

REPRESSION ON THE WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED MASSES

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The economic crisis gripping the U.S. and the rest of the capitalist world is laying bare and intensifying all the contradictions inherent in world capitalism. It has intensified the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and the imperialists and social-imperialists on the other; between the imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries themselves; between the socialist countries on the one hand and the imperialists and social-imperialists on the other; and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries.

In the U.S. today, the crisis has already increased the pressure exerted by the capitalists on the working class, thereby sharpening the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The crisis has already given rise to further deterioration of the conditions of the working class (higher food prices, incredibly high rents, reduction in wages, cutbacks in essential services - health, education and welfare, cuts in unemployment benefits). Unemployment has risen tremendously--12 million unemployed Americans comb the streets in search of employment while their prospects grow steadily worse, as even thousands of city workers have been laid off, something which has not happened since the "Great Depression," adding to the enlargement of the permanent army of the unemployed.

This economic crisis is striking fresh blows at the bourgeois democratic illusions of "milk and honey;" in fact, not too many workers will be found who still find it possible to believe that "every worker in American society can strike it rich." Instead of prosperity, there is a mass poverty. The illusion that the answer lies in replacing some local politicians, or voting in a new president, voting Democrat instead of Republican is already being cast out of the minds of increasing large numbers of toilers in America. The belief that the labor leaders will fight for better days, better contracts, increases in wages to meet the increase in cost of living remains a bitter memory--as even the wage increases earned by the workers in the long battle with capital have been taken back. Such was the case with NYC workers who received a measly wage increase in September and then received a memo announcing it would be taken away in November. It is therefore not surprising that the "circumstances are revolutionizing the situation," intensifying the class struggle and pushing the workers towards new class battles.

With this growing situation, a situation where the revolutionary movement of the proletariat grows, where the masses spontaneously, as well as consciously, strike back--the bourgeoisie begins to sweat, gets hot under the collar, and begins to throw off its "democratic tinsel." The crisis

has caused statesmen, bourgeois economists, and the agents of the bourgeoisie among the working class, even some who call themselves "socialists" or "communists," to rack their brains to figure out how to get out of this crisis. In periods of crisis, the bourgeoisie will seek the way out of the crisis by shifting the burden onto the working class. In order to do so and crush any resistance, the bourgeoisie will seek a way out through the path of fascism at home. They will muster all the reactionary forces for this purpose. They must also prepare in the sphere of international policy to seek a way out through a new imperialist war. Today, we see the two super-powers, the U.S. and the USSR, preparing for a war to once again redivide the world.



Deputies attack a crowd of pickets at the Tube Company Plant near Pittsburgh in 1933

Let us now cite some past, as well as current, examples of how the imperialist bourgeoisie of the U.S. (a "wounded tiger" because of their losses in Indochina as well as their internal conflicts--as Chairman Mao Tse Tung put it in his talks with Henry Kissinger) has shifted from the use of the carrot and has used the stick, the state apparatus, to suppress the working class struggle, the struggle of the oppressed nationalities, and its main target--the leaders of the class in its offensive--the communist movement. We will also examine what has been and is today the role of the labor leaders in the bourgeoisie's plans.

It is crucial that we understand more deeply the menace of fascism in the U.S. and what are our tasks in relation to this. From the following historical facts, it is our hope that we will illustrate the well-known thesis of Chairman Mao Tse Tung that imperialism is a paper tiger strategically, but tactically we must take them seriously because they can still devour people.

THE PALMER RAIDS

One of the most notorious repressive acts of the bourgeoisie were the Palmer Raids of the 1920's. These raids were authorized by "liberal" President Wilson and were carried out by Attorney General (at that time) A. Mitchell Palmer and his hatchetman, J. Edgar Hoover. The Palmer Raids were one of the tactics used by reaction against the conscious movement of the masses after World War I. Using the Hitler big-lie technique, they would publically issue a false accusation, make headlines, but would provide no proof. Through this, they would discredit individuals or organizations, ruining their lives, and setting them up for future prosecution. Like Hitler, they first attacked the "Reds" (the communists) and then they tried to destroy the trade unions and other organizations of the working class and the toiling masses. They also viciously attacked and deported foreign-born workers.

With the Russian Revolution surging ahead, smashing the armies of the counter-revolutionary interventionists (the British-French-Japanese-American bloc started their military intervention in the USSR in 1918) and stirring up the revolutionary spirit of the working class internationally, the U.S. workers in the midst of economic and political struggles also reflected this spirit. The U.S. bourgeoisie were frantic about the developments in the international arena. They began their post-war offensive to give the workers another bitter taste of "democracy" and to get their house in order domestically; and so started the Palmer Raids.

They used the state power to illegally suppress the people's rights. They hit the communist forces with full force. On November 8, 1919 in NYC, 700 police invaded a mass meeting celebrating the anniversary of the Russian Revolution and seized several hundred workers. This was actually a dress rehearsal for the big round-ups that were to start.

On the night of January 2, 1920, the Department of Justice struck nationally in 70 cities, dragging workers from their homes, beating them, and throwing them into crowded jails--often without proper food and toilet facilities.

In Boston, 400 were taken and handcuffed to each other like a chain gang and paraded publically.

"Everywhere the dragnet swept up the most innocent passerbys." In New Jersey, a committee of neighbors was getting funds for a poor Polish immigrant who had died. Their path crossed that of the raiders, and they were seized in the haul.

In Detroit, the raid reached a peak in brutality. The raiders netted 800 people in all, musicians and dancers at a ball, diners in restaurants, and students in geography class. They were crowded for six days into a corridor on the top floor of the Federal Building, a corridor without win-

dows, "stifling, with heat rising up the central well from the floors below." They were held incommunicado, without proper toilet facilities for six days before their families found out where they were. "The raiders, numerous recruited for the occasion from roughneck groups of the strike-breaking variety, made merry over their successful sweep, cavorting indecently with comic masks made from pictures of Debs and Marx which they had torn from the walls."

In Connecticut, raiders included private detectives hired by industrial corporations.

In Philadelphia, the raiders netted 200.

In one raid on the Russian People's House in NYC, 150 people were arrested. Most of them were beaten and had bandaged heads, black eyes and bruises and cuts. "One victim later said in sworn testimony confirmed by a fellow victim, 'On the way down they had to pass a line of men, each of whom hit the passerby with a club or blackjack.' The federal agents finished their evening's work by smashing desks, typewriters, furniture and the premises in general." (The Palmer Raids, p.27)

PALMER AIDS IN BREAKING STRIKES

During the vicious period of 1919-1920, Palmer vehemently attacked organized labor and was responsible for crushing workers' strikes.

"On June 8, 1919, a strike was started in the Ansonia Mill of the American Brass Co., being instigated entirely by the foreigners through the organization of Russians (Union of Russian Workers - editor), although several radical Americans participated...It was necessary to adopt drastic methods by the state and city authorities, the department working in close cooperation. A number of the most active leaders in Ansonia were arrested on deportation warrants... A black anarchist flag among other things was recovered. The meetings in Ansonia and Waterbury were held in the clubrooms of the Russian organization...The strike failed after the federal and state prosecutions." (Palmer quoted in The Palmer Raids)

But still, Palmer was only warming up to set up the Department of Justice as a strike-breaking agency. One real test came with the steel and coal strikes of 1919. Here is what Palmer said:

"After various maneuvers of the American Federation of Labor, and with the assistance of various radical organizations, Foster was successful in bringing about a general strike of the steel workers in September, 1919, but through the action of the Department of Justice...the strike was terminated..." (ibid)

Having broken the steel strike, Palmer went on to crush the United Mine Workers' strike; and crush it they did. Under the guise of exposing "aliens" and communists, the Department of Justice served the monopoly capitalists well. During the Palmer raids, an estimated 10,000 people were arrested. (Palmer himself was a director of the Stroudsburg National Bank, Scranton Trust Co., Citizens Gas Co., Stroudsburg Water Co., International Boiler Co., and Potomac Joint Stock Land Bank).

REPRESSION AGAINST THE IMMIGRANT WORKERS

The government struck the hardest at the foreign-born workers (as it does today by arresting, beating, and deporting large numbers of what they call "illegal aliens") whom it considered the most dangerously revolutionary. Using the Wartime Deportation Act, passed on Oct. 16, 1918 over 500 foreign-born workers were summarily deported.

"The usual amount of bail in deportation proceedings at the time was \$500, but the Department of Justice in many cases now demanded \$10,000 or twenty times as much...The majority had to put up to \$1,000 or double the normal amount."

Some victims stayed in jail for two to three months for lack of bail. Other ways were also found to deny bail:

"The authorities at Ellis Island co-operated with Palmer by refusing to accept cash bail, while the National Security Co., and the Maryland Causalty Surety Co., two of the largest bonding agencies, refused to give bond for 'patriotic reasons.'"

ATTACKS AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS

The Department of Labor ruled that immigrant workers who were members of the Communist Party were to be deported. By doing this, they deprived the party and the workers of their basic rights to freedom of speech and assembly. The purpose of this was to crush the communists.

"For months Department of Justice men, dropping all their work, had concentrated on the Reds. Agents quietly infiltrated into the radical ranks, slipped casually into centers of agitation, and went to work, sometimes as cooks in remote mining colonies. Again as steel workers; and when the opportunity presented itself, as agitators of the wildest type. Although careful not to inspire, suggest or aid the advancement of overt acts of propaganda, several of the agents, 'undercover' men, managed to rise in the radical movement and become, in at least one instance, the recognized leader of the district."
(The Palmer Raids)

During the Palmer Raids, communist leaders were indicted and jailed; some were sentenced to long terms in prison.

ATTACKS AGAINST BLACKS

The Palmer Raids were of course also directed against the rights of Black people. J. Edgar Hoover, justifying investigations and repression of Blacks, said: "...Toward the close of the European War the Department of Justice was confronted with considerable agitation and unrest among the Negroes." Palmer submitted to a congressional Rules Committee (a phoney investigating committee like the Rockefeller Commission that was supposed to "investigate" the CIA recently) 38 pages of "samples of Negro propaganda." "With particular horror, he reproduced a circular, Justice for the Negro, that told Negro citizens and workers that they had the right to strike."



The bourgeoisie want to disarm the proletariat, specifically in industrial centers where unemployment is the highest and where there are large concentrations of oppressed nationalities. Above, police attack Black community in Baltimore, 1966.

ATTACKS AGAINST COMMUNISM DOMESTICALLY & INTERNATIONALLY

The main target for Palmer were the communists internationally and domestically. The Raids were an attempt to crush the growing communist movement and to spread a wave of "anti-communist hysteria" and violence. Here are some public statements by the bourgeoisie and its lackies during this time:

"Load up the riot guns for immediate use and give them a reception with hot lead. We don't want any Reds here and we will go to the limit to keep them out." (The mayor of Davenport, Iowa addressing the police department there).

"A fine looking bunch they are. It's too bad we can't line them up against a wall and shoot them." (The police chief of Buffalo after arresting 50 'Reds.'")

"If I had my way I would take them out in the yard every morning and shoot them, and the next day would have a trial to see whether they were guilty." (Massachusetts Secretary of State)

On January 4, 1920, the NY Times, which had remained silent on the Palmer Raids, came out and said:

"Unless Russian Bolshevism is wholly denatured by some change within, that is to say unless Russia ceases to be Bolshevik, war between it and the Western World is inevitable."

Two days later, the Times, frightened by the Soviet truce with the Baltic states, stated:

"But if we do not support the keepers of the Eastern front, if we let them look out for themselves as to a large extent we let the Russian whites (counter-revolutionaries - editor), we may expect to eventually have to fight Bolshevism much nearer home."

There it is--the bourgeoisie's main fear and as a result, their main target. Internally, it had to break the communist movement; and internationally, it had to try to defeat the mighty Soviet Union by supporting puppets and reactionary regimes to do its dirty work. But the mighty dictatorship of the proletariat continued to provide leadership and inspiration to the world's people. (Today, although the Soviet Union has been turned into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie from within--just as the U.S. bourgeoisie hoped it would, China and Albania continue to uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism and guide the international proletariat; and one by one, puppet regimes are being defeated by the wave of revolution.)

The Palmer Raids are testimony to the tactics the bourgeoisie will resort to in order to crush the communist and workers movements. Throughout its history, especially during times of crisis, when the masses are discontent, the bourgeoisie abandon their methods of reform and their "liberal" face. They abandon the way by which they formerly held the working class under their rule and begin to pass over to open, terroristic fascist methods. The capitalists demonstrated in the 1920's just what a farce their wartime slogan, "Make the world safe for democracy" has been.



The imperialists are a desperate, vicious enemy. They do not hesitate to use terrorism against the people. But, as Chairman Mao Tse-Tung has said: "In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolution on a broader and more intense scale." Their days are numbered.

INCREASED USE OF THE STATE APPARATUS AND OPEN TERROR

The bourgeoisie sought to destroy the labor movement. The biggest steel strike of 367,000 workers was broken through open terror. It was overrun by armed strike-breakers, armed guards, police, deputy sheriffs, and troops. Pickets were arrested on sight. The textile strike which lasted 6 months was also defeated through the use of strike-breakers and court injunctions. The strike of 400,000 railroad shopmen was also crushed by the use of court injunctions.

Acts of terror directed at the oppressed nationalities, especially Black people, were an everyday occurrence. In the 45 years from 1885 to 1930, 3,256 lynchings took place in the U.S. The KKK attacked as their main targets: Blacks, the foreign-born, and the communists.

During the 1930's when millions were unemployed, the bourgeoisie used the courts to evict workers from their homes when they couldn't pay the rent. 100,000 people in Ohio alone were evicted during the first 2 years of the depression. As they evicted workers and threw them out of their jobs, the bourgeoisie moved to cut the wages of the remaining workers. They also passed the Smith Act (1940) outlawing the advocating of the overthrow of the U.S. government; and the Voorhis Act (also 1940) which made it illegal for the Communist Party to have international affiliations with the Communist International). The right to international affiliation is a right enjoyed by a host of other organizations, including the right-wing reactionary groups. These laws were passed to curtail Communist propaganda and organizing and make it easy to hit the communists with another wave of terror and raids. (The S-1 Law has the same purpose today --see Palante, vol. 1, #7, "The State and Class Struggle.")

The passing of the Taft-Hartley Law in 1947 was another act by the bourgeoisie to: place labor relations in the hands of the corporations; curb activities such as mass picketing; and establish a 60-day "cooling off" period before a strike could be called. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti; the trial, conviction and execution of the Rosenbergs, Communist Party members charged with being "spies;" the frame-up of the "Scottsboro Boys," Black youth charged with the rape of a white woman and threatened with execution; the 1953 trial and conviction of 13 communists under the Smith Act--these are just a few examples that expose how the bourgeoisie will go to any length to suppress the masses.

We must draw lessons from these historical facts and draw the parallel to the current situation. It is evident that once again the U.S. imperialists find themselves in an undesirable position in the world arena. Their markets are shrinking, and in order to keep themselves alive they must expand. To do this, they must prepare for another war--a war with the other superpower, the USSR--to re-divide the world. This is why the U.S. is increasing its military spending, building up its military apparatus.

Internally, the situation worsens for the imperialists. As they attempt to place the burden of their crisis on the backs of the working class to make up for their losses abroad--a growing wave of resistance and upheaval greets them. The masses of American people will not support another imperialist war. They can only be dragooned into another war by using terror and deceit. This is also the only way they can force the masses to accept the drastic cuts in their economic and political gains. And this is exactly what the bourgeoisie is trying to do.

The bourgeoisie is preparing the way to maintain its rule over the masses by terroristic methods similar to those used during the period of the Palmer Raids. In this, they of course have the aid of the labor leaders, the revisionists and social-democrats who are fully committed to the maintaining of capitalism and the continued enslavement of the working class.

Under the guise of "Secure American democracy, Wipe out crime, Bring back law and order, Clean up government, Put the country back into the hands of the little guy," the bourgeoisie has begun to tighten up and further centralize all aspects of the state apparatus, including its intelligence arm. This must be done in order to unleash a wave of terror designed to beat down the rising resistance of the people. The democratic rights of the people are being slashed; and arrests and raids of suspected "subversives" come in rapid succession, bringing back the smell of the Palmer Raids.

THE CIA, OTHER FASCIST GROUPS AND THE RISING TIDE OF FASCISM

Recent exposures of CIA activities show how the CIA, developed in 1947 to secure U.S. domination internationally, has violated the rights of U.S. citizens in many ways. They tampered with the mail of U.S. residents for years. They many times broke into homes, illegally searching and ransacking apartments, looking for communist literature, and then making it look like a robbery had been committed. In some cases, it raided apartments and arrested people just because they had Marxist literature. Files on Americans are kept according to social security number. When necessary, the bourgeoisie can give a computer your social security number and get a full picture of your life and activities. During the Palmer period, a similar file was kept, a card index with 200,000 cards giving detailed data on individuals, "agitators," and "ultra-leftists." Recently the FBI publically admitted the existence of a "pick-up list" of individuals who will be immediately arrested in case of a "national emergency."

In the mid-1960's, the CIA was involved in conducting a "simulated" attack on the NYC subway system in order to develop ways to infect passengers with deadly germs. The CIA later feebly claimed that it had only let lose certain "harmless gases" to check how germs could be distributed through miles of underground tunnels. It was, according to the CIA, a "pilot program" to find out if germ warfare would incapacitate large numbers of subway riders.

The government continues to develop killer weapons that leave no trace as to the cause of death as well as new crowd-control weapons. At the same time, they are pushing for gun-control laws to disarm the proletariat, specifically in industrial centers where unemployment is the highest and where there are large concentrations of oppressed nationalities.

They continue to try to set up communists and progressive people in absurd "plots." Also, just as the House on Un-American Activities Committee conducted political witch-hunts in the 1950's, today they are using the Grand Juries to do the same thing--jailing people who refuse to answer questions. The "Red Squads" which were set up specifically to deal with communists and "subversives," are stepping up their operations. And police departments throughout the country are setting up SWAT teams.

The KKK is recruiting openly and other fascist groups, such as ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights - a racist, anti-busing group with branches

in Boston and NY) are growing. A Nazi student group, the White Students Union, was set up at Fordham University in NY recently. The bourgeoisie aids these groups, in many cases providing funds and equipment. One example: an army intelligence unit, co-operating with Chicago police helped finance and direct a right-wing terrorist group in Northern Illinois from 1969 to 1971. The terrorists beat, gassed and wreaked general havoc on members of groups opposed to the Vietnam War. One army unit headquarters in suburban Evanston, known as the 113th Military Group, supplied the Legion of Justice (now a defunct organization) with tear gas, mace and electronic surveillance equipment in addition to money. The Legion strongly supported U.S. involvement in Vietnam and openly would disrupt anti-war demonstrations and meetings. (N.Y. Post)

It has also been revealed today that the U.S. army developed a secret plan, which included martial law to control the urban rebellions of the 1960's. This plan could be used presently in case NYC goes into bankruptcy.

In Detroit, a special unit of the police department, STRESS - Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets, killed 30 Black people in one year alone. In N.Y., several Black and Puerto Rican youth have been killed by police and the murderers let go. The Puerto Rican community on the Lower East Side in N.Y. was recently subjected to a wave of police terror, when, using the excuse of looking for suspects in the killing of 2 policemen, the bourgeoisie's armed protectors arrested and beat more than 100 Puerto Rican men. There was also the recent case of Israel Rodriguez, who was so severely beaten by police that his spleen was broken in half and two of his ribs were broken. He suffered massive internal bleeding and died--after the police left him for hours in agony, without medical attention.

In analyzing the domestic situation, it would be impossible not to take notice of some other very important instances of repression in the past: the annihilation of the Black Panther Party; the open assassinations of Fred Hampton, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King; the assassinations of Native American leaders and the persecution and railroading of the valiant defenders of Wounded Knee; the arrests and imprisonment of scores of Puerto Rican militants, including Martin Sostre and Carlos Feliciano; the official murder of the Attica brothers and the continued persecution of the Attica survivors; the "behavioral modification" programs which are chemical and electronic experiments to destroy the minds of prisoners involved in the fight against the inhuman U.S. penal system; the attacks on the trade unions, aided by the union bureaucrats and "CP"USA revisionists who support "no-strike clauses;" the vicious attempts to smash the farm workers struggle; and the oppressive slave-labor conditions of the migrant workers. And there are countless other examples.

Today, in the public schools and universities, the vestiges of liberalism are being ripped off and principals, college presidents and deans have moved to expel and bring to trial student leaders. Such is the case of two students, Jose Ojeda and Charlie Alejandro of Brooklyn College, who are on trial for political activities; if found guilty, they could be expelled from the college--a warning lesson to other militant students who dare to struggle. In the public schools, a law has been passed that gives teachers and administrators the right to hit children without the consent of their parents. We must also take note of the increasing militarizing of such youth groups as the Boy Scouts, who are now being indoctrinated to emulate the Green Berets. In many cases, FBI informers are placed in the student movement as a way to infiltrate communist organizations.

Thousands of police have been called out to attack striking workers between 1970 and 1975; and striking municipal workers have been hit with the Taylor Law. Many striking workers have been forced to give up two days' pay for every day they were on strike, netting thousands of dollars for the already filthy rich bourgeoisie.

The biggest deportation raids, similar to those of the Palmer period, have occurred recently. Immigrant workers are rounded up in the subways, the plants and their homes. On May 16, 1975, 100 Immigration and Naturalization Service agents on the West Coast arrested nearly 500 workers. Of the 500 seized, most were Mexican but many were also from other Latin American countries. Like the Palmer period, many people were arrested who just could not prove their citizenship.

In the cultural sphere, the movies and television are spreading the propagands of reaction and fascism. Movies like "Death Wish," t.v. programming of nothing but police shows such as SWAT, the Rookies, Barretta set the mood for a police state.

The daily press spreads anti-communist lies about China, Cambodia, Vietnam, etc. The mass media spreads the most dangerous form of fascist ideology--chauvinism. Under the pretext of "defending the national interests of the U.S.," it promotes the policy of the bourgeoisie of oppressing and exploiting the masses abroad.

Preparing to call for a national emergency for further centralization of the state (as seen in how they are using the default of N.Y.C. to further centralize control) and preparation for war, the bourgeoisie steps up its moves to pass over to fascist rule. Hiding its "glorification of war under the deep pretense of peace," and calling imperialism, "world moral leadership," the U.S. is marching towards fascism and war.

As Dimitrioff pointed out: "American fascism comes forth hypocritically as the pretended champion of democracy, of equality of nations, of freedom and peace and independence for all people." That is what the purpose of the bourgeoisie's Bicentennial celebrations is, of their slogan, "In the spirit of '76." It is an attempt to promote national chauvinism, to deceive the masses and lure them into supporting fascism and war.

THE ROLE OF THE LABOR LEADERS

Each step of the way, the capitalists utilize fully their organizers and apologists for their fascist laws and policies--the labor hacks. These henchmen enable the bourgeoisie to move freely by diverting and curtailing the movement of the workers. They preach reform and do not aid the proletariat to move to an offensive position. They instead help to paralyze and weaken the workers' struggles and the revolution and thereby pave the way for fascism.

Historically, the labor leaders have aided the bourgeoisie. In many strikes that were crushed in the 1920's, the bourgeoisie was helped by the labor hacks of the AFL. Following World War I, when the capitalists were pushing to speed-up the workers in order to satisfy the increased world markets, they called on the labor bureaucrats to enforce speed-ups. The hacks cooperated and broke the workers' resistance. They were eager to break the growing militancy of the rank and file which threatened their

own positions of privilege. The only stipulation they had was that the unions maintain some sort of dues-paying system to insure their already-swollen salaries.

The executive council of the AFL in 1927 declared: "there is nothing that the company union can do within the single company that the trade union cannot develop the machinery for doing and accomplishing more effectively. Union-management cooperation is much more fundamental and effective than employee representation plans for cooperation with management."

In 1925, the AFL convention developed the "new wage policy." The unions went into the speed-up business themselves. The trade union leadership had sunk so low that they turned the unions from fighting organizations into parts of the employers productive mechanism, concerned about speeding up production. The AFL executive council also called a meeting to determine how "to combat the problems arising from unemployment, reaction and Bolshevism." This was bankruptcy in the face of the aggressive enemy.



Striking workers fight off police in Flint, Michigan, 1937. Workers occupied General Motors plant for 45 days until they won their demands.

Whenever the discontent of the masses rises to its highest pitch and the question of a strike comes up, the trade union bureaucrats start taking ballots for months on end, meanwhile going on with their agitatin and propaganda against the strike and advocating the acceptance of demands proposed by the owners. This has been the historial role of the union bureaucrats. Such bureaucrats as Meany, Woodcock, Gotbaum and Leon Davis represent the interests of labor aristocracy--the bribed strata of workers that carries the ideology of the bourgeoisie within the working class. They play one group of workers against another, whites against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, permanent workers against provisionals. Many cases have been found where they do not fight for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities who were fired because of discrimination.

Having risen from the midst of the working class, the bureaucrats know the weaknesses and use them to keep the workers split. They are dangerous enemies. They support not only the policy of the bourgeoisie in the U.S., but also abroad. They support fascist regimes, and in fact many times they have had fund-raising events--such as the case of 1199 which raised thousands of dollars in support of the Zionist state of Israel.

In periods of crisis, the labor bureaucrats, owing to the fact that their sell-out agreements cause more poverty for the working class, intensify their repression of the rank and file movement. They begin to openly throw off the facade of union democracy and openly send armed goons to the union meetings to attack militant workers voicing disagreement with union policies. Such has been the case in many unions, including the UAW, D.C. 37 and 1199, where microphones have been turned off and workers not allowed to speak. Another example of this is how the wage-freeze for N.Y.C.'s municipal workers was jammed down their throats by the union hacks without even going through the appearance of a vote. Just like in past years, where militant workers and communists were thrown out of the unions, today many unions are revising their constitutions to do the same thing; and they are stepping up their "red-baiting." In fact, many of the labor hacks make pacts with the bosses that the communists will be fired first when mass layoffs hit--in that way they won't be around to help organize against the layoffs. The repression of immigrant workers and oppressed nationalities has never been denounced by these labor bureaucrats. In fact, when workers organize independent meetings against cutbacks and other forms of injustice, the union openly condemns them and aides the bosses. The union bureaucrats, as we mentioned before, have openly sold out the right to strike, one of the most powerful bargaining weapons for economic reforms. Many times they remain deaf to the complaints of the rank and file as to unsafe working conditions which have caused the deaths and crippling of thousands of workers.

THE TARGET OF REPRESSION

The bourgeoisie recognizes that the communists are fighters for true democracy and so they hit the communists with all their iron and lead. They try to outlaw and destroy the communist party or communist movement in an attempt to break down the working class' opposition to the imperialist drive for world power. During the early years of the CPUSA (when the party was not revisionist, but was, in fact, leading the masses), it faced intense political persecution. Under the Smith Act, communist leaders were prosecuted and railroaded. Later on, when the party went revisionist, the bourgeoisie had to repress the young and rising movement. It crushed the Black Panther Party and others; and today, it must move to destroy the genuine communist movement which is moving towards building the party of a new type--a Bolshevik party--by uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning over the advanced to communism, a prerequisite for building the party. (The bourgeoisie are aided in their efforts by the revisionists, like the "CP"USA and the "RCP"USA.)

The bourgeoisie must move rapidly--to attack the communist movement while it is still scattered, crush it, and quickly move to the fascization of society. Only a strong movement led by vanguard fighters of the working class can stop the plans of the bourgeoisie;

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

The facts that we have outlined here about repression against the working class and toiling masses are just one side of the picture. The other side has been the determined struggle of the working class historically as shown in the economic and political strikes that have swept this country--such as: the mass struggles for the 8-hour day in 1896; the 1919 general strike in Seattle, Washington; the 1922 strike of 80,000 workers in Massachusetts against wage cuts and for a shorter work week; the 1932 victory of 500 tenants in the Bronx against city marshals and police, preventing evictions and securing a rent reduction; the 1946 steel worker's strike in 30 states against the U.S. Steel Corp.; the 1937 strike of 48,000 workers at General Motors where the sit-down tactic was first used; the 1930 demonstrations of workers in main cities to demand unemployment insurance; the 1937 "labor holiday" of 15,000 workers in Michigan in protest against the arrests of striking pickets (they won their release).

In 1920, the Chicago Central Labor Union voted for a general strike if necessary to block war against Soviet Russia. In 1932, the unemployed of Toledo, Ohio, near starvation after county authorities cut off their relief, marched on groceries and seized food. In 1932, high school students walked out in protest over the school board bringing in coal from a scab company. In 1939, after world-wide demonstrations, Thomas Mooney, framed labor leader, was pardoned after 23 years in prison. The rallies and demonstrations in support of the October Revolution, the solidarity with Vietnam and China--all these things are part of the picture of the struggle of the working class against repression and testimony to the communist work done among the masses.

In this partial account of the history of the repression against the working class and oppressed masses, we have attempted to show the running thread of the menace of fascism and the role of their henchmen. We would like to briefly go to the present situation and the tasks facing us in the fight against the rising menace of fascism in the U.S.

Of course, the history of all countries shows that where fascism has threatened or been victorious, it has either been because there was no party of the proletariat, or the party had not done its work correctly, or the party was too young to lead the masses in the battle. In countries where a genuine party of the proletariat has led the masses against reaction, it has defeated fascism or fascist attempts--we learn from the example of the Bolshevik Party, headed by Stalin, during the worldwide fascist threat by Hitler.

For us in the U.S., where our party has not been born yet, but where nonetheless the fetus of the party is being nurtured, it is our task, the tasks of communists to: begin to expose to the masses the concrete manifestations of fascist threats and repression; do political exposures on the role of the state apparatus and all its institutions; and fight the main ideological feature of fascism - chauvinism. We must at the same time lead the masses concretely every day in the battle against capital and educate the masses, most especially in this period--advanced workers, to react to all forms of tyranny by the bourgeois state. We must defeat all the demagoguery and phrasemongering of the fascists and expose how these same social-fascists who say they are opposed to curbing peoples' demo-

cratic rights are covering and laying the base for fascism. We have to lead the workers to struggle against the labor bureaucrats and fight for the right to strike, the right to freedom of speech, press and assembly-- and use the time to develop strong opposition to these henchmen. We must struggle strongly against all shades of opportunism so as to strengthen ourselves and build the vanguard party of our class!

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!

BUILD A GENUINE BOLSHEVIK PARTY TO LEAD THE WORKING CLASS INTO BATTLE!

Stalin on Bolshevisation



To achieve Bolshevisation it is necessary to bring about at least certain fundamental conditions, without which no Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties will be possible.

1. The Party must regard itself not as an appendage of the parliamentary electoral machinery, as the Social Democratic Party in fact does, and not as a gratuitous supplement to the trade unions, as certain Anarcho-Syndicalist elements sometimes claim it should be, but as the *highest* form of class association of the proletariat, the function of which is to *lead* all the other forms of proletarian organizations, from the trade unions to the Party's group in parliament.

2. The Party, and especially its leading elements, must thoroughly master the revolutionary theory of Marxism, which is inseparably connected with revolutionary practice.

3. The Party must draw up slogans and directives not on the basis of stock formulas and historical analogies, but as the result of a careful analysis of the concrete internal and international conditions of the revolutionary movement, and it must, without fail, take into account the experience of revolutions in all countries.

4. The Party must test the correctness of these slogans and directives in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

5. The entire work of the Party, particularly if Social-Democratic traditions have not yet been eradicated in it, must be reorganised on new, revolutionary lines, so that every step, every action, taken by the Party should naturally serve to revolutionise the masses, to train and educate the broad masses of the working class in the revolutionary spirit.

6. In its work the Party must be able to combine the strictest adherence to principle (not to be confused with sectarianism!) with the maximum of ties and contacts with the masses (not to be confused with Khvostism!); without this, the Party will be unable not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them, it will be unable not only to lead the masses and raise them to its own level but also to heed their voice and anticipate their urgent needs.

7. In its work the Party must be able to combine an uncompromising revolutionary spirit (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism!) with the maximum of flexibility and maneuvering ability (not to be confused with opportunism!); without this, the Party will be unable to master all the forms of struggle and organization, will be unable to link the daily interests of the proletariat with the fundamental interests of the proletarian revolution, and to combine in its work the legal and illegal struggle.

8. The Party must never cover up its mistakes, it must not fear criticism; it must improve and educate its cadres by learning from its own mistakes.

9. The Party must be able to recruit for its main leading group the best elements of the advanced fighters who are sufficiently devoted to the cause to be genuine spokesmen of the aspirations of the revolutionary proletariat, and who are sufficiently experienced to become real leaders of the proletarian revolution, capable of applying the tactics and strategy Leninism.

10. The Party must systematically improve the social composition of its organisations and rid itself of corrupting opportunist elements with a view to achieving the utmost solidarity.

11. The Party must achieve iron proletarian discipline based on ideological solidarity, clarity concerning the aims of the movement, unity of practical action and an understanding of the Party's tasks by the mass of the Party membership.

12. The Party must systematically verify the execution of its decisions and directives; without this, these decisions and directives are in danger of becoming empty promises, which can only rob the Party of the confidence of the broad proletarian masses.

In the absence of these and similar conditions, Bolshevisation is just an empty sound.

from J. Stalin, 1925. "The Prospects of the Communist Party of Germany and the Question of Bolshevisation." Works-7.