives its fundamental support to the masses of people in these countries and assists in every way possible their struggle to win complete independence from imperialism and overthrow all exploiters. Against the imperialists, especially the two superpowers, the proletariat supports even the exploiting class governments in the Third World who resist them. Against these governments, the proletariat supports the revolutionary struggle of the people, and in so doing gives the greatest support to the fight against imperialism.

Not only in the Third World, but even in the capitalist and imperialist states outside the two superpowers, governments are resisting to some degree the domination of the superpowers. The proletariat supports this

resistance for the reason that it also weakens the main enemy. At the same time the proletariat upholds the interests of the masses of people of these countries and supports their struggle, together with that of the peoples of the Third World, against the ruling classes of these developed countries.

These ruling classes are driven by the same profit-seeking law as all bourgeois classes, and there is no way the contradiction between them and the workers and other people they exploit and oppress can be resolved, except through revolution. But, on the other hand, their drive for profit brings them into conflict with the two superpowers, and in *this conflict* the proletariat supports them against the superpowers, in order to weaken the whole imperialist system.

The situation in the world today is very complicated, but through all this complication and disorder two things stand out: the struggle of the working class for revolution and socialism is advancing, and uniting with all possible allies, while the two superpowers are becoming more and more isolated, and the whole imperialist system is declining. But the more they are exposed, struggled against and weakened, the more they sink into crisis, the more desperate the imperialists, especially the rulers of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, become. This, and particularly the feverish contention between these two superpowers, is pushing the world toward a third world war. Either the working class in the U.S. and the Soviet Union will prevent such a war by overthrowing these greatest oppressors, in conjunction with the world-wide struggle against them, or they will launch a world war before they can be overthrown.

But even if they launch such a war, with all the suffering it will bring to the people throughout the world, this will only hasten their own downfall and the end of imperialism. The first world war gave rise to the first socialist revolution, and one tenth of humanity was liberated from the rule of capital. The second world war gave rise to revolution in many parts of the world, as a result of which many new socialist states have been established; and despite the restoration of capitalism in some countries, over one fourth of humanity is continuing to advance along the socialist road. In launching a third world war, the imperialists, especially the rulers of the U.S. and USSR, would further expose their barbarous nature, deepen the determination of the people of the world to bury them once and for all, and give rise to a revolutionary storm shaking the world as never before.

The growing danger of world war demonstrates all the more dramatically the need to rely on the masses. For it is only the masses, led by a proletarian vanguard, who can turn such a war into all-out *revolutionary* struggle against imperialism.

The world-wide united front against imperialism, which is aimed at the two superpowers, is the strategy of the proletariat for dealing with the present international situation and building its revolutionary struggle

against imperialism. The carrying out of this strategy creates more turmoil within the imperialist world, and makes it more difficult for the superpowers to unite even for the purpose of suppressing revolution, to maintain control of strategic resources and to solidify alliances for the purpose of waging war. In this way the conditions become more favorable for the proletariat to build its struggle and win over the greatest number of allies against the main enemy, within each country and on a world scale.

This international united front is not a substitute for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, but a programme for advancing it. In this, as in all united fronts, the proletariat, through its party, brings to the forefront the revolutionary interests of its class, mobilizes the masses as the main force of the struggle, and carries the fight forward toward its historic goal of overthrowing and eliminating all exploiting classes and class society itself.

CLASSES IN THE U.S. AND THEIR ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE

The main contribution of the U.S. proletariat to the world-wide revolution is to overthrow imperialism in the U.S. Within the U.S. itself, who are the friends and who are the enemies of the proletarian struggle? The basic answer to this lies in an analysis of the different classes and strata within U.S. society, their objective interests and their attitudes toward revolution which stem from their position and social role in society:

Bourgeoisie, or capitalist class. This class is the target of the revolution. It controls the present state—police and army, courts, bureaucracies, etc.—and rules every sphere of society.

But within the bourgeoisie there are different stra-

ta. The dominant section are the monopoly capitalists, or imperialists, who have control of the banks and the major industries. In the U.S. today less than 2% of the population own one third or more of the wealth, including the majority of stocks and bonds, and control the largest share of the means of production. This group of vampires, with well-known families like the Rockefellers, Mellons, Harrimans, and a small number of others as the biggest bloodsuckers, represent the main pillar of the ruling class. The working class, in seizing power, will immediately confiscate—without compensation—the means of production they own and their accumulated billions. It will give them just punishment for their towering crimes, strip those who remain of all basis of their power and ruthlessly suppress every attempt by them to resist proletarian rule and socialism.

Besides the monopoly capitalists, there are non-monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie—who do not dominate whole industries or have large amounts of finance capital under their control, but nevertheless live in comfort and luxury by exploiting labor and constantly seek to expand and intensify this exploitation. For them being rich is not a mere dream but a reality. The interests of this group lie in the preservation of the status quo, and they support whatever protects the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

In a time of revolutionary crisis, some of this group may be crushed and ruined economically, by the monopoly capitalists in the cut-throat contest to survive and rule as a class. In this situation the proletariat will take tactical advantage of their conflict with the monopoly capitalists and where possible will neutralize them—by directing the main fire at the monopoly capitalists and dealing with people in this group depending on their actions—but it will never stop its struggle against their bloodsucking nor compromise with their desire to save the capitalist system and prevent proletarian rule. As part of isolating the monopoly capitalists to the extreme, the proletariat may, upon seizing power, take over the means of production and wealth of these non-monopoly capitalists more gradually, but it will at all times strictly control their economic and political activity through its state.

The working class will ruthlessly crush the faithful lackeys of the ruling class—including big-time politicians, high-ranking army officers, the police, high-court judges, and top officials in the various agencies of the bourgeois government. In this same category are the bigshot bureaucrats in the trade unions who have taken the blood-soaked bribes of the ruling class as payment for betraying the working class and have, in many cases, invested large sums and become capitalists in their own right.

Proletariat, or working class. The proletariat is the main and leading force in the revolution. It is the largest class in the U.S. and makes up the majority of U.S. society. It has no stake in the preservation

of the capitalist system and is the only class capable of not only overthrowing the present ruling class but completely remaking society to abolish classes. While the proletariat has one class interest, and has no interest in competition between different members of its class, there are different sectors of the working class.

The backbone of the working class are the workers in large-scale enterprises, engaging in highly socialized work. There are approximately 20 million workers in manufacturing in the U.S., nearly three fourths of them production workers. About half of these workers in manufacturing are employed in establishments with over 500 workers and about one third in establishments employing more than 1000. In addition in construction, mining, utilities and other industries there are large numbers of workers in highly socialized situations.

There are millions more engaged in productive labor—that is, labor which creates surplus value—including most so-called “service industries.” In addition there are millions of other workers whose role in the productive process is to make possible the realization of profit—sales workers and others employed by merchant capital.

Also part of the proletariat are those office workers whose role is necessary to make possible the organization of production—as opposed to managers whose social role is to enforce the exploitation of the workers. Finally, there are many workers whose labor is not productive—does not create profit for the capitalists—but who are employed as wage workers and have no means to live except to sell their labor power—ability to work—to others. The wages of this group are not paid out of capital but revenue—personal income and taxes. This group includes many diverse occupations—for example many domestic workers, firemen (but not policemen) and many other lower-level government workers.

While they are part of the same class as workers in industry, agricultural wage-workers have different, more backward, conditions of labor, are subject to more seasonal work, receive lower wages, and live in even worse conditions as a rule. This is because the development of capitalism means the domination of the towns over the countryside, and the advance of industry over agriculture. This gap remains wide, even in the U.S. where agriculture is highly mechanized and agricultural labor generally very socialized.

In the U.S. today there are over 2.5 million agricultural workers over 14 years old, but only about 400,000 of these are year-round workers, while over 1 million work less than 25 days a year. Even for those working more than 25 days, average annual income is only about \$2500. The closest alliance of industrial and agricultural workers is a key to the success of the revolutionary movement, and under socialism the ruling proletariat must pay special attention to strengthening this unity, and to overcoming the contradictions between town and country,

and industry and agriculture, in order to advance to communism.

Included in the working class are the unemployed, a group which always exists in large numbers under capitalism, generally grows in numbers with the growth of capital and swells to huge proportions with the inevitable development of the crises of capitalism. All workers out of a job, whether counted as part of "official unemployment" by the government or not, who have no other means to live except to sell their labor power when they can or live on unemployment or welfare when they can't—all these are part of the working class (as opposed to those who refuse to work and live by criminal means.) The unemployed proletariat includes large numbers of unemployed youth, many of whom have never worked, but whose families are part of the working class. The struggles of unemployed workers and the unity of the employed and unemployed are crucial questions for the class struggle.

Housewives who are members of working class families are also part of the proletariat.

Finally, within the U.S. working class there are several million skilled workers—in the construction trades, and throughout industry. Some of the top levels of these skilled workers make a good deal of income from investments they are able to make out of their wages. Nevertheless, especially with the development of the crisis, the capitalists have launched very sharp attacks on the skilled workers, and their struggles against capital have often been very sharp battles in the overall class struggle.

These skilled workers as a whole must be distinguished from the highly-paid union officials, who act as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." The workers' movement, in order to realize the revolutionary interests of the class, must be solidly based in the heart of the proletariat, among the workers on the assembly lines and in basic production—especially the large-scale plants. But with this foundation, the working class and its party can and will unite around its revolutionary banner the great majority of skilled workers and others oppressed and exploited by the ruling class.

Petty Bourgeoisie. Literally this term means small capitalists, but it is generally used to describe the strata in between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is a large group in the U.S. and includes many different strata, whose varying positions and roles in society make some more and some less, firm allies of the proletariat. But as a whole this intermediate group tends to vacillate between uniting with the working class and compromising with the bourgeoisie or even siding with it against the proletariat.

The history of capitalism, particularly in the era of imperialism, shows that as crisis deepens and the revolutionary working class movement develops, the bourgeoisie increasingly attempts to mobilize the petty bourgeoisie against the proletariat and even to

use it as a social base for fascism. The bourgeoisie tries to turn the desperation of the ruined petty bourgeoisie into frantic attacks against the working class.

Some sections of the petty bourgeoisie can be influenced in this direction, out of a desire to preserve their "independent" position above the proletariat. But the development of capitalism continually undermines this position; and big capital increasingly crushes the petty bourgeoisie, especially as the crisis grows sharper.

This emphasizes all the more the need and the ability of the working class to win over as much of the petty bourgeoisie as possible, and neutralize those petty bourgeois forces that cannot be won over, by exposing the bourgeoisie as the source of the suffering of the people, and building the most powerful struggle against it. But in order to do this the proletariat must bring forward its revolutionary outlook, build its own strength as the main force in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and carry this struggle through to make revolution. The more resolutely the proletariat fights for its revolutionary interests as a class, the broader the sections of the petty bourgeoisie it will be able to win over.

Among the petty bourgeoisie are small scale capitalists—owners of one or two small shops, who make only a moderate income from exploiting labor, small shopkeepers and merchants; foremen, lower and middle level supervisors and managers; professionals and intellectuals, athletes and entertainers who live from their own "performances" (as opposed to the very highly paid who invest big sums of money and become part of the bourgeoisie).

The petty bourgeoisie also includes self-employed working people who live mainly or entirely from their own labor. Some among these, for example the "independent truckers," have waged very sharp struggle against the ruling class, and have greatly aided the working class through this struggle.

Teachers and social workers are also part of the petty bourgeoisie. While they own no means of production and work for salaries (paid out of revenue), their social role is to "regulate" and indoctrinate the masses. This, the level of formal education required for their job and its general "professional" status, sets them apart from the working class. But, on the other hand their income is close to that of the working class, and these groups, too, have put up sharp battles against the ruling class, often directly aligning themselves with struggles of parents in the community, students in the schools, people on welfare and other sections of the working class and oppressed people. In these struggles many have resisted the social role the bourgeoisie has set for them, and in this the working class firmly unites with and supports them.

Small farmers, especially the "family farmers," are included in the petty bourgeoisie. They are continually squeezed by mounting mortgages and other debt to the banks, insurance companies and other finance cap-

italists. At the same time they are caught in the vice of rising prices for farm equipment on the one side and on the other side the moves of the large wholesale outfits to take bigger and bigger chunks out of the money made in the sale of farm products. The family farm has been rapidly disappearing under these blows of the monopoly capitalists, but these small farmers have put up militant resistance to this in recent years, as they have throughout the history of this country.

The alliance of the working class with these small farmers is not only important for the struggle to overthrow the ruling class but for building socialism once the proletariat has seized power. While there are now actually more agricultural wage-workers in the U.S. than small, family-sized, farmers, these small farmers still play a crucial role in feeding the people and raising key crops for industry. The working class, once it has won political power and controls the economy through its state, must maintain its alliance with these small farmers, draw them firmly into the task of building socialism, and lead them to take part in eventual *socialization*—direct state ownership of all farm land and means of production.

The working class fights today with the small farmer against monopoly capital, but it struggles against any tendency to raise demands which are opposed to the interests of the masses of people. Where the interests of the small farmers conflict with those of the working class, and where these small farmers oppose the struggles of farmworkers in particular, the proletariat and its party stand firmly with their class, while continuing to unite with and build up the anti-big business side of the small farmers' stand.

Within the broad group making up the petty bourgeoisie, and within many of its various sub-groups, there are those of higher, middle and lower status. Some are quite well-to-do, and own a fair amount of stocks, bonds and other holdings. These will be at best unstable allies of the proletariat.

But most only dream of getting rich, and some are quite poor, with even less income than the workers. Many of these desire drastic change and will be firm allies of the proletariat, so long as the proletariat and its party remain staunch in the struggle.

For the majority of those who make up the petty bourgeoisie the only prospect is hardship and the threat of ruin under imperialism; the only future for them lies with the working class and socialism. While struggling against their inclination to try to preserve capitalism in some form and protect their position above the working class, the proletariat must mainly rely on persuasion to win them over, ally with them in seizing power and transform them step by step into workers during the socialist transition.

Another group which plays an important role in the struggle against imperialism are the students. Most of those who enter college are drawn from the petty bourgeoisie, though many come from the working class and a good number work while in college.

The petty bourgeoisie in the revolutionary movement. In recent years, many conscious revolutionary fighters have come forward from the struggles of students as well as different sections of the petty bourgeoisie. Quite a few have taken up the stand of the working class and contributed to building its struggle and its party.

On the other hand, many of these petty bourgeois radicals resist the stand of the working class, even as they rebel against the ruling class. This is not surprising. The petty bourgeoisie, especially petty bourgeois intellectuals who are divorced from productive labor and the masses of workers, tend to be politically unstable. When they take up a revolutionary position they tend to bounce between adventurism—the attempt to bring down the system all by themselves—and conservatism—awe of the power of the ruling class and pessimism about the possibility of overthrowing it. When the struggle of the masses is advancing they are inclined to overestimate its present strength and look for quick victory. When the mass movement is temporarily set back they are inclined to overestimate the strength of the enemy and doubt the possibility of victory at all. They have a strong tendency to resist the discipline and organization that characterizes the proletariat as a class, and they are often drawn into different kinds of screwball anarchist schemes.

Other sections of the petty bourgeoisie, in particular small-scale producers and traders, tend to be narrow and short-sighted in their outlook, because they lack the socialization of the working class in production and do not share the strength of its numbers and organization in struggle. When these forces are faced with ruin they tend toward revolutionary opposition to the ruling class, but at the same time are easily swayed by the promise of a few reforms through which they hope to preserve their position.

The working class, while taking full stock of these petty bourgeois tendencies, extends the hand of unity to these forces and calls on them to fight more consistently and thoroughly against the ruling class. But the proletariat always draws a clear line of demarcation between its revolutionary outlook and interests, and the stand of the petty bourgeois forces, including those who assume a radical posture against the system.

And the proletariat takes a ruthless stand against those petty bourgeois hustlers who refuse to take up the stand of the working class, but, recognizing its revolutionary role, proclaim themselves the leaders of the proletariat and try to ride the workers' backs to power. These forces pose as "communists" or "socialists" and in this way are able at times to attract some sincere revolutionaries, even a few from the working class. But the leaders of these groups are deadly enemies of the working class, acting as agents of the bourgeoisie in attempting to confuse and demoralize the proletariat, split its ranks and derail its re-

volutionary struggle. When the workers refuse to follow them into the swamp or into an ambush, they viciously attack the proletariat and its party.

Among these are the leaders of the so-called "democratic socialist" groupings. They represent the petty bourgeoisie being crushed and looking for basic change without all the revolutionary struggle and the revolutionary science of the proletariat, which they denounce as "dogma." They try to appeal to everyone with their "democratic socialism," which is nothing more than capitalism with thousands of schemes for reforms, most of them not even achievable under capitalism. This is an openly anti-communist trend whose poisonous ideology serves the bourgeoisie.

Then we have the whole host of Trotskyite sects (named after their hero, Leon Trotsky, who did everything to oppose socialism in the Soviet Union and was run out of that country over 45 years ago for being the counter-revolutionary scum of the earth). These Trotskyite groups—each of them—claim to be the "only true revolutionaries," and declare their opposition to the revisionism of the CPUSA. But their line and practice is always the opposite. Sooner or later they show up trying to wreck or take over a mass organization or struggle. They split from each other on almost a daily basis and come around demanding that everyone read all about it in their newspapers.

Historically these Trotskyites have alternated between "left" and right opportunism—between "revolutionary" slogan-shouting to oppose the actual stage of struggle, and outright tailing after the bourgeoisie. But in essence they have always been right-wing servants of the reactionary classes. They attach themselves as parasites to the revolutionary movement to promote their organizations at the expense of the masses. They act all-wise and try to lord it over the workers, but the working class in every country has learned to deal with them in the same manner as it deals with their imperialist masters.

Finally, there are those forces who claim to be opposed to the Trotskyites as well as the revisionists, but actually act as a cover for them and play the same role as agents of the bourgeoisie. These are represented by two general "communist" tendencies that appear to be opposed to each other but are actually united—the dogmatists and the reformists.

The dogmatists act as though revolution is conducted in a closet. They think the squabble for some mystical "communist clarity" (struggle between closets) is the "highest form of class struggle." They worship books and try to intimidate people with endless quotations. They treat Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought not as a science but rather as a system of lifeless, abstract formulas which neither grow out of concrete mass struggle nor are ever applied to it. They always oppose the living struggle of the proletariat and its allies, preach at the workers from on high, and continually try to draw fighters from the class away from the class and into their "sanctuary."

The reformists, like the dogmatists, are terrified by the struggle of the masses, and fearfully worship at the altar of the bourgeoisie. They tail after "progressive" traitors in the trade union bureaucracy, promote "liberal" politicians to save the people from the "outright fascists," trail behind and build up bourgeois forces in the struggle of women and the oppressed nationalities. They see things the way they are now (or were a year or two ago) and their line is built on justifications for keeping things that way. "It would be nice to do more (they say), but we must be realistic." They are always found at the tail of the mass movement, scurrying to keep up and shouting, "slow down, what's changed so drastically, if you go off and act like this, you'll just get isolated and smashed without me and my (bourgeois) friends to lead you."

The dogmatists and reformists have in common their fundamental belief that the masses of people are backward and incapable of making revolution. They are "twin brothers" and often exchange places, the dogmatists switching to open reformism and the reformists using dogma where convenient to attack the struggle. They both serve the bourgeoisie.

These various agents of imperialism, in and of themselves, amount to nothing more than cockroaches which the working class could squash under its feet. But these types do pose a greater potential danger—they can act as the "shock troops" for the development of a phoney "socialist" or "progressive" movement that would aim at diverting the working class from the revolutionary path and setting it up to be smashed by the bourgeoisie.

And, while the unstable position of the petty bourgeoisie as a whole provides a basis for "left" and right deviations from the forward path of struggle against the imperialists, the working class and its party will certainly develop both the far-sightedness and staying power of its class to continue along the revolutionary road, through all its twists and turns, and to steer the great part of the petty bourgeoisie onto this road.

Lumpenproletariat. This represents essentially the elements in society who live by criminal means. Literally "lumpen" proletariat means "broken" proletariat, but actually members of this group come from different classes—small farmers who are ruined, come to the city and cannot find work; other petty bourgeois individuals who go broke and have the same experience; workers who remain unemployed for a long time and turn to crime as a way of life; and even an occasional bourgeois who loses his capital and goes from official and big-time robbery to illegal and smaller scale crime.

The lumpenproletariat is distinguished from those workers who steal a loaf of bread or shoes for their kids, or commit some other crime but continue to work whenever possible and remain part of the working class. The lumpenproletariat is also distinguished from the heads of the big crime syndicates, who accumulate huge sums through their crime operations, invest large parts of it in "legitimate" fields and be-

come part of the capitalist class.

The lumpenproletariat leads a desperate life. Though many have ambitions of becoming millionaires and a few make big money for a time, the greatest number lead a hand-to-mouth existence. They will fight in a minute, and their way of life frequently brings them into conflict with the police and other arms of the state. But their way of life also means preying mainly on the working class, and generally requires cooperation with the police (who are deeply into the crime rackets themselves). This makes them easy recruits as police spies and provocateurs in the revolutionary movement.

Overall this group is most likely to serve as agents and shock troops of the ruling class in its efforts to crush the working class—and historically large numbers of fascist storm troopers have come from the lumpenproletariat. But with the development of its powerful revolutionary movement, and by exercising an absolutely firm hand, the proletariat will be able to win some of the lumpenproletariat to its side, especially in the armed showdown with the bourgeoisie. Under socialism the proletariat will re-educate and rehabilitate those who were in the lumpenproletariat, enabling them to take part in productive labor and the struggle to revolutionize society.

THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM IS THE PROLETARIAT'S STRATEGY FOR REVOLUTION

The purpose of class analysis is to enable the proletariat to determine friends from enemies, unite its own ranks, win over its allies, isolate the main enemy to the extreme and build the broadest united front to attack and overthrow this enemy and establish proletarian rule. Such an analysis in the U.S. identifies the

imperialists (monopoly capitalists) as the heart of the target against which the proletariat must direct its fire. The strategy for revolution in the U.S. is the united front against the imperialists, under the leadership of the proletariat and its party.

But the united front is not One Big Organization. It is not a static thing. Forces, representing different classes and class viewpoints, come together around particular struggles—against police repression, rising prices, imperialist aggression and other questions. Each class brings to this struggle its own ideology, and conflict goes on between opposing class outlooks—over who to identify as the enemy, who to rely on, who to unite with, etc. The proletariat, through its party, fights for the leadership of its class in all mass movements, and brings to the fore its revolutionary interests and outlook.

Through many such struggles, and the ebbs and flows of the overall battle against the imperialists, the proletariat and its party is able to win over the great majority of society to fight for revolution, as the conditions for revolution ripen, and the masses recognize that revolution is the only road forward. The proletariat must and will win leadership for one basic reason: of all the classes that are oppressed by the monopoly capitalists, the proletariat is the only truly revolutionary class.

The basic conflict in capitalist society is between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, representing socialized production on the one hand and private ownership of the means of production on the other. But this basic contradiction gives rise to other contradictions, which are mainly influenced by, but also have a significant influence on, the basic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Key among these contradictions are: The contradiction between capitalist states, which has become especially intense in the era of imperialism; the contradiction between the imperialists and the colonies; the contradiction between the capitalist states and the socialist countries; the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the minority nationalities it oppresses within the capitalist countries; the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the masses of women in society, who suffer discrimination and oppression as a result of the "division of labor" capitalism maintains; and the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie.

These contradictions, whose development is basically determined by the development of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, take the form of intense struggles in society: wars, including world war, among the imperialists, and the fight of the people of the world against these wars; the struggles for national liberation and against imperialist wars of aggression in the colonies, and assaults against the socialist countries; the movements of the oppressed nationalities in the capitalist countries for equality and emancipation; the fight against the op-

pression of women; the resistance of the petty bourgeoisie to ruin at the hands of the bourgeois ruling class.

These, together with the struggle of the working class itself in defense of its living standards, are major battles that have been waged in this country over the last several years. Faced with the gathering strength of these struggles, and the growing capitalist crisis, the bourgeoisie increasingly tries to crush them, and the masses fight this repression, creating a sharp battle in this arena as well.

Millions of people have become involved in these struggles, entering them for various reasons, with conflicting class viewpoints, and with varying degrees of understanding of the source of the problems and the links between the struggles. Millions more will continue to do so.

The policy of the proletariat and its party, in building the united front against imperialism under its leadership, is: to unite with those engaging in every such battle; to make clear through the course of these struggles the common enemy and the common cause of the masses of people; to develop fighters on one front against the enemy into fighters on all fronts; and to show how all these contradictions arise from and relate to the basic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and can only be finally resolved through the revolutionary resolution of this basic contradiction—the seizure of power by the proletariat and the continuation of the revolution to the elimination of classes and class conflict.

The solid core of the united front in the U.S. will

be the revolutionary alliance of the working class movement as a whole with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities against the common imperialist enemy. The tens of millions of these nationalities who suffer discrimination and other forms of oppression as peoples are, in their great majority, workers, part of the single U.S. proletariat. Their fight for equality and emancipation is bound by a thousand links with the struggle of the working class for socialism, and lends it great strength.

But among these oppressed nationalities there are different class forces. In order to ally the movements of these nationalities most closely with the revolutionary working class struggle, it is crucial to rely on the masses of workers of these nationalities and build the unity of the workers of all nationalities as the most fundamental unity. The single working class of the U.S., through its single party, must lead the united front, in order to strengthen the core and build the united front as broadly as possible.

The united front against imperialism is not a "grand coalition" of "different constituencies," nor is it built by piecing together different "united fronts" of separate groups—"Black United Front," "Women's United Front," "United Front of the Trade Unions," etc. The united front against imperialism is one united front, it is the overall political plan of the proletariat for bringing together under its leadership all possible social forces and movements, in order to concentrate the most powerful blows against the ruling class and defeat it. It is the strategy for proletarian revolution.

Build the Revolutionary Workers' Movement

The working class learns through its day to day struggle. The present struggle of the American workers is primarily against individual employers (or employers' associations in different industries) around wages and benefits, working conditions, against speed-up and lay-offs, against discrimination. Increasingly the workers in these battles must go up directly against the government and its various agencies, rules and regulations—Pay Board (or Cost of Living Council), anti-strike laws passed by Congress, and injunctions handed down by the courts and backed up by the cops.

The more militantly the workers fight, and the more they break through the shackles held on their struggles by the traitorous union bigshots, the more desperate and vicious the employers become. The more clearly it stands out that to the employers the workers are a mere means to profit who must be chained to the machines so long as profit can be made from their labor, and that the government is a tool in the hands of the employers for enforcing this slavery.

But the workers learn a great deal more in these battles. They begin to feel the strength of their class and to recognize that without their labor the machines are only so much useless scrap. In withholding their labor, the workers demand not to be treated as slaves, but to live like human beings are capable of living. Each battle where the workers begin to exercise their power in this way not only brings a sense of strength and common cause to the workers directly involved, but inspires others who learn of it. Where the struggle is successful in wringing concessions from the employers, it spurs further struggle. Where there is a temporary setback, it spurs discussion among the workers as to the cause of the defeat.

In these struggles, the workers begin to throw off the foot of the employer from their necks, to raise their heads. And in raising their heads they are able to see farther and more clearly. The face of the enemy and the forces fighting him begin to come into sharper focus. This gives rise to vigorous discussion among the workers not only about every question of the immediate struggle but also about events throughout society and the world. Through all this the workers begin to see themselves as more than mere individuals, but as members of a class, locked in warfare with the opposing class of employers.

Strikes and other similar struggles are very important "schools of warfare" for the workers. But they are not the war itself. As V.I. Lenin wrote, more than 75 years ago, "strikes are only one means of struggle, only one aspect of the working class movement. From

individual strikes the workers can and must go over, as indeed they are actually doing in all countries, to a struggle of the entire working class for the emancipation of all who labor."

Trade unions and working class organizations in the struggle for revolution. Trade unions in the U.S. today are controlled at the very top by scabs and traitors. Some of these rely on open gangster methods to attack workers' struggles. Others put up a "progressive" and "democratic" front, while knifing the workers in the back. Some are associated with out-front reactionaries in the ruling class, while others are salesmen for the "liberal" imperialists and piously promote these imperialists—as well as themselves—as "saviors" of the working class. They are all agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers' movement.

The trade unions in this country, especially the powerful industrial unions, were not built by these bloated toads, but by the struggle and sacrifice of millions of workers. In the face of the mighty upsurge of the '30s, the capitalists, unable to smash the drive for industrial unions, made concessions—and prepared to take them back.

The errors and weaknesses of the CPUSA, which led the fight for industrial unions—but increasingly lost sight of the final aim of socialist revolution—made it easier for the bourgeoisie to gradually build up its own lackeys in the labor movement. Then, with its position temporarily strengthened after WW 2, and the working class disarmed by the degeneration of the CP, the bourgeoisie was able to solidify the positions of its labor lieutenants at the head of the union "internationals," use these top officials as a main arm of its attack on the working class, and even use the union structure at times to quell workers' struggles and enforce labor discipline.

This has been a serious setback for the working class, but also the source of a great lesson. While it is crucial to fight for every possible concession from the capitalists, the working class cannot limit itself to the fight for concessions under capitalism, nor can it win its emancipation "piece by piece," through a series of reforms.

So long as the bourgeoisie has state power it will continue to attack and attempt to corrupt every gain won by the working class—and it will sooner or later succeed in setting back the workers' movement, so long as the fight for concessions is not conducted as a by-product of the fight to overthrow capitalism. This does not mean that the basis of the trade unions and other mass organizations of the working class

must be "fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat." But it does mean that the party of the proletariat must bring to the workers, through all their struggles, the understanding of the antagonistic contradiction between themselves as a class and the bourgeoisie, and consistently guide the struggle toward its final aim.

As the working class develops in consciousness and strength, all manner of phoney "socialists" and imitation progressives will jump up, claiming to represent its interests. Many of these may fall into a trend called social democracy.

For all that it pimps off of the working class movement, social democracy works day and night to protect the rule of the bourgeoisie. It does this by spreading illusions among the people that the contradictions of capitalism can be somehow smoothed over, that socialism can be built piecemeal, through a series of reforms in the capitalist system. It tries to tie the workers to the trade union bureaucracy, to "liberal" politicians and the bourgeoisie's farce of "democratic elections."

All this serves one purpose—to hide from the workers the need for the most radical rupture with the present system and the violent overthrow of the bourgeois state. By not pointing out that "American democracy" is only the dictatorship of the capitalist class, which must be destroyed and replaced by the dictatorship of the working class, social democracy tries to lead the proletariat unarmed into an ambush by the ruling class.

Despite the fact that some of the biggest labor traitors are fond of passing themselves off as socialists, social democracy has not been a powerful trend in the United States in decades. Nevertheless, it could grow, basing itself on the small section of the working class that is in and out of the petty bourgeoisie—constantly trying to break free of wage-slavery by opening small businesses, but usually forced back into the working class. It could also find some basis in the experience of workers in the '50s and early '60s, when there was no party of the working class and it was more possible to win certain reforms; and in the sincere desire of many workers to believe that a violent revolution is not the only way to end exploitation and oppression.

But the class struggle itself provides the basis for the working class to cast away illusions and cast aside the front men of the bourgeoisie who promote them. These social democratic agents of the imperialists will be exposed and dealt with as enemies, as the working class, led by its party, is mobilized to fight for its immediate interests, and its long-term goals—the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, and communism.

Today, in its daily battles the working class comes up against both the capitalists and their henchmen in the unions—a two-headed monster backed up by the various arms of the bourgeois state. How to deal with this is a crucial question facing the proletariat and its party in the U.S.

The answer lies in pitting the workers' strength against the enemy's weakness. The bourgeoisie and its agents are a handful who now control the high offices of the unions, but the working class is made up of the rank and file of the unions and the millions of workers not in unions. The method of the proletariat and its party is to mobilize the masses of workers to take matters into their own hands and wage a blow for blow struggle against the enemy, inside and outside the unions. To seize on every spark of struggle, fan and spread it as broadly as possible throughout the working class and among its allies. To build every possible struggle and build off of it to launch new struggles. And through the course of this to fan every spark of consciousness, to identify and isolate the bourgeoisie and its agents, and unite all struggles against this enemy.

The Revolutionary Communist Party calls this the "single spark method," learning from Mao Tsetung who showed how "a single spark can start a prairie fire." It is a key part of building the united front against imperialism under proletarian leadership, and in applying this method the Revolutionary Communist Party not only makes it one of its main weapons but works to arm the entire class with this weapon.

To enable the masses to use this weapon most effectively and carry forward the struggle of the working class, the Revolutionary Communist Party works to build various forms of workers' organizations, in the plants and unions and among the class as a whole. Some of these organizations, such as rank and file caucuses, are created by the workers "spontaneously" (without communists initiating them) to defend their immediate interests on the shop floor, to carry on struggles in the unions, and often to give leadership in strikes.

In these organizations, as well as caucuses and other forms they do initiate, members of the Revolutionary Communist Party put forward the policy of relying on the rank and file, and mobilizing it to fight around its own grievances in the plant and union and to link up with struggles outside the plant. They work to develop the life of these organizations and to continually recruit new workers to them, while at the same time raising the consciousness of the workers involved and educating them to the revolutionary interests of their class, through the course of struggle.

Like the struggle itself, the size and activity of these organizations will ebb and flow, and some will come and go. But through this whole process, active fighters for the class will continually come forward, and unite to lead struggle, the consciousness and sense of organization of the workers as a whole will be developed, and many of the most advanced among them will develop into communists and join the party.

The struggle in the unions, and the building of caucuses and other similar rank and file forms, are a very important part of the working class movement.

But as this movement develops and increasingly takes up the fight against all exploitation and oppression, there is more and more a need for forms of working class organization that can consolidate and build on this.

Throughout the country workers are coming forward in greater numbers to lead struggles not only in the shops and unions, but also in many other battlefronts against the bourgeoisie—for example, against police repression or imperialist aggression and war. Through their experience in struggle and the leadership of communists, these workers have developed a basic understanding of the nature of the enemy and the class struggle against this enemy. These workers are the backbone of working class organization that is built on a more permanent basis and on a higher political level than caucuses—directing its spearhead squarely at the ruling class.

These organizations act as conveyor belts linking the party with the class as a whole. They are one important organizational form in which communists can unite with advanced workers to build the united front against imperialism under proletarian leadership and develop into communists the advanced workers who continually come forward in struggle.

While these organizations must be based mainly in the plants and other work places, their overall role is to apply the "single spark" method to take up every major struggle, of all sections of the people, against the ruling class, mobilize masses of workers in these struggles and develop them into campaigns of the working class. To carry out this task, the proletariat and its party must set its sights high and aim to build these organizations in every part of the country as a tremendous force for the class struggle.

These workers' organizations are intermediate between the party and the trade unions (and other similar mass organizations of workers). They are not a substitute for the party or the trade unions. Building these organizations does not conflict with but contributes to building the party, and to building the struggle of the rank and file to defeat the treachery of the top union officials.

As an important part of its overall struggle, the working class will fight to organize unions, to unite the masses of workers in unions in the common battle against the capitalist exploiters, to make unions militant organizations of class struggle, and to replace agents of the bourgeoisie with true representatives of the proletariat in union office.

But the working class and its party cannot base its strategy on "taking over" the unions by electing new leadership, and it cannot restrict its struggle to the limits set by the trade unions at any given time. The policy of the proletariat and its party is to build its strength in the unions as part of building its revolutionary movement, and not to reduce the class struggle to the struggle for control of the unions.

Mobilize the rank and file around a program

representing its interests and in doing so "jam" the union officials—expose the traitors at the top and roll over them, break the union bureaucracies' stranglehold on the workers, and unite with those in the lower levels of union leadership who can be won to stand with the working class—this is the policy of the proletariat and its party in the unions.

Beyond that, in building its revolutionary struggle, the proletariat breaks the hold of trade unionist ideology—the bourgeois line that the limit of the workers' movement must be the struggle for better wages and working conditions—better terms of the sale of the workers' labor power, a slight loosening of the slave chain, only to have it tightened again. The struggle of the working class, within and outside the unions, must become the struggle to smash this chain, to abolish wage-slavery and the capitalist class that lives by it.

A crucial question for the working class in both its immediate battles and long-term struggle is the question of unemployment and uniting employed and unemployed workers. Unemployment is built into the capitalist system, and is an open sore revealing the fundamental sickness of the system—a sickness that is with it from its birth but becomes all the more malignant as it grows to old age.

Even in the temporary periods of economic "boom" capitalism cannot provide full employment. This was so at the early stages of capitalism when it more advanced than held back the development of the productive forces, and it is all the more true in the era of imperialism when capitalism stands as the direct obstacle to the development of the productive forces.

The growth of capital brings with it the growth of unemployment. Its constant tendency is to replace workers with machines, to shift capital out of one region or country into another where, for the time, investment promises more profit. And all this takes place without any plan for providing new employment for the displaced workers, because capitalism, with its private ownership of the means of production, makes rational planning of the overall economy impossible.

In the inevitable crisis of capitalism, unemployment grows to tremendous proportions and the criminal absurdity of the capitalist system stands out all the more starkly—the very class that produces the profit on which the system is based finds millions of its members out of work because they cannot be employed profitably! At the same time, those who are "lucky enough" to have employment are driven even harder on the job, with their work sped-up and their wages forced down. And this increases with the increase of unemployment, because the capitalists themselves are trapped within the laws of capital which dictate that the only way for each capitalist to "get out" of the crisis is to squeeze more profit from the workers. The "cure" only makes the disease worse, because the cure is more of the same and the disease is incurable. The

"shock treatment" of war seems to jolt the system alive but actually only hastens its death, while making the process all the more violent.

All this makes clear the basis and the absolute necessity for the working class of uniting employed and unemployed in an all-out struggle against capital. But the capitalists, especially in times of crisis, do everything they can to pit the employed and unemployed against each other, to use the threat of unemployment as a club against the employed workers' struggles, while using the fact of unemployment to increase competition for jobs, force speed-up and push down wages. The capitalists try to recruit the unemployed as scabs, and to do so utilize every contradiction that capitalism fosters and maintains among the people—between different nationalities, men and women, rural workers and urban workers, and many others.

The working class, and its party, answers this with the fighting slogan, "Employed, unemployed, same crisis, same fight!" and mobilizes the unemployed behind the battle cry, "We won't scab and we won't starve!" To make these slogans a reality, the Revolutionary Communist Party devotes every effort to building fighting organization of the unemployed and committees in plants and unions, based on and controlled by the rank and file, to fight against lay-offs and for the demands of the unemployed. These committees can play a key part in getting the union to support the struggle of the unemployed and to maintain full union membership rights for all union workers, employed or unemployed.

The Revolutionary Communist Party builds the struggle around unemployment as a major battle of the whole working class, a decisive part of the struggle not only to keep from being crushed under capitalism but to finally overthrow it, and in doing so end the cause of unemployment. And, linked with this, it builds the fight to smash discrimination against minority and women workers, for whom the unemployment rate is always greater and who are hit especially hard by the crunch of crisis.

The main demand of the unemployed today is "Jobs or Income!" The crisis is the product of capitalism, and the capitalists, not the workers, must pay. The working class has no interest in helping the capitalists figure out how to make an unworkable system "work," for its very working is based on the exploitation and misery of the working class. The working class refuses to have any part of schemes to "cut pay to save the plant," to "equalize unemployment" and "share the burden" to "get through hard times." Union jobs at union wages—and the same income for those without jobs—this is the uncompromising stand of the working class.

Other key demands of the working class around unemployment are:

Extend unemployment benefits to *all* unemployed, including workers on strike or honoring strikes (or

locked out) and people who are fired or forced to quit for any reason, end all "delays" in beginning benefits.

Fight lay-offs, plant shutdowns and "runaways."

Moratorium on all debts, no foreclosures, no evictions, no repossessions.

Union jobs at union wages for workers in all "workfare," "public works," and other such programs.

Unemployment is one immediate question around which the working class must build its struggle. Other crucial battlefronts and demands of the working class in the struggle to defend its standard of living, are:

No pay cuts, pay increases with full cost of living.

Fight for job safety and better working conditions, defend and extend protective laws.

Down with speed-up and the capitalists' "productivity" offensive, no compulsory overtime.

Defend the right to strike, smash all no-strike deals and anti-strike laws.

Fight super-exploitation of the oppressed nationalities and women, fight for full equality, make the capitalists pay.

End child labor, no discrimination against youth in wages.

Organize the unorganized, fight for union democracy, build the power of the rank and file.

No cutbacks in social services, fight for better health care, education and other social services.

Fight for decent housing and neighborhoods.

The working class will lead the fight against all oppression. These demands represent vital questions around which masses of workers are fighting today. But as important as they are, they deal only with effects of capitalist exploitation and oppression. The fundamental task for the working class is to eliminate the cause—the capitalist system itself. To do this it is necessary to fight the effects to get to the cause—to utilize today's struggle as a means of building for the future showdown with the bourgeoisie.

The central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party today, as the party of the U.S. working class, is to build the struggle, class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and develop its leadership of a broad united front against the U.S. imperialists, in the context of the world-wide united front against imperialism aimed at the rulers of the two superpowers. As this is developed, together with the development of a revolutionary situation, the question of mobilizing the masses for the armed insurrection will then come to the fore as the immediate question.

In carrying out its central task today, the Revolutionary Communist Party takes part in, learns from and brings leadership to the struggles of the working class and its allies, unites all who can be united, consistently exposes the enemy and points to the final aim of overthrowing imperialism and building socialism. To do this it bends every effort to fulfill three main objectives in these struggles: to win as much as

can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy; to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the struggling masses and instill in them the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat; and to develop the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists, recruit them into the party and train them as revolutionary leaders.

The party can only carry out its tasks by conducting the most determined fight against the ideology and propaganda of the bourgeoisie, exposing its efforts to direct the anger and militancy of the masses against each other and away from the real enemy—the ruling class itself.

In a thousand and one ways the bourgeois propaganda tries to blame the people, especially the working class, for their own suffering—"people polite," "too many people in the world is the problem," "people get the government they deserve," "wage increases cause inflation"—and on and on. Agents of the ruling class spew out its chauvinist garbage—against women, oppressed nationalities, and others.

The ruling class calls for "national unity" to deal with the crisis; it means the working class should unite with the bourgeoisie's efforts to exploit it even more. The ruling class conducts an ever-present propaganda campaign for patriotism; it means the working class should support its efforts to plunder other nations. "The foreign workers are taking your jobs, the Japanese with their technology and the greedy Arabs with their oil hoarding have caused the crisis"—bourgeois lies drummed at the masses of people every day to cover up the real cause—and the real solution.

But there can be no such "unity" between the exploiters and the exploited. The fundamental loyalty of the proletariat is to its class, and it supports whoever fights against the exploiters, and especially against the biggest exploiters of all, the U.S. and Soviet imperialists.

There is nothing the bourgeoisie won't stoop to, no lie too low or vicious, in its desperate attempt to maintain its exploiting rule. "Blacks have all the jobs and the Jews have all the money"; or "whites have all the jobs, and the Jews have all the money"—even these poisonous darts are being increasingly used by the rulers of this country as part of their arsenal against the working class.

These divide and conquer schemes only reveal the depth of decadence of the bourgeoisie. Anti-Semitism, in particular chauvinist appeals to hate Jews instead of the imperialists, cannot save these dinosaurs from destruction, any more than the rest of their putrid degeneracy. The working class will blow away this anti-Semitism, at the same time as it blows the cover off the Zionist propaganda that tries to label all opposition to Israel anti-Semitic and to hide the fact that Israel is an arm of imperialist aggression against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

As a key part of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the working class and its party must give full flow to proletarian propaganda and culture, while exposing and ripping out the poisonous weeds of the bourgeoisie. This is an immediate task and cannot be put off until socialism. Works of literature, music, film and other forms of art that represent the proletariat arise from and in turn serve the struggle of the masses of people, reflect their great power in opposition to the decay of the imperialists and radiate the confidence and militancy of the proletariat as the class of the future. In their daily struggles the masses of people create the embryonic forms of this culture, and it is the task of the party and its cultural workers to encourage and guide their growth and multiply them among the masses. At the same time the proletariat and its party supports those among the "professional" artists of all kinds who side with struggles of the people, and it works to win them to the stand of the working class.

Fighting blow for blow on all fronts, and led by its party, the working class will develop its movement of today into a revolutionary workers' movement that fights exploitation and all oppression in order to end wage-slavery. To do this the working class must take up and infuse its strength, discipline and revolutionary outlook into every major social movement.

Only by uniting with all social forces fighting imperialism can the working class develop consciousness of its own historical role as capitalism's gravedigger. The proletariat will learn more sharply the nature of society and the monopoly capitalists who rule it, as it sees the bourgeoisie attack not only its ranks but the other strata as well. In this way, it sees also the vacillation of the other strata toward the bourgeoisie, their narrowness and self-interest. With the aid of the party, it sums up that none of these other class forces can represent its interests, and that this stems from the fact that they have a different position in society—they own some means of production or stand above the proletariat in society's "division of labor." Thus the working class not only wins allies in the course of building the United Front, but learns why it alone can lead them to overthrow the monopoly capitalists.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES IS BOUND TO MERGE WITH THE WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE

Capitalism by necessity leads to the subjugation of whole nations and nationalities for the purpose of making super-profits. With the development of capitalism into imperialism this national oppression becomes all the more necessary for the capitalists and all the more vicious for its victims.

The history of the development of capitalism in the U.S. is a history of the most savage oppression of the Black, Native American (Indian), Mexican-American, Asian and other minority peoples, as well as the most brutal exploitation of the working class as a whole. The rulers of the U.S. have from the beginning made use of color and race to carry out this oppression, while presenting it as an inevitable result of "racial differences" among the people. Their purpose in this has always been to confuse and divide the masses of all nationalities, and to cover up the fact that this oppression results from the ruling class' plunder of peoples and countries throughout the world, as well as in this country, in the unceasing drive for more profit.

From the beginning the oppressed peoples in the U.S. have fought back against the various forms of their enslavement. And this struggle continues today, more powerfully than ever before, against wage-slavery as part of the U.S. working class, and against subjugation as nationalities.

From small farmers and sharecroppers in oppressed regions of the U.S.—the deep South and the Southwest in particular—as well as Puerto Rico, Mexico and many other Third World nations, huge populations have been driven by economic necessity and the destruction of warfare to the cities and factories of the northern and southern United States. But occurring as it did under imperialist rule, mainly around and after WW 2, this "assimilation" into working class life could not be complete and equal.

Discrimination, the denial of democratic rights, violent police repression, suppression and mutilation of their cultures, exploitation and oppression as members of the working class, held in the lowest positions, with constantly high unemployment, the lowest paid jobs, the bottom of the housing barrel, the worst of bad health care and other social services—this is daily life for the masses of these nationalities in the U.S.

today. And this is what gives rise to the militant struggle of millions against the system that is responsible for it.

From the beginning the struggle of the oppressed nationalities has always been closely linked with the overall struggle of the working class in the U.S. But today this link can be forged all the more firmly, because the oppressed nationalities are, in their great majority, members of the single U.S. working class and their struggles are immediately and directly bound up with the struggle of the entire class.

Recognizing this and seeing in it the greatest threat to their rule, the imperialists make use of the social antagonisms their national oppression has created, in a desperate attempt to drive a wedge between the struggles of the oppressed nationalities and the working class struggle. But they are bound to fail because the working class is one working class, with one class interest—to end exploitation and all oppression. End national oppression by ending its source, capitalist rule—this is the stand of the working class, and with this stand the workers' movement will unite with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities to form the solid core of the united front.

To achieve this the working class and its party applies the policy of building the fight against national oppression as part of the overall class struggle and of "working at it from two sides." This means: mobilize the masses of the oppressed nationalities in the struggle against this oppression, on the one side, and mobilize the working class as a whole to take up this fight, on the other; bring forward the ideology of the proletariat and its common interest in fighting exploitation and all oppression; and in this way merge the national movements with the workers' movement as a revolutionary alliance.

As an inseparable part of this, the party wages the most consistent and thorough struggle, among the masses and in its own ranks, against the bourgeoisie's ideological props of *white chauvinism* (in particular the poisonous idea that white Americans are superior to other nationalities who are the "cause of the problems," and that white workers should unite with the imperialists to suppress them), and *narrow nationalism* (in particular the line that the oppressed nationalities should be concerned only with the advancement of their own nationality and should fight people of other nationalities, especially white workers, for a bigger "piece of the pie").

Capitalist rule forces the masses of people to compete with each other for survival, while keeping the majority of the oppressed nationalities a step behind in the competition. The unity of the workers of all nationalities can and will be built not in competition over the division of the pie but in the common struggle to take the whole pie and the means to continually enlarge it. For the working class, the fight for equality between nationalities is not a fight to "suffer equally under capitalism" but it is a crucial part of the strug-

QUESTION
OF
RACISM

gle to eliminate capitalism and the misery it means for the masses.

With this goal, the working class and its party raises and fights for the following as main demands in the fight against national oppression:

End all discrimination in hiring, promotion and firing.

Equality in education and all social services.

Smash segregation in housing and the extortion of higher rents, taxes, prices and credit and insurance rates in the minority communities.

Equality of culture and language, no privileges for one nationality over another.

End police terror against the oppressed nationalities, stop police murder, brutality and harassment.

These basic demands are aimed against the common oppression of all minority nationalities. But different oppressed nationalities have their own history and particular forms of oppression. In order to build the most solid unity of these different nationalities, together with the working class as a whole, in revolutionary struggle, it is essential to take up these questions.

Black People. The Black people in the U.S. are an oppressed nation, not simply a "racial group."

Brought to America and held here in chains for over 200 years, Black people from many different tribes in Africa were formed into one people in the U.S. Under the lash of the slave system they lived and worked together for generations, on the southern plantations, and together rose up in rebellion against their enslavement. Through this process their different tribal languages and cultures were merged into one common culture and a common language (English).

The Civil War brought the formal emancipation of Black people from slavery, not out of the "kindness" of Abraham Lincoln, but as the climax of over 200 years of struggle for freedom, and because the capitalists in the North could only subdue the slaveowners, capture the markets of the South and gain complete economic and political control of the country by allowing the main force holding up the slave system—Black labor—to become a mighty force to tear it down.

Throughout the Civil War Black people disrupted production in the South and sabotaged the Confederate war effort. Once enabled to by the Emancipation Proclamation, masses of Blacks joined the Union Army, or served it as guides. Despite discrimination in the Union Army itself, 200,000 Blacks enlisted, and 35,000 gave their lives, most on the front lines of the decisive battles. Together with the workers and small farmers of the North they won the war.

The brief period of Reconstruction in the South after the Civil War meant real gains for masses of Black people—and poor whites, many of whom had also resisted the slave system in various ways—gains in education, the right to vote and hold office, and in other areas. It brought progress for the South itself, economically and socially. But even then the promise

of "forty acres and a mule" made to Blacks by the Union government during the war was never fulfilled, and in fact federal troops in the South continued to drive Blacks off plantation land they had seized with arms and divided up.

Finally, with the crisis and depression of the 1870s, Reconstruction was reversed; the bourgeoisie, having completely consolidated its rule throughout the country, and approaching the stage of monopoly capitalism, feared the power of millions of Blacks, and poor whites, demanding land and equality and joining to fight for them. So the ruling class used federal troops and unleashed the Ku Klux Klan, to terrorize Black people, attack their alliance with poor whites, force the Blacks back onto the plantations and push down the position of the poor whites, forcing many of them into sharecropping as well.

Black labor was still the backbone of the plantation economy, but now in the essentially feudal form of sharecropping, in place of outright chattel slavery. And now the plantation area was economically and politically dominated by capital in the North.

It was under these conditions, with the further development of different classes among Black people—including an industrial wage-working class, and a small bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, centered in the cities of the South, and North—that Black people were forged into a nation, which in the scientific sense is an "historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." (Joseph Stalin)

Masses of Black people worked the bulk of the plantation land, but did not own it. Blacks made up a majority over a large part of the plantation area, but did not control it and in fact were denied all political power and democratic rights. The plantation area was their homeland, but it was also the soil of their suffering. They were a nation under the oppression of the U.S. ruling class within the U.S. itself.

This gave rise to continual struggle of the Black people. But it was only when WW 1 cut off the huge flow of immigrants from abroad to the northern U.S., at a time when there was great demand for labor in the northern factories, that Black people's conditions began to change dramatically. Masses of Black people left the plantations to become industrial workers. But still the majority remained in the deep South, held by the chains of the plantation system.

WW 2 and the developments that followed it, accelerated the change in Black people's conditions that had begun with WW 1, had continued in the '20s, but had been slowed in the depression of the '30s. Today Black people are no longer mainly sharecroppers and small farmers concentrated in separate economic relations in the "Black Belt" South (the old plantation area, which got the name "Black Belt" because of the color of the soil). They are overwhelmingly workers

dispersed to different parts of the country, but concentrated in the urban areas of the North and South as part of the single U.S. working class, made up of workers of all nationalities in this country.

But the ruling class cannot afford to give up the super-profits it has wrung from the labor of Black people. So today, with the history of Black people's oppression as the foundation, the imperialists have built up a structure of oppression of Black people to fit the new conditions. This oppression hits all classes of Black people, though it is rooted in and is maintained fundamentally for the purpose of enforcing the super-exploitation of Black workers. For this reason, the Black people remain an oppressed nation, but under new conditions, and in a different relation to U.S. imperialism than its colonies (and neo-colonies) in other countries.

Though the majority of Black people have been dispersed from their homeland in the U.S., millions remain in this "Black Belt" area, mainly in the cities, and millions in the North still have ties with the deep South. Though the majority of Blacks living in the North were born there, 3 in 10 were born in the South, most in the "Black Belt" area. The dispersal of millions of Blacks from the "Black Belt" in the last several decades has been the result of economic compulsion; and often the same kind of terror that was used to force Blacks back onto the plantations after the Civil War and Reconstruction was used after WW 2 to force them off it, when this became most profitable for the imperialists. For all these reasons the working class and its party upholds the right of Black people to return to and reclaim their homeland.

The right of self-determination, the right of nations to establish their own independent state, is a key aspect of equality between nations and a basic demand that the proletariat raises in order to unite workers of all nations in the common struggle against imperialism. The proletariat and its party in the U.S. upholds the right of Black people to self-determination, the right to secede from the rest of the U.S. and set up a separate state in the general area of the "Black Belt."

But at the same time the proletariat and its party does not advocate this separation nor favor it under present and foreseeable conditions. Nor does it see that reconstituting Black people in the deep South in order to exercise their right of self-determination is the main thrust and highest goal of the Black people's struggle. Self-determination is a legitimate demand for Black people, but it is not the main demand.

The main demands are those common to all oppressed nationalities in the U.S. The main thrust of the Black people's struggle is against these common forms of national oppression, against class exploitation, for proletarian revolution as the means to end both, and for socialism and communism as the highest goal.

The ending of their oppression, both national

and class, demands that the Black people's struggle have Black workers as the main force, and that the working class as a whole, led by its party, unite to lead this struggle. The fact that this was not the case in the Black liberation movement of the late '60s and early '70s is a fundamental reason why the ruling class was able to destroy or corrupt most revolutionary Black organizations at that time, through a combination of murder and assault, infiltration, subversion and appeals to selfish interest.

During this period, the ruling class, panicked by the powerful upsurge of the Black people and bringing down more savage repression against them, also rushed to build up bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces among them to put a brake on their struggle, and lead it into a dead-end. But because this could in no way change the basic conditions of the Black masses, it has mainly served to intensify class contradictions among Black people, as it becomes all the more clear that the Black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie cannot lead the Black people to liberation.

Given this, and given the growing imperialist crisis, the ruling class has pulled the props from under some of the very bourgeois and petty bourgeois Blacks it built up. And it will do so even more as the crisis deepens. At the same time it will always keep some of these forces "in business" and maintain some time-tested lackeys on its payroll, in order to attack the Black people's struggle and the overall revolutionary movement.

The working class must win over or neutralize as much of the Black bourgeoisie as possible and bring the Black petty bourgeoisie as far and broadly as possible into the revolutionary camp. But it must consistently combat their tendency to seek accommodation with the ruling class, must thoroughly expose and defeat those who act as agents of the ruling class against the revolutionary struggle, and must carry the struggle through to the end. In this way the proletariat as a whole and the Black people will, at long last, win complete emancipation.

Chicanos (Mexican-Americans). Chicanos are an oppressed national minority under the rule of U.S. monopoly capital. Their subjugation as a people is rooted in the long domination of the U.S. ruling class over Mexico, the conquest of the Southwest by U.S. capital and the maintenance of the Southwest as an oppressed region.

It was the southern slave system, with its constant need for new land, that was the driving force behind the seizure of the Southwest territory from Mexico in the decades just before the Civil War. But the capitalists of the North eyed this territory, too, as a source of land, gold and other resources, and an opening of trade to the west.

Including California, the territory seized was half of the land belonging to Mexico. Much of it was the home of various Indian tribes, but in some areas, most notably northern New Mexico, there were settlements of Mexicans whose roots in the area began before 1600. Generally isolated from the rest of what was then Mexico, they partly battled and partly cooperated with the Indians in the area, often intermarrying with them.

The conquest of New Mexico in 1846 brought forth rebellion from these Mexican settlers. But, with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, sealing the seizure of the area, they were forcibly annexed to the U.S. This treaty guaranteed the preservation of their land grants, culture and civil rights, but these rights have been trampled on by the ruling class from the start. And this has called forth sharp struggle, ever since.

In Texas, especially between the Rio Grande and Rio Nueces, thousands of Mexicans were forced off their land, in the wake of the territorial theft. "Mexicans and Indians have no rights, their land is ours for the taking"—this was the line of the capitalists and landowners, backed up by vigilante groups and the Texas Rangers. This, too, was immediately met with resistance, like the rebellion led by Juan Cortina.

In California a "foreign miner's tax" was enacted, driving Mexicans out of the gold mines. It was later used against the Chinese for the same purpose.

Throughout the Southwest, Mexicans fought to regain their land, to defend their culture and rights as a people. But the fight was not simply Anglo vs. Mexican, as shown by the strike of Mexican, white and Black cowboys against the cattle barons in Amarillo, Texas in the 1880s, and many strikes and struggles that united Mexicans, Chinese, European immigrants and others against the mine owners, railroad magnates and land barons.

During the second half of the 19th century, Mexicans continued to come to and settle the Southwest, but a tremendous growth of the Mexican population in the Southwest began after the turn of the century. U.S. imperialist domination of Mexico ruined masses of peasants, forcing them off their land and keeping them in grinding poverty in their own country. This,

together with the upheaval of the Mexican Revolution, beginning in 1910, forced a flood of people north to the U.S. A huge pool of unorganized labor, eventually one eighth of the population of Mexico, was recruited, viciously exploited and discriminated against by agribusiness and industry. Since that time many people of Mexican descent have also been drawn—from Mexico itself, and from the Southwest—to work in heavy manufacturing, meat packing, steel, construction and other industries in different parts of the U.S., especially the Midwest. But the majority of Mexican-Americans, numbering in the millions, live, work and struggle in the Southwest, especially the five states of California, Arizona, Texas, New Mexico and Colorado.

Over the past 75 years, the Mexican-American people have waged many powerful struggles against their own national oppression, and have played a key part in many struggles of the working class, in the factories, mines and fields of the Southwest. During the 1920s and even the 1930s depression, Mexican-Americans were the backbone of militant and mass farmworkers' strikes, even though the ruling class, no longer able to use such a huge pool of labor, deported hundreds of thousands—U.S. citizens and "illegals" alike—to Mexico.

Again, in the 1950s, millions were deported to Mexico—again both Mexican-Americans and Mexican nationals (citizens of Mexico). At the same time, the U.S. ruling class was continuing to contract with the Mexican government to bring in laborers, primarily in the fields, who were forced to work for low wages and denied all basic rights, including the right to join unions.

But this kind of terror has failed to halt the Chicano people's struggle, both as an oppressed nationality and as part of the working class. This struggle continues today, on a more massive and militant level than ever before. Outstanding examples of this are: the farmworkers' movement, in which Mexican-Americans and Mexican nationals play the decisive role and are uniting in struggle, despite the efforts of "La Migra" (Immigration Department) and other agents of the bourgeoisie to divide them; strikes throughout the Southwest where Mexican-Americans are concentrated; the Alianza movement in New Mexico in the late 1960s which aimed at restoring the land grants; the militant struggles of Chicanos, especially youth, demanding equality in language and culture in the schools; and rebellions like the 1970 Chicano Moratorium, where 25,000 marched against the war in Vietnam and the oppression of the Chicano people, and fought back against police attacks.

Through this long history of oppression and struggle, centered in the Southwest, the people of Mexican heritage in the U.S. have been forged into a single nationality—Mexican-Americans, or Chicanos—and have also been welded together with workers

of other nationalities into a single working class.

The Mexican-Americans of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado have different historical roots than those who came from Mexico mainly after 1900, and there are particular demands, such as those dealing with the land grants, that apply mainly in this area. But today many of the Mexican-Americans from this area are dispersed into the cities of the Southwest as workers. And in general this group is merged with those who have immigrated from Mexico and takes part, together with them, in the Chicano people's movement as well as the overall workers' movement.

While Chicanos are not a nation, and have not developed as a people in a single and separate national territory, there are areas in the Southwest—including northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, as well as parts of Texas—where sizeable numbers of Mexican people have lived for many generations and where today they still make up a majority. While the right of nations to self-determination does not apply to Chicanos, autonomy—in administration of local affairs and other aspects—within the framework of a single state, may prove to be an important part of achieving equality for Chicanos and uniting the Chicano people most powerfully with the working class as a whole in building socialism. The proletariat and its party upholds the right of Chicanos to autonomy in such areas of sizeable historic concentrations of Mexican-Americans, while also upholding the rights of Indians in these areas to land, and approaching the question of autonomy for Chicanos and Indians on the basis of building the unity of all nationalities in the common struggle against the ruling class.

In addition to this, the following are key demands in the fight against the oppression of the Chicano people:

Full equality for the Spanish language, education in Spanish and English in all areas of significant Spanish-speaking population.

Restore the communal land grants guaranteed by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

End deportations, stop government harassment of the Chicano communities in the manhunt for workers without documents, abolish any "illegal" status for workers in the U.S., end "La Migra's" terror campaign.

The working class fights for these demands, as well as the general demands against national oppression, as a vital part of its overall struggle to end exploitation and all oppression through proletarian revolution.

Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans in the U.S. Puerto Rico was "freed" from Spain and made a United States colony by U.S. troops in 1898. It is still a colony of the U.S. today, under the fine sounding name of "Free Associated State." The national liberation struggle of the Puerto Rican people began against Spain in the early 1800s and continues to the present day against U.S. imperialism.

Puerto Ricans began moving to the U.S. in large numbers after WW 1, settling mainly in and around New York. This migration increased greatly after WW 2, as capitalist plantation agriculture and development for tourism made millions of dollars for U.S. capital and left millions of Puerto Rican peasants without work or land. Today many industrial cities in the East and Midwest have large Puerto Rican populations.

Inspired by the revolutionary struggles for national liberation around the world, the people of Puerto Rico have in recent years intensified their struggle for freedom and independence, which had been temporarily set back after U.S. imperialism's brutal suppression of the Jayuya armed uprising in 1950. The development in Puerto Rico of much light industry, bringing together many workers in sweatshop conditions, has given this struggle a powerful working class thrust.

The liberation movement has inspired militant struggle against national oppression and super-exploitation by the millions of Puerto Ricans in the U.S., who are overwhelmingly workers, and are at one and the same time members of the Puerto Rican national minority and part of the single U.S. working class. Puerto Ricans in this country have, in turn, forcefully raised the demand for independence for Puerto Rico and have won support for this demand among their fellow workers, students and others of all nationalities. This demand is a vital question not only for the Puerto Rican national minority in the U.S., but for the entire working class in its struggle against imperialist rule; and the national liberation struggle of the people of Puerto Rico is a great ally

of the U.S. working class—Free Puerto Rico, Right Now!

While many Puerto Ricans in the U.S. maintain close ties with relatives in Puerto Rico and with the struggle there, their main struggle is in the U.S., as an oppressed national minority and fundamentally as workers. As with the Chicano people, a key demand of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. is equality of the Spanish language. Beyond that the fight against their national oppression in the U.S. centers around the basic demands of all oppressed nationalities, and this fight is also an important part of the fight for socialism.

Native Americans (Indians). From the beginning in building its capitalist state, the American bourgeoisie viewed the Native American (Indian) populations as a major roadblock to its growth. The Indians whose primitive societies had already been severely disrupted by contact with capitalism, were made the target of a policy of genocide by starvation, disease and military aggression. Despite continual and heroic resistance, their lands, including even reservations they had been forced onto, were continually stolen from them by force and deceit.

During most of the 20th century the imperialists have followed a dual policy of "forced segregation, forced assimilation." Many Indians are kept on reservations in dire poverty, without education, as a potential source of cheap labor; but when they are needed as workers in the cities, or some large firm moves in on oil, mineral or timber resources on a reservation, Indians are forced off, unprepared for life outside the reservation.

On the reservations the government encourages Christian missionaries and education of young people only in English, but also encourages that portion of

Indian tradition which emphasizes spiritual mysticism—all to hide the history of struggle against aggression and oppression. The government also promotes alcoholism and the use of drugs among Indians on and off the reservations. But the Native American struggle has reached a new level in the 1970s, including mass armed self-defense against government attack.

The question of Native Americans is not a simple one. They are not one people, but many tribes with different languages, cultures, and levels of social development, some with long histories of antagonisms toward other tribes. They live in every part of the U.S., including the Eskimos and Aleuts of Alaska. At the same time, common problems stemming from a common enemy have brought about greater unity among tribes and the basis for great unity with the working class movement and all struggles against imperialism. Key to this are the Indian industrial workers in the urban areas of the country who retain close ties with their tribes.

The Indian struggle at the present time centers on keeping hold of the land and the mineral and fishing rights which various capitalists continually try to grab; on winning jobs and fighting discrimination and super-exploitation; and on getting decent health care and education within the context of preserving and developing the tribal languages and cultures. The proletariat unites with this struggle and under socialism will end all suppression of tribal cultures, and pay special attention to assisting the all-around development of land by Native Americans themselves, probably in some cases under conditions of regional autonomy. In this way the Indians can take part fully, as individuals and as peoples, in the benefits of socialist society and the tasks of carrying forward socialist revolution.

Chinese-Americans. Chinese workers played a vital role in building up the American West. The first big wave of immigrants from China came in the second half of the 1800s. Largely peasants in China, they were driven by colonial domination of their country and by famine to the California gold fields. Thousands of Chinese contract laborers were brought in after the Civil War to work building the railroads.

From the first the Chinese in this country put up various forms of resistance to exploitation and discrimination. In 1867 Chinese workers in California went on strike for the eight hour day; in the 1890s Chinese laborers refused in their masses to go along with regulations requiring them to register with the government. During this period, however, and until the development of left-wing organizations among the western workers in the early 1900s, the Chinese workers' struggles were opposed by the "official labor movement," which excluded them, called for their deportation and tried to stamp out unity that developed between Chinese and other workers in struggles in the West.

The bourgeoisie used non-English-speaking Chinese as scabs and promoted anti-Chinese feeling. In 1882 the ruling class passed an Exclusion Act, forbidding further Chinese immigration. Capitalists in California, and especially agricultural land barons, replaced them with large numbers of Japanese and Filipino immigrants.

After WW 1 there was far less immigration from China and other parts of Asia, as the capitalists' needs for large numbers of unorganized workers in the West were filled by impoverished American farmers ("okies") who were forced off their land and poured into California. But during the 1960s large numbers of immigrants began to come again from Hong Kong and Taiwan as well as Korea, India and the Philippines. Because of the restrictions on immigration to the U.S., many of these, mainly Chinese, have entered illegally.

Many Chinese workers, especially recent immigrants, work for Chinese exploiters, affiliated with the Six Companies, a cartel of capitalists closely allied with the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan. These workers generally earn far less than the minimum wage and recent years have seen growing resistance to this vicious exploitation, along with rising rebellion by other Chinese workers and growing links between these and other workers' struggles.

The reactionary, Mafia-like Six Companies also control most of the political and social life in America's Chinatowns. But more and more the people in these communities are struggling against them and their American imperialist backers. More and more openly the Chinese people in the U.S., including some whose families left China since the revolution, are displaying pride in the development of socialist People's China.

Many Chinese in the U.S. now live and work outside Chinatowns and together with people of other nationalities, take part in the workers' movement and

other struggles against the imperialists. This is another important factor linking the Chinese-American people's struggles with the overall class struggle.

The history of the Chinese people in the U.S. and their present forms of exploitation and oppression have spurred them to wage sharp struggles and to unite with the broader fight against the ruling class. This is another important source of strength for the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle.

Immigrants. Throughout American history waves of immigrants have come, driven by war and poverty, press-ganged or enticed by rumors of "milk and honey," first to settle the untamed land, and later to sweat in the shops and fields as workers. The ruling class has never sought to aid immigrants to adjust to America while preserving their national culture and traditions—the longer they are kept isolated, and at the same time the more their internal unity is weakened, the longer they can be subjected to super-exploitation. Often this is extended over several generations and is generally continued by the ruling class at least as long as members of these groups are forced here in significant numbers.

Often the capitalists have tried to force groups out of the U.S. once they became "too numerous," organized and a potential threat to capitalist rule, as has been the case with the Irish, Chinese and Mexicans. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie ignores its own immigration laws when it needs workers who can be forced to pick its crops and run its machines for extremely low pay. So every year tens of thousands of "illegal" immigrants enter the U.S. from Mexico, other parts of Latin America, Greece, Italy and Asia, and join the American working class.

From the 1800s to the present day, immigrants from every corner of the world have greatly contributed to the working class struggle. Marxism itself was introduced to the American proletariat mainly by German workers in the 1850s. The eight hour day movement, the textile drives of the early 1900s, the organization of the steelworkers union in the '30s, the farmworkers' struggle of the present day and other important struggles have had immigrants in the forefront.

In recent years, with the upsurge of ethnic identity and pride among immigrant groups, the ruling class has devoted great efforts to use this to sharpen contradictions among the people, and stunt the development of class consciousness, while continuing to subject these groups to ridicule and to degrade their cultures. The stand of the working class is exactly the opposite: it fights for equality between all nationalities, languages and cultures as a key part of building the revolutionary unity of its class. The main demands the working class raises for immigrants are those that make it easier for them to join fully in the class struggle as a whole, while preserving their cultures and languages.

Especially important is the struggle for the rights of so-called "illegals" and against the harassment and deportation of workers without papers, in particular the Mexicans who are now the main target. At the same time, the government widely harasses workers with papers, including threats to revoke these papers, in order to intimidate them from joining the fight against the bourgeoisie. The fight against this harassment is also an important way of building the struggle and unity of the working class.

Hawaii. The Hawaiian Islands attracted the attention of U.S. capitalism early. American missionaries did their best to destroy the culture of the Islanders. U.S. businessmen made it a key supply port for the growing China trade. Near the end of the 19th century, U.S. capital subjugated the native people, shoved aside the royal family, and forced the "ceding" of Hawaii to the U.S. government. The U.S. ruling class made Hawaii a major naval base for its plans of Pacific empire, and developed a large tourist trade and capitalist plantation agriculture mainly in sugar, pineapples and other fruit.

The native Hawaiians resisted, but their population was nearly wiped out by disease introduced by the oppressors. Tens of thousands of workers were brought in from China, Japan and the Philippines to work in the fields. Together, overcoming barriers of language and nationality, the workers of Hawaii have organized and waged large-scale battles for decent pay and working conditions, so today companies like Dole and Del Monte are running away to the Philippines, while much of the land, including workers' neighborhoods, is being converted into "housing and development" for the rich.

Hawaii today is part of the U.S., and the Hawaiian people's struggle is part of the U.S. proletarian revolution. But as part of this struggle, special attention must be paid to preserving the language and culture of the Native Hawaiians and the other oppressed nationalities there; and the special features of Hawaii, including its isolation from the "mainland," must be taken into account in the struggle of the U.S. working class for state power and in building socialism.

**BUILD THE FIGHT AGAINST REPRESSION AND
BOURGEOIS TERROR AS PART OF THE
OVERALL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT**

Ruling class claims of "democracy for all the people" are daily proved a lie by the machinery of the bourgeois state—especially the police and armed forces, laws and courts. They direct attacks at workers on strike, and in other struggles. They maintain a state of police terror in the ghettos of the oppressed nationalities and carry out repression in all working class communities. They try to "control" or smash demonstrations and other forms of mass struggle against the bourgeoisie. They infiltrate spies and provocateurs into mass organizations and movements, frame-up militant fighters or murder them. This repressive apparatus is mainly directed against the proletariat and its party, but also enforces the rule of the bourgeoisie over all other classes and groups in society.

As the capitalist crisis deepens, as the bourgeoisie is further exposed and the revolutionary struggle of the masses grows, the bourgeoisie in its desperation lashes out with more vicious repression. Alongside of its official state apparatus it organizes vigilante-type groups to carry out its terror. The masses of people must be prepared to defend their struggle, their organizations and their communities by force of arms.

In attacking the struggle, the bourgeoisie will try to rob the masses of their leaders and most active fighters, jailing them where it cannot murder them. The fight to free political prisoners—from the leaders of the eight hour day movement in the 1880s, to Sacco and Vanzetti in the 1920s, to the Panthers in the late '60s and early '70s—has always been a powerful part of the revolutionary movement.

As a revolutionary situation arises, the bourgeoisie, in an attempt to save itself, will try to throw bourgeois "democracy" overboard in favor of a different form of bourgeois rule—fascism. Fascism is naked bourgeois dictatorship without the pretense of democracy, based on centralized state control of all of society, and open terror to enforce the exploitation of the working class.

Before a revolutionary situation has developed, the bourgeoisie, faced with deepening crisis, prepares for the possibility by financing fascist movements, made up mostly of petty bourgeois forces being crushed by the continuing collapse of capitalism. Fascist leaders wave the banner of social revolution to attract followers and drop it once fascist rule has been instituted. But fascist rule cannot save the bourgeoisie from crisis and stagnation and in fact accelerates the bourgeoisie's drive to war to conquer new markets and keep the economy going.

The proletariat must fight to shatter the bourgeoisie's preparations for fascism. Even under bourgeois "democracy" the ruling class tries to hold down the mass struggle by attacking the right to bear arms, establishing "preventive detention" (arrest without trial), denying the right to a jury trial, outlawing revolutionary organizations and in other ways. All of this it will

try later to build on in order to institute fascism. The working class must resist such attacks and trample under the bourgeois laws and regulations that stand in the way of its struggle, while fighting to defend all democratic rights of the masses and using them to organize for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

As it nears its doom the bourgeoisie also intensifies its promotion of all sorts of reactionary ideas—including many it opposed itself when it was fighting against feudalism—which feed the growth of fascist movements—religious mysticism, grotesque "scientific proof" of "racial inferiority," the belief that a woman's only role is to bear and raise children "for the glory of the Nation," that the goal of life is pleasure-seeking and degeneracy. And most importantly the capitalists seek to duck the blame for their crisis and build instead mass hatred for scapegoats—Blacks, immigrants, Jews, revolutionaries, welfare recipients, the Arabs.

The proletariat's answer to this poison is to aim every struggle at the monopoly capitalists themselves, to consistently expose the fact that they are responsible for the suffering of the people and that these reactionary ideas serve only to reinforce the most vicious exploitation and brutal suppression of the masses of people.

Historically "liberal" reformers and phoney "socialists" have served to assist the bourgeoisie's preparation for fascism. They set the masses up for an ambush with their claims that capitalism can be "remolded" and that revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism is therefore unnecessary and will only bring on fascism. They make opposition to fascism a matter of preserving the "democratic" form of bourgeois dictatorship and protecting the "democratic rights of all"—including the right to organize fascist movements!

The attitude of the working class toward Nazis, the KKK and other, slicker forms of fascist organization is clear. Serious attempts should be made to win confused individuals away from them, but as groups they deserve, and will get, no mercy.

The move to fascism by the bourgeoisie is a desperate one, showing their fear of the working class. The battle against such moves must be waged as part of the general revolutionary offensive against the rule of the monopoly capitalists—in any form!

To struggle only to "save" bourgeois democracy is to give up revolution and accept the continued rule of the bourgeoisie, which comes down to accepting fascism in the final analysis. While there is conflict within the bourgeoisie over the timing and tactics of moving to fascism, and over who will be on top in the fascist state, there is no section of the bourgeoisie that does not infinitely prefer fascism to proletarian revolution; and none will oppose fascism once they see it as necessary to prevent revolution. The only way to prevent fascism for sure is to make revolution, to establish the rule of the working class *over* the bourgeoisie.

Recent years have seen mass struggles against re-

pression and bourgeois terror in many forms in this country. These have been closely linked with the overall struggle against imperialism, and as the revolutionary movement of the working class develops, in the face of more naked terror and moves toward fascism, the masses of people will hit back more forcefully at the bourgeois state and finally launch the all-out struggle to smash it.

FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WARS, WIPE OUT WAR BY WIPING OUT IMPERIALISM

The danger of war, including world war, is very great in this period. The contention between the two superpowers for domination all over the world leads them more and more toward war. Europe is the focal point of their contention, because it is in Europe that vast economic, political and military power is based, which the superpowers must seek to control. On the other hand, their battle for control of the Third World, and the tremendous superprofits this means, is also very sharp, and growing sharper daily.

Neither superpower can afford to let moves toward independence, let alone struggles for complete national liberation, go unchallenged—as U.S. aggression in Indochina and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia have made clear. Both the U.S. and USSR station troops outside their borders in many parts of the world, and both have fleets in every ocean to check each other and attack movements for independence and liberation.

The unsuccessful attempt of the U.S. monopoly capitalists to keep their control of Vietnam let loose many other forces beyond their control. Millions of Americans rose up as never before to oppose a war the ruling class had dragged the country into. The

anti-war movement greatly aided the struggle of the Vietnamese people and showed people struggling for liberation around the world that the masses of American people were their allies, just as this war taught masses of people in the U.S. that the Vietnamese and others struggling for national liberation were fighting the same enemy as the American people and dealing powerful blows against it.

In the course of the anti-war struggle in the U.S., hundreds of thousands of students, workers and others came to understand much more about the aggressive and exploitive nature of the U.S. ruling class. They saw that it was the people who paid—in taxes and forced military service and in blood—for a war which served only the rich. The bourgeoisie tried to push the anti-war movement into pacifism, but Vietnam showed that there are both just and unjust wars. Wars for independence, liberation and socialist revolution are just, while imperialist wars for the purpose of plunder and oppression will always be resisted by the working class and oppressed peoples of the world. The working class of the U.S. demands that U.S. imperialism completely withdraw from Indochina and stop all further interference in the internal affairs of the Indochinese peoples.

Just as the imperialists try to export their economic crises to smaller, less developed nations, the superpowers try to make others do their fighting for them—and turn a huge profit at the same time. They peddle weapons of all sorts to rulers of developed and Third World countries, and try to make these countries pawns in the deadly global chess game between the U.S. and USSR. At any moment a war between two smaller nations could be turned into a world war by the intervention of their superpower masters.

To eliminate war, once and for all, it is necessary to eliminate its source, imperialism, through revolution and socialism. But, as a vital part of building that struggle, the working class and its party in the U.S. raises the following demands:

Withdraw all U.S. forces from foreign soil and the territorial waters of other countries.

Free all colonies in the grip of U.S. imperialism.

End all U.S. military alliances and military aid to U.S. puppets, oppose all superpower aggression, bullying and interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Abolish and destroy all nuclear weapons, oppose the superpowers' arms race and phoney disarmament.

Support just wars for national liberation and revolutionary wars against imperialism and reaction, oppose all wars of aggression by imperialism and its allies, defend the socialist countries.

If revolution does not prevent world war, world war will give rise to revolution.

THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CANNOT BE SEPARATED

Recent years have witnessed a rising tide of struggle against the oppression of women in capitalist society. Oppression strikes the overwhelming majority of women in this society, but it comes down heaviest on women of the working class.

Women are victims of discrimination and inequality in almost every aspect of society—employment, education, and in legal, financial and other spheres. And, central to their oppression, women are bound to the household and its drudgery by tradition and the organization of society itself. The majority of women bear the responsibility for cooking, cleaning, and raising children, the cost of which is included in the wages paid to their husbands.

More than one third of all adult women, many of whom are heads of households, bear a double burden, not only responsibility for household work but working full or part time to keep their family going. Women are largely concentrated in low-paying, unorganized industries, and in almost all areas of work are given low pay, small chance to advance to a more skilled position and little security. This is justified by bourgeois propaganda and myths like "a woman's place is in the home" and "they only work for pin money."

Mothers who have no husbands but can't manage to work are forced onto welfare, which degrades and half-starves recipients while trying to keep their anger at oppression from erupting into revolutionary struggle.

Black, Latin and other women from oppressed nationalities suffer the additional weight of national oppression. They are, for example, particularly singled out for forced sterilization and other ruling class "population control" schemes.

All of this directly benefits the bourgeoisie. Millions of women are kept as a reserve army of workers, who

can be brought into the work force when it suits the needs of the ruling class—as in WW 2. The rest of the time they are kept out of work, and the bourgeoisie tries to isolate them from the main currents of class struggle. Sexual divisions are emphasized to maintain this situation—the bourgeoisie spreads and encourages male chauvinism, the ideology of male superiority, the belief that women are only good for sex, child rearing and keeping house.

This is not just some "policy" of the imperialists—women's oppression has been part and parcel of not only capitalism but all class society from the beginning. Only with the seizure of power by the working class and the building of socialism will the basis exist to deal with most "household" work through large-scale socialized labor, to free women to play a full and equal role in production and political life, to break down the "division of labor" that keeps women in an inferior position in capitalist society and to fully develop relations between men and women based on mutual respect and equality.

Nevertheless, much struggle must and will take place before capitalism is overthrown and in building to overthrow it. Historically women in America have played a powerful role both in the struggle against their own oppression and in other great social movements, especially the workers' movement. A great source of strength for the proletariat are its women fighters. The proletariat will boldly step forward to mobilize and lead the masses of people in the struggle against the oppression women face, and will develop and bring forward the participation of millions of women in the overall class struggle.

The women's liberation movement of recent years has overall advanced the struggle against the bourgeoisie, but the proletariat must defeat the attempts of the bourgeoisie to misdirect this movement, with ideas like "men are the enemy" and "equality is an end in itself," which have influence among the largely petty bourgeois base of the women's liberation movement. This last line on "equality" is the position of advocates of the so-called "Equal Rights Amendment," which makes a showing of granting token opportunity to women, especially executives and professionals, while actually robbing working women of protective legislation won through many hard-fought battles in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The major battles against the oppression of women center around inequality and discrimination; for programs like child care which strike at the chains binding women to the home and isolating them from production and class struggle; and against the bourgeoisie's male chauvinist propaganda and attempts to degrade and demean women. The main demands of this struggle are:

Equal pay for equal work, oppose discrimination against women in employment and in all spheres of society.

Oppose the "Equal Rights Amendment"—fight to

defend protective legislation and extend it to men.

Free child care.

Paid maternity leaves with no loss of seniority.

End all forced abortion and sterilization, defend the right to safe and voluntary birth control and abortion.

Real liberation for women lies in proletarian revolution, and proletarian revolution can only succeed by truly liberating women.

G.I. STRUGGLES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Linked with the mass movements throughout society over the past several years, there have been widespread revolts in the U.S. armed forces. These have taken many different forms—resistance to fighting in Indochina, “fragging” of officers, struggles against national oppression and discrimination within the military, rebellions against military “justice” in and out of military prisons, refusal to suppress demonstrations and rebellions of the American people and daily battles against the degrading military routine and regulations.

It is crucial for the proletariat and its party to establish firm roots among the soldiers in all branches of the service, to join with, build, and give leadership to their struggles against the brass and the imperialist system as a whole, and win them as broadly as possible to side with the masses of people in the revolutionary struggle.

On the one hand, the great majority of G.I.'s are from the working class and the lowest levels of the petty bourgeoisie, including a large number from the oppressed nationalities. This has increased since the institution of the Volunteer Army (“Volar”), and is very likely to continue to increase with the deepening

of the crisis. On the other hand, the social role of the soldiers is to act as the armed forces of the bourgeois state in carrying out imperialist wars and suppressing revolutionary struggle throughout the world and in the U.S. itself. This is a very explosive contradiction for the bourgeoisie, and it must be the policy of the proletariat to ignite it as powerfully as possible.

Developments toward world war and revolution make this all the more crucial. Every war fought by the imperialists gives rise to rebellion among those who are forced to fight it, and the more so as the imperialist aims of the ruling class are more fully exposed. The massive movement of American G.I.'s at the end of WW 2, who seized ships and airplanes and staged other militant actions to fight the imperialists' plans to keep them stationed abroad, is just one striking example of this.

The Vietnam war, in which—unlike WW 2—the U.S. armed forces played no positive role and were in fact called on to commit the most barbarous acts of aggression in the service of reactionary rulers, exposed much more deeply the ugly features of U.S. imperialism. This produced much more widespread revulsion and resistance among the G.I.'s. The longer the war went on, the more determined the Vietnamese people's struggle became, and this, coupled with the growing anti-war movement in the U.S., sparked and fanned G.I. rebellion against the war and the military.

Future wars of aggression and plunder can only more thoroughly expose the bestial nature of imperialism, and create the conditions for even more thoroughgoing revolt against imperialist rule by the masses of G.I.'s. On the other hand, in such circumstances, and especially with the further development of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. itself, the ruling class will more ruthlessly suppress rebellion in the armed forces while using the armed forces to suppress the working class and its allies.

In this situation, the proletariat and its party must bend even greater effort to bring the masses of G.I.'s into the struggle against imperialism, while building mass defense—including armed self-defense—against violent repression. And it must prepare to launch the armed struggle to defeat and disintegrate the imperialist armed forces, winning the G.I.'s as broadly as possible to come over to the revolutionary army in the course of this civil war.

Today many of the struggles of the G.I.'s are around the day to day conditions of work and “discipline” they face, and around living conditions for their families. The proletariat supports these struggles and others that oppose the authority of the brass, but it always brings to the fore the contradiction between the origins of the soldiers and their social role, exposes that the military brass are the agents of the monopoly capitalists and builds resistance to the role of the military as the monopoly capitalists' arm of suppression and aggression.

Militant rebellions continue to break out in the military against national oppression. The proletariat firmly supports this fight. These struggles strike real blows against the imperialists and aid the masses of people in this country and world-wide in fighting them. The working class also supports the growing resistance of women in the military to discrimination.

In building the struggle of G.I.'s against the imperialists and linking this with the overall revolutionary movement, the working class raises these main demands:

Abolish the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), defend G.I.'s' democratic rights, including the rights to organize and take part in demonstrations and other actions against imperialism, in the military and outside.

Oppose all wars of aggression.

End the use of G.I.'s as strikebreakers and "riot troops."

Single-type discharge for all G.I.'s and vets.

Universal and unconditional amnesty for all war resisters.

Fight discrimination and national oppression in the military.

Support G.I. struggles for better living and working conditions.

G.I.'s come from the masses, they must be united with the masses to defeat imperialism.

VETERANS: FROM FIGHTING IN THE IMPERIALIST ARMY TO FIGHTING THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM

Most veterans were drawn into the army by a forced draft, or lack of jobs and exaggerated promises of job-training. After being made to serve under the imperialists in wars, they return home to face severe unemployment, rat-infested hospitals, and criminally

inadequate services and benefits. Lying through their teeth that they give vets special treatment, the imperialists attempt to rally them behind their latest military adventure abroad and try to organize them into shock troops for reaction under the leadership of groups like the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

While this policy has found some small success in the past, each war produced veterans who opposed these schemes and fought back militantly against the imperialists—the great Bonus March of thousands during the depression, and the Back Home movement to withdraw U.S. troops, particularly from China and the Philippines at the end of WW 2, are two outstanding examples.

Especially through their experience in Vietnam, more veterans than ever before are turning against the imperialists. Mass demonstrations of veterans who denounced the war and threw away their medals during the high point of U.S. intervention in Vietnam played a tremendous part in exposing the nature of the war to the masses of people and inspiring more widespread and militant struggle against it. As their struggle becomes more organized and consciously aimed against the imperialist system, veterans become a spark for the entire working class movement.

The fight for a single-type discharge, and for universal and unconditional amnesty for all war resisters, is of special importance for veterans. Thousands of G.I.'s resisted the Vietnam war by deserting—making a contribution to the anti-war movement and the general struggle against the imperialists. Hundreds of thousands of others received less than honorable discharges for different forms of resistance to the war and the military. The working class supports this resistance and the demand that there must be no harassment, "legal" or otherwise, and no discrimination against these vets.

Closely linked to this is the fight for jobs. Unemployment for "Vietnam era" veterans is higher than for other workers of the same age group. But the fight for jobs for vets is part of the overall fight of the working class for Jobs Or Income Now!—a key part of the workers' movement as a whole. In this connection the working class fights for the demand that vets hired in federal job programs must have the same opportunities, wages and benefits as workers in similar "civilian" jobs—union jobs at union wages!

Another main focus of the veterans' struggle is against the Veterans Administration. The V.A. disguises itself as a "service" institution but its main job is to give vets the runaround while trying to deny them benefits. And, as with all agencies of the bourgeoisie, it includes discrimination against oppressed nationalities and women among its "services." The main demands of the struggle against the V.A. are: end red tape and harassment; full V.A. benefits regardless of discharge; quality medical care, job training and full educational benefits; end discrimination.

Veterans, who have already struggled in the tens of thousands against the Vietnam war, can play an increasingly important role against imperialist aggression and suppression—against the use of G.I.'s and the National Guard as strikebreakers and "riot troops," and against future imperialist wars. More, veterans will play an important part in many battles of the masses in this country against the imperialists, as well as in the actual armed struggle to overthrow them.

STUDENTS WILL MAKE MANY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

Historically, students have played an important part in the fight against the ruling class in this country, but especially since the beginning of the 1960s, struggles of students have had tremendous impact on American society, dealing blows to the ruling class and fueling the revolutionary movement. They took the forefront in the early days of the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement.

During this period college students, though mainly drawn from the petty bourgeoisie, came in larger numbers than ever before from the working class, and from the oppressed nationalities. The bourgeoisie opened higher education up somewhat more—also letting in greater numbers from the lower petty bourgeoisie—because it needed more managers, technicians, and professionals. The ruling class did not, however, change the "tracking system" in elementary and high schools, which railroads working class and minority students out of "college bound" programs. Meanwhile, the struggles of students and oppressed nationalities forced open admissions and "third world" or "ethnic" studies at many schools, programs the bourgeoisie is sharply attacking now, along with other pro-

grams and courses that students won through struggle.

Students make three important contributions to the struggle for proletarian revolution. First, because they have the opportunity to study and seek answers to the problems of society, many, especially in the course of struggle, turn to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, become communist intellectuals, join the party and take this new found weapon to the working class, which, in grasping this science, can change the world. Second, students as a group spread the struggle against imperialism and revolutionary ferment among the masses of people, as was the case with the civil rights and anti-war movements. And third, their struggles in themselves are a vital force in the fight against the monopoly capitalists.

The upsurge of the student movement ended abruptly in 1970. Students by themselves lacked the consistency and determination to continue the struggle through setbacks and difficulties for a long term goal. Many became cynical and went over to pleasure-seeking, religious mysticism, or dreams of "making it." Now students are under heavy attack, with budget cutbacks and tuition hikes making it harder to get and stay in school, and the student movement is on the rise again.

This time there is stronger proletarian leadership to give this movement the consistency it lacked in the past. This comes from closer ties of students with class conscious workers and working class organizations, and most importantly, from the participation of communists, representing always the revolutionary interests and outlook of the working class. Summing up the lessons of the '60s, students are aiming their struggle straight at the ruling class. And now more solid unity than ever before is being built between white, Black, Latin and other students, both in organizations made up of students of all nationalities, and through close ties between these organizations and groups based among minority students.

Student struggles around particular campus-related demands are also an important part of the fight against imperialism. The main demands of these struggles are:

- Open admission to college for all high school graduates, smash the "tracking system" in high school and throughout the educational system.

- Fight cutbacks and tuition hikes.

- Defend "third world" studies programs and all progressive programs and courses.

- Military, CIA, FBI, and police recruiters off campus.

- Abolish ROTC and campus war research.

But even more than this, the working class encourages and supports the desire of students to fight every manifestation of imperialist rule, in this country and internationally, and recognizes their great contributions in this struggle.

hard to find. The unemployment rate for young people is several times the general rate, and is even higher for Black and Latin youth. In addition, young people face legal inequality, police harassment, and the threat of having to be cannon fodder in an imperialist war.

But the most basic problem the masses of young people face is the fact that imperialism is unable to offer them a life with a purpose. Years in a factory or some other job making some capitalist richer, or devoting their life to raising a family and keeping house, fighting to stay ahead of debt and with nothing to offer their own children except life in a system based on exploitation and oppression—this is the future that the bourgeoisie offers the youth. It is no wonder that many young people fall prey to the corruption pushed by the bourgeoisie—seeking answers in mystic faiths or escape in drugs and cynicism.

There is only one path that offers youth a genuine opportunity to put to use its enthusiasm, its innovativeness, its daring and its determination to change the world—proletarian revolution. Here and only here will they genuinely find a life with a purpose.

THE ONLY FUTURE FOR YOUTH LIES IN REVOLUTION

The general upsurge of struggles in the 1960s included what the bourgeois media called the "youth rebellion." This fundamentally represented a rejection by millions of young people of many of the evils of bourgeois society, but it was not consciously that. The ruling class attempted with some success to win young people to the belief that their parents or "old people" in general were responsible for these evils. This went along with the bourgeoisie's consistent efforts to get working class youth to look down on their own parents and to have contempt for their class.

The "youth culture" which developed during this period had many positive aspects, in upholding the spirit that "it is right to rebel" and attacking bourgeois authority—legal, academic, social. It identified, although romantically, with the struggles of the oppressed in the United States and around the world. But this "culture" has been fostered from the beginning by attention from the television and press, and the bourgeoisie bent it to their own advantage.

The capitalists have profited from the market for music, clothes and literature, and more importantly have built up the negative aspects inherent in this "culture." They have pushed every sort of non-struggle gimmick—"good vibrations," "all we need is love," drug abuse, rural communes, religious fundamentalism and degeneracy.

Despite this, thousands of youth have become revolutionaries and many more developed a beginning understanding of the nature of capitalist society, although some felt unwilling or unable to fight it. The problems of youth, however, are growing. Not only is it harder to get into and stay in school, but with or without a high school or college diploma, jobs are

OLD PEOPLE—TO THE BOURGEOISIE USELESS WASTE, TO THE PROLETARIAT A PRECIOUS RESOURCE

Millions of old people are forced into a life of poverty and degradation under the rule of capital. The capitalists use them and then throw them away when they are "used-up." They spend a whole lifetime slaving to enrich capital and then are retired—if they live to retirement—on meager pensions and social security that are shrunk further by continually rising costs. More than that, they are told they have nothing to offer society, and are frequently forced to waste away in "nursing homes" and similar

institutions that make money hand over fist while treating them like useless shells waiting to die.

Recent years have seen struggles by old people against these outrages, shattering the bourgeoisie's image of them as feeble and decrepit. The proletariat supports these struggles and fights for the demands for liveable income, decent health and medical benefits for old people and an end to forced retirement.

But more than that, the proletariat cherishes the old people of society, in their great majority, as veterans of its class and class struggle. They have a lifetime's worth of hatred for the capitalist exploiters and a tremendous store of experience in the struggle against them. They can play an irreplaceable role in the revolutionary movement, especially in giving a "class education" to the youth. Once the proletariat has seized power it will give full play to the contributions of old people, and rely on them to fire the youth with a burning determination to continue the revolution and never be dragged back to the misery of the old, capitalist society.

to protect their capital and position in society at the expense of the working class.

These small owners are easily swayed by reactionary demagogues who promise them a "return to the past." The proletariat pays special attention to winning them away from this bourgeois bait and from fascist movements dangling it. And at all times, the proletariat points toward the future, toward socialism and communism and the final elimination of all capital.

HOW THE PROLETARIAT UNITES WITH SMALL FARMERS AND OWNERS

Monopoly capital continually squeezes out small farmers and small proprietors in the cities. And as the crisis develops, they are crushed at an even more rapid rate. This gives rise to sharp struggle and in recent years these small owners have waged many battles, some of them very militant, to resist ruin.

The proletariat unites with them in fighting monopoly capital and seeks to direct the spearhead of their struggle more sharply against this enemy. It supports them in fighting foreclosures, and the strangulation of mortgages and other debts to institutions of finance capital. But at the same time it opposes their efforts

PRISONERS AND THE PROLETARIAT

Prisons are an arm of the bourgeois state. Most of the men and women who fill America's prisons are not criminals by profession. The overwhelming majority are from working class backgrounds, and over one third are Black or Latin.

The bail system and the whole legal system is set up so that workers and other poor people frequently spend long stretches behind bars without ever being convicted of a crime, or by being framed. Nearly all prisoners are brutalized and deprived of the most elementary rights.

Capitalist society breeds crime—it even glorifies it in its movies. The prisons do not rehabilitate convicts, they are hell-holes which offer a "first timer" a full education in criminal technique from those who are "pros," including many guards and prison officials.

Prisoners have always conducted riots and strikes to resist the brutal oppression they face, but the recent period has seen these become imbued with revolutionary content, like the heroic Attica uprising. Socialized by prison work and regimentation and spurred by struggles "on the outside," thousands of prisoners have turned their confinement into study time, and, aided by imprisoned revolutionaries, are becoming genuinely "rehabilitated"—grasping the nature of

capitalist society and resolving to join the fight to bring it down.

The proletariat has a profound hatred for crime, of which it is the main victim, but it supports and draws inspiration from the struggles of prisoners against oppression. In the process of seizing power the proletariat will open the prison doors, guns in hand, and offer the masses of prisoners themselves the chance to join the proletarian army and fully remold themselves into fighters for the working class.

THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS ARE THE ENEMY OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE, THE WORKING CLASS REPRESENTS THE FUTURE OF HUMANITY

All these forces and movements are striking telling blows at the monopoly capitalists. Together they represent the vast majority of American people, before whose combined strength the monopoly capitalists could never stand. But only the proletariat and its party can unite them as a powerful battering ram and direct their blows most decisively.

Only the proletariat, led by its party, has the discipline, organization and conviction to carry the fight through no matter how protracted it may be.

Only the proletariat has no stake at all in the preservation of the present system, no reason to stop short.

Only the outlook of the proletariat can see past the propaganda and deception of the enemy to the final goal, and only its revolutionary science can guide the struggle to this goal.

Only the proletariat is capable not only of destroying the old world, but of building the new.

By taking up and uniting under its leadership all the struggles against the imperialists, all the social forces who oppose them, the proletariat will build the broadest united front, and through it will overthrow imperialism, establish its own state, and embark on the socialist road toward the historic mission of achieving communism and emancipating all humanity.

Forward to Proletarian Revolution

This programme is both a declaration of war on the ruling class and a battle plan for the working class of this country.

The proletariat in the United States and throughout the world faces a protracted and complicated task, for the objective of its struggle is nothing less than the complete transformation of all society and involves the complete break with all previous forms of society and all past traditions. But its triumph is inevitable, because the whole of human history and the development of society itself has prepared the conditions for it and only proletarian revolution can continue to move society forward in this era.

The situation for the working class is growing more and more favorable, as it grows more and more

desperate for the imperialists. Nothing they can do can reverse the process of history, and the more destruction they bring down to save themselves, the closer it brings their doom.

Today the words of Marx and Engels, setting forth the first *Communist Manifesto* over 125 years ago, ring out with all the more force:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

The Internationale

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

Refrain:

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place.
The international working class
Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviours,
To rule us from a judgment hall;
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.