

# Superpowers Prepare for War; Masses Build for Revolution

*This is the second in a two-part series on war and revolution—Ed.*

Imperialism means war. As long as there is imperialism there will be wars. War can be abolished only when imperialism itself is abolished, and imperialism can be abolished only through revolution.

Imperialism means war because imperialism is based on the monopoly capitalist classes' ruthless exploitation and oppression of the working masses in the capitalist countries and also in the world's less developed countries. The ruling monopoly capitalist classes of various nations are constantly competing with each other for higher profits. The basic law of capitalism is the basic law of the jungle: expand or die, devour or be devoured.

Over the last century or so, the monopolists of the advanced capitalist countries have divided up the world among themselves. But, as pointed out in the first article in this series, each of the monopolist classes, still driven by the basic law of maximizing profits, and forced to compete with each other to scramble for more profit, "continue to battle each other to re-divide the world and the spoils from plundering it."

But the working masses in the advanced capitalist nations and the less developed countries don't take this lying down. They rise up and resist. For the imperialists, this means they must try to protect their economic power and interests by suppression and war.

As stated in the last article, "To grab and keep economic control, it is necessary to have political control, and that, in turn, can only be based in the last analysis on armed force, and often outright military occupation. Just as the need for economic control gives rise to the need for political control, so the need for political control gives rise to the need for war...The imperialists carry on wars through their puppets and 'allies' where possible, but where that fails they do not hesitate to intervene directly to keep the world safe for profit—their profit."

Imperialism has brought about countless "local" wars. There are wars of national liberation, in which oppressed countries rise up to throw out the imperialists and their puppets and lackeys and establish their own independence and nationhood, and in which the proletariat fights to throw out the imperialists as a first step toward ending all exploitation and oppression in their countries.

There are also revolutionary civil wars, in which the proletariat and its allies in the advanced capitalist countries themselves rise up to overthrow the imperialist ruling classes and move on to create a society free of exploitation and oppression.

Wars of national liberation and revolutionary civil wars are just wars against imperialist rule and aggression, and the international proletariat both recognizes that they are inevitable as long as imperialism exists and supports them wholeheartedly.

## World War

But imperialism gives rise not only to just wars of national liberation and revolutionary civil wars, but also to world war. All the monopoly capitalist (imperialist) ruling classes share in common the need to try to suppress national liberation struggles in their colonies or neo-colonies, and revolutionary civil wars in the "home" capitalist nations themselves. But, on the other hand, since capitalism is based on vicious competition among the capitalists, each capitalist ruling class finds it necessary to protect its empire against the other capitalist ruling classes, and to expand its empire at the expense of the others.

Most of the time this competition exists on the level of economic and political warfare, as the contending imperialist groups use various policies and measures to outmaneuver the other and get the upper hand. But all of this can in no way eliminate the basic contradiction of capitalism and in fact only intensifies the contention between the imperialist ruling classes, their need to re-divide the world grows stronger, and inevitably economic and political warfare turns into military warfare—into a war engulfing almost the entire world and bringing tremendous destruction and tremendous suffering to the world's people.

The root cause of World War 1 was rivalry between the imperialist powers, as some of the younger, hungrier and rapidly growing imperialist nations (especially Germany) formed an alliance to fight against some of the older, more powerful but deteriorating imperialist nations (especially Great Britain), in a mad race to determine who would have the "right" to colonize and plunder the world, and especially those areas and countries that at that time hadn't been colonized.

The U.S. imperialists, then a relatively young and "up and coming" power, sat out the war as long as

possible—sitting on the mountaintop and watching the tigers fight—and entered it only in its final stages, on the side of the generally older imperialist powers, when it was clearly in their best imperialist interests to do so.

Because they entered the war so late, and because the war was fought not on U.S. territory but on the territory of the other imperialist powers, causing tremendous destruction and the death of millions, the U.S. imperialists clearly emerged from World War 1 in the best position of all the imperialist powers. They immediately proceeded to take advantage of this by trying to crush the losers (particularly in the form of extracting huge war indemnities from Germany), to carve into the holdings of the other winners (Britain, France, etc.), and to move into new areas which both the losers and the other winners were unable to prevent.

## What the War Gave Rise To

The other side of this is that the people of the world, who suffered greatly from the war, learned a great lesson and their struggles for national liberation and socialist revolution grew more intense. Even before the war ended, the Russian working class and masses, led by the Bolshevik Party and Lenin, overthrew the Tsarist regime and the Russian capitalist class and established the first socialist state. And especially in the less developed, colonized countries, the resistance and struggle of the people against imperialism jumped forward.

But World War 1 of course didn't mean the end of ruthless competition among the imperialist powers, because the war didn't eliminate the basic law of capitalism of "expand or die." The winners (mainly the U.S., Great Britain and France) tried to crush the losers into the dirt, while at the same time competing among each other, with the U.S. trying to take advantage of its generally superior position coming out of the war to climb over the British and French to the top of the pile.

Some ten years after the war had ended, each of the various imperialist powers once again found itself in severe economic crisis (the Great Depression), with conditions for the people in the defeated capitalist nations being especially bad. In Germany, for example, the inflation rate, primarily because of the crushing war indemnities Germany was being forced to pay for losing the war, was staggering, prices went through the ceiling, and millions of people were out of work and in complete poverty.

Inevitably, the economic crisis turned into a political crisis, as each imperialist ruling class adopted measures designed to put the crisis on the backs both of the people and also the other imperialist powers. The losers in the first world war, especially the German ruling class, started preparing for another world war, temporarily "solving" the economic crisis by greatly intensifying their exploitation and oppression of the German working class and masses. Hitler and the Nazi Party, acting on behalf of and having the support of the German ruling class, seized the reins of government in 1933 and instituted a fascist reign of terror and heated up the economy primarily through production of huge amounts of weapons, ammunition and other goods needed for war.

At the same time, the growingly strong Japanese imperialists, eyeing the riches of China, Southeast Asia, Indonesia, and the Pacific, greatly intensified their exploitation of the Japanese working class and masses by also instituting fascism and also prepared for aggression and war, allying itself with fascist Germany and Italy.

The other major imperialist powers—especially the U.S., Britain and France—of course followed suit. They, too, greatly intensified their exploitation and oppression, and also heated up their economies mainly through tremendous war goods production. By 1939, only about 20 years after the first world war had ended, the economic and political warfare between the imperialists burst fully once again into military warfare. The imperialists once again threw the people of the world into another war, only this one was even more devastating and caused even more suffering than the first.

## World War 2

For one thing, weapons technology had greatly advanced since WW 1. And where in WW 1 the fighting took place almost entirely among the soldiers in the trenches, in WW 2, because of the more developed weaponry and especially the development of air power, the people of whole countries became targets. The clear-

est and most barbaric example of this, of course, was the dropping of two atom bombs on the Japanese people.

Politically, WW 2 was different from WW 1 in one very important respect: like WW 1, WW 2 started out as solely an inter-imperialist war. But when the German fascists attacked the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, the character of the war changed. Even though each of the imperialist powers was still pursuing its individual aims of world domination, there was now clearly a main enemy—the fascist capitalist ruling classes. To defend the first socialist motherland, it was necessary for the international proletariat—while maintaining its political independence and the long-range aim of overthrowing all capitalism—to temporarily ally with the "Allied" capitalist powers to defeat the fascist Axis.

But while this made the character of WW 2 different and more complex, like WW 1, the root cause of WW 2 was the contention between the imperialist powers for world empire. It was the imperialist ruling classes who caused the war, but it was the people who once again suffered.

The U.S. imperialists came out of WW 1 in a better position than any of the other imperialist powers, including the other winners, but had not yet achieved clear top dog status. This they achieved during and immediately after WW 2. The German, Japanese, and Italian ruling classes and some smaller capitalist powers had been defeated, and although some other imperialist nations like Britain and France were on the victorious side, they emerged from the war greatly weakened—deeply in debt financially to the U.S. imperialists and increasingly unable to hold on to their shakey empires. The U.S. imperialists took advantage of all this to expand their empire, and clearly emerged as the number one enemy of the world's people.

And as was true of WW 1, while WW 2 meant great suffering for the world's people on the one hand, it also meant that the barbarity, savagery and real nature of imperialism was even more fully exposed, and the people even further intensified their struggles for national liberation and socialism. China, representing nearly one quarter of humanity, rose up and threw out all the imperialists and their front men and established a socialist state. Several East European and other countries also became socialist, and in the Third World, especially in Indochina, the flames of wars of national independence and liberation, especially from U.S. imperialism, raged higher. And in the imperialist countries themselves, the people's struggles have advanced, especially in recent years. Particularly significant in the imperialist countries in the last few years has been the further development of the working class struggles.

## Imperialists Preparing for Another World War

Today, mired once again in the depths of a severe economic crisis and besieged in their "own" countries and in their colonies and neo-colonies by the people's struggles, the imperialist powers are feverishly preparing for yet another world war, and the danger of world war in this period is very great. In WW 1 the main imperialist rivals were principally Great Britain and Germany, with other powers allying themselves with one or the other of them. In WW 2, the main imperialist rivals were principally the U.S. and Germany, with the other powers once again allying themselves with one or the other.

In this period, the main imperialist rivals are the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union a bunch of revisionists and other bourgeois elements have destroyed the first socialist state, have restored capitalism, are savagely exploiting and oppressing the Soviet working class and masses, and have revived the old tsars' dreams of a Great Russian Empire.

The U.S. economy is in chaos, and because capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union, the Soviet economy is in a shambles, too. Soviet agriculture is doing relatively very badly, there is a serious overall shortage of capital for investment, and Soviet technology is still considerably more backward than the technology of the U.S. imperialists and some of the other imperialist powers.

The focal point of the two superpowers' contention, the glittering and main prize that each of them covets and is preparing to throw the world into another war to try to get or control, is Europe. As we state in our *Draft Programme for the Party of the U.S. Working Class*, "Europe is the focal point of their contention, because it is in Europe that vast economic, political and military power is based, which the super-

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powers must seek to control." At the same time, "their battle for control of the Third World, and the tremendous superprofits this means, is also very sharp, and growing sharper daily."

Politically, the superpowers' "battle for Europe" has already sharpened considerably. Through various spokesmen, and especially Kissinger, the U.S. imperialists have said that they now intend "to pay much more attention to European affairs," and they are increasing their efforts to maintain their economic, political and military dominance in Western Europe through such measures as shoring up and strengthening their alliances with the West European ruling classes, maintaining and building up NATO, etc. At the same time, they are making some economic and political forays into the East European countries, trying to loosen the Soviets' grip on them, with the ambition, obviously, of being able some day to pry them away.

On the other side, the Soviet social-imperialists are increasing their efforts to maintain their economic, political and military dominance in Eastern Europe through such measures as strengthening the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance"—through which the Soviets plunder their East European satellites and make superprofits off of the East European working people—building up their Warsaw Pact military forces, etc.

At the same time, the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to penetrate Western Europe economically and politically, with the obvious intention of diminishing the U.S. imperialists' dominance there, and with the obvious goal of being able some day to pry Western Europe away. The Soviet social-imperialists have recently been talking a great deal about "all-Europe economic cooperation," and what the Soviets above all have in mind with this, as pointed out in *Peking Review No. 16* of this year, is "acquisition of West European capital and technology" because of the serious capital shortage and technological backwardness in the Soviet economy.

## Soviet Designs on Western Europe

The West European nations, on the other hand, are badly in need of energy and other raw materials. As *Peking Review No. 16* states: "Taking advantage of Western Europe's thirst for energy and other raw materials, the Soviet Union uses oil, natural gas and other resources as bait to attract the former's technology and capital for exploitation of Soviet domestic resources. This has become an important means in its 'economic co-operation of mutual benefit' with Western Europe. The Soviet revisionists' aim is to increase their energy supply to Western Europe so as to make it dependent on them economically."

Further, the Soviets are trying to expand their commodity exports to Western Europe, and while the U.S. imperialists still export much more to there than do the Soviets, the social-imperialists are closing the gap. And politically, the social-imperialists are trying to gain more firm allegiance from the various West European revisionist parties, with a very important conference between the Soviets and these parties planned for this month. Already in Portugal, through their faithful revisionist allies there, the Soviets have succeeded in greatly reducing U.S. imperialist strength in that country and increasing their own.

And overall, it is clear that of the two superpowers, it is the Soviet social-imperialists who, in the main, are on the offensive in Western Europe, and the U.S. imperialists who in the main are on the defensive. Right now, the superpowers' contention over Europe is focused mainly on the Mediterranean flank—from Portugal and Spain over to Greece, Turkey and Cyprus—and it is along this flank that the U.S. imperialists are suffering some of their most serious setbacks and the Soviet social-imperialists are making some of their most significant gains.

This undoubtedly will make the Soviet social-imperialists even more bold and aggressive, which in turn will make the U.S. imperialists even more desperate, especially considering the thrashing they have gotten in Indochina. And what all of this boils down to is that the contention between the two superpowers is certain to heat up rapidly in this period, greatly increasing the possibility of world war.

## Only Revolution Can Prevent the War

In the final analysis, another world war can only be prevented by socialist revolutions in the U.S. and Soviet Union, since it is primarily the contention between these two superpowers that is leading the world toward another war. The national liberation and revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the Third World, and in the imperialist countries other than the two

superpowers, are of course vital battlefronts in the overall fight against the two superpowers, imperialism in general, and all reaction. And the many victories that are being scored in these struggles, as in Indochina, reflect the growing strength of the people and the fact that all exploitation and oppression will one day be wiped out everywhere.

But these struggles in themselves can't prevent a third world war because in themselves they can't eliminate its source: the two imperialist superpowers and their contention for world domination. These struggles can and do weaken the two superpowers but can't fully bring them to their knees—the U.S. and Soviet imperialists maintain state power, their dictatorship over the working class and masses in the U.S. and Soviet Union, and, driven by the internal laws of capitalism, constantly seek to maintain and expand their empires.

In fact, the more and greater the victories of the people in those struggles, the more desperate the imperialists, and especially the two superpowers, become, as they see some of the main sources of their profits disappear. This in turn intensifies the contention between the imperialists for the shrinking profit pie, and increases their drive toward world war.

In a similar but less important way, there is also a sharpening of contradictions developing between the two superpowers and the ruling national bourgeoisies in many of the Third World countries, and also between the two superpowers and the less powerful capitalist ruling classes, especially in Western and Eastern Europe. The efforts of these forces to become more independent of the two superpowers are also good because they tend to further weaken and isolate the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists—the two main enemies of the world's people today.

But it cannot be forgotten that these forces are bourgeoisies in their own right, and while it is correct for the proletariat of various countries to take advantage of the contradictions between these forces and the two superpowers, it is incorrect to rely on these forces in the struggle against the two superpowers, or for the proletariat and its allies to liquidate their struggle against these forces. In fact, the point of taking advantage of these contradictions is to strengthen the proletarian and other revolutionary forces so they will be better able to deal both with the two superpowers and also with their own bourgeoisies.

And, again, taking advantage of such contradictions can only mean weakening the two superpowers and cannot mean bringing them to their knees—cannot mean their complete defeat—and therefore cannot prevent another world war. As long as there is imperialism there will be war, and in this period, as long as U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism exist the possibility of world war grows much stronger day by day.

This is why we say that in the final analysis, it is only socialist revolutions in the U.S. and Soviet Union that can prevent another world war. Either socialist revolutions in the U.S. and Soviet Union will prevent WW 3, or WW 3 will give rise to revolution—in the U.S. and Soviet Union and in many other countries all around the world where socialism has not yet been achieved.

## Revisionists Spread Illusions

There are some forces today who are trying to spread all kinds of illusions and confusion among the people by promoting the idea that peace can be achieved and world war prevented through agreements between the two superpowers. The revisionist Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) is one such group. First of all, completely turning their backs on reality, they claim that the Soviet Union is still a socialist country and is the "vanguard fighter" in the struggle to maintain peace. Second of all, they claim that the U.S. ruling class, along with the Soviet leaders, are "reasonable people" who believe that world war has become "unthinkable" because of the development of nuclear weapons that, if unleashed, would "destroy almost all of mankind."

This, the CPUSA and similar groups claim, is the major reason why the U.S. and Soviet Union are "working together to maintain world peace" ("detente"). They argue that forces who say that the possibility of world war is developing rapidly in this period, and that it is necessary to inform and prepare the people for such a possibility, are "dogmatists" and "Marxist traditionalists."

There is nothing new in this revisionist poppycock. Before World War 1 there were revisionist forces inside the Second International and the workers' movement in many countries who argued, even when the war was imminent, that peace could be maintained, that "such a war is unthinkable," etc. And when the war did break out, these "doves" didn't find it at all difficult to fly to the side of their respective imperialist governments. They supported the imperialist war and tried to get the working class and masses of their countries to do the same.

And after the war ended, these revisionists continued to warble the same tune about the possibility

of peace and the supposed impossibility of any future world wars. For example, Karl Kautsky, one of the leading revisionist "theoreticians" of the Second International, said in 1928: "If today you keep on talking loudly about the dangers of imperialist war, you are relying on a traditional formula and not on present-day considerations." And raising the same cry of terror that the present-day revisionists are raising, he also said: "...the next war will not only bring want and misery, but will basically put an end to civilization and, at least in Europe, will leave behind nothing but smoking ruins and putrefying corpses."

According to a 1919 statement by the revisionists of the Second International: "The last war brought the entire world to the brink of the precipice; the next one would destroy it completely. The mere preparation for a new war would ruin the world."

None of these statements, of course, had anything to do with reality, as born out by the fact that there was a second world war and by the fact that, far from the world being ruined the struggle of the world's people against imperialism made great strides in spite of the tremendous suffering the war brought. And the statements of our modern day revisionists also have nothing to do with reality, as born out by the fact that while there is all this talk about "detente," the two superpowers are feverishly preparing to throw the world into yet another war.

The effect of all the "peace talk" by the revisionists of the Second International was to confuse and disarm the masses by covering up the fact that the imperialists were preparing for a world war. The purpose of all the "peace talk" of the modern day revisionists is identical, and must be exposed and defeated. As Lenin said about the pacifism of the Second International revisionists, their words are "a *solace* to the people, a means which makes it easier for the governments to bring about the docility of the people in further imperialist slaughter!" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 224, Lenin's emphasis.)

## Role of Communists

As opposed to the revisionists—who call themselves communists but who are really bourgeois agents inside the working class, doing the work of the bourgeoisie—genuine communist forces do not console and disarm the people with lies, but state the truth and in that way, instead of confusing and weakening them, strengthen the working class and masses' revolutionary will and readiness to fight.

The truth is that the international capitalist system, because of the very laws governing capitalism, is once again in the throes of a severe economic and political crisis, that competition and contention between the various imperialist powers, and especially the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, is greatly intensifying because of this situation, and that therefore the possibility of yet another imperialist world war—which probably would mean even greater suffering for the world's people than either WW 1 or WW 2—grows stronger every day.

The truth also is that the growing possibility of another world war reflects the growing weakness of the imperialists, including the two superpowers, and the growing strength of the world's people, who are battering the imperialists on all sides. And, finally, the truth is that in the final analysis, such a war can be prevented only by socialist revolutions in the U.S. and Soviet Union.

What, then, does this mean for the work of the U.S. proletariat and its revolutionary communist party? Do we reduce all the many struggles that are going on to the question of war or revolution, and inscribe on all our banners the slogan, "War or Revolution"? Definitely not.

War can be abolished only when imperialism itself is abolished, and imperialism can be abolished only through revolution. But revolution is a protracted struggle which demands a long-range strategy involving many battles on many fronts. The correct strategy for revolution in the U.S. is the united front against U.S. imperialism, under the leadership of the proletariat. This is part of the worldwide strategy of building the united front against imperialism and aimed at the two superpowers. As we state in the *Draft Programme*, we must "build the broadest united front, on a world scale, aimed at the ruling classes of these two superpowers, while at the same time uniting all who can be united within each country to continue the battle for socialist revolution."

On the one hand, this worldwide united front makes it harder for the two superpowers to collude in their efforts to smash all the many struggles around the world that are breaking out against them, and on the other hand it also makes it more difficult for them to throw the world into world war. And most importantly, the united front not only hinders the two superpowers and the entire international capitalist system, but it also strengthens the people's forces and makes the conditions more favorable around the world for revolution, including in the U.S. and Soviet Union.

As a key part of developing more favorable condi-

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# Portugal...

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even the very lucrative tourist trade was drying up. Increasingly fearful that power really was about to fall into "the street," many in the ruling class began to loot their enterprises for available cash and began shipping it abroad.

The bourgeoisie can't just be economically dominant—it has to be politically dominant as well to protect and insure its interests. From the start the Portuguese bourgeoisie tried to subjugate the AFM, to bring it to heel. Now, heading for a showdown, it increasingly began to count on help from its old partners, U.S. imperialism.

## Role of PCP

In part, the capitalists were spurred on because of the growing AFM-CP alliance, and in part this alliance itself was spurred on by the capitalists' moves.

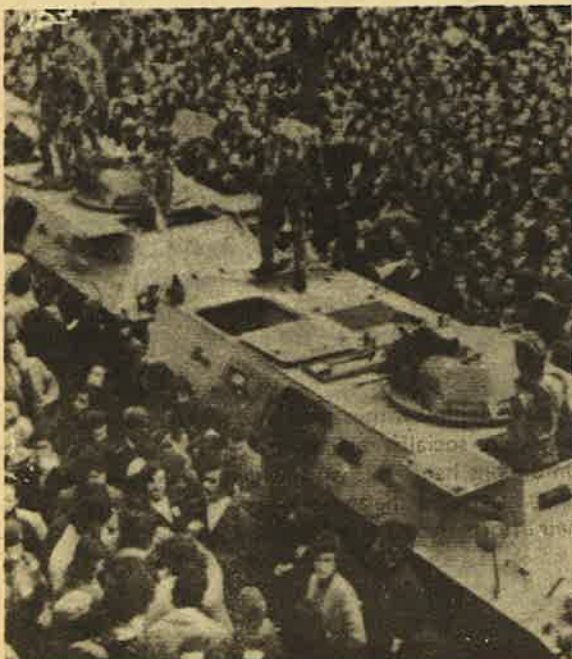
The Portuguese CP's early history in the working class movement and its long struggle against the old regime had won it widespread support among the industrial proletariat, especially before the overthrow of Caetano.

During these years the Party was wiped out and re-established several times. Today, it's a Communist Party in name only. Although its greatest asset is its communist cloak, its leadership is about as "communist" as the new bourgeoisie which has restored capitalism in the Soviet Union with themselves on top. The Portuguese CP has become little more than a servant of these new Soviet tsars, leaving proletarian revolution far behind as its leadership looks to become compradors (dependent capitalists and agents) for the Soviet bourgeoisie.

The Portuguese CP distinguished itself for its enthusiastic support of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, when even many other European CPs had to back off from this blatant imperialist act. And while some CPs, especially the Italian, have moved closer to supporting their own bourgeoisies, criticizing the Portuguese CP for being "too inflexible," the Portuguese CP has emerged as one of the most reliably pro-Soviet in Europe.

It plays heavily on the Portuguese masses' enthusiasm for socialism, draping itself with lots of red flags and hammers and sickles and portraits of Lenin. But even this cover is very thin. The political centerpiece of the Party's recent Congress, its first legal Congress in 50 years, was the formal ratification of the dumping of the Party's old goal—the winning of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of the working class—and its replacement with the declaration that the PCP is now the party of "democracy." The strategic tasks the Party laid out for itself at this Congress were the strengthening of the AFM-CP alliance and the strengthening of the PCP.

Legalizing the CP, along with the Socialist Party (PSP), was one of the AFM's first moves after Caetano's fall. Quickly the PCP jumped to the head of the Salazar-created trade unions as the workers drove out the old regime's appointed leadership. And the PCP showed itself to be a strong political trend among the petty bourgeoisie as well, winning hegemony of the Movement for a Democratic Portugal (MDP), a legal, electoral front formed in the Caetano days that it had shared with the PSP and the "Swedish socialist"



Workers and other people surround National Guard unit that participated in abortive pro-U.S. coup in Portugal in March.

Popular Democratic Party, and attracting to its side a breakaway faction from the PSP and several small, independent "left" parties.

The extent of actual PCP membership within the AFM is not known, although the PCP has long encouraged its members to join the armed forces to do political work. But the main thing linking the PCP and elements of the AFM has been the PCP's political line.

When the AFM took power, its main slogan was "democracy"—democracy in general, which has long been the battle cry of the petty bourgeoisie crushed by the weight of the big capitalists and their dictatorship and yet terrified of the proletariat and its dictatorship, which is the only way to end the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The petty bourgeoisie dreams of peace with the bourgeoisie, and hopes that somehow the working class can be used to pressure and reform the bourgeoisie without "getting out of hand." It was this petty bourgeois character which gave the AFM its initial formlessness and vagueness.

But battered both from the bourgeoisie and the working class, the AFM began to take shape politically, reflecting a real change in social relations as the AFM began to assume the control of society and its wealth that had been the exclusive domain of the monopolists.

For the AFM to enjoy its "democracy"—the freedom to serve its interests—it had to find a way to restrict and possibly bring in elements of the old capitalists who were themselves accustomed to being the ruling class, and exercise a strong dictatorship over the working class, which could not and would not give up resisting its exploitation and oppression no matter how glad it was to see the AFM hit the old bourgeoisie.

In June 1974, Spinola's backers in the armed forces high command tried to push the AFM out of the partnership. It was Spinola, however, who was pushed out, as the AFM proved it was running the armed forces and even some generals came to its side.

Spinola was reduced to a figurehead, and retained in the government mainly to restrain his moves against it. The AFM declared a ceasefire in the colonies, recognizing the independence of Guinea-Bissau and setting dates in 1975 for the independence of Angola and Mozambique. A special armed forces command—COPCON—was set up directly under AFM leadership to guard against Spinola's forces still in military leadership, and to put down the workers' movement.

## Still Seeks Accomodation

Even as the AFM maneuvered to reinforce its own position on top, it still dreamed of an accommodation with the bourgeoisie. It published an economic plan indicating that while the AFM meant to take over some basic industry, it would also help the monopolies reorganize and rationalize their businesses. By nationalizing the large, now practically idle cork estates in the South, which the present owners weren't able to make really profitable, and by compensating the present owners, the AFM planned to free up capital for new investment in industry, while the development of the South would create new markets.

As for the working class and masses, the AFM tried to appeal to their hatred of the old ruling class to consolidate the AFM-CP leadership over the mass movement (which the CP declared to be its central task), while at the same time trying to tighten up on the mass struggle.

A new law placed strict limits on the right to strike, outlawing wildcats, plant takeovers and strikes without "adequate notice" or where a contract was already in force. The government first froze wages for three months, then declared that half of all future raises would have to be paid in government bonds. COPCON troops forced Timex workers to give up the plant, and then some airline workers walked out again, they were drafted and ordered to return to work.

But nothing the AFM could do could prevent its inevitable collision with Portugal's once proud ruling class, who continued to stagger under the blows of the workers and masses. Now the same forces Spinola had once overthrown threw their backing to him in a new bid for power, this time uniting most of the old ruling class. Warning that the choice was either him or the PCP, Spinola appealed to the landowners in the South, the richer peasants in the North, the monopolists, the clergy and all those who had supported Caetano and colonialism, and staged a march of the "silent majority" on Lisbon.

Despite its growing contradiction with the AFM, the working class was not about to give up its gains and go back to the old regime and its ways. Mass mobilizations of workers, students and others blocked the roads to the capital and the march was stopped before it could gather strength. Armed workers joined AFM units in disarming pro-Spinola civilians. At the heart of this mass mobilization were 10,000 workers from the shipyards, TAP (airlines) and other centers of the workers' movement. The leaders of several monopolist enterprises were arrested.

Still the AFM vacillated, toying with the idea of

U.S. loans and investments, and hesitating to move decisively against Spinola and the old ruling class once and for all. Now the workers really went on the offensive against the old ruling class and their U.S. backers who loomed in the background.

## Workers Fight On

The strike wave broadened and deepened, taking on the issue of the right to strike as workers went out in solidarity with other strikes. These struggles increasingly assumed a classwide character. Although the AFM warned that the workers had to stop purging officials and management and let the government do it, the workers went right ahead.

Throughout the winter and early spring of this year, workers armed with sticks and stones and occasionally guns broke up the rallies called by several of the political parties more openly tied to the old ruling class and U.S. imperialism, and prevented them from running much of a public campaign.

In January, thousands of workers marched through Lisbon to demand an end to NATO maneuvers taking place off the Portuguese coast. A week later, ignoring a government ban on the demonstration, workers reported to be from 20,000 to 40,000 strong marched against the mooring of 19 NATO warships in Lisbon harbor and also to protest unemployment. Several military units tried to seal off the march but were pushed back by the strength and determination of the workers.

Now really desperate, Spinola played his ace. In March, apparently with the backing and probably direct involvement of the U.S., he called on all his

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# War...

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tions for socialist revolution in the U.S., as a key aspect of building the united front under proletarian leadership, we must mobilize the working class and masses to oppose and defeat any acts of aggression and all wars the U.S. imperialists launch in any part of the world, just as the American people have done around the wars in Indochina. And at the same time, we must expose the entire imperialist system, and especially the Soviet Union as a capitalist and imperialist power which is in fierce contention with the U.S. imperialists, and unite with the world's people to oppose any acts of aggression and all wars the Soviet social-imperialists (as well as any of the other imperialist nations) launch in any part of the world.

We must do this around concrete demands, such as the ones suggested in the *Draft Programme*, including the demands to withdraw all U.S. forces from foreign soil and the territorial waters of other countries; to free all the colonies in the grip of U.S. imperialism; to end all U.S. military alliances and military aid to U.S. puppets; to abolish and destroy all nuclear weapons, oppose the superpowers' arms race and phoney disarmament, etc.

## The Road Ahead

By developing this struggle against imperialist aggression and war as part of the overall revolutionary struggle, we will accomplish several things. One, we will further hinder and weaken the imperialists, and especially the two superpowers—making it more difficult for them to launch a world war. Two, we will further mobilize and strengthen the revolutionary forces and especially the revolutionary working class, making the conditions more favorable in this country for revolution, which in the final analysis is the only thing that, along with a socialist revolution also in the Soviet Union, can prevent world war.

Three, by building these specific struggles against aggression and war, and by building the overall revolutionary struggle, if world war does break out before there are revolutions in the U.S. and Soviet Union, then the working class and masses in these two countries will be in the strongest possible position to continue and intensify their revolutionary struggles and overthrow the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, thus bringing much closer the day when all exploitation and oppression will be eliminated from the face of the earth.

As we say in the *Draft Programme*: "Either the working class in the U.S. and the Soviet Union will prevent such a war by overthrowing these greatest oppressors, in conjunction with the worldwide struggle against them, or they will launch a world war before they can be overthrown. But even if they launch such a war, with all the suffering it will bring to the people throughout the world, this will only hasten their own downfall and the end of imperialism."