

**Budget Said to Show Deficit**  
The budget for 1950 is expected to show a deficit of \$1.5 billion, according to a report from the House Budget Committee.

**In Nuclear Plant Blast**  
COVERT, Mich., Feb. 4 (AP)—Leaking hydrogen gas exploded today in an electrical generator at the Palisades nuclear plant, critically injuring a worker but not releasing any radiation, officials said.

**Capital Gains Tax: The Affluent Get A**  
Minimum Wage Waiver Studied For Renown's Righted Areas Plan

# FIGHT FOR COMMUNISM

**WILL ACT TO BLOCK SALVADOR DEFENSIVE**  
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# MARCH ON MAY DAY

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**A Plan to March 50th**

**25c**

# PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

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The Progressive Labor Party is a political party in the United States, founded in 1956. It is known for its radical views and its focus on labor rights.



**On the eve of the first May Day, Frederick Engels, a close associate of Karl Marx, wrote: "As I write these lines, the proletariat of Europe and America is holding a review of its forces; it is mobilized for the first time as One army, One flag, and fight for One immediate aim: an eight-hour working day. . . The spectacle. . . will make the capitalists and land-owners of all lands realize that today the proletarians of all lands are, in very truth, united."**

# March On May Day

**THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, ORGANIZER OF** the May Day marches, fights for communist revolution and an egalitarian communist society. Under communism the workers of the entire world will share equally what we produce. We believe that this change can come about only through a violent overthrow of the old system, capitalism. In order to overthrow capitalism, the racism and nationalism that divides us must be destroyed and replaced by internationalism, the unity of the workers of the world.

We fight for communism because capitalism cannot work. Cities lie in shambles while millions go unemployed. It is easier for young people to get drugs than textbooks. Farmworkers' children die of cancer from tapwater laced with pesticides. Worldwide U.S. and Soviet imperialism ravage the world's workers with mass starvation because agricultural production is for profits rather than food. Year by year these conditions worsen. Any system that cannot provide us with food, shelter, and health must be destroyed.

Bad as these things are, wars for profit spread suffering even further. The various capitalists compete for profits and control of world markets in auto, steel, and chemicals. This competition has forced them to make conditions worse for workers so they can produce more cheaply. In the end, this competition leads to war for control of oil, minerals, and labor and finally to World War III. These wars create a level of mass murder beyond even the current famine in Central Africa. But they also create an opportunity for the workers to make a new world based on our common needs: communism.

The worlds' bosses try to mobilize workers of various countries by getting us to think in racist/nationalist ways: "we Americans" or "we Russians," "we white people" or "we black people," and so on. These ideas blunt the struggle by workers against the bosses of "their own" nationality, but, more important, the bosses use racist and nationalist ideas to get us to fight and kill workers of other nationalities in their wars for profit. Nationalism-racism is the main danger for the workers of the world. The solution is internationalism – "workers of the world unite" – and communism.

Under communism everyone will work because they want to work for our class, the working class, not out of the desire for material reward in the form of wages. Communism will abolish the wage system, a system set up by capitalism which instills in workers the idea of "every person for her/himself." Wages better mask the bosses'



exploitation as they grab for themselves what the workers produce. Communism will establish distribution based on "to each according to his or her need." All abundance or scarcity will be shared.

Communism cannot be established through "conspiracy" or trickery. Only when tens of millions of workers are won to the ideas in this pamphlet and have joined the PLP to organize for communist revolution, can a new egalitarian society, free of exploitation, be built. Under the leadership of the PLP tens of millions of communists will lead millions more in struggle around issues vital to the working class.

The building of such a mass communist party, the PLP, will construct the most democratic, working-class rule the world has ever seen, with the approach that every worker can become a communist and each worker can share in collective decision-making. Our Party, containing tens of millions of workers and having millions of other supporters, will rule, without the need of separate "governments" which only cloud the direct rule of workers' power. (The complete vision of this future is contained in a separate manifesto issued by the PLP.)

What we do now, how we build communist ideas into our thinking and actions, will determine how we can create such a new society, through revolution, and how we can prevent a bosses' counter-revo-

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## **Communism's idea is for everyone to work because they want to work for our class, the working class, not out of the desire for monetary reward.**

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lution from reversing it. By bringing our communist ideas openly to the working class and its allies, and in the course of battling side-by-side against the bosses, we will prove that only these ideas, and the Party that organizes around them, can create the solution to ALL workers' problems.

We in the Progressive Labor Party have come to these conclusions by studying history, particularly the history of the struggle for communism over the last 150 years. May Day is our celebration of the history of international working class unity and of the struggle for communism. More important, it is our preparation for the battle ahead.

# The Birth of May Day

“There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today.”

**THOSE WERE THE LAST WORDS OF AUGUST SPIES, ON** Nov. 11, 1887, as the hangman’s noose was tied around his head – murdered along with three of his class brothers by the U.S. ruling class for having helped organize the working class of Chicago and the country in the fight for the 8-hour day.

It was out of that struggle that May Day was born, an event proclaiming the solidarity and common goals of the international working class. U.S. bosses have tried to portray May Day as something “imported” from “foreign” shores. Actually May Day is one of the great contributions made by U.S. workers to the struggles of the world’s working class. No wonder bosses here try to bury May Day as they did the scores of workers they killed when it began.

The Chicago Central Labor Union, a center of left-wing activity, called for a general strike for the 8-hour day for May 1, 1886. May 1 came and Chicago stood still. “No smoke curled from the tall chimneys of the factories and mills,” reported one paper. “Tens of thousands downed their tools and moved into the streets.”

On May 3, the cops murdered six strikers at the McCormick Reaper Works. The next day thousands marched in protest into Haymarket Square. The cops attacked. A bomb was thrown (later to be revealed as most probably by a police agent). In the ensuing battle seven cops died and four workers were murdered. Over 200 were wounded in what became known as the Haymarket Massacre.

Another general strike was called for May 1, 1890, the beginning of the historic May Day working class holiday. At the July, 1889, meeting of the Second International (an international working-class organization patterned after the First International led by Karl Marx), after a report from the U.S. delegate on the 8-hour struggle, the following resolution was adopted:

“The Congress decides to organize a great international demonstration, so that in all countries and in all cities on one appointed day the toiling masses shall demand . . . the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours, as well as the carrying out of other decisions of the Paris Congress. Since a similar demonstration has already been decided upon by the American Federation of Labor . . . this day is accepted for the international demonstration.”

On the eve of the first May Day, Frederick Engels, a close associate of Karl Marx, wrote: “As I write these lines, the proletariat of Europe and America is holding a review of its forces; it is mobilized for the first time as One army, One flag, and fight for One immediate aim: an eight-hour working day. . . The spectacle . . . will make the capitalist and land-owners of all lands realize that today the proletarians of all lands are, in very truth, united.”

*Sticker printed and distributed  
by the Industrial Workers  
of the World in the fight  
for an eight-hour day.*



From the beginning May Day stood for working class internationalism. History has shown us that the fight against racism and nationalism and for internationalism is the key to communist victory. Time after time we have learned how racism has been used to defeat great working class struggles, how anti-Chinese racism undermined the Seattle General Strike and anti-black racism the New Orleans General Strike. A hundred years ago Marx wrote that the British bosses were able to control British workers because the workers have been poisoned with anti-Irish racism. Over the last hundred years the bosses learned their lesson well. Today racism is the pillar of every capitalist economy in the world: Turkish workers in Germany, Algerian workers in France, dark-skinned workers from the Commonwealth in Britain, Central Asian workers in the U.S.S.R., Korean workers in Japan, and black and Latin workers in the U.S. – all are used as a source of low wages and as scapegoats for the problems of capitalism. The history of working class struggle has taught us that racism/nationalism must be smashed and internationalism must be built if the workers are to advance to com-

**munism.**

Throughout the years, with communists in the lead around the world, May Day came to symbolize the demands and class interests of the international working class. But, in the 1950s the U.S. Communist Party abandoned any goals for workers' power in this country

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## **May Day symbolizes the demands and class interest of the entire international working class.**

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and union leaders who had formerly supported and marched on May Day betrayed the workers in an era of sellout unionism. However, the Progressive Labor Party, formed in the early 1960s, picked-up the red banners of May Day from the premature grave prepared by the bosses and their flunkies. We honor the Chicago workers who fought its first battle and we carry it forward to this day under the proclamation of the Communist Manifesto, the working class' first declaration of revolution: "Workers of the world, unite! We have nothing to lose but our chains! We have a world to win!"

# **Why Capitalism Does Not Work**

We in PLP are dedicated to building a communist world because we realize that **capitalism can't work**. Over 100 years ago Karl Marx explained to workers how capitalism is responsible for our problems.

### **HOW BOSSES ROB WORKERS:**

The central economic under-pinning of capitalism is the relationship between workers and bosses. Capitalists own all the factories and machinery (all of which were made by workers). Workers own only their labor power which they sell to the capitalist in exchange for wages. Workers' labor power creates new value in the process of production. That is, workers take all the raw materials needed to manufacture, say, an automobile and, using their collective (or social) labor, produce finished cars. This end product is worth far more than the sum of the individual raw materials used. This new value is what workers add through their labor power. The bosses pay workers



as little as they can get away with. That part of the value added by the workers which the bosses keep for themselves is called "surplus value." It is from this source that all profit is derived.

The conflict, or contradiction, between workers and bosses is based on the fact that workers produce all value in social production but a small number of bosses own that production. They own and sell the finished products at a price far higher than the value paid to their workers.

Thus, two antagonistic classes exist under capitalism: the capitalist class which owns the means of production, and the working class whose labor power produces all value. All oppression, all workers problems, all obstacles to a decent life, stem from this one central fact – that workers under capitalism cannot collectively decide how to use the full value that they produce. Under communism, bosses and private profit are outlawed. The working class decides exactly how, and for what, the value it produces will be used.

**BOSSSES ARE CONSTANTLY LOOKING TO "CAPTURE THE market,"** and drive their competitors down. They invest huge sums of the surplus value robbed from the working class into new plants and machinery (capital investment). There is no over-all plan; it's every boss for her/himself. Their greed to obtain larger shares of the market at each others' expense, leads to tremendous over-production in both the means of production and in the finished products. But, since workers are not paid the full value of what they produce, they cannot buy all the goods flooding the market. In this way the bosses insatiable and anarchic drive to reap maximum profits cause periodic

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**Under communism the working class decides exactly how, and for what, the value it produces will be used.**

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crises – depressions. Millions of workers are laid off, factories close, workers are forced onto welfare or starve, while – ironically – needed goods, food, etc., go unsold and are destroyed. Under communism depressions are impossible because the working class, in deciding how to use and appropriate the value it produces, **PLANS** production to serve the working class, not to make profit for a tiny minority of bosses.

## CAPITALISM, AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM - IMPERIALISM:

As bosses accumulate larger and larger amounts of surplus value, they seek to invest this profit to gain the highest return on their capital. Since capitalist relations of production are worldwide, and since the working class in some countries is weaker than in others, capitalists from more developed countries invest in areas where workers can be robbed of even greater amounts of surplus value than in their own country. Often these international capitalists - or imperialists - need the raw materials in other countries to use in their domestic production, such as tin from Bolivia or rubber from Indo-China. They finance the extraction of these raw materials at low cost based on super-exploitation and then sell the finished products back to these same countries at a far higher price. The difference can only be financed by still greater oppression of the workers and farmers of the colonial country.

So bosses make super-profits off the labor power of workers in other countries in two ways: (1) by extracting raw materials at a low price and selling the finished product back at much higher prices; and (2) by actually setting up factories in other countries and producing finished products there far more cheaply (and therefore more profitably) than domestically. For instance, Ford and General Motors pay auto workers 56¢ an hour in South Africa and U.S. corporations pay workers 40¢ an hour in Haiti, while they have been forced to pay U.S. auto workers twelve times as much. They make profits in both situations, but their rate of profit in South Africa and Haiti is far higher.



“WHAT WE ARE INTERESTED IN IS A GOVERNMENT THAT WILL OVERTHROW THE PEOPLE!”



## **HOW IMPERIALISM LEADS TO WAR:**

Just as bosses engage in fierce, cut-throat competition within their own country, so do bosses fight each other on a world scale, over the areas of investment described above. Sometimes a few bosses will come to an agreement on controlling production, prices, etc., and set up a cartel to eliminate the destructive effects of cut-throat competition. But, more often than not, the bosses of various countries cannot come to an agreement, since one group is stronger than another and doesn't feel it must. The less powerful and the more powerful fight each other the only way they know how – through war.

Both World Wars were the result of such conflicts and resulted in a re-division of the world's markets and areas of investment. Different powers emerge on top after each war – whether worldwide or local. In the course of these wars, millions of workers – who fight the wars – are killed: 100 million lost their lives in World War II.

After WW II, U.S. bosses emerged as the super-power. However, with the reversal of workers' power – socialism – in the USSR, and the assumption of power there by a new set of bosses, the Soviet state capitalists are challenging their U.S. counter-parts for world supremacy. Already the Soviets have taken the lead in many areas. As

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## **Only communism can end world war because it eliminates the profit system which spawns such wars.**

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long as the working classes of these two giant capitalist powers, and of the rest of the world, allow these two to battle it out, another world war is inevitable. As long as imperialism exists, such world wars are inevitable. Only communism can end world war because it eliminates the profit system which spawns such wars. With the major countries of the world communist, imperialism would be wiped out, with its super-exploitation and killing of millions.

## **HOW BOSSES ENFORCE THEIR ROBBERY – THE GOVERNMENT OR STATE APPARATUS:**

Since the working class is the overwhelming majority of the population, what stops it from enforcing its will, of taking ALL the value it produces, of reaping the full benefits of its mental and manual labor? While the bosses form only a tiny minority of the popula-

tion – less than 1 per cent of the U.S. population owns and controls all the major industries – how are they able to maintain this gross inequality?

The key to this “puzzle” is who holds state power. When workers strike simply for a higher wage (not even for the full value they produce), why can't they just impose their will on the bosses? In fact, why do they have to strike in the first place? Because the bosses hold state power and use it to enforce their class interest. **They never give up profits willingly.** They fight tooth and nail for the highest profit; otherwise, some other boss who fights harder, will drive them under. Under capitalism, as in any system of society, **one class controls the government** and uses that power – in this society – to maintain capitalist relations of production.

So when the workers strike, the bosses go to their courts for an injunction to legally end the strike (or limit picketing to make the strike ineffective). If the workers refuse to obey the strike-breaking injunction, the bosses' government moves their cops (or Army or National Guard or state troopers) onto the scene to physically smash it and arrest the strikers. Many times workers are clubbed and beaten up. Sometimes they are murdered. Others are prosecuted, framed and jailed as a “lesson” to the rest not to fight for their rights. Once convicted, some are executed. All this was involved in the events leading to the birth of May Day and the fight for the 8-hour day (for just “part of the pie,” not the whole thing) as described earlier.



Of course, strikes for higher wages or shorter hours are not the only actions that incur the wrath of the bosses' state power. Often minority workers and youth rebel against the intolerable conditions and mass unemployment in the slums in which the bosses force them to live. Then, too, the bosses move their armies into action. Throughout the 1960s, in the North and the South, with black and Latin workers merely fighting for jobs or the right to sit at a lunch counter, the repressive arm of the bosses' state was brought to bear against them to protect racism, another source of super-profit for the capitalists (of which more shortly).

**NOW THE BOSSES WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE THAT THE** that the government does not belong to them or to any one class, but that it is "neutral," "fair," and does not take sides. All citizens are "equal before the law." And, in "fact," we all have the "right to vote" and to "elect our government." If we don't like Republicans, why we can just vote in the Democrats the next time. This is "American democracy."

But, as most workers are coming to realize, democracy and voting are all a sham. In the 1980 presidential election 48 per cent of all people over 18 did not vote, nearly twice as many as the number who actually elected Reagan; "chosen" by 26 per cent of the voting population.

Whenever there is a conflict between workers' rights and bosses' profits, the latter will always win out, if not immediately, over a period of time. Did you ever hear of cops entering a factory during a strike and beating up the bosses until they grant striking workers a raise? Never, because the law says capitalists have a right to make as much profit as they can; it's too bad if workers can't pay their bills or kids get sick or the rent's too high. "That's life" (under capitalism, for workers).

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"Democracy" exists as long as workers don't exercise it on their own behalf to take what's rightfully theirs. Once that happens, once workers strike for an 8-hour day, or now for a 6-hour day, or fight racist oppression, or for any goal that conflicts with bosses making maximum profits, then we see which side the "impartial" government is on.

## WHY FASCISM?

Bosses don't like to expose themselves and the fact that the government or state power is an instrument of their class, the ruling class. They would prefer to hoodwink workers into believing that their problems are due to their own shortcomings, or "fate" or simply "that's the way things are," "that's human nature" and "you just can't change it." But in certain situations, workers refuse to accept this. Furthermore, at those times when the anarchy of capitalism and the fight between bosses internationally reaches a fever pitch, and they cannot keep their own heads afloat through the usual processes, they must resort to a more open, naked rule – fascism, the norm for capitalism in crisis. When things get real tight, the bosses cannot brook any opposition, and must attack the living and working conditions of the working class even harder, in order to shift the burden of capitalist crisis onto the workers' backs. They must depress the wage scale, intensify racism, outlaw strikes, etc. Because of the weakening of their system, they drop the facade of "democracy" and use naked terror – torture, assassination, mass jailing, etc. – to maintain capitalism.

This is the direction U.S. capitalism is moving right now. But this only sharpens the irreconcilable contradictions between the two classes, intensifies the class struggle and creates even more opportunities to turn it into a fight for a new system, communism. It is also because U.S. rulers need fascism to wage imperialist war abroad that the communist slogan of "turn the imperialist war into a civil war" for working class power hits the nail on the head.

In summary so far: we see that there is a class struggle between two antagonistic classes; that one produces all value while the other owns everything and reaps most of that "surplus value;" that this imbalance produces crises, depressions, and – in the fight among capitalists internationally – war, in which workers do the fighting and dying and take the losses. The bosses enforce this drive to maximize profits by control of the government, the state apparatus, which, in "good" times is masked by "democracy," "elections," etc., and in times of crisis becomes the open dispenser of fascist terror.



**JOIN PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY!**

# To Win We Must Unite

Communists before us thought that the understanding of capitalist economies and how capitalism generates crisis and war was enough to win workers to communism. We have learned from history and struggle that political ideas are the key to revolution. As long as workers are divided by "race," nationality, sex, or selfishness it is impossible to win them to understand how the economics of capitalism generates crisis, fascism, and war. So we must reject the poisonous ideas the bosses use to divide and weaken us. This clarity of workers' ideas, developed in battle against the bosses and through friendship and political discussion with communists in PLP, is the key to creating an egalitarian communist society.

## **RACISM:**

The fraud that white people are superior to people with darker skin color is the main basis enabling the U.S. ruling capitalist class to keep the U.S. working class split and unable to mount a sustained counter-attack against the bosses. It is also a source of tremendous super-profit for the bosses, perhaps as much as \$100 billion a year! Going back to the time of slavery, black people have always been discriminated against in this country. They have been the last hired, the first fired or laid off, given the worst and hardest jobs – as a group – paid the lowest wages, been kept out of skilled jobs, excluded from many unions and industries, pictured as "lazy" and "dumb," forced to live in slums, given the worst medical care and the worst schools.

The sum total of this racist discrimination is reflected in the fact that black family income is only 60 per cent of white family income in the U.S. This is the super-profit bonanza for the bosses. And this racism is also directed against Spanish-speaking people, Asian-Americans, immigrants and Native Americans, whose unemployment rate is 90 per cent!

**BLACK AND OTHER MINORITY WORKERS HAVE NEVER** taken this racist oppression lying down. Starting with the slave revolts and continuing on through the last part of the 19th century and right through the 1970s, black and other minority peoples have led strikes, organized, marched, fought, produced ghetto rebellions and battled cops and the National Guard, to counter the bosses racist assaults on their lives. This the bosses try to keep well-hidden (or dis-



torted) from both minority and white workers – from the former so they think there’s no way out of racist oppression, and from the latter so as to prevent the special leadership of minority workers from serving as an example to the whole working class, white workers included.

But the bosses’ racism, while affecting minority workers the most, also attacks white workers. When the ruling class gets away with layoffs and cutbacks against black and Latin workers, it uses this victory to set up white workers for similar treatment. When the bosses, through racism, can maintain a large pool of unemployed minority workers, they can use this situation against white workers, threatening them with similar layoffs if they don’t work fast or refuse to take pay cuts.

So racism ends up lowering the wages and conditions of ALL workers, including white workers. And, of course, it keeps the working class divided so it cannot bring its full, united strength to bear against the bosses as a class. Therefore, if workers especially white workers, do not fight to smash racism and racist ideology, they will never be in a position to overcome the capitalists’ control of production and state power.

## **NATIONALISM:**

Ever since the rise of capitalism, nationalism has been a favorite weapon of the ruling capitalist class to impel each country’s working class to identify their interests with that of the bosses in “their own nation,” rather than identifying themselves as part of an **international working class** opposed to **all** bosses on the grounds that all workers are exploited (as outlined in the section on “how bosses rob workers”).

Through control of schools and the media, the bosses foster the notion that “we” – bosses and workers – must stick together against “them” – foreigners. Going right through the pledge of allegiance in kindergarten on up to joining the armed forces to protect “our” country, U.S. rulers try to blame problems caused by capitalism on “foreign” workers, on immigrants, and on foreigners generally. Right now they blame mass unemployment on so-called illegal aliens, rather than on the crisis of capitalism. When unemployment is lower, the bosses love to import immigrant workers to work for peanuts under threat of deportation. When capitalist crisis cause unemployment to rise, they then lie that “aliens” are “robbing” jobs from “Americans,” jobs which pay \$2 an hour and less.

The crucial reason bosses push nationalism, "our country right or wrong," is to have cannon fodder in wars to fight workers of other countries who are dying for their bosses. U.S. imperialists like Rockefeller would never be able to enforce their control over super-exploited workers in other lands unless they had U.S. workers willing to fight in imperialist wars. Here, too, U.S. bosses are facing problems. They were forced to end their imperialist venture in Indo-China mainly because U.S. soldiers were refusing to fight; over 500,000 deserted. Hundreds of thousands of others avoided the war altogether by dodging the draft (the real reason for the "all-volunteer" army).

Another aspect of nationalism is the reaction of black, Latin and other minority workers to racist oppression. At the same time that the bosses tell white workers the racist lie that minority workers threaten them, they also push the idea among minority workers that white workers are the cause of racism, rather than the capitalist class. The bosses foster the notion that black or Latin workers should "stick together" among "their own kind," should seek "power" for themselves to protect against white workers - "black power,"



# I WANT YOU

**... to suppress and attack  
your working class  
brothers and sisters  
at home and abroad.**

"Chicano power," etc. They parade black professionals, lawyers, small capitalists, etc., before all black people as the goal for them – black capitalism, the "right" to be exploited by a black ruler instead of a white one.

Of course, U.S. bosses are not about to give up their power to any other bosses, black or otherwise. But they use this garbage to give minority workers an "alternative" to unity with white workers who they blame for racist oppression. And they also spread this nationalism to the rest of the world when it suits their interests. They will deal with black rulers in Africa as easily as white ones, as long as they maintain imperialist control and continue to suck profits out of these areas.

White workers do have varying degrees of racist feelings toward minority workers, engendered by generations of ruling class brainwashing. This is the effect of racism, not the cause of it. If it is not rooted out of white workers, they will never be able to pursue their class interests as workers against the bosses. Both racism and its by-product, nationalism, are anti-working class and have got to go.

#### **SPECIAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN:**

Another big way the capitalist class divides and robs the working class is through discrimination against, and the special oppression of working class women. First there is the unequal pay for the same work. By painting women as "inferior" to men, as "belonging in the home," as "weaker," the bosses can get away with paying women less "because" they are "second" wage-earners in the family, or "they are only working for 'pin-money'" or they are "robbing men's jobs." This lower pay for women puts billions into the bosses' bank vaults and the ideology behind it keeps the working class split in still another way.

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**By painting women as "inferior" to men, the bosses can get away with paying women less.**

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Under capitalism, the bosses put women in a "special" position of having to "keep house," and raise the children. When capitalist inflationary crisis makes it impossible for one wage-earner to support a family, women are forced to work two jobs – in the offices and fac-



*New York shirtwaist-makers march during 1909 strike. 30,000 women beat bosses and sellout union leaders, and succeeded in organizing the union.*

ories directly for the bosses, and in the un-paid labor of the home and raising children, which is necessary to produce future workers for the ruling class.

After dumping all this on the backs of working-class women, they then turn around through the mass media: movies, TV, magazines, ads, etc., and paint women as sex objects, existing only to serve men, tied into knots over whether they will ever "land a man." Yet women, historically, have fought this role, have produced some of the greatest working-class leaders, have led strikes, have led opposition to imperialist wars, and have crushed scabs on picket lines – male and female scabs.

**AND EVEN AS BLACK AND LATIN WOMEN HAVE FACED** the triple oppression of being exploited as workers, as minority workers, and as women, so have they been in the forefront of the struggles of the working class, from the time of slavery right through two world wars and the organization of the CIO to the fight against the slave labor of the welfare system of the 1970s.

Here, too, the bosses try to turn around these struggles of women against oppression by using capitalist ideology to pit women against men. They place the "cause" of the inequality of men rather than on capitalism which draws extra profits from it while keeping the working class divided in still another way. The ruling class especially pushes feminism, a movement usually led by middle- and upper-class women, that directs its fire against men, while putting forward

the goals of placing women in the editorship of the bosses' magazines, in the bosses' Congress or on the bosses' stock exchange. That is what the capitalists would like women to have as the path for their liberation from oppression. Communists point out that this will only keep working-class women buried in a morass of boss-oriented goals while all working-class women continue to suffer the discrimination caused by capitalism as long as capitalism exists.

## **INDIVIDUALISM:**

One of the kernels of capitalist ideology that helps maintain boss control is the idea that a person's fate is "up to the individual" and that "you have to look out for yourself, for number one" because no one else will; that you "get ahead in life by stepping on the next guy;" that "it's dog-eat-dog" in this world so "don't stick your neck out" for your neighbor because you will only get it cut off.

The bosses push this anti-collective ideology for several reasons: (a) so that workers will never blame capitalism or the ruling class for their problems but instead will look to themselves for the cause of "success or failure;" (b) so that workers will not look to unite with each other to fight together as a class against the bosses; (c) so that an individual worker will look at his situation as "me against the world" and feel hopeless to do anything about his/her problems or simply "leave it up to fate." This, of course, is right up the bosses' alley, since they know how to unite all their state power against the working class, especially a divided one.



**LET'S DUMP THE WHOLE DAMN SYSTEM!**

# We Have Learned From History How To Win

Given all that the bosses have going for them – control over production, the state apparatus, the mass media pushing their anti-working class ideology, and assorted traitor-flunkies in the ranks of the working class – given all this, is it possible to overthrow them, to get rid of capitalism with all its oppression of workers and others, to establish a worker-run society, of, by and for the working class and its allies? We say most definitely yes, and here's why.

First, the bosses have brought millions of workers **together** in social production laying the basis for organization of the working class on a **mass** scale.

Second, the bosses themselves face **insoluble** problems in trying to maintain their own system. They cannot overcome the contradiction between themselves and the working class who they rob by their very nature. They can only turn around and mislead, but they **cannot put workers' problems to rest as long as capitalism exists.**

Third, they cannot stop rebellion. It is as old as the capitalist system itself, and has existed in every previous exploitative society. Men and women are **social** beings and have never resigned themselves to suicide in the face of obstacles to a decent life, but have always fought back.

Fourth, they have organized the manufacture of the weapons with which they can be destroyed if the guns are but turned around, which is the history of all previous revolutionary overthrows of capitalist ruling classes – the revolutionaries used the weapons taken away from the bosses themselves. With all their massive nuclear power, how reliable are their armies – made up mostly of workers whose class interests are the same as all workers.

Fifth, there is a body of ideas, and a history of their being carried into battle, that has created a communist revolutionary movement over 125 years old: beginning with the Communist Manifesto in 1848, and continuing through the Paris Commune, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the defeat of Hitlerism by the Soviet working masses, the Chinese Revolution of 1947, right through the

emergence of a revolutionary communist movement here in the U.S. over the past 20 years with the growth of the Progressive Labor Party.

We have much to learn from the successes and mistakes of the past and can apply them in the future. We have the benefit of being able to trace the rise and then degeneration of revolution in the USSR and China, so that we will avoid the mistake of treating material incentives as the primary agent of progress, but rather will put forward communist ideology as the moving force of a revolution for communism.

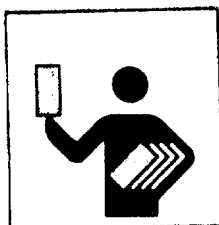
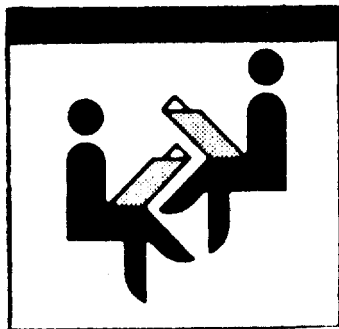
In the U.S., it is the existence of the Progressive Labor Party, a revolutionary communist party, that lays the basis for the overthrow of capitalism. PLP makes the kind of revolutionary analysis of the system that appears in these pages, in our newspaper *Challenge-Desafio*. Progressive Labor Party organizes class struggle around the fight against the bosses and shows how these struggles are tied to communist revolution. We unite all kinds of workers – black, Latin, Asian and white; men and women; young and old; immigrant and native-born – in our ranks! All these ingredients add up to the nucleus of a general staff for working class revolution. Our goal is to spread our Party across the globe

Only a communist party that operates on the ideas put forward in this pamphlet, that functions in a democratic-centralist way, can lead the working class to its liberation. Democratic centralism is the method by which the party uses its science of Marxism-Leninism, its

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world view of dialectical materialism, to discuss any obstacle facing the working class and its allies. PLP brings to bear all its experience and that of its base among workers; then comes to a majority decision on a course of action and employs the full strength of ALL its members who are duty-bound to carry out that decision.

Thus, the party can operate as a solid fist on behalf of the working class, rather than as individual fingers each going their own separate ways. And, once agreed on a course of action, the party has a leadership committed to carrying out that action. We test our ideas in the class struggle, among workers and others, come back to the party, evaluate the results, engage in criticism and self-criticism of our members and actions, and arrive at a new and better course of action based on a test of our ideas in the real world. This kind of party can organize the strength of the working class to take advantage of all the insoluble contradictions that beset the opposing capitalist class, and to fight and win a revolution.

## What Is A Revolution?

Under capitalism there is not "democracy for everyone" but decisive control over production and the government by a tiny minority class that owns the means of production. Whenever or however the



bosses' ability to make profits is challenged, they can bring to bear their state power to squash that challenge or rebellion. While a facade of "democracy" exists, it is just that, a facade. When the chips are down what we have is a dictatorship of, by and for the bosses. This we call **the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.**

History shows that no previous ruling class ever gave up its power peacefully or willingly. They always fought a bloody but losing battle. Given the reaction of the present ruling class to militant reform fights – such as the struggle for the shorter work day or for unionization – against which they have pulled out all stops, including murdering workers, there is ample reason to believe that this set of oppressors will fight violently to preserve their exploitative sys-

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## **History shows that no ruling class ever gave up its power peacefully or willingly.**

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tem itself. Therefore, those who feel the working class – who produces everything of value and makes up the overwhelming majority – should rule, must put forward the concept of violently crushing the capitalist class, of outlawing both them and their profit system. There is no other way; history and the nature of the Rockefellers, Fords and Mellons give us no choice.

That is why communists fight for a **dictatorship of the proletariat**, under the leadership of a communist party composed of tens of millions of workers. This is the greatest expansion of democracy yet devised, since it gives the overwhelming majority the power to crush their exploiters and allows mass collective decision to determine what happens to the value produced by the working class. This requires a dictatorship of the majority over the tiny minority of former capitalists to **prevent them from taking power again.** Every former ruling class will make another bid for power. The only way to stop that is by force – the only language the bosses understand since they use it themselves as standard operating procedure.

A real revolution takes place when the exploited, majority working class smashes the state power of the ruling capitalist class, and erects their own working-class state power, putting arms into the hands of the working class to enforce that power. Then it becomes possible to wipe out the bosses, physically where necessary, and take over all of the means of production.

Given the seizure of state power by millions of workers in a communist party, supported by millions of other workers, around the ideas expressed in this pamphlet, the chance of the former ruling class, along with its ideas, regaining power is minimized. However, since there is uneven development of working class power worldwide, capitalist state power will still exist elsewhere. Capitalists will attempt to destroy any victorious communist revolution. Victorious communists will try to help workers still under the heel of the profit system to overthrow their bosses. Therefore, class struggle between the rising communist system and the dying capitalist system will go on for a long time. Once communism and communist state power have triumphed the world over, there will no longer be any need for force to put down counter-revolution. There

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For more information about the Progressive Labor Party, or to discuss PL's ideas with PL members, write to addresses above.

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will be only one class, the working class, who will administer society according to communist principles. By that time, scarcity will have been eliminated and the idea of "to each according to their need" will completely satisfy everyone.

Under communism, exploitation of workers by bosses is banned. There is no profit to be made off anyone's labor. Racism and sexism are outlawed. Those practicing them are jailed and either rehabilitated, if that's possible, or executed, depending on the nature of the crime. Racism and sexism can be abolished permanently because the profit motive that spawned them has been smashed. The working class bends all its efforts to not only insure a boss class does not rise again, but also to aid revolutionaries in other parts of the world to also seize state power. This is extremely important, since the bosses in other areas will look on any working-class state – no matter where – as a threat to them, and will use their state power to invade and crush any working-class state. Helping other revolutionaries and working classes is not merely a question of comradeship; it is a life-and-death question for any working class who has seized state power itself. It is in their direct self-interest to help the spread of revolution.

**ONCE PROFITS AND BOSSES HAVE BEEN OUTLAWED,** the basis exists for the unlimited expansion of the fruits of mental and manual labor. Only then can people develop true equality, can there be a real flowering of working-class culture as opposed to the decadent, pornographic violence typical of capitalist culture in its death throes. With the bosses and their profit system out of the way,

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**PLP will always help workers in other countries still under the heel of the profit system to overthrow their bosses.**

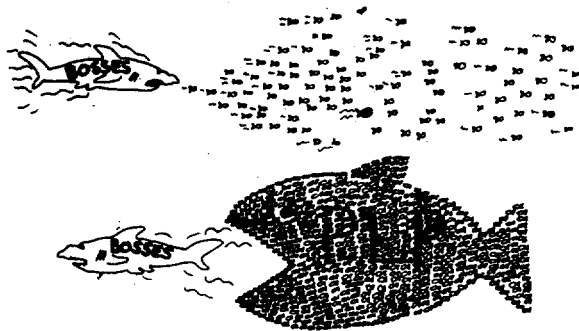
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workers can develop a real collective spirit – at work, in production and distribution, in schools, in the family and among all social relations. This collective spirit, this "brotherhood" which capitalism and its religions always pay lip service to, for the first time in human history becomes a reality because the basis for individualism – the dog-eat-dog philosophy of the capitalist profit system – has been eliminated.

# Only Communism Can Ensure Workers' Power

Is there any guarantee that revolution will not bring a new set of bosses to oppress the working class? Some point to Russia and China as examples of the inability of the working class to hold state power once they seize it. While the communists and workers of both Russia and China made great contributions to the advance of working-class emancipation from capitalism, they did not fight for communism. They viewed communism as a far-off system to be established only after a transitional phase of socialism had eliminated any chance the former ruling class had of re-gaining power.

However, we have learnt from that experience. Socialism in both Russia and China made many concessions to capitalist ideas in the name of workers holding onto state power. They continued the wage system, and used material incentives established under capitalism as the main method of winning workers to increase production. They continued many forms of small and middle-level capitalist production, using many of the former capitalists themselves to manage it, on the grounds of needing their "know-how" instead of relying on the working class. They tried to win hundreds of millions of peasants with the demand for "land" – thereby appealing to them on the basis of individual, not collective or class, ownership. These concessions to



**WHY WE NEED THE PARTY**

capitalist ways and ideas contained the seeds of the reversal of state power from the hands of the working class to a new set of state capitalist administrators who now exploit not only the workers of these two countries but of many others as well.

That is why we say organize for **communist** revolution now; eliminate **ALL** hangovers from capitalism. There can be no 100% guarantee that communist power will not be overthrown in favor of a new set of bosses. But, certainly, the fight to spread communist ideology among, and establish a communist party of tens of millions of workers, along with the fight to forge a revolution based on the elimination of **ALL** capitalist ways and ideas, is as close to a guarantee as one can get. The confidence that workers can feel for each other is far superior to the confidence workers could ever have in a Rockefeller, Kennedy or Reagan to "give" us a decent life.

After all, if we need a guarantee that communism will not be reversed, before we decide to fight for it, we are left with capitalism and the **SURE GUARANTEE** that we will continue to be exploited. There is no middle ground.

So our choice is to fight for communism and fight to make it work. We benefit from both the experiences and errors of previous revolutions (an experience that Soviet workers did not have, since they were the first), and engage in criticism and self-criticism throughout the working class, led by our Party, to insure a self-corrective process over mistakes that will surely be made.



**JOIN PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY**

# Revolution Not Reform

For a long time in PLP's existence, our members engaged in militant action against the bosses and their agents around the immediate needs of the working class and its allies among students, pro-worker professionals and intellectuals. We tended to put communist ideas, and building the Party to make a revolution, on the back burner. After much discussion and self-criticism, we feel we made an error. We now see the absolute necessity to tie every immediate reform struggle to the need to overthrow capitalism, not merely to try to win the reform.

In the last analysis, no matter what immediate gain we wrest from the bosses, **they have the state power to turn around that victory**, and they do it all the time. The only way to get off this treadmill is to eliminate capitalism altogether. But that requires a strong communist party with deep roots in the working class and other exploited sections of the population. Therefore, the only real way to win in the immediate day-to-day struggles, is to **build a force for revolution – our Party**. This is the one victory that is hardest for the bosses to take away, since it is one that is committed to overthrowing them, not merely to fighting over a nickel raise.

**PLACING REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS OVER REFORMIST** ones is no easy task. Capitalism is constantly attacking us every day with layoffs, wage-cuts, cutbacks in services, racism, war and fascism. We could easily expend all our energies and thoughts on how to beat them solely over the immediate issues. But that will always leave us back where we started, still with a ruling class holding state power and able to attack us in still another way the next day. It is only when we have eliminated the bosses as a class, along with their state power to enforce their existence, that we will be in a position to make immediate gains and hold them. Therefore, it is **revolutionary ideology** that must emerge from each struggle, with people won to that ideology and to PLP.

**We do not fight for communism solely for the material benefits to be won from it; if we do, we lay the basis for it to be reversed, because then we will not be ready to help other revolutionaries or even more exploited sections of the working class if it means “losing” material gain. We must fight for the idea that bosses and capitalism must be eliminated from the face of the earth, and until that is accomplished, any material gain is threatened because the basis for a democratic distribution of the fruits of our labor is threatened. So we fight for revolution over reform; for political over material incentives, because that is the only way we can come close to guaranteeing working-class rule.**

**These are many of our communist ideas. They are not just “theoretical” ones from history, but are proven in the everyday life of capitalism in the U.S. Capitalist exploitation leads to mass layoffs, racism, inadequate medical care, rotten schools, fascism and imperialist war in which we, the working class, die defending U.S. bosses against other workers (who are dying defending their own bosses). Our only answer is to build our Party and the force for revolution that will eliminate these evils by digging up and destroying their roots!**

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