



REVOLUTION

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Tentative Settlement

Rubber Strike Wins Big Gains

The four-month long strike of 68,000 rubber workers, the longest in the rubber industry's history, has forced some major concessions from the Big 4 rubber companies. A tentative agreement on economic issues was reached on August 12. According to the leadership of the United Rubber Workers Union (URW), it would amount to an \$80 per week increase in wages and benefits over three years.

The biggest gain comes in the area of cost of living protection, something rubber workers haven't had before. In mid-July when negotiations broke off, the companies made what they called their "best and final offer." At that time they said they absolutely could not afford to grant a cost of living allowance (COLA) the first year of any contract. What's more, they put an upper limit of \$1.20 an hour on any wage increase. A month later, they'd been forced to eat their own words.

What kind of strike has this been? Maybe the story of one striker tells it best.

At the Goodyear plant in Marysville, Ohio the first night of the walkout, rocks were thrown at windows, a company shanty burned down and county sheriffs were called in. A 25 year-old union steward was fired the first night of the strike and arrested on charges of aggravated riot. He is the father of two and his wife is expecting another child. It was never clear that he would have a job to return to yet he remained active in the strike. As he explained it, "It's worth it even if it lasts another four months. Something's got to be done." His fellow workers intend to fight to get his job back.

It's a story that could practically be told about any of thousands of strikers. In Akron alone some 4000 workers were forced to go on food stamps. Many dug deep into their savings account and have seen their wives and children get part-time jobs to support their families. For most of the strike, workers have been without strike benefits. Yet even in the toughest days you couldn't find a person on the picket line who'd say it wasn't worth it.

The press has played up this recent agreement as a product of "tight-fisted negotiating" by the union leaders and "general weariness" on both sides' part. But the main force of this strike, the main reason the companies have had to give in on some major demands was the determination and militancy of the rank and file. In fact, just three days before this agreement was reached, the largest mass picketing since the first days of the strike took place in Akron. Production came to a halt at the big Firestone plant as 500 workers blocked scabs. Some 40 were arrested. Far from getting exhausted and frustrated, the strikers were getting angrier and better organized. This has been a strike marked especially at its center in Ohio by mass rallies and pickets, by outbursts of violence, and most of all, by a constant striving on the workers' parts to make it stick and get stronger, whatever the difficulties.

In the face of this, the companies made some concessions. But even so, there's a bit of a snow job in the way the agreement is being put out. On the one hand the ruling class wanted the strike over with so they declared this agreement to be everything the strikers wanted and have been happy to feature pictures of Bommarito, president of the URW, licking his chops, both to keep him in the saddle and to create the impression that the strike was all history since the moment he negotiated a basic agreement. While taking credit for the strike's victory, Bommarito is already stepping up his attempts to undermine the strength on which the gains were based, going around talking about how expensive and exhausting the strike was and even about finding ways to avoid such things in the future.

While the agreement goes a lot farther than anything the companies were willing to give in to before, it still falls short of the original union proposals, especially in the areas of job security and pensions. The importance of pensions is clear when you consider the average age of a rubber worker in Akron is 52. This has caused a lot of protest, although these workers, too, see the

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During their 4 months on strike, rubber workers have clashed on several occasions with police in defense of their picket lines.

120,000 Wildcat

Miners Say 'Don't Sic Your Courts on Us'

During the end of July and the beginning of August 120,000 coal miners—three quarters of all coal miners in the U.S.—struck against the coal companies' use of the courts against the miners' struggle. The strike, opposed by the top United Mine Workers (UMWA) leadership, began in West Virginia and spread to Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. As far away as Pueblo, Colorado, workers shut down a strip mine in support. The massive strike is a powerful continuation of the use of wildcat strikes by miners and the movement for the right to strike, a struggle that has been raging across the coalfields for some years now as miners continue to rely on themselves and their struggle to fight the companies' attacks.

The miners' demand that the coal companies sign an agreement with the UMWA not to bring the courts into the coalfields was not won this time around. However, the mighty wildcat wrenched a number of victories from the capitalists and their agents and the miners returned to work with their heads held high, vowing that the fight will continue.

The strike began over a grievance of miners at the Cedar Coal Company in Kenawha County, near Charleston, West Virginia. A company man who had been working a union classified job was removed but the company did not go on and post the job. The miners, members of UMWA Local 1759, wildcatted. Cedar Coal immediately went to a federal court and got a \$50,000 fine slapped on the union with \$25,000 added on for each day of the strike.

The anger of miners erupted and throughout the week of July 19 the strike spread, first through Kenawha County and then all of West Virginia shut down. A federal judge responded by ordering the 213 men from the Cedar Coal local into court July 22 on criminal con-

tempt charges. The lines were drawn. The wildcat spread into six states, bringing 80,000 miners out on strike by the second week.

Hatred of Court Injunctions

The great strength of the strike was fueled by miners' widespread hatred of court injunctions, deepened over the last year by the bloodsucking fines levied on union locals and individuals. The courts have backed up their injunctions with jail sentences, throwing one of the leaders of this spring's Black Lung wildcat in jail for three months and sentencing 18 Carbon Fuel Company miners to five days in jail. The Carbon Fuel miners only spent 24 hours in jail before another wildcat forced their release.

The miners had two main demands. First, that the coal companies stop using the courts and their injunctions, fines and jailings against the miners. This demand was to be backed up by having the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) sign an agreement with the union. Secondly, that the companies take no reprisals against miners active in the strike.

The wildcat was maintained and spread by growing rank and file organization of the miners. The main form this took was an ad hoc committee of miners from UMWA districts 17 and 29 against the injunctions. Members of the Miners Right to Strike Committee took an active part in the committee. The strike was expanded off of picket lines and rank and file meetings where decisions were made about how and where to spread the strike. Towards the end, a steering committee had gotten organized with representatives from Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and districts 17, 29 and 31 in West

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Line On USSR, World Situation

Guardian Sows Confusion, Caves In to Imperialism

The world today is undergoing rapid changes. The crisis in the world imperialist system is intensifying all the major contradictions in the world, it is turning up the flame underneath the conflicts. Overall, this is a favorable situation for the revolutionary struggle throughout the world. The exploiters are at each other's throats and weakened by crisis, the masses of workers in the U.S. and other capitalist countries are increasingly compelled to struggle and the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America continue to deal sharp blows to the imperialist powers. While the capitalist world is sinking into deeper crisis, the countries where the working class holds power have made important advances in building socialism.

At the same time, the present world situation places new dangers, and new tasks, before the working class and masses of people of every country. In particular, the greatly intensifying rivalry between the rulers of the U.S. and the new imperialist rulers of the Soviet Union is leading toward a third world war.

Under these circumstances, it is more important than ever that the working class and masses of people be armed with a correct understanding of what is happening in the world, how the class forces line up, and how to advance the revolutionary struggle under today's conditions.

Yet there are certain organized forces in this country who are working overtime with views that spread confusion, paint enemies as friends and disarm the masses at the very time when it is crucial that clarity be achieved. The revisionist "Communist" Party, USA has long promoted the lie that the USSR is the great bastion of socialism and progress, the friend of the people of the U.S. and the peoples of the world.

Fortunately, the CPUSA has not been able to sell this trash to many people in this country. But unfortunately, the editors of the *Guardian* (which bills itself as an "independent radical newsweekly") have recently stepped forward as a chief spokesman for an opportunist political line which, under today's conditions, serves as a cover for the Soviet Union's imperialist nature.

Using the excuse of a "discussion of China's foreign policy," and criticism of an article by William Hinton which implies (whatever Hinton's intentions) that the U.S. bourgeoisie is at least a potential, if not present, component of a United Front against the Soviet Union (identified as the main danger), the *Guardian* has launched a full-scale assault on the Marxist-Leninist view of the world situation.

One Main Enemy?

According to the *Guardian*, the peoples of the world face only one main enemy—U.S. imperialism. We are warned by long-time *Guardian* correspondent Wilfred Burchett not "to view Moscow undialectically" (May 5, 1976) which means to the *Guardian* that it is all right to hurl insults at the Soviet Union, even to call them "social-imperialists," but we must not forget that capitalism has not "been fully restored and consolidated in the Soviet Union." (June 16, 1976) This could only mean the Soviet Union is a socialist country.

The *Guardian* declares, incorrectly, "that the principal contradiction in the world is between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations of the world." (May 26, 1976) In practice the *Guardian* carries this incorrect view further, acting as if that were the only contradiction of major significance in the world. While they claim to be Marxist-Leninists (and even hold up Mao Tse Tung on special occasions) the *Guardian* completely negates the Marxist-Leninist view of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, the internal laws of which inevitably give rise to world wars and working class revolution.

Instead, the view of the world that shines through the pages of the *Guardian* is an idealist, petty bourgeois view, in which there is only one big bully in the world, the evil rulers of this country, and they will be brought down by being battered from outside by the forces of progress and light. What is missing in all this is any real class content.

Clinging to the Past

One reason that the *Guardian* continues to exert some influence is that they appeal to the experience many people gained during the struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the revolutionary movement of the 1960s generally. They try to wrap themselves in the mantle of that movement and portray themselves as the inheritors of its revolutionary thrust. They represent themselves as the upholders of the revo-

lutionary struggle against the U.S. bourgeoisie, but the political line they promote stands as an obstacle to the development of that struggle.

At that time, the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America were far and away the single most powerful force dealing blows to the imperialist system. The ruling class of this country was the undisputed chieftain of the world capitalist system and the chief enemy of the world's people. The powerful and protracted struggle that developed against the U.S. imperialists' war on the Vietnamese people and the widespread support for the national liberation struggles of the Third World was an extremely important development and played a key role in rekindling a revolutionary movement in the U.S. and other countries.

During the 1960s the Soviet Union was emerging as an imperialist superpower and just beginning to challenge the U.S. for world hegemony. In those years much of the Soviet's actions on the international front involved collaborating with the U.S. ruling class to sabotage many of the anti-U.S. struggles. They sought to avoid a confrontation with the U.S. at a time when they didn't want it.

Thousands of fighters in this country were disgusted to see the Soviets try to hamstring the struggle of the Vietnamese—and later openly oppose the liberation movement of the Cambodian people—denounce the Palestinian liberation movement, and join with the U.S. in a joint effort to encircle socialist China, all while claiming to be "revolutionaries" and "communists."

At the same time, while there was broad opposition to the treachery of the revisionist rulers of the USSR, there was little understanding of the class basis of the Soviet ruling class, or that capitalism had been restored there and that the USSR was governed by capitalism's internal laws.

While the understanding that was prevalent in the 1960s among the radicalized petty bourgeoisie was never fully scientific, its revolutionary thrust was able to lead to advances in the struggle. But it was never correct to view what was then the principal contradiction in the 1960s (between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed peoples of the Third World) as something permanent and unchanging, and under today's conditions, such a view is incapable of advancing the struggle forward as other contradictions, especially the conflict between rival imperialist powers, intensify.

The USSR's role in the world is no longer largely one of surrender and capitulation. In the late 50s and into the 60s, though the bourgeoisie held power in the Soviet Union, they were in the process of wrecking the socialist economic base and reorganizing society along capitalist lines. They sought to avoid large-scale international conflict with the U.S. Khrushchev even "theorized" about this, speaking about the "danger" of smaller wars of national liberation "sparking global holocaust." But today, with their wrecking complete and their state capitalist economy fully geared up, they are increasingly driven by capitalism's law—expand or die—into sharper and sharper conflict with the other superpower.

Unless the class nature of the USSR is understood, the Soviets can appear, on the surface, to be becoming more "revolutionary." They have toned down their nonsense about "the peaceful road to socialism" and turned up the volume on their claims to be the staunch

ally of the oppressed peoples of the world. But the Soviets' opposition to the U.S. has nothing to do with supporting the fight for national liberation and socialism and has everything to do with furthering its own imperialist aims.

Angola

It is in this context that the recent events in Angola take on a particular importance. The developments in Angola are a very striking illustration of the direction in which the world is headed—both the growth of revolutionary struggle of the masses and the squaring off of the U.S. and the USSR. It was during the Angolan war that the *Guardian* revealed the full flowering of its incorrect line, which obscures the real nature of the Angola conflict, reverses right and wrong, and even launches an assault on the Marxist-Leninist line on the world situation.

For ten years the Angolan people had been waging an armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists backed to the hilt by the U.S. In the course of this long struggle, three different organizations developed, each of which participated in the fighting to one degree or another, and each of which was based mainly among one of three tribal groupings located in different sections of Angola.

The struggle of the people of Angola and the other Portuguese colonies greatly weakened the Portuguese colonial regime and contributed to the toppling of the old reactionary government. Soon after the old Portuguese regime had been toppled, the two superpowers swooped down on Angola like vultures, each pouring millions of dollars of military equipment to the organizations they hoped to control.

The U.S. pumped arms to the FNLA and UNITA while the Soviet Union, who had given only the most token aid in the long war against Portugal, sent loads of up-to-date military equipment to the MPLA. By contrast, the People's Republic of China, which had given military aid to all three organizations during the anti-colonial war, ceased providing aid to any of the three groups and instead called on them to abide by an agreement worked out under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity which called for the three groups to unite and form a representative government.

Quickly this superpower intervention developed into full-scale war. At that point, both superpowers sent soldiers from countries under their control to fight for the side they were backing. Over 10,000 Cuban soldiers were sent riding in on Soviet tanks and planes to fight for the MPLA. South African troops and mercenaries were sent by the U.S. to fight for the FNLA and UNITA forces.

Thus superpower intervention turned the development of the struggle away from progressive struggle against imperialism and into a war between the superpowers themselves by proxy—with Angolans and soldiers from other countries doing the fighting and dying.

How did the *Guardian* portray these events? The *Guardian* held that only the MPLA was a "legitimate" liberation organization, the other two were simply tools of imperialism. What was their evidence of this? That the FNLA and UNITA took aid from the U.S.

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Only by understanding the actual world situation will it be possible to advance the struggle against the U.S. ruling class and it is impossible to understand the world today without recognizing the real nature of the USSR. The important thing is to arm the working class with an understanding of the class basis of the Soviet Union and why, for example, Cuban troops were sent to Angola. This book and pamphlet provide a comprehensive, fact-filled analysis of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and the role of its Cuban neo-colony.



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Imperialist War and The Interests of the Proletariat

As the contention between the two superpowers increasingly heads toward war, communists must work to arm the working class with a clear class understanding of the situation. This will not only enable the workers to make the superpowers' war preparations more difficult but also, should war break out, help them seize the opportunities the war presents to advance the struggle for socialist revolution.

Unfortunately a tendency has arisen among some Marxist-Leninists in several imperialist countries within the bloc headed by the U.S. to make an incorrect and one-sided analysis of the present situation, and as a result to view the Soviet Union as the main enemy of the world's people. This is a step away from the correct and, until recently, generally held view: that the U.S. ruling class is being challenged by its up-and-coming rival in the Soviet Union for control of the imperialist world, that this imperialist rivalry is the cause of the growing danger of a new world war, and that the two superpowers comprise together the main enemy of the world's people. As opposed to the correct view, this new tendency has dangerous implications for the revolutionary strategy of workers in many countries. As Mao Tsetung points out, "The principle of using different methods to resolve different contradictions is one which Marxist-Leninists must strictly observe." ("On Contradiction," *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 322)

This is a lesson that should be kept in mind in analyzing the question of war, particularly by those who argue that "reading between the lines" of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China reveals that they are not serious about opposing both superpowers as the main enemies of the world's people. This ignores the different situation and contradictions faced by the working class when it holds state power and deals with other nations, including imperialist ones, on a state to state level. A *Revolution* article on world war published in November, 1975 explained this: "As a country where the working class is in power, China is able to use its diplomacy and state to state relations to make use of contradictions among the imperialist and reactionary forces, and to build unity between peoples and countries in resisting superpower domination."

Where the working class is suffering under and struggling against the dictatorship of capital, it doesn't have the freedom to employ this method nor is it compelled to make the compromises necessary to carry it out.

This article will deal with the errors that arise from a one-sided view of the world situation and show how the strategy of "aiming the main blow at the Soviet Union" is the wrong method for communists to use in building the struggle for proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries in the U.S. bloc under present conditions.

The Question of the USSR

What are the facts about the Soviet Union? Its rulers are a young, lean and hungry class of imperialists driven by the most basic laws of capitalism to expand their empire or face being crushed at the hands of more successful imperialists. To expand they have to challenge the American capitalist class, which established itself as the most powerful imperialist country and the main exploiter and oppressor of the world's people following World War 2. To make this challenge they have to be more aggressive, make more rapid war preparations, and so on than their better-established rivals. To conclude from this, however, that the Soviet Union is the cause of war or the main enemy is incorrect.

As long as there are imperialist countries, they will be driven by the basic laws of capitalism itself to dominate and exploit other countries and to expand at the expense of their competitors. At any given time, some will be more successful than others, and the haves will always seek to hang onto and expand what they've got as much as their have-not brethren will try and take it away from them. This uneven development will always lead to war—the only way the imperialists can resolve the contradiction. It is imperialism itself that causes war.

The superpower drive toward war exists now because the Soviet capitalists can only establish their dominance over the imperialist world through armed conflict. Likewise the American capitalists can only reconsolidate their domination by crushing their rivals, in particular beating down the Soviet challenge, through war. To identify the New Tsars of the USSR as the cause of war is simply to defend the status quo in the world, and thus the U.S. imperialists.

What of the U.S.? Do its rulers need defending?

U.S. imperialism is far weaker than it was even a decade ago, when it was the undoubted No. 1 imperialist power. It is caught in the quicksand of economic crisis, under attack from imperialist rivals and moves toward independence in the Third World, and more and more, mistrusted by the broad masses of American people, whose struggle against their rulers is growing more intense.

Vicious infighting within the capitalists' ranks hampers their ability to deal effectively with the challenge of the less fragmented Soviet ruling class and its more tightly controlled bloc. None of this, however, justifies depicting the U.S. monopolists as senile and toothless, barely able to oppress and exploit any longer, let alone defend their empire or defeat their rivals in a war.

This is ridiculous on the face of it—the American ruling class continues to plunder untold billions from its worldwide empire annually and to maintain and modernize its armed forces around the globe to protect that empire. It is hardly so aged as to forget its class interests and permit the Soviets to move in on its action without a fight, as the defeats it has recently handed Moscow's ambitions in Egypt and Portugal clearly demonstrate.

Those who feel the U.S. can be "counted out" in advance fail completely to understand the effect the approach and outbreak of war can have, and is beginning to have, on the American ruling class. War is precisely what is required to galvanize them into decisive action and deal with many of the problems they face. It would cause further concentration of capital and necessitate more rational bourgeois "planning" and the all-out employment of America's vast productive forces, far greater and more developed than the USSR's, thus giving new life to the shaky economy.

The outbreak of war would greatly strengthen U.S. influence over the "allies" who rely on its armed might, like the lesser imperialists and many of the Third World nations. This tendency can be seen today in the moves by many NATO members, chief among them the U.S., to beef up that military pact.

And what more convincing basis is there for the capitalists to win the working class and masses of people to "national unity"—not to mention anti-communist sentiments—than a holy war against "Red Russia"? Like the export of capital, war is no "policy" that the U.S. monopoly capitalists can choose to employ at their whim, it is a necessary, and to the capitalists frequently desirable, part of the way their system works.

Of course, as such wars drag on, especially if there is no clear-cut "victory," they place increasing strains on the whole society and intensify the suffering of the masses and the basic contradictions of society. This is exactly why war often leads to a revolutionary crisis. But that doesn't change the fact that at the start of a war it may temporarily help the ruling class stave off a crisis.

What Kind of War?

The nature of a war between these two superpowers can thus be readily summed up—it would be an imperialist war between camps headed by the two superpowers over the redivision of the world, centering in all likelihood, like the last two, in Europe.

During World War 1, V. I. Lenin, great leader of the international proletariat, waged a sharp struggle against self-proclaimed "socialists" who came up with dozens of excuses for deciding that the "main enemy" was whatever side their own rulers were fighting. He pointed out, "Dialectics calls for a many-sided investigation into a given social phenomenon in its development," and, he added, it calls for the "external" and the "seeming" to be "reduced to the fundamental motive forces, to the development of the productive forces and to the class struggle."

Then, criticizing one particular opportunist, he continued, "He does not make the slightest attempt to study the economic and diplomatic history of at least the past three decades, which history proves conclusively that the conquest of colonies, the looting of foreign countries, the ousting and ruining of the more successful rivals have been the backbone of the politics of both groups of the now belligerent powers." ("The Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 218, emphasis Lenin's) Can it be denied that these words apply with remarkable aptness to the world situation today?

Furthermore, Lenin dealt in this context with some of the specific arguments being heard again today, for instance the position that the "aggressor" is the guilty party in such a war:

"Both groups of belligerent nations were systematically preparing the very kind of the war such as the pre-

sent. The question of which group dealt the first military blow or first declared war is immaterial in any determination of the tactics of socialists. Both sides' phrases on the defence of the fatherland, resistance to enemy invasion, a war of defense, etc., are nothing but deception of the people." (Lenin, "Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 159)

Likewise, Lenin heaped scorn on "sophists" who attempted to make out that one group of imperialists was somehow less nasty or more democratic than the others. If a French or British opportunist upheld his republican form of bourgeois government against Germany, Lenin would remind him of their alliance with Tsarist Russia, "the most reactionary and barbarous of governments." If a German "socialist" pointed self-righteously at the Tsar—"German imperialism too is monarchist; its aims are feudal and dynastic." (The European War and International Socialism, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 22)

What about the savage repression by the New Tsars of the masses in Russia and in the Eastern European nations their troops occupy? Does this make the USSR "the greater evil"? For all imperialists, their form of rule—fascist or "democratic"—is geared to suit their needs at a particular time and place. Consider the U.S. imperialists—the butchers who murdered hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, to cite one crime in an endless list—and their allies, the white settler government of South Africa, the Israeli Zionists, Spain, the blood-soaked Shah of Iran.

With Lenin's analysis of the first great imperialist war holding so many lessons on how to sum up the drive to war of the two superpowers, it makes equal sense to study the method by which Lenin and the Russian working class resolved this contradiction—working for the defeat of the Tsarist government in the war in order to weaken it and facilitate its overthrow by revolution. Here is the key to how the working class attacks war, not by "dealing the main blow" at the rising imperialist power on behalf of the status quo, but by destroying through revolution in one country after another the real cause of war, the imperialist system!

The Western European Nations

One particular justification for the tendency toward a "USSR is the main enemy" line at this time is the "national independence" or "national defense" of the lesser imperialist powers of Western Europe from the Soviet menace. Western Europe will more than likely be a major battlefield in any new world war, and under these circumstances occupation by one or both superpowers is a foregone conclusion. Already one third of the U.S. Army's combat divisions are stationed in West Germany.

Struggles taking place in Western Europe against American troops and other superpower bullying are significant and should be strengthened. However, it is wrong to equate the situation in these countries with the Chinese people's Anti-Japanese United Front of the late 1930s and early '40s, or with the struggles of some Third World countries today where even when sections of the ruling classes are in the leadership of the national struggle, they can be united with "insofar as they continue to oppose imperialism." (*Programme* of the RCP, p. 74)

As Mao Tsetung points out, "Qualitatively different contradictions can only be resolved by qualitatively different methods. For instance the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is resolved by the method of socialist revolution; the contradiction between the great masses of the people and the feudal system is resolved by the method of democratic revolution; the contradiction between the colonies and imperialism is resolved by the method of national revolutionary

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Revolution

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Third U.S.-China Friendship Convention

This coming Labor Day weekend in Philadelphia, the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association will be holding its third national convention. During the last year the Association has made many advances in its work of reaching out to people from all walks of life with the truth about the People's Republic of China. The American people have a widespread interest in China and the Association has done valuable work in answering the many questions people have about the Chinese people and their social system.

The time is ripe for further advances in building active people to people friendship and the national convention can go a long way to laying the basis for greater successes in the coming year. The Revolutionary Communist Party wishes the Association every success during the national convention and for its work in the future. ■

Down With San Quentin 6 Frame-Up

On August 22, 1971, George Jackson, a prisoner in California's San Quentin Prison and a revolutionary, was murdered by prison guards. Jackson's assassination was covered up by prison guards who called it an attempted escape. Two other prisoners and three guards were killed. Six Black and Latin prisoners were accused of murder, conspiracy to commit murder and assault.

Early this August, five years later, after a 15-month trial, three of the defendants, Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate and Luis Talamantez, were acquitted. Johnny Spain was convicted of two counts of murder. David Johnson and Hugo Pinell were convicted of assault.

The trial was a vicious farce from the start. Not only was it an attempt to cover the murder of Jackson, it was intended to insure the execution or life imprisonment of six men who had refused to bend and crawl in the face of the brutality and inhumanity of the capitalists' prison system. Like George Jackson, who was sentenced to an indeterminate sentence for a \$70 robbery when he was 18 and spent the next 10 years behind bars, these men had a deep hatred for the capitalist system.

The prosecution conceded it could not pin specific murders on specific defendants. In fact they had no evidence that any of the defendants had killed anyone. But they relied on the perjured testimony of other prison guards and the final instruction of the judge who told the jury that they must find the defendants guilty of crimes they didn't commit if they knowingly aided the perpetrator of the crime. He said they must be convicted even if the defendants didn't even know about the murders, if they were committed by a person a defendant aided and abetted knowingly in another crime, if the crimes could be linked.

The lynch pin of the prosecution's case was their preposterous claim that Jackson smuggled a 9mm automatic pistol into the maximum security adjustment center by balancing it on his head and hiding it with an Afro wig in order to start a prison break. The six defendants were supposed to be part of this alleged escape plot. Their "proof" was that one of the guards said he heard a Spanish speaking person talk to Pinell about the killing of the guards afterwards. Fleeta Drumgo was supposed to have kicked one of the guards who had been tied up by Jackson.

The whole prosecution case was as weak as wet tissue. The defense and numerous others, including several bourgeois newspapers, proved that it was physically impossible for Jackson to have smuggled in a gun as the prison officials claimed. In addition he was

Editorials

Tal Zaatar Will Be Avenged

After weeks of heroic resistance, the Tel Zaatar Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon fell under the assaults of reactionaries.

The capture of the camp was accompanied by the bloodiest massacre yet reported in the 16 month war.



Tel Zaatar had been the home of 15,000 Palestinian refugees. Many had been in the camp since they were driven from their homes by the Zionists in 1948. Those left at the end of the siege by the Syrian backed forces of the Lebanese reactionaries reported that all of the men were rounded up after the surrender and shot, their bodies pushed into a huge common grave by bulldozers.

The U.S. imperialists and their Zionist allies in Israel have been gloating over the blows being dealt to the Palestinian resistance movement since the Syrian army marched into Lebanon to prop up the fascist Phalange and other forces of the Christian wing of the Lebanese ruling class.

Syria's goal is clear: to crush the Palestinian resistance and bring it under their control and that of the leaders of other Arab states. And despite Egypt's sudden friendliness to the PLO, their support is a well recognized sham. They all see this as the opportunity to put the Palestinians on a leash and work out a settlement with Israel that would include a guarantee of continued Zionist control of Palestine.

The Syrians are attacking the Palestinians and popular Lebanese forces with Soviet made weapons. The Soviets, who have looked at Syria as key to their hopes of dominating the Middle East, have limited themselves to a few mild protests, while proclaiming their support for the Palestinians. Of course they are continuing to resupply the Syrian forces.

But it is the U.S. imperialists, long the dominant imperialist power in Lebanon, who stand to make the greatest gain. They see the chance to remove the main obstacle to a settlement between Israel and the Arab regimes that will leave the U.S. in the position of dominant powerbroker: the Palestinian resistance.

Their hope is an illusion. The schemes of the U.S. and the other imperialists have not stopped the struggle of the Palestinian people. The day will come when they are held fully accountable for their crimes. ■

skin searched before and after going to the visitors room where he was allegedly smuggled the gun by attorney Stephen Bingham, who has been missing since that day and whom many feel was also murdered as part of the Jackson assassination coverup.

The defense had several witnesses who gave firsthand testimony to what many people had long known: that the capitalists and their prison officials had been out to kill Jackson for some time. Louis Tackwood, a former paid agent of the Los Angeles Police Department, testified that his assignment had been to locate and organize individuals who were interested in freeing Jackson and help them organize an abortive plot in which they and Jackson would be killed.

In fact, Jackson and two other prisoners had earlier been framed on a charge of murdering a prison guard at Soledad Prison. In a trial that began after Jackson's death the other two defendants, Fleeta Drumgo and

John Cluchette, were acquitted.

Spurred on by the high tide of the Black liberation struggle of the 1960s, a powerful movement developed among prisoners against the capitalists' barbaric penal system used to enforce their rule over the masses of people. George Jackson was singled out by the bourgeoisie because he became a powerful spokesman for that movement. He had gained national and international prominence by writing two books which exposed the corruption and bankruptcy of the prison system and called for the overthrow of capitalism.

Time and again the bourgeoisie has shown to what lengths they will go to silence leaders of the masses' struggle and to crush the struggle itself. But the people will not forget the assassination of George Jackson. Neither will further outrages like the convictions of three of the San Quentin Six still the struggle and resistance of their brothers and sisters in prison. ■

Publications

- Auto and the Workers Movement. 75 cents.
- 200 Years is Long Enough. 50 cents.
- Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. 175 pages. \$1.00.
- Our Class Will Free Itself And All Mankind Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. 30 pages. 75 cents.
- CUBA: The Evaporation of a Myth. Reprinted from *Revolution*, February 15, 1976. In English and Spanish. Footnotes in English. 48 pages. 50 cents.

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(The following publications were originally published by the Revolutionary Union and were adopted by the RCP, USA, Oct. 1975)

- How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle. 156 pages. \$2.50.
 - The Chicano Struggle and the Struggle for Socialism. 59 pages. \$1.50.
- (The following reprints from *Revolution* are available in English and Spanish.)
- Revolution: Only Road to Women's Liberation. 25 cents.
 - Classes and Class Struggle. 10 cents.
 - Proletarian Dictatorship vs. Bourgeois "Democracy." 10 cents.
 - Correct Line Achieved Through Study, Struggle, Criticism. 10 cents.
 - How Socialism Wipes Out Exploitation. 10 cents.
 - The Party—Invincible Proletarian Vanguard. 10 cents.

Bulk rates available on request. Please prepay all orders to RCP Publications, Inc., PO Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.



Auto workers from around the Country march on the UAW's Solidarity House. Afterwards a two day conference took up many of the key questions in auto.

Two Day Meeting Follows Demo

Auto Rank and File Make Contract Plans

On Friday, August 18 over 100 rank and file auto workers from around the country took part in a militant picket at Solidarity House in Detroit, the United Auto Workers International headquarters. The action was organized by Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 (AWUF), a rank and file committee of auto workers formed to build the '76 contract fight. It was followed by a successful two day conference that discussed the central questions facing auto workers in this contract battle and beyond.

The demonstration was a real advance for AWUF and the workers movement. For months the companies, the union bosses and the media in Detroit have worked hard to spread an atmosphere of submission to a '76 sellout. But while Woodcock claimed that "there are no issues out there for the rank and file to get emotional about," the chants on the picket line reflected the stand of the workers: "Woodcock says give up, we say stand up," and "Begging bosses ain't our style, the real strength is the rank and file!"

The picket line reflected a real growth in AWUF since the demonstration by 40 auto workers at the March UAW convention. Auto workers in Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area and Atlanta contributed money to send representatives to the demonstration and the conference. And in several plants, like the GM Fremont, California plant, many workers wore buttons and armbands in solidarity with the demonstration. After the demonstration the auto workers from the AWUF went out to leaflet several Detroit area plants. The response at all was electric. "Where have you people been?" "This is just the thing we need" were common responses.

While the majority of workers responded enthusiastically to the fact that something was being done, still the question, the main question out there among the rank and file, was, "Can we really do something about a sellout?"

Conference

When the conference convened the next day, everyone was aware that, while the demonstration was a real advance, it was only a beginning. How to make AWUF a real center of resistance to a '76 sellout, how to dig in and build momentum for the rank and file, this was the central question the conference took up.

The auto workers at the conference dealt squarely with the fact that a sellout contract will be offered to the rank and file out of the negotiations, but that AWUF's task was to unite with the masses of auto workers, carry the battle into the union locals, develop rank and file initiative and momentum and organize for the broadest possible rejection of a sellout contract.

Local contracts were also discussed as important arenas of struggle over health and safety, production standards, seniority and classification questions, etc. It was emphasized that local contract battles, if waged as part of the overall national contract fight, and not of braking the stranglehold of the hacks around the contracts.

One of the key points that came out of the opening

day reports from the AWUF chapters around the country was the importance of the rank and file taking and holding the initiative in the struggles to beat back the companies' constant attacks. Only when the rank and file take matters into their own hands can they win as much as can be won in any struggle and build their unity and organization to continue the fight. It was pointed out, for example, that while the miners did not win the right to strike in their last contract, struggle around that issue at the time laid much of the basis for the fight against court injunctions and fines that brought 120,000 out on a wildcat strike in July and August.

It is only the organized strength of the rank and file that can defend past gains and win new ones. And the AWUF united around the view that the question of struggling against the companies cannot be limited to what comes up in the contract battles. The auto companies have gotten away with murder in the last three years. At least 50,000 jobs have been permanently eliminated in this productivity onslaught. Inflation has greatly eroded wages and turned "30 and out" on a fixed pension into a joke.

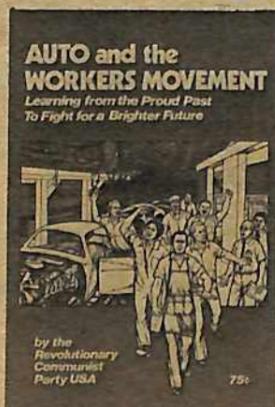
The '76 contract struggle was seen as a real opportunity for the rank and file to advance the fight against these and other abuses and also build rank and file organization that can "tear away the handcuffs that the UAW officials put on our struggle."

Much discussion focused on the various "takeaway" proposals coming from the big three. GM has been the most vocal in spearheading the attack, but all the Big 3 are united in their stand—to force auto workers to foot part of the bill in their health insurance, to do away with the right of locals to strike with binding ar-

This pamphlet lays out a battle plan for auto workers and points to the method for building today's struggle against the auto companies and their class and breaking the handcuffs of the union officials. It contains an exciting concise history of the great struggles to unionize the auto industry, including an analysis of the role of the old Communist Party, USA.

44 pages

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AUTO AND THE WORKERS MOVEMENT
Learning from the Proud Past to Fight for a Brighter Future, by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

AWUF '76 Program

The following are the demands being raised nationwide by Auto Workers United to Fight in '76. As they say in their national newsletter: "The demands we have listed here are not the only issues we face. But we feel that they represent the most important questions that the contracts pose nationally and are the key demands we should begin to unite around."

1. Full SUB benefits—No cutoffs!
2. Defend and extend our right to strike over speedup and all grievances!
3. No more forced overtime! No overtime at all in any plant where workers are on layoff!
4. An improved COLA and an across the board wage increase!
5. 30 and Out must be made a reality by having full cost of living on pensions!
6. Improved seniority and job rights!

bitration on all local grievances, to cut probationary workers' pay and benefits even further than they did in '73. Meanwhile AMC is talking about making overtime mandatory, ending the 1-35 steward ratio and the right to strike on all grievances.

Companies' Demands

The companies have two objectives in putting out these demands. One is to put the rank and file off guard and on the defensive, trying to make people forget that they have important demands of their own to advance. But it would be a serious error to assume that they raise them simply to allow the union leadership to pretend something has been won if the companies withdraw some of their more outrageous proposals.

Even in the "best of times" the companies take everything they can. Now, even though they had record profits in the second quarter of '76, their rate of profit returned on investments continues to sag. They are in a desperate situation. With a declining market their competition has intensified and to be able to compete they need a lot of capital. Just as auto workers are forced to fight back in order to survive, so must these capitalists attack us further in order to survive.

As the opening speech put it in setting the terms for the coming contract battle: "What it boils down to is war, the constant conflict of interest between the companies and us. And we have to deal not only with the other side, but with our own generals who are rooting the enemy on. Isn't that what is happening when Woodcock and the rest come on with how happy they are with the companies' 'profit recovery.' Look, they tell us, 'Why don't you be happy with that?'... (But) we aren't going along with the international's position that all we want is 'our fair share of the companies' growing profits.' Our cry is still 'to hell with their profits, organize to fight!' And it will be as long as there is us and there is them."

The masses of auto workers are outraged at the various takeaway proposals and are resolved to defend every inch of ground won in past battles. This was seen as a sentiment to unite with and build on, but at the same time the conference participants recognized that the contract struggle cannot just be seen as a question of repelling attacks, of losing ground. They united firmly around the AWUF demands. (see box) These demands are not gimmicks but real demands of the rank and file in the face of the companies' attacks. Each demand involves both defending past advances and building the strength to win new victories.

It was agreed that the fight around these demands must be taken out broadly into locals all over the country and that they should be made the basis for judging the contract. In two UAW locals the AWUF '76 demands have already been endorsed as the contract demands.

Growth of AWUF

At one point it was raised that other workers often asked if communists were involved in Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 and why. In discussion it was brought out that the Revolutionary Communist Party helped, along with other workers, to build AWUF. A party member, an auto worker, said that the RCP saw that it was important to build organizations like AWUF for two reasons: to build the day to day struggle and organization of the workers so that workers will not be crushed by the attacks of the capitalists and the treachery of their allies in the top leadership of the unions and, secondly, to develop the strength of the working class for the bigger battles that we will fight including emancipating ourselves from the treadmill of capitalist exploitation once and for all. This is why the RCP has supported AWUF and will continue to help build it and join in the struggle around its pro-

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Hits Oppression in Chinatown, Manilatown

Eviction Battle Grows in S.F.

For eight years the residents of the International Hotel in San Francisco's Chinatown-Manilatown area have successfully battled repeated efforts at eviction. In recent months this struggle has grown rapidly as the current owner, Four Seas Corporation, has made a push to kick out residents of the I-Hotel as well as the adjoining Victory Building and several other nearby hotels to make way for demolition and redevelopment. Raising the slogan "No Evictions—We Won't Move" in English, Chinese and Tagalog, tenants and supporters have made the fight to defend these hotels a focus of sharp class struggle throughout the Bay Area.

On July 31, the day the Victory Building tenants were to be evicted, 400 people, mostly workers from the Chinatown-Manilatown area, packed the Chinese Cultural Center for a program of solidarity sponsored by a committee formed to defend the I-Hotel and the Victory Building and the May First Workers Organization. A retired seaman told the audience, "You know all those young people and old men on Kearny Street? No one's going to move them out. They're gonna win! Everyone is saying that....The I-Hotel has become a battle line of resistance around the way millions of us are forced to live."

The 80 residents of the International Hotel itself are mainly retired Chinese and Filipino workers. Most of the residents of the Victory Building are retired Chinese workers and workers of other nationalities live in surrounding hotels slated for demolition. Many are in their 70s, 80s and 90s. They have toiled long years for the capitalists as agricultural laborers, seamen, restaurant workers. Many live on benefits of less than \$60 a month. In addition the I-Hotel houses the Asian Community Center, Everybody's Bookstore, a community art workshop and gallery and several commercial businesses.

Conditions in Chinatown

Chinatown-Manilatown is one of the most overcrowded slums in the country. 96,000 people live in a 15 block core area next to the city's financial district with its towering modern hotels and office buildings and skyrocketing land values. Many of the employed workers labor for poverty level piece-rate wages in the garment sweatshops or in the hundreds of restaurants in Chinatown. Thousands more are unemployed. 60% of the families are forced to subsist on yearly incomes of \$3000 or less. Almost half the housing units are single rooms in run-down hotels or above stores where families have to rent two or three rooms, often sharing communal kitchens and baths. Housing in the area is older than 95% of the housing in the rest of the Bay Area.

The capitalists care nothing about the miserable conditions the masses are forced to live in. But they are very concerned that these hotels and apartments now stand in the way of further commercial development that will put the valuable land to much more profitable use. The block of Kearny Street where the I-Hotel and the Victory Building now stand is all that is left of the Manilatown section that once covered 12 square blocks. Now the Transamerica Pyramid and the luxury Holiday Inn loom up in its place. Scores of other apartments and stores in Chinatown have already been marked for destruction, including the Chinatown YMCA.

The capitalists and their media have tried to cloak their efforts to level the homes of hundreds of workers in hypocritical expressions of sympathy for the "poor tenants" and meaningless "hopes" that they can be relocated in some other housing. But the tenants of the International Hotel and other hotels in the area, many of whom have already been evicted, have not been diverted by these lies. Many know that the capitalists will throw them into the street if they can, or worse.

Wave of Struggle

In 1968, the previous owner of the hotel, one of San Francisco's largest real estate corporations, was blocked in an eviction attempt by hundreds of people from the community and students who rallied to demand a new lease. Shortly afterwards an arson fire was set which destroyed the north wing of the hotel. Three workers, residents of the hotel, were killed. But this only made the tenants more determined to fight. People from all over the Bay Area joined them in renovating the building and forced the owners to sign a new lease.

Since then struggle between workers in Chinatown

and the capitalists has grown sharper through a number of hard-fought conflicts. And this fight, hitting as it has at national oppression, has helped rally still broader forces into action in Chinatown. The unionization fights by electrical workers at Lee Mah Co. and garment workers at Jung Sai Co. were taken out to all the workers and the people broadly in Chinatown, and workers of all nationalities in dozens of industries in the Bay Area gave strong support to these strikes.

When Four Seas began its original efforts to evict the tenants, demonstrations were held with the slogan "Lee Mah, Jung Sai, I-Hotel Mean Fight Back!" Many workers in the Chinatown-Manilatown area have made the links between the countless struggles that working people are forced to wage for survival. As an old worker, well into his 80s and a resident of the I-Hotel, put it at the Cultural Center rally, "My friends, my brothers and sisters, the working people must unite to resist the attacks of the rich because without us they will perish, without them we can organize a new society, one that will respect human dignity."

The Chinese and Filipino residents of the International Hotel and Victory Building have felt bitterly the denial of dignity and the vicious national oppression of the capitalist system. Like many other elderly male Chinese workers, they are single. From the mid-1800s thousands of Chinese immigrants were brought to the U.S. They were put to work building railroads, digging mines and developing agriculture. Western woolen goods and cigar manufacturers used Chinese men to compete with Eastern factories that employed low-paid women and children. Chinese immigrants were followed by Filipino contract laborers. Since single men could be paid less than men with families, Asian women were generally prevented from entering the U.S. Chinese and Filipino men were long prohibited by law from marrying women of other nationalities. To this day there are a great many single Chinese and Filipino men who were prevented from raising families in the U.S.

An important advance in the current struggle was the formation of a committee to defend the I-Hotel. It is composed of residents of the International and other hotels in the immediate area, workers from the housing projects in Chinatown and people from the Asian Community Center. Numerous rallies, press conferences, car caravans, picket lines and marches have been held to build the fight against the evictions. From hotel to hotel and housing project to housing project in Chinatown and from there through all San Francisco, workers and others are being mobilized behind this fight against eviction. Over 5000 buttons have been distributed and everywhere in Chinatown-Manilatown people are wearing these "Fight for the I-Hotel" buttons.

When a local judge ordered all tenants to be out by

July 15, over 5000 signatures were collected in San Francisco on the committee's No Eviction petition and 400 people rallied and marched through Chinatown to protest. The court backed down and reset the eviction date for after the 18th of August when the California Supreme Court is supposed to make a decision on the legality of the eviction.

Now San Francisco Mayor Moscone has been forced by the growing support for the I-Hotel struggle to offer a plan to keep the tenants in the hotel. He says that maybe the city can buy the hotel from the Four Seas Corporation and sell it back to the tenants. But the solution is full of "ifs"—if the Board of Supervisors says yes, if there is money, if Four Seas agrees to sell, etc.

There are some forces involved in the I-Hotel struggle who have put forward the line of relying on these judges and wheeling and dealing with the politicians in the back room. But as one member of the committee said, "It's OK with us if the city buys the I-Hotel. But Four Seas or the City Housing Authority—we won't let any landlord move us out."

In fact, the last year the City Housing Authority has evicted 134 people itself. The stand of the Committee is that the "plan is not worth a scrap of paper as long as the eviction order stands." There's nothing the capitalists would like better than for people to relax their efforts and cease to build the struggle, to abandon the phone tree that has been built to get hundreds of people to the hotel quickly if the sheriffs try to implement the eviction.

In fact efforts are now being stepped up to spread the struggle. In late July the May First Workers Organization organized a car caravan through many working class neighborhoods in San Francisco. Everywhere people raised their fists and expressed their support for the fight to save the I-Hotel. Black workers in the housing projects in Hunters Point and the Western Addition told how they were also being evicted in large numbers to make way for the capitalists' redevelopment plans and some wanted to know how they could link up with people fighting the Chinatown evictions.

One man in the Western Addition, who had just received his eviction notice, described how he had seen the police come to evict his neighbors a couple of months before—a 75 year-old retired minister and his blind wife. They were put out on the street and when the man protested, the cops shot and killed him, claiming that he had tried to attack them. The cops were exonerated in the killing, only receiving an admonition.

Tremendous Inspiration

The fighting spirit of so many of the very old men of the I-Hotel has been a tremendous inspiration and in many ways symbolizes the strength of the class that is developing through this and many other battles. Many walking with canes, bent from many years of exploitation and oppression at the hands of the capitalists, but strong in spirit and fighting mad, they have mounted the speakers stand at several of the support rallies. "The capitalists cannot give us houses....We must get rid of them—Off our backs....We must not have this, this profits over people." Many have expressed the significance of the unity developing between workers of various nationalities in this struggle. Several have spoken of the time when the only whites they remembered in Chinatown were the police and

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The bitter struggle of tenants in the I-Hotel and the Victory Bldg. has brought other tenants from Chinatown and other communities to fight evictions and has won active support of workers and others throughout the Bay Area.

Struggle In South Africa Escalates

Another massive wave of struggle has swept South Africa while in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) the reactionary government has escalated its terroristic military actions in the face of a mounting popular war of liberation. Throughout the southern part of Africa the barbaric rule of the racist regimes is being shaken to its foundations and their doom is only a matter of time. The heroic struggle of the African peoples is a great inspiration to all those who struggle for freedom from oppression and a real blow to both U.S. and British imperialism who have profited for decades from this oppression and exploitation.

The latest struggle in South Africa erupted only 50 days after the upsurge of tens of thousands in June. That struggle started with black students in the township of Soweto when the government tried to impose Afrikaans in the black schools, a Dutch based language symbolic of the apartheid system. The resistance spread throughout the country. It forced the government to back down in its attempt to use the language in the schools.

Since that time the government has stepped up still further their vicious repression of the 18 million blacks of the country—80% of the population. Flaunting their heavily armed police, which had killed hundreds by machine guns a few weeks before, the ruling class announced "special detention" powers, at first for the Transvaal area which includes Soweto. In August this was extended to the whole country. Anyone the government considered a leader in the June demonstrations was rounded up and some mysteriously "committed suicide" in prison. All black schools were closed, all open air meetings were banned and it became illegal for whites to go to black residential areas. Every day, but especially when the government heard rumors that new demonstrations would be held, large numbers of heavily armed police roamed the streets looking for an excuse to beat anyone.

But in the face of this desperate show of force the black people not only continued their just struggle but escalated it. Throughout the country's black schools students organized a boycott of classes. Clashes with the police and torching of government buildings and other buildings symbolic of the oppressive system continued sporadically.

Then on August 4 the struggle took a dramatic upturn. It started at daybreak in Soweto and a smaller township called Alexandria with young blacks parading along the railway lines carrying placards and giving the clenched fist salute. At least one train was stopped as the protest grew. Then in the heart of Soweto, black students gathered at Orlando Stadium to protest the detention of various student leaders since the June demonstrations. The crowd grew and about 20,000 people began to march towards the border of the all-black area. In desperation the police began firing on the marchers and at least three were officially listed as killed and scores injured. (It is impossible to say how many people actually have been killed since the police take the bodies away in trucks for secret burial.)

Throughout the Country

As in the June demonstrations, these too spread throughout the country. After the August 4 demonstration students at two other African universities, one in the Transvaal and the other in Natal Province, voted to boycott all classes in solidarity with the students in Soweto. Then on August 11 crowds of students in the black townships around Cape Town, an area that up to now had remained quiet, marched out of their classes, stoned cars and jeered riot police.

But unlike the August 4 demonstrations in Soweto which involved mainly students, these Cape Town rebellions were on a much broader scale, involving mainly workers. A special focus of bitterness in these riots were the "pass laws" and laws of "influx control" which force black workers in the Cape Town area and other urban areas to live without their wives and children. Many men are allowed to see their families only three weeks out of a year. So many government administration buildings, Dutch reform churches, government cars, and other symbols of apartheid were burned in the three African townships of Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga that a worried police officer commented that there was likely to be a lull in the fighting if for no other reason than "there is nothing left for them to burn."

As this new wave of rebellions shows, the struggle

in South Africa is deepening, becoming more politically conscious and better organized. Many of the black "leaders" promoted by the South African ruling class have been exposed as puppets. White liberal spokesmen are being left behind. Students are secretly organizing on campus and electing militant leadership for their struggle. Other organizations are either coming together or replacing compromising leaders with leaders committed to furthering the struggle. As one black worker summed up after the June demonstrations, "They have taught us force. That's what we'll use."

Another significant aspect in the struggle has been the participation of whites. The August 4 demonstrations in Soweto were supported by a group of students at the white University of Cape Town who demonstrated outside their main hall. Later nearly 800 students from the same university marched to join the demonstrations when they broke out in a nearby black township. In panic, the government had them all arrested. This activity further exposes the lie spread by the U.S. imperialists that the struggle in South Africa is a "race war," not the just struggle of an oppressed people against an imperialist backed racist regime.

Just as this struggle is striking a blow at U.S. and British imperialism, so too is the struggle of the people



Chinese and Zambian workers work side by side to build a roadbed through a marsh, one of the many obstacles conquered in the course of building the Tanzam railway.

Tanzam Railway A Blow to Imperialism

On July 14 the Tanzam Railway was officially opened. The 1150 mile railroad links the African countries of Tanzania and Zambia and gives landlocked Zambia a new outlet to the ocean. The project, built with aid from the People's Republic of China, is a great victory in black Africa's struggle against colonialism's legacy of underdevelopment and the ongoing struggle against imperialism.

In the mid-60s when the leaders of Tanzania and Zambia asked for help to build a railway linking their countries, the imperialist powers told them their railway was unnecessary and uneconomical. The imperialists had built many railways in Africa, practically all of them running from the coast to mining areas to enable the imperialists to steal the natural resources of Africa.

Tanzania and Zambia wanted the railway to develop the interiors of their countries and so that Zambia would not have to depend on the railroad running through the territory of the racist regime of Rhodesia to get to the sea. It was "unnecessary and uneconomical" for the imperialists because the Tanzam would not be built with exploitation and oppression in mind.

In 1967 the two countries and the People's Republic of China signed an agreement for constructing the Tanzam railway. China offered money, technical help and workers. Julius K. Nyerere, president of Tanzania, commented about the quality of Chinese aid during a visit to the People's Republic in 1974. He said: "The rich nations of the world talk about aid to the poor nations. A few of them give it, but many attempt to use the concept of aid as a cover for further exploitation. China, which is not a rich country, has talked about nothing. It has simply made it possible for us to have a railway linking our two independent African frontier states, without profiting out of our need or even making great propaganda out of it..."

Building the Tanzam railway was a struggle in itself. Construction began in 1970. Over 300 bridges, more than 20 tunnels and over 2200 culverts had to be built. Tens of thousands of Tanzanian, Zambian and Chinese workers moved nearly 100 million cubic meters of earth. And the railroad route crossed many uninhabited areas and areas once thought impossible for railroad building.

The building of the railway was taken up in a mass way by the peoples of the two African countries, recognizing that its completion was a blow to their

of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). This was brought to light when the Rhodesian government massively bombed guerrilla camps inside Mozambique on August 8. Although this raid resulted in heavy casualties, it is an indication not of the growing strength of the Rhodesian government but of their growing desperation and of the strength of the liberation struggle which has grown steadily over the last few months. At present guerrilla forces have effectively extended their control to four liberated areas and no amount of bluster on the part of the Rhodesian government can change the military and political effect that this has on the Rhodesian regime.

All this points to the excellent situation forged by the people's struggle in southern Africa. For years U.S. and British imperialism have built up the system of white rule as a way to enforce the super-exploitation of the black workers in these countries and reap great profit. But in spite of obstacles, in spite of the maneuvering of various imperialists, including the Soviet Union, in spite of increasingly vicious repression, the fury of the masses of African people, their growing organization and political consciousness, is a force that cannot be kept down for long. The people in these countries are rising up to smash down their oppressors and their struggle will surely not stop until they win their final emancipation. ■

countries' dependence on imperialism. At one point in the construction it became difficult to transport in sand from a source 60 miles away. When the Zambian peasants in the area heard about the need to find sand locally, they began scouring the bush to find new sources. Some walked miles to bring the builders a sample and finally a new source was found. The same spirit was shown by the Tanzanian and Zambian workers who built the railway, and by the Chinese who shared all hardships with them.

The official title of the Tanzam is the Uhuru (Freedom) Railway. The significance of the project lies partly in the kind of aid given Tanzania and Zambia by the People's Republic of China. The two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, anxiously try to peddle their foreign "aid" to Third World countries, hoping to get their feet in the door to further exploitation and binding the countries closer into the superpowers' orbits by the need to pay off loans, buy spare parts, or use particular technologies.

The People's Republic extended aid in the spirit of friendship and cooperation. China took on a task the imperialists would not, lending the two countries \$250 million without interest and allowing greatly deferred payments. China's interest was only to help two newly independent countries safeguard their independence by helping them to rely on themselves and not have to beg the superpowers for their sham "aid."

In the spirit of internationalism many Chinese workers and technicians volunteered to spend long months away from their homes and shared labor and hardships side by side with the African workers.

The Tanzam Railway is a great achievement. Though by itself it cannot completely free these countries from imperialism, it assists them on the road of independent development. The twin ribbons of steel are a part of the noose that is now slipping around the racist settler states of southern Africa.

But even though a battle has been won, the war cannot be over. The U.S. and the USSR are both hungrily eyeing the black-ruled countries in southern Africa. And neither has run out of schemes. The battle these international bandits fought by proxy in Angola is witness to the lengths they will go.

The victory of the Tanzam Railway must be vigilantly guarded. If the masses of Tanzania and Zambia can build the great railway, surely they can advance to final victory! ■

Miners ...

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Virginia to negotiate with the BCOA. This is a big advance for rank and file miners.

Unity around the demands was built by distributing leaflets widely and holding dozens of rallies, car caravans and meetings. This made it harder for UMWA president Arnold Miller and the companies to sow confusion about the demands and weaken the strike like they were able to do during last summer's right to strike wildcat of 80,000 miners.

Some forces tried to narrow the struggle to simply demanding dropping the fines and injunctions against the Cedar Coal local and ignoring demands against all fines, all injunctions and all jailings. These same people also attempted to sabotage the struggle by trying to get the strike to focus on demanding an investigation of the "few corrupt judges," which would have let capitalists off the hook for setting up the courts and the whole state machine to enforce their profit system.

Miller tried to confuse the miners by saying that injunctions could not be stopped except by including the right to strike in the contract and that had to wait until contract time.

Red Baiting

Some local presidents came at it from still another angle, saying that the Cedar Coal injunction had nothing to do with the right to strike—even though the reason companies use injunctions is to break strikes—and if anyone raised the demand for the right to strike they'd "pull out." In the same way, they tried to isolate the Miners Right to Strike Committee, blaming the committee for the "defeat" of last year's wildcat, saying that if any Right to Strike Committee members were involved, "We're pulling out." They also tried red-baiting, making the claim that one or two communists were responsible for the strike.

None of these maneuvers were able to smash the strike. The miners took up each of these attempts and in the process built their unity around the demands and their organized ability to carry out the strike.

As the strike continued, the coal company owners and the rest of the capitalist class tried a thousand ways to strangle the strike. It was cutting deep into their profits and challenging the authority of their courts. From one side of their mouth they talked about how much the strike was costing the miners—toting up their lost wages each day—and especially miners' pensions, which are funded by payments based on the amount of coal being mined. From the other, they put ads in many newspapers screaming about "anarchy" in the coalfields saying, "Are gangs of pickets, some brandishing shotguns, roving across state lines beyond the reach of Federal and state police powers?...Are Federal Judges in southern West Virginia helpless against raw intimidation, and without recourse to Federal Marshals?...Federal, State, and Congressional leaders have a clear responsibility to end coalfield chaos." These ads were nothing less than a plea by the BCOA for the government to use arms against the miners.

Miller Scurries About

But the main way the capitalists worked was through the UMWA top leadership, especially Arnold Miller. They called on him to bust the strike and he hopped all over the strike area to do their dirty work.

During the third week of the strike Miller held meetings in Ohio, northern West Virginia and several other districts to try to break the strike outside the strike's center, and where it was strongest, in southern West Virginia. While Miller chased around the miners built up their communication and organization.

Rallies were held up and down the coalfields. 1000 miners rallied in Moundsville, W. Va., including miners from across the river in Ohio. 300 miners rallied August 4 in West Franklin, Illinois; 1000 miners in Charleston on August 6. In Sophia, W. Va. there were many rallies, one of them involving around 1000 miners, others ranging from 400 to 800. Not only were Miller's strikebreaking plans defeated, the strike grew from 80,000 to 120,000 miners.

Then Miller and the International Executive Board (IEB), who have been at each other's throats for a long time but who have united against the rank and file, came into Charleston waving around the 10 Point Program to end wildcats. It is a program cooked up by the IEB after last year's right to strike wildcat to shackle the strike movement, and grant the IEB disciplinary power over "troublemakers."

Miller called for a rally of "honest union men" on August 8 at Cedar Grove, trying to whip up support for a "back to work movement." Several hundred honest union men went to Cedar Grove, all right! Miller, fearing for his life, didn't show. The same day 200 of those men went to Madison, south of Charleston, to see about a back to work rally that had been called for



This scene, repeated throughout the coalfields, has been giving the coal bosses fits.

there. They got there and found no one who would admit to calling the rally for which no one turned out. That night hundreds of miners met to lay plans for continuing the strike.

During the fourth week Miller was able to sneak into a remote part of District 31 and a back to work rally of 400 miners was held. Then he planned to meet with the Cedar Coal local, threatening them with the 10 Point Program, including the threat to put Local 1759 into trusteeship—even though Miller had ridden to office in the first place by promising to uphold the autonomy of the locals, a demand which had arisen because of the use of this rotten tactic in the past. Rumors spread that all of District 17 would be tossed into trusteeship and individual miners expelled.

Miners met the challenge to the Cedar Coal local head on. Over 300 miners gathered and jammed Miller

Rubber ...

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agreement overall as a definite advance.

On the other hand, with the auto contract coming up soon and worried by the real inspiration this strike has been to other workers, the ruling class has tried to write off these gains and the rubber workers' militancy by saying, "Well, they had it especially bad and were just trying to catch up with other workers and really this is a unique case." In this way they hope to blunt the cutting edge of the strike, which was not about catching up with other workers but about rubber workers, like all workers, bending every effort to catch up with what they need.

Breaking Through Obstacles

From day one of the strike, workers had to wrestle with injunctions and union officials who would talk a good rap but do little to advance the strike. One brazen example of this was a local official in Detroit who at a rally called on workers to shut down Uniroyal only to cancel out at the last minute. Then there was president Bommarito loudly proclaiming that rubber workers all over the world were honoring a ban on overtime work in support of the strike but doing nothing to stop workers in this country from working overtime in non-striking plants, to say nothing of drawing them into the strike. The result was that a whole lot of scab production got out.

The strikers have tried to break through these obstacles. Several attempts were made to spread the strike to Mohawk and General Tire, although none succeeded for longer than three days because of the inability of the strikers to spark and sustain organization among those workers. But it was in going up against the struck companies and bolstering the mass pickets that strikers gained the richest experience. How to shut these plants down tight and keep scabs out was the question debated by thousands of workers.

In the three locals in Akron, workers jammed their officials into calling mass pickets. At Goodyear, a core of rank and filers began to do this in a more systematic way, confronting their union officials together and being more active on the picket lines when these actions were called. These workers grew in number and became a strong force to defy the police when they came to enforce the injunction.

In early August, on their own, rank and filers organized mass pickets at Goodyear plants number 2 and number 5. In one confrontation, 34 were arrested. In another, the police arrived with paddy wagons and told the workers to disperse. The workers stood as one, about 100 of them, and refused. It was the cops who

for hours, hooting and jeering him and hamstringing his move against the local at that point. But the next morning Miller snuck into Welch in McDowell County and met with local union presidents there, again trying to get a back to work move rolling.

A little later, Miller moved on the Cedar Coal local again, threatening to expel everyone. Finally, the men of Local 1759 voted to go back to work, though less than half voted and only 75—out of a local of 213—voted in favor of returning. As word of this got around the strike wound down.

Several concessions were won. Federal judges dropped all criminal charges against the 213 Cedar Coal miners and men fired from Cedar Coal for picketing their own mine were rehired. Fines against the local were thrown out of court. Significantly, Arnold Miller was forced to say that he would go for a "limited right to strike" in the next contract.

The capitalists have not let up in their attacks on miners. They've tried to paint the massive walkout as an action caused by a handful, by "reds," and they've loaded the coalfields with FBI agents. They are doing everything they can to sum the strike up as a defeat.

In fact, even beyond the concessions the miners won, some very important gains were made, not only for the miners but for the whole working class. The strike blew away a lot of sand that the capitalists try to throw in workers' eyes about the role of the courts, which they would like us to think are "neutral" or a "third force" between the bosses and the workers instead of what they really are—part of the state apparatus by which the capitalists rule.

The strike also further exposed the class role of Miller and other traitors in the union whose very "friend of the rank and file" disguise is really a knife wielded by the capitalists to stab workers in the back. Miners see more clearly what the 10 Point Program means, who it serves and who it steps on. Part of the struggle in the near future will be to abolish it at the UMWA convention in Cincinnati in September, as well as preparing to bring the fight around other key demands of the rank and file, including the right to strike, to the convention, which will set the demands of the UMWA for the next contract. ■

turned around and dispersed.

An August 9 picket at Firestone marked a new step forward, not only in its size but in that workers from all three plants came out. The Goodyear workers were able to defy their union officials but the Firestone local officials had more influence. They told people to leave when the police arrived and were able to split off an active handful, the 40 who got arrested, from the rest. Yet the action overall fired workers up and the treacherous role of the union officials was more sharply posed than ever. And most important, for many more workers the question of dealing with the police, not just as a handful of strikers, but as a huge mass of strikers, became a bigger question than ever. And just before the agreement was announced, word of a more militant action was being spread.

As the strike intensified, so support grew. Auto and Steelworker locals raised thousands of dollars of support and sent solidarity messages to the strikers. In Cleveland members of the RCP, UWOC and other workers helped form a strike support committee which helped pickets to build the boycott of Firestone at Wards, K-Mart and Penneys.

In Detroit, Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 took up active support of the strike. A letter from the Cleveland committee to the striking workers explained why they saw the strike as being so important. "Many of us in our shops or on the unemployment lines have had our share of experience in going up against the bosses. We can point to some victories and to some setbacks, also. So we know what you are going through, the sacrifices and the risks, but mostly how important it is that you win. Like workers everywhere we've come to realize the real power we have and the real importance of building unity. Because whether you work for Goodrich or Firestone, or Republic or GM for that matter, we all got to work for a living and we all got to struggle against the owning class that basically sees us as just so much machinery to drive harder and harder. We have a common enemy, a common fight.

"To those of us in auto with a contract coming up soon, to those of us in steel with a no-strike deal gagging us, to all of us, in fact, the blows you're striking are blows for all workers." The Cleveland committee mobilized workers to come out to rallies and pickets and at the last Firestone picket, six members of the committee were arrested along with the strikers.

The general feeling on the picket line is that while not everything the workers wanted was won, the agreement is a step in the right direction and should be approved. But there's extreme concern that local issues, around which the strike could still continue, like work rules, not get swept under the rug in the companies' and union officials' headlong rush to end the strike. The companies have already tried to take the offensive in this situation by insisting the question of work rules won by the union in the past be opened up for "discussion." This obviously calls for a lot of vigilance.

But in the broader sense, assuming the package gets approved, and most rank and filers think it will, some

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Swine Flu Threat?

Vaccine Bottled Up In Profit System

The recent outbreak of "Legionaire's disease" in Philadelphia and the great publicity that surrounded it have brought to light the failure of the rulers of this country to make adequate preparations for the possibility of a major epidemic of swine flu. The capitalists and their government have done everything possible to turn that danger to their own profit, on the one hand spreading panic about the disease when it suited them and on the other holding up a campaign to prevent such an epidemic until their precious dollar return was guaranteed.

One of the things that has really frustrated people about this threat so far is the incredible confusion that surrounds the whole thing. One expert claims that the country could face a major tragedy if something isn't done immediately, another claims the danger that the vaccination itself could make people sick is worse than the danger of an outbreak of the disease. Under these conditions, no wonder people feel sick about the whole thing.

The disease is called swine flu because it's usually found only in pigs. Once before, in 1918, because of a mutation in the virus that causes the disease, this type of flu afflicted humans, causing an outbreak that killed half a million people in the U.S. and 20 million worldwide. At its peak, 1700 people a week died in Philadelphia alone. After one winter of severe epidemic and a following winter of a less severe outbreak, enough people developed an immunity to the disease so that it soon died out completely among people. Then last winter some soldiers at Fort Dix, N.J. came down with what seemed to be swine flu. One died, a

dozen were hospitalized and tests revealed that hundreds had been exposed to the disease, even though they hadn't been anywhere near any pigs. Apparently the virus had once again developed so that it could infect and be carried by humans.

These facts don't add up to anything certain. There have been no new outbreaks of the disease since last winter, even in the world's southern hemisphere where it's winter—flu season—now. There's no real way to tell if the disease will reappear or how serious and widespread it might be.

But this complicated situation has become far more complicated and dangerous because it is taking place under the rule of the bourgeoisie, in which the whole of society is governed by the drive for profit. The very laws of capitalist society stand as an obstacle, holding back both research and vaccination against flu and thereby endangering millions.

Ford took to the media in March to announce the threat of an epidemic and his own program to stop it. For him, the main thing was "looking presidential," to scare people while presenting himself as the savior. To keep any rivals from making their own use of the "issue," he pushed through his \$135 million vaccination program before much real research had been done. Most of this was to be shared among four major drug companies.

A number of medical experts immediately hailed the program as necessary and timely. They may well have been right, but that certainty is clouded by the fact that a good many of them are political appointees, many of whom in turn are former or future employees of the drug companies, while those on the staffs of various medical teaching facilities are almost all dependent for their jobs on boards of trustees dominated by representatives of the biggest drug companies. In a situation involving the manufacture of 100 to 200 million doses of vaccine paid for by the government at up to 50 cents a shot, there's no way that this could be anything but a giant pork barrel for the drug companies.

The initial 100 million doses were manufactured quickly. In fact, the drug companies were in such a hurry to make a killing that the first few million doses were bad. Then came another problem—the insurance companies which cover the drug companies against being sued for liability said they wouldn't cover the swine flu vaccine.

Profits First

A few facts were left out of the public debate that was touched off when the insurance companies demanded that the government itself insure the drug companies for this vaccine. First, the drug companies are billion dollar businesses that monopolize the market. The sale of at least 100 million doses might

possibly increase their risk, but it would certainly fatten their profits. Every time they've been successfully sued in the past—which is only a tiny fraction of the number of times people have been hurt by their negligence—they've come out ahead anyway. The truth is that for them it's more profitable to operate like this than to spend more money trying to control the quality of their products.

Secondly, the insurance companies that held up the vaccination program for months until the government agreed to insure their profits are themselves tied into the drug companies. They are run by the same finance capitalists—the same banks—who dominate the drug companies. For instance, one of the four drug monopolies sharing in the swine flu bonanza is Merck, controlled by the Morgan Guarantee Trust, which in turn runs Prudential, New York Life and other insurance companies. Before they would agree to turn over the vaccine they were holding hostage, they wanted to be able to skin the cat twice.

But to even this crime the capitalists added one more. After the insurance companies made their move, the decision as to whether or not the government should take on this additional expense was debated in Congress for months, while representatives of the various capitalist interests fought tooth and nail over who was going to get what out of the deal, and what precedents would be set by backing up the insurance companies.

Almost the whole summer went by until the additional money was coughed up August 10. The vaccine already produced sat around in bottles, while doctors and other health workers who wanted to start giving it out had to sit and wait. Even now that the monopolies have worked out their interests in the vaccine, the doses on hand can't be broken down into individual units until October. Even if the campaign runs at the maximum speed of a million vaccinations a day, the flu season may very well start long before many people get their shots.

In an attempt to cover up what was going on, Congress declared that the drug companies shouldn't show a profit on this operation. Since the drug companies were awarded the money without even the pretense of bidding or cost itemizing, this is only feeble election-year hypocrisy.

The swine flu affair is an exposure of the capitalists for another reason as well. While the government has allocated plenty to pay the drug companies to make the vaccine, practically nothing has been set aside to give it out. Those who can afford it will have to pay private doctors. For the rest, state and local public health programs will have to squeeze in the millions of inoculations alongside their regular work.

This vaccination campaign is taking place within the context of vast cutbacks in public health care. In contrast to the \$135 million for swine flu vaccine, only \$5 million has been included in the federal 1976-77 budget for all other public vaccinations combined, cut over 20% since last year. Last winter, because of ordinary non-election year flu, 20,000 people died, even though a vaccine is available. Cutbacks in public health programs mean that more and more children are going unvaccinated for polio, smallpox, diphtheria, etc., while diseases which were supposedly conquered by medical science years ago, like tuberculosis, are spreading.

Even under socialism, there will be many diseases that still haven't been conquered and even epidemics. But there's only one reason why we have to face the kind of nightmare we're confronted with today—the rule of the capitalist class. ■



Rubber...

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big tasks lie ahead. There are the daily battles against the productivity drives, which are sure to increase when the strikers return. Workers already are talking about expected piece rate changes and how to take them on. There is the threat of further plant shutdowns. The new agreement contains provisions only for severance pay and transfer rights.

And related to these runaways is that most plants that go South are unorganized and many foreign companies, like Michelin and Dunlop, are building non-union plants there. Unionizing these plants is a major task before rubber workers.

The most important phase of the strike now seems over and workers can rightly claim victory. For all the problems of the strike, particularly that a good amount of scab production got out and all the weaknesses of the final settlement, the workers were able to struggle effectively against the companies.

The workers, through years of company attacks and union sellouts, such as occurred in '73, have learned a great deal. They neither went begging hat in hand to the companies nor did they go for making some kind of "we'll give you this if you'll give us that" kind of deal, just the sort of thing that amounted to suicide in the past. The understanding and beginnings of organization built during the strike will be powerful weapons in the struggles ahead.

What this strike means to the thousands of rubber workers and really workers everywhere was summed up best by one striker. "We may not have gotten everything but we accomplished something a lot more important than that. We stayed out four months and didn't give in. You know they thought we'd back down. We didn't and that's something we'll never forget." ■

Auto ...

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gram.

One worker said that his grandfather had died right after retiring because his lungs were destroyed in an auto plant. His father was crippled and is now struggling to support his family and reach retirement in an auto plant. He now works in an auto plant and has an infant son and if the RCP is for fighting so that he won't have to face the same conditions, he was all for it.

The conference demonstrated the real growth of AWUF '76. It has gone beyond being simply a collection of different local organizations united around a good program and political perspective on the '76 contract. It has come to represent a real center of potential leadership for the rank and file within the auto industry. How to turn this potential into a reality, how to spread AWUF's influence and organization beyond its present chapters was one of the main topics of discussion.

One worker from Los Angeles told of handing out the 250 leaflets they had left at a Ford plant of 3000 workers. They had wondered if it would be worth it to hand out so few leaflets. When they came back after work, the Ford workers told them that the leaflet was

the only topic of conversation for the first four hours and many people from the plant contributed money to the Detroit demo and conference. It was clear from many examples like this that the AWUF brochure and newsletter get a good response when taken out and it was important to take them out as broadly as possible.

The upcoming contract will have a lot to do with the conditions auto workers will work under for the next three years. There is no question that Woodcock will try to push through a sellout, but, at the same time, it is certain there will be resistance by the rank and file. The rubber strike shows that it is possible to win significant victories in this year's contract battle.

Summing up the lessons of the 1973 contract struggle, especially at Ford, the conference emphasized the need for organization to step outside the bounds of the ratification procedure. The skilled workers' "no" vote at Ford in '73 was a real slap at the company and the union. The tradesmen didn't confine themselves to the secrecy of the ballot box. They staged massive demonstrations, militant confrontations at union meetings, in short, created a militant, visible movement. While it is certain that on the first ballot Ford production workers also rejected the contract, their protest never really went beyond the ballot box, lacking the organizational means to build such a struggle. The conference represented a real leap in the development of such organization.

As the closing remarks brought out, "We've picked up the ball, the next period of time will see how far we can carry it, but we know where we are going. '76 contracts—a time to fight." ■

Hawaii UWOC Campaign

Mass Line Guides Unemployed Demo

The following article is based on discussion among Party members in Hawaii, summing up Party work in a struggle against a state bill attacking unemployment benefits. In doing this summation, the comrades took up the question of the mass line, based especially on articles in the December 15, 1976, March 15 and May 15, 1976 issues of Revolution—Ed.

On April 12, 300 angry workers converged on the Hawaii State Capitol to demand that the legislature keep its hands off unemployment benefits. The demonstration, organized by the Honolulu chapter of the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) on a few days notice, brought hundreds of workers into action as carpenters, pineapple workers and others came out in large numbers. The biggest action of the unemployed in Hawaii in years, as well as one of the biggest ever led by UWOC, the demonstration and the organizing that preceded it bring out not only the sharpening struggle around unemployment, but also some important lessons on communists practicing the mass line in leading battles.

Earlier this year the Hawaii state legislature was in the process of passing a law which would make it nearly impossible for workers who are fired or quit to collect unemployment benefits. This law was to lead the bosses to increase their harassment and threats of firings on employed workers, pointing to high unemployment and lack of unemployment benefits for those who are fired or quit, as a way to stop resistance and speed up production.

When the Party, which is working in UWOC, first began to sum up the situation around this bill, Party members expressed two views which for a time held back the immediate launching of struggle against this attack. Based on the talks people were having on the unemployment lines, some said it didn't seem to be an important question on the minds of the masses. At the same time, especially as the time grew near for the bill to be passed, people raised the question, "Can we win at this late stage?"

It was true that in the beginning few people UWOC talked to on the unemployment lines and in the hiring halls were angry about the scale of the attacks in the bill or even aware of the bill at all. On the other hand the bill was also a major attack, coming when unemployment in the area was the highest since the depression and conditions for the unemployed were worsening. It also reflected a general trend today—attempts by the capitalists to cut back on unemployment insurance and to increase the competition between employed and unemployed to drive down the general wages of the working class. This is why, for example, the bill was seen by the capitalists as the key bill of the legislative session.

To sum up that the Party should do nothing around the bill was wrong and reflected an incorrect view of the mass line. The mass line *does* start with the scattered and unsystematic ideas and experiences of the masses. But to just add these up, taking the positive and getting rid of the negative, to just systematize what is unsystematic, amounts to reducing the mass line to "holding a mirror" up to the masses. It denies the Party's role as the vanguard of the working class, its leadership in the struggle against capitalism, and especially its ability and need to apply Marxism-Leninism to the actual situation.

The December 15, 1976 issue of *Revolution* draws the line between the correct view of the mass line and this "mirroring the masses" view:

"The experience of the masses, especially the masses of workers, is the *raw material* for correct lines and policies. But it is not the finished product, the correct line itself. To develop this correct line requires the application of Marxism-Leninism to 'process' the ideas gained by the masses through their experience. It is *this* that the Party must return to the masses and persevere in propagating and carrying out." (p. 14)

The article also goes on to point out that "the experience of the masses is governed by the internal contradictions of capitalism and the laws of development of nature and society." (same page)

A Focal Point

As discussion and struggle unfolded in the Party around whether or not to take up a campaign around this bill, it became increasingly clear that not only would the bill become a question on the minds of the masses but that it was potentially a *focal point* for the anger and disgust many workers felt toward the whole system. Around it UWOC could rally the scattered



300 workers, mobilized by UWOC, marched on Hawaii's Capitol when the state cut unemployment insurance.

and unsystematic ideas and experiences of the masses: the anger at being thrown out of work after slaving for some boss' profits, the realization that unemployment is massive, that times are getting harder, that the attacks of the bosses are increasing and that they have no choice but to fight back. At the same time through building the struggle Party comrades would be able to lay bare some of the internal contradictions of capitalism and raise the general level of understanding of the workers.

But what about the question "can we win?" After all the bill was to be passed only a few days after the Party decided whether or not to take up the struggle against it and it was very unlikely that its efforts combined with others in UWOC could stop it.

If this campaign had been taken up earlier it would have strengthened the struggle to defeat the bill. But even at that late stage the important thing was to get the struggle going, to strike back at a real attack. Many workers who were soon to get involved in the campaign realized that the bill would be passed, but their attitude was that this specific bill was just an outstanding example of all the attacks coming down and as one said "the fight has to start someplace."

It would have been wrong to narrowly approach this campaign thinking the defeat of this bill was the

key political question. This is not to say that this immediate struggle was not important or that the Party should have given the impression that it didn't matter whether it was passed or not as long as the revolutionary workers movement was built. But there was a real basis in what the unemployed already understood from their own experience to use the mass line to broaden the goals of the struggle and raise the general political understanding in the process. The objective laws of the system are such that the capitalists must drive for the greatest rate of profit and are forced to drive the working class down. The experience of the masses has been that their problems do not end with a single abuse. Even where a victory has been won it does not end the miseries of capitalism, and the gain itself becomes a target for future attacks.

By summing up people's scattered and unsystematic ideas it is possible to show, *based on their own experience*, how the really important thing in the long run is not the immediate gain itself but how much the unity, organization and understanding of the working class grows in its struggle with the capitalists.

With this basic orientation the Party decided to take up this struggle and won the UWOC chapter over to building a campaign against the bill. The chapter put out a leaflet explaining the nature of the attack, how it would affect the employed and unemployed and how it was a head-on assault by the capitalists and their agents in the state administration and the legislature against the whole working class. By explaining the bill in the context of the increasing attacks on the unemployed it helped workers to focus their anger and experiences at the enemy. In the leaflet UWOC called for a meeting to discuss the bill and how to fight it.

Over 30 people showed up at the meeting. At this point it was important to avoid tailing the masses, an error that often goes hand in hand with "mirroring" their present level of consciousness. By correctly summing up that all the people had come to the meeting to fight this bill, UWOC leadership focused the discussion mainly on the question of "how do we fight the bill," as well as taking up "why we must fight the bill." In this way they were able to struggle out the real differences of opinions among the unemployed at the meeting, unite people around a correct understanding, and unleash their initiative for the demonstration.

Political Discussion of Tactics

As the discussion unfolded at the meeting people put forward several suggestions on how to fight the bill. Some of the suggestions were: "We should get a good lawyer and sue the state" and "Let's get the trade union leaders to fight for us." There was also opposition to the suggestions for a demonstration at first, with some of the people saying, "The Governor won't listen to us that way." Without a class understanding of the cause of the attack it was clear that the unemployed were not united on how to fight it.

The Party's line in the course of the meeting was that the working class has nothing in common with the lawyers, politicians or union hacks. The Party and other advanced workers explained how this attack came out of the capitalists' crisis and their drive for profit and how to get out of the crisis they are forced to cut wages, unemployment benefits, food stamps, and even send whole cities into desperate financial crises. Based on this they argued that the way to fight the bill was to unite with and mobilize the working class and aim the struggle at the capitalist class and all its agents.

But it was not enough to just say this, to make it a

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UWOC reached out to employed workers, building support among rank and file in different unions and forcing some local officials to come along.



The long meatcutters strike in Milwaukee won broad support from workers throughout the area and helped lay the foundations for the United Workers Organization.

Milwaukee United Workers Organization

Area-Wide Workers Group Founded

On August 8 workers from several Milwaukee shops and industries united to form the United Workers Organization (UWO) for the Milwaukee area. The new organization, the third of its kind in the country, is a product of the growing workers resistance in the face of increasing attacks and deepening crisis. The founding conference was a consolidation of the advances made in months of hard struggle in which Party members and other advanced workers actively joined in building battles in the shops and in the broader political campaigns. The formation of the UWO lays the basis for more widespread and conscious struggle and new advances.

The backbone of the United Workers Organization is rank and file fighters who have come forward in local battles like the recent electrical contracts, the struggles against layoffs and speed up in the auto industry, the 15-month long meatcutters strike, as well as campaigns against police repression, for jobs or income and the mobilizations for May Day and July 4th.

Through their own experience in these fights and with the leadership of communists, these workers saw more clearly that it is the whole system we are up against. They know that it's workers against the capitalist class, that we have to mobilize our whole class in struggle because as long as the capitalists are around, they will never stop attacking and they will never give out any favors.

The United Workers Organization was formed as an organization intermediate between the Party and the trade unions, rooted in the plants both to build and lead struggle there as well as to mobilize masses of workers around broader struggles that affect the whole class. In the period leading up to the founding of the UWO, the Party helped build industry-based organizations which took up these kinds of struggles. The advances of these organizations and the experience in building them served as a basis on which to build the citywide intermediate workers organization.

The intensity of the meatcutters strike, more than any other recent battle, created conditions for the struggle, consciousness, and unity of the working class to advance in the Milwaukee area. In the course of this bitter 15-month struggle, an organization of strikers, the Meatcutters Solidarity Committee, was formed to give leadership to the picket lines, within the union, and in leading the broader support work.

At the same time, the Meatcutters Solidarity Committee consistently took up the broader struggles like mobilizing for May Day. The organization took the slogans and demands to their fellow strikers in a big way, taking the May Day slide show into the union hall on a day when all the strikers were picking up their checks. Many tickets were sold to the May Day kickoff dinner. Largely through these efforts, a significant contingent of meatcutters brought their battle as a rallying cry to the May Day march.

Fighting Times, a workers group in the auto industry, also developed as an organization that could play a role in advancing the struggle and class consciousness of the workers. At the AO Smith auto frame plant, where 80% of GM frames are made, Fighting Times

joined with other workers in fighting a union dues increase. In a two-month campaign, the workers battled the union hacks on every question right down to when the union meeting would be held and what the voting procedure would be. At one point the secretary of the local issued a letter saying that the last union Fighting Times had been involved with, the Meatcutters, had been busted. When a member of the negotiating committee tried to condemn the anti-dues hike movement as led by "extremists" he was met with a round of boos and calls to "shut up." When the vote was held the increase was resoundingly defeated as the workers stood behind the battle cry, "Raise Hell, not dues!"

At the height of the "July 4th—Rich Off Our Backs" campaign, Fighting Times at American Motors called a noontime rally to build the march in Philadelphia. The revolutionary thrust of the July 4th campaign was applied to the concrete conditions in the plant as rally speakers blasted AMC for painting the plant walls red, white and blue. At this same time the company was complaining they couldn't afford fans for the workers in the midst of a 90-degree heat-wave. This, together with abuses like the ever-tightening job combinations, as well as blatant ballot box irregularities against a Fighting Times head steward candidate, were linked up with the general slogans of July 4th to rally workers around the need to respond to the capitalists' "National Unity" political offensive around the Bicentennial.

Several other in-plant organizations and newsletters, as well as advanced individuals working with Party members building the class struggle, helped lay the basis for the formation of the UWO.

Experience in Campaigns

Also contributing significantly were the single issue class-wide organizations which communists had initiated over the past few years—The Workers Committee to Throw the Bum Out (around Watergate), the Committee to Fight Police Repression, the citywide committee in solidarity with the Meatcutters strike, the Committee to Fight the Attacks on Our Schools, the United May Day Committee and others. These organizations actively built key struggles as campaigns of the working class, trained advanced workers as class fighters, and advanced the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the working class. Through each of these organizations and campaigns, advances were made in rooting the struggles among the broad numbers of workers in the shops where the working class is concentrated.

May Day this year was an important expression of these developments. Months of effort by the workers in the United May Day Committee, the Party, and the plant and industry organizations had built the largest May Day in recent history. Workers' contingents from several key industries led the march. The unity of so many behind the May Day slogans was an indication of the potential of workers organized as a class around revolutionary politics.

Prior to May Day, the Party initiated discussion in

the United May Day Committee about whether or not it should stay together as a permanent United Workers Organization coming out of May Day. One of the questions was, "Can we build it even though we don't have strong organizations in every industry?" Unity was reached that with the basis laid in certain key industries the formation of the UWO could further the work of building and strengthening those organizations and areas which are less advanced. Through some discussion it was agreed that these organizations could be strengthened not on a "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" basis. The UWO could thrust ahead the work of all plant-based organizations by bringing them together, in one class-wide committee organized into industrial sections where possible. A class-wide organization would allow each section to play a greater role in building the struggle of the workers in the plants as part of the struggle of the working class as a class for its own interests. New sections could be developed as contacts were made in other plants.

With this resolved, the organizers of the UWO had the task of consolidating broad numbers of workers into the citywide organization. At the same time, they had the task of building July 4th even more broadly than they did May Day. They decided to make the July 4th—Rich Off Our Backs campaign the primary emphasis. Through the work of this developing citywide workers organization, even more people would begin to see the role and value of such an organization.

There was a tendency for the developing UWO to become identical with the "Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition" and this hurt the ability of the UWO to build the demonstration in the shops, as well as workers' ability to lead the other forces mobilized around the demonstration. Merging the UWO into the coalition also cut into the developing momentum for the formation of the new organization. But overall the bold and wide agitation, the nationwide character and the revolutionary thrust of the July 4th campaign all significantly strengthened the political foundations of the United Workers Organization.

Founding Conference

Quickly after the 4th, a founding conference was held to consolidate the UWO and plan for the tasks ahead. During the opening sessions and throughout the conference the question of the correct way to build the organization came up. The key to this was seen to be in building up an organization based in the plants that took up the fight against all the abuses and outrages the system heaps on the people, increasingly able to mobilize workers to answer all the attacks launched by the capitalists.

Further understanding was gained about the importance of building far more than a coalition of shop groups simply helping each other in battles around wages and conditions in the shop, though these are important battles. The need also came out to avoid seeing the UWO as an organization limited to revolutionary workers, those who clearly understand the need to do away with the system altogether. Through discussion the conference unified around a more correct view—that the UWO was a workers organization open to all who come forward in the fight against the bourgeoisie—whether it's in the struggles against the capitalists' attempts to increase exploitation or around broader social questions.

An approach which demanded a high degree of understanding of the nature of the system would have isolated the advanced fighters from the broad masses of workers and greatly lessened the strength and potential of the UWO. With class conscious workers as the backbone, the UWO must emphasize uniting with all the struggles of the working class and, as the *Programme* of the RCP puts it, "take up the most important battles the workers are involved in, together with the key battles of other sections of the people against the ruling class, mobilize the masses of workers in these struggles and develop them into campaigns of the working class." (p. 109) The correct approach will help develop the UWO as a main form through which the advanced workers can unite with others in the plants and help the working class (again in the words of the *Programme*) to "infuse its strength, discipline, and revolutionary outlook into every major social movement," and unite around its struggle broad forces oppressed by the capitalist system.

The founding meeting was a working conference. Workshops discussed key questions facing the working class and developed several plans for broadening and deepening the workers' struggle. One discussion summed up several recent contract battles, the nature of the attacks, the ways to fight, and the goals.

With the rubber strike then at its height, the workers united on the need to build broad solidarity behind those strikers and their determination to fight for a victory in the face of all obstacles. In this workshop the central importance of the coming auto contract struggle was discussed. In the final plenary the UWO united around the necessity of building this fight in every way possible.

The liveliest discussion came in the workshop and plenary discussion on the coming presidential elections. The workers struggled over several questions. The first

Chinese People Battle Quake

On July 28 the Chinese cities of Tangshan, Tientsin and Peking were rocked by an earthquake—the most powerful and destructive earthquake to hit a densely populated area in recent history. Tangshan, a mining and manufacturing city of about a million people, was almost completely destroyed, according to some reports. Losses were also great in Tientsin and Peking, almost 100 miles away from the quake's center.

Despite this tremendous suffering and destruction, the organization and spirit of the people in dealing with this natural disaster are proof of the immense superiority of the socialist system and the abilities of the working people. "We are not afraid when heaven and earth crumbles; we will build a new landscape with our own hands." These words now spoken in China express the stand of the working class in taking on a scourge which has terrified mankind for thousands of years.

The quake hit at 3:42 in the morning. Although China has developed an extensive earthquake forecasting network, this quake struck without warning. Nevertheless, because they had been educated about what to do in such situations, in Peking people began evacuating their homes within minutes, turning off gas and electricity behind them to prevent fires and explosions.

About 50 people were killed in Peking. According to an American visiting China at the time, most of these deaths were caused by the collapse of old buildings, the still-standing remnants of China's former oppression. The more recently built buildings, constructed to withstand quakes, held up much better. But as seismological teams studied the situation, it became clear that more quakes were likely to hit the city.

Peking's 7.5 million inhabitants set about organizing themselves to live in tents indefinitely, so as to avoid more loss of life, while at the same time setting up repair teams to restore vital facilities and begin rebuilding. They organized to continue production, especially of things like medicine which were now more important than ever, and to contribute to relief efforts in the harder hit areas.

It rained for days in Peking. At first, people set up shelters with the materials at hand and used their bathrooms and kitchens in their buildings. Then, as it became known that even quick trips into the buildings were dangerous and that the threat of new quakes would last for a long time, more permanent tent cities sprang up.

In natural disasters in capitalist countries, the chaos, despair and after-effects like disease have been nightmares as bad as the disaster itself. In this situation in China, the key to dealing with this dangerous situation was to organize and mobilize the entire people to carry out relief work, which could only be accomplished by the understanding that the masses themselves had of this situation, their concern for their class brothers and sisters, and their ability to find ways to solve problems in the course of struggle.

Peking Masses Organize

Under the leadership of the Party and the municipal government, the revolutionary committees in the neighborhoods and factories took on the tasks at hand. Bulletins were circulated and posters and other materials explaining earthquakes were given out. The political line that the situation could be overcome if the masses mobilized against it was taken out. As some workers put it, "If there's an earthquake, we can meet it with a revolution."

Gas for cooking and portable toilets were brought in and medical centers established every two blocks. Electricity, running water and phone lines were brought into the tent cities. Commerce workers organized open-air stalls for the sale of food, especially fresh vegetables, to supplement the food people had kept on hand for such emergencies. Garbage collections were set up. Barbers even organized themselves into mobile teams to continue their work. Peking was hit by hundreds of tremors in the next few days. Almost two weeks later, on August 9, a new quake shook the city. Without the organization of the tent cities it is possible more would have been killed.

In order to make relief work possible, continue to meet people's needs and insure that the country as a whole suffered as little as possible because of the earthquake, workers had to find ways to continue to carry out their jobs. Within half an hour after the first shock,



When disaster strikes in a socialist country like China, the nation's whole resources, especially its people, are mobilized to rescue class brothers and sisters and rebuild quickly.

30,000 repair workers mobilized to begin checking and repairing buildings street by street. Shock teams were formed to fix broken water mains and rail lines. Workers at a Peking truck factory organized a convoy of 100 new trucks to go to a roofing materials factory, load up, and set out to provide shelter for people in the more heavily hit areas.

Tangshan was the hardest hit of all. Yet here too, amid the devastation, workers were able to save many lives and fight the quake. About 10,000 miners were on the night shift in the coal mines when the quake struck. But because of precautions taken in construction and especially because of the organization and consciousness among the miners themselves, they were able to carry out what reports called "a mass organized retreat." Finding the main entrances to the mine shafts blocked, the miners made their way to reserve air-shaft holes. When the power to open the escape hatches failed, their fellow workers broke through the doors from the other side. All but a few survived.

In Tientsin, bakery workers who realized how extremely necessary bread production was, not just for that city but for the more devastated areas as well, organized themselves into three teams: one to look after workers' families, one to do political and ideological work to lead people in understanding and struggling against the disaster, and one to repair the plant and bake bread. Within 32 hours they'd restored full production. In Peking, bakers managed to double their output by organizing an extra shift.

These scenes were repeated not only in factories making medicine, clothing, cooking gear, in communications and transportation, etc., but in workplaces of all industries as workers applied their power to meet natural disaster head on.

In order to free up hundreds of thousands of people from all over China to take up work in the devastated areas, others had to step forward to take up their responsibilities. The number of those who had been leaders was not enough—other workers had to step forward by the thousands to lead the political and practical work that had to be done. Because of the repeated tremors, relief work was very dangerous, and many showed their devotion to their working class brothers and sisters by laying down their lives.

In their reports about the quake, the capitalist news in the U.S. couldn't completely hide the people's organization and their calm and sense of purpose. But of course, the capitalists said, it's easy for these Chinese to get organized, since their leaders make them do it.

Disasters in U.S.

Yet experience shows just the opposite. When disasters take place in a capitalist society like the U.S., the workers show the same spirit of self-sacrifice, the same spirit of determination and of putting the common good first. But because everything is organized for profit, when disaster strikes there is little experience or form of organization for meeting it. There is no way to mobilize the masses—in fact, the capitalists' authorities take the opposite road of clearing the people out and relying on experts to do what little they can.

Usually, after a flurry of initial rescue efforts, which can't be too extensive because there's no money in it, the disaster turns into an orgy of cost-cutting and profit seeking as the insurance companies, land speculators, construction companies and so on all wheel and deal to take the minimum losses and try to turn a disaster into a fortune.

The capitalist media's constant insinuations that there is something sinister and unnatural about how the people are organized to deal with the quake in China is really a tremendous exposure of the capitalists themselves. To them, the only natural thing is that

everybody look out for number one. They can only organize themselves on the basis of each capitalist's individual profit. Because they are exploiters, they can organize the workers only by threats, force and economic compulsion.

The capitalists hate what they see in China, because the unity and organization of the people there is the fruit of the workers and peasants' struggle to overthrow the capitalists and replace their system with socialism. The Chinese workers were able to plunge into dealing with danger and difficulties step by step only because of socialism, only because all of society is organized to serve the common good of the working people and ruled over by the workers themselves.

The question of how to meet calamity is a political question, just as much as the other questions of political line that arose in the long struggle to liberate China and carry out socialist construction. The victories won in meeting this disaster and limiting its effects were possible because of the Marxist-Leninist political and ideological line that the key factor in changing the world is to develop and rely on the wisdom and strength of the masses of working people themselves. As pointed out in the Chinese press, the quake itself has been a battleground for continuing the struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois lines, especially in criticising the bourgeois political line of recently-ousted Vice Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping that only material incentives (basically money) could motivate the masses to work, and that difficulties (such as China's three years of bad harvests from 1959-61) had to be met by forgetting about Marxism and the class struggle and instead relying on the methods of the capitalists. This means in effect, allowing difficulties to be used as an opportunity to attack the working class struggle to transform society.

Instead, the conscious unity and organized heroism which millions of class brothers and sisters in China have shown in the course of the struggle around this quake show the power of the working class when it is freed from the chains of capitalist society. The struggle against nature is closely connected with the class struggle because it's only by fighting to overthrow the capitalists' rule and step by step transform society that humanity can also begin to transform conditions on this earth consciously according to the interests of the masses of people. ■

Milwaukee...

Continued from Page 11

discussion was over whether Carter should be supported as the lesser of two evils. After some struggle, the conference united around the understanding that Carter has been put forward exactly because he is so little known. Because he is not yet exposed, he can pose as a friend of the "common man" while promoting the interests of the ruling class. The bourgeoisie uses the elections to sell their system and say we have freedom of choice—and that if you want change you should go to the ballot box.

The UWO united around the principle it is based on: it is the masses of workers fighting in their own interests—not riding on the tail of one slavemaster or another—that change things. The UWO united that it is in this spirit that the elections should be taken up. With the general political discussion and the attention of millions on the elections, it is an opportunity for the workers to fight the attack the election represents and put forward their pressing demands.

Another question at the conference was "What is the relationship of the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) to the new UWO?" Some workers raised, "We're all workers. We have to unite employed and unemployed every chance we get." After much discussion, the tide turned to the correct view of the relationship between the role of UWOC, as a mass organization of the unemployed, and the UWO, which is based among employed workers. The particularity of the attacks on the unemployed, such as cutbacks in federal unemployment benefit extensions, are different from the attacks on workers on the job. There, job combinations, rate cuts, layoffs, and speed up are taking place.

Different forms of organization and struggle are needed to best build the fight of the employed and the unemployed. UWOC and the UWO will have a close working relationship and UWOC members will be encouraged to join the UWO and vice versa. But to mesh the two together would result in an unclear direction for both the employed and the unemployed.

The development of the UWO was an important advance and it creates the conditions for further advances. As the attack on the working class intensifies so will the workers' resistance. As they strain in a thousand ways to loosen and break the chains of wage slavery, more they are looking to get organized class-wide and nationwide to fight in their own interest. As the *Programme* puts it, "the proletariat and its Party must set its sights high and aim to build these organizations in every part of the country as a tremendous force for the class struggle." ■

Hawaii ...

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moral question of whether one stood with the capitalists and their lackeys or with the working class. To really win people over to this understanding it was not enough for the Party to assert that its ideas were "correct" in the abstract, but to show how these ideas were right exactly because they corresponded to reality. To do this it was necessary to *link* the objective laws of capitalism, the class relations, with the experiences of the masses.

It was this that made this meeting lively and unleashed the initiative of the workers for the demonstration. As the discussion and struggle unfolded at the meeting over how to fight the bill a number of workers jumped in and told of some of their experiences. Some spoke who had been involved in the big struggle in Hawaii against evictions (see *Revolution*, March 15, 1976), telling what they had learned from that struggle. They explained how they had met with the Governor and it had never accomplished anything. He would always act nice and then end up telling them they had to move out anyway. As far as relying on some lawyer taking the issue to court, they said they had tried that too, and the courts continued to issue eviction notices.

There were also some older workers at the meeting from the longshore and construction unions who had been involved in a lot of battles over the years. When the question of getting the union officials to take the lead in the fight came up, they pointed out that in their experience the struggle of the rank and file was the only thing that ever won anything. While they agreed that it was very important to go to the unions with this campaign, they said the only reason to do it was to go to the rank and file.

By practicing the mass line, by using Marxism-Leninism to sum up these scattered and unsystematic experiences and ideas of the masses, the Party and others at the meeting were able to win people to the *political line* behind the rally. This is not to say that everyone at the meeting or in UWOC agreed with everything the Party was saying about the eventual goal of revolution or even that capitalism was the cause of the problem. UWOC doesn't have any "membership requirements" other than that workers want to actively build the fight around jobs or income.

But by helping the process of going into the question of the rally deeply, of summing experiences politically, the Party found the workers had a lot to say on the subject and was able to help release their initiative, raise their level of understanding in the course of the struggle and in the process help develop UWOC as an organization with a life of its own. If the Party had just agitated about the need to fight back and not dealt with the real questions on the minds of those at the meeting, there is no way the workers would have left armed and prepared to build the rally. If, on the other hand, the Party had just preached about how capitalism was the cause of the problem and not linked it with the experiences of the masses the same thing would have happened.

All this agitation, struggle and summation also provides the basis for further discussions with advanced workers who come forward in the fight, giving them the Party *Programme* and other literature and arming them with the science of working class revolution—Marxism-Leninism.

A Revolutionary Science

This is why the mass line is a *revolutionary science*. Capitalism necessarily leads to crises, wars and the impoverishment of the masses. As its internal contradictions develop they affect the way the masses think and live. By summing up these experiences using science to show how only by overthrowing capitalism and moving towards communism can the contradictions be resolved, the Party can lead the class towards revolution without on the one hand tailing the masses or, on the other, becoming commandist and dogmatic.

Following this meeting UWOC had five days to build for the rally. But once the political line was united on it did not stay within the confines of the meeting room. A leaflet was put out which expressed

the sentiments of those at the meeting, saying in part: "They think they can make life so desperate for us that we will accept any work they give us at any wage. They offer us the life that 'either you do what I say or starve.' Well they're wrong. We're not going to starve or accept them always being on top of us. We are going to fight." Workers took the struggle up as their own and brought this leaflet and a petition out broadly to the unemployment lines, the hiring halls and communities to organize for the rally. Within those few days before the rally at the State Capitol they got out 3,500 leaflets and got hundreds of signatures on the petition.

Union Leadership Role

In building for the action UWOC was able to use to their advantage the role the union "leaders" had been playing. At first some of the hacks had "fought" the bill, within "proper channels" of course, bringing workers to hearings and asking members to send letters or postcards to their legislators. One union even leafleted the unemployment lines briefly.

But as it became obvious the capitalists were going to push the bill through anyway, the union leadership generally accepted defeat and some even turned around to blame unemployment on their own membership. For example, an article in the Carpenters Union newspaper at the time said that a lot of carpenters were on the bench because they hadn't learned how to read blueprints and lacked technical experience.

Taking this into account UWOC worked on two fronts—leafletting and getting signatures for the petition at the union halls, while at the same time meeting with some of the union hacks. With the workers who had been at the UWOC meeting from these unions

playing an active role in taking out leaflets and petitions and in mobilizing their fellow workers and by pointing to the hacks' own statements against the bill and unemployment in general, UWOC was able to jam some of the union "leaders" into supporting the rally. They were even allowed into some union meetings and the UWOC petition was circulated.

At the rally the hacks wanted to speak first and last in order to control the rally. But because UWOC had taken the lead in building for the rally broadly among the rank and file and because UWOC was united politically on the role of the hacks, it was possible to limit them to only one speaker and to keep UWOC's political line in command. In general this made it a militant action aimed straight at the capitalists.

Bringing the struggle into the unions made for a bigger rally and brought UWOC's fighting line out to hundreds more workers. At the same time by practicing the mass line to sum up the workers' experience and bring out the *class basis* of the bill and the struggle against it, the Party helped UWOC keep the initiative in its own hands, force some hacks to take up the fight in a limited way against the bill and educate the masses as to the nature of the enemy, open and disguised.

UWOC in Hawaii did not stop the passage of this bill. But it did bring the jobs or income struggle out broadly to the working class, bringing hundreds of workers into motion. And by practicing the mass line, by using Marxism-Leninism to sum up the experience of the workers, the Party was able to help develop UWOC as a mass organization, laying a firm basis for consolidating newly active workers so they don't fall away after the struggle and in the process building the fight for jobs or income, pointing it in a revolutionary direction. ■

Guardian ...

Continued from Page 2

But, one might ask, what about the MPLA—they took aid from the USSR, doesn't that make them tools of social imperialism according to this logic? Not at all, says the *Guardian*. After all the U.S. is the "main enemy" and the Soviet Union is just a social-imperialist socialist state!?

In its many articles on Angola, the *Guardian* went to great lengths to draw false comparisons between the war there and the war in Vietnam and between the MPLA and the Vietnamese revolutionary forces—all to try to justify their support of the MPLA, of the "heroic Cuban volunteers," and Soviet military aid.

Their logic ran as follows: the Vietnamese accepted aid from the Soviets and Marxist-Leninists didn't claim that made them pawns of the Soviets. Why shouldn't the MPLA do the same thing?

But the lessons of the struggle of the Vietnamese people are quite the opposite of what the *Guardian* would have us believe. The Vietnamese fought a heroic war, lasting a decade, in which they came up against virtually all that the U.S. imperialists could throw at them, including half a million ground troops at one point. It was the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese themselves that drove off the U.S.

The genuine internationalist aid by the People's Republic of China was important to the Vietnamese people's struggle, but it was not the decisive factor. The "aid" given by the Soviets was always coupled with attempts to sabotage and control the struggle, which the Vietnamese resisted. And the Soviets are still trying to push the Vietnamese for concessions—like military bases. The Vietnam war showed that by mobilizing the masses of people, relying on them and persevering in struggle, it is possible to defeat the most powerful of enemies.

Yet this lesson is totally lost on the editors of the *Guardian*. In justifying their 100% support for the MPLA and the "heroic Cuban volunteers" they write, "neither Cuba nor Angola (meaning the MPLA) preferred the necessity of international assistance, but with South Africans, mercenaries, and UNITA forces advancing from the south and Zaire and FNLA advancing from the north—all backed by the U.S. and Western imperialism—while the country was itself surrounded by hostile Zaire, Zambia and occupied Namibia, MPLA had little choice but to invoke its right to proletarian internationalist support from socialist Cuba." (May 5, 1976, emphasis added)

Little Choice?

Leaving aside the whole distorted picture painted here of the development of events, the above statement gets to the root of the *Guardian's* outlook. The "MPLA had little choice" but to open the door to 10,000 Cuban troops and Soviet tanks and rockets or it would have lost. This revealing quote shows what is common knowledge—foreign troops and military aid put the MPLA in power. While the final word has yet to be said on Angola, thousands of Cuban soldiers remain

stationed there, Castro is calling for tens of thousands of Cubans to volunteer for civilian duty, and the Soviets have started pushing their all-too-familiar patterns of "aid" agreements.

Apparently, the *Guardian* editors are incapable of imagining a war waged by the masses of people under difficult conditions where it would be possible to win victory without surrendering to an imperialist power. This goes hand in hand with the view that Cuba had no choice but to buckle under to the Soviets in the face of U.S. extortion and aggression—a view that is brilliantly refuted by the heroic example of Albania, which, though surrounded by the U.S. bloc and revisionist countries, has stood up to all of them.

With the *Guardian's* incorrect view of the Soviet Union as a "socialist" superpower as the basis of their line on Angola, they sunk even deeper in trying to uphold their line on Angola. The *Guardian* tried to justify the Cuban expeditionary force by repeating Castro's nonsense about Cuba being a "Latin-African" country. According to Wilfred Burchett, Cuban troops do not represent "outside interference" because, quoting favorably from Agostinho Neto, head of the MPLA, "the African origins of many Cubans transforms our countries into brother countries in solidarity with each other, which understand each other....above all there is this sentimental side, that which represents our common origin." (April 7, 1976)

Thus the *Guardian* combines its opportunism with utter nonsense and the basest appeal to the most backward nationalism. But two can play this game. The *Guardian* did not make the same point about the fact that great numbers of the South African troops were also black, or that the U.S. imperialists, working through flunkies like Roy Innis (so-called "civil rights leader," and long on the payroll of the imperialists) made efforts to recruit Black veterans in this country as mercenaries to fight on the side of UNITA.

At least one of the *Guardian's* editors has been around long enough to remember the use of Gurkhas by the British imperialists and the fact that imperialists have long used soldiers from their dependencies to enslave others.

Guardian Attacks China

While continuing to pose as a "friend of China," the *Guardian's* actions opened the door to comments from a wide variety of revisionists, trotskyites and other opportunists to accuse China of siding with the U.S. bourgeoisie. But despite the slanders of the revisionists and the implications of the *Guardian*, the Communist Party of China has consistently put forward the line of opposing *both* superpowers.

At the present time, the Chinese have paid special attention to making use of the contradictions between the two superpowers, especially ripping the mask of socialism off the USSR, which presents the greatest immediate threat to China. The policy of exploiting the differences between imperialist powers while maintaining principled opposition to all imperialism is entirely consistent with Lenin's policy after the Bolshevik revolution and the experience of all socialist states since then.

The *Guardian* did not thoroughly take on the line of the RCP on Angola (which consisted of upholding the struggle against the Portuguese, exposing and op-

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Correction

An error appeared in the July 15, 1976 issue of *Revolution* in the article on page 17 on the steel union elections. The last sentence of the second full paragraph in the second column should read:

In fact, a Breakout candidate won by the highest percentage of votes in any division in the mill this election.

Guardian...

Continued from Page 13

posing the role of both superpowers, while aiming our main fire at our own ruling class). Instead, the *Guardian* implied that anyone who opposed the Soviet/Cuban aggression in Angola shared the October League's class collaboration, and grabbed hold of a piece of emotionalism by attacking the RCP for exposing their favorite "socialist" country, Cuba, "when Henry Kissinger and Gerald Ford were threatening a military attack on Cuba." (June 16, 1976)

Bourgeois Logic

But it is bourgeois logic to say that exposing the USSR and the role of its neo-colonies like Cuba means siding with the ruling class of this country. In fact, the article they criticized points out that the advances of the early years of the Cuban revolution lay precisely in the booting out of U.S. imperialism: "The revolution led by Fidel Castro in 1959 was a tremendous step forward for Cuba, clearing away the rule of the U.S. imperialists and the Cuban landlords, dependent capitalists and all their parasites, pimps and gangsters." (*Revolution*, February 1976)

The point of exposing the Soviet Union and Cuba's role in Angola to the workers of this country is not mainly to convince them that the Soviets are aggressive. The important thing is to arm the working class and people with an understanding of the *class basis* of the Soviet Union and why, for example, Cuban troops were sent to Angola.

If people do not understand the class basis of the Soviets' actions, they will be left to conclude that the U.S. bourgeoisie is telling the truth when they speak of "communist aggression." Far from strengthening the hand of the U.S. ruling class, only by understanding the actual world situation in class terms will it be possible to advance the struggle *against* the U.S. ruling class. And it is impossible to understand the world today without recognizing the real nature of the USSR.

In fact, the *Guardian* editors, along with the U.S. ruling class and groups like the October League, are saying, in effect, that the people of the world have no choice but to throw in their lot with one or another of the superpowers. Refuting this argument was one of the major purposes of publishing the exposure of Cuba in the first place. And it may also explain why the *Guardian* was so anxious that people not read the article that they refused a paid advertisement for the February 1976 issue of *Revolution* which contained the article. That article concludes:

"The Soviet imperialists say that the working class and masses of people are destined to remain in chains unless they receive Soviet 'aid' and submit to Soviet control. The U.S. imperialists, whose own economic and military aid has long been used to enslave and reinforce the bonds of oppression of many peoples, say the same thing from their angle—if the oppressed and exploited dare to rise up against U.S. 'protection' and plunder they are sure to fall prey to the Soviet jackals.

"But the most important lesson to be learned from the failure of the Cuban Revolution is just the opposite of this imperialist logic. The masses of people can free themselves and advance the cause of freeing all humanity only by relying on their own efforts and not the 'aid' of the world's exploiters—by taking the road of proletarian revolution."

World War

One consequence of the *Guardian's* view of the Soviet Union and their overall line is a gross underestimation of the danger of world war. From reading the *Guardian*, one might draw the conclusion that the only kind of imperialist war is aggression by the U.S. against peoples of the Third World. Rarely is the possibility of inter-imperialist war, world war between rival imperialist bandits, even discussed. This is entirely in keeping with their view that "capitalism has not been fully restored or consolidated in the Soviet Union." They describe the USSR as "social imperialist" but deny that "the export of capital is a compulsion that flows inexorably out of the Soviet system." (June 16, 1976)

But the export of capital, the seeking of superprofits off the backs of the working people of dependent countries, the drive to monopolize sources of raw materials—these are some fundamental features of imperialism. To talk of "social imperialism" while denying the economic basis of the Soviet system, is to reduce imperialism to a *policy*, dependent on the *will* of governmental leaders. (The book *How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle*, published by the Revolutionary Union and adopted by the RCP in 1975, has demonstrated that the USSR must and does export capital and has analyzed outstanding examples of this.)

If the laws of capitalism are not the basis of the Soviets' aggression and plunder of other countries, there

is no other explanation for it; no explanation, that is, but the deception of the revisionists themselves who claim their actions are proof that they are the staunch ally of the world's people, or the slander of the U.S. ruling class who paint social imperialism as "communist aggression."

In fact the *Guardian's* line amounts to calling the Soviet Union a friend and ally of the world's people, despite their protestations to the contrary.

On one of the few occasions when the *Guardian* has even discussed the possibility of world war, Irwin Silber wrote in an article aimed at proving the Soviets had nowhere near the military capacity of the U.S., "The most likely scenario for such a war was provided by the U.S. in Vietnam when Washington undertook to expand its 'police action' in the south to start bombing the north because of its support to the national liberation movement. In other situations which the Pentagon is likely to view as 'strategic' to U.S. interests, the possibility of Washington raising the stakes and forcing a military confrontation with the Soviet Union is certainly real." (June 30, 1976)

The implications of Silber's statement are obvious: a world war between the two superpowers would not be an *inter-imperialist* war but a war of U.S. imperialism launched against the Soviets for supporting national liberation movements. According to this logic, the only correct stand would be for the working people of the world to support the Soviet Union in such a conflict.

Class Basis of Events

Pretending that the danger of world war is not growing and portraying the Soviet Union as a friend or even a harmless enemy is a dangerous line which would lead the masses of people in this country into an ambush. The USSR will continue to launch new Angola-like military adventures, and the U.S. bourgeoisie will continue to label this aggression as "communist" as it steps up its own aggression and war preparations.

Trying to portray Soviet social imperialism as "socialist" and its aggression as "support for liberation movements" will never succeed in mobilizing the masses of workers in this (or other) countries against U.S. imperialism because this picture of the USSR does not reflect reality, it is simply not true.

Only by understanding the actual *class basis* of the increasing superpower rivalry can the working class come to realize that it has no interest in siding with the exploiters of this country in a war between exploiters.

The *Guardian's* line does nothing to advance the struggle of the U.S. working class in a revolutionary direction. True, the words "working class revolution" occasionally find their way into the pages of the paper, in much the same way as do pious proclamations that "sooner or later" "all peoples must stand up against the two superpowers" (1975 New Year's editorial); something that exists in the far off and nebulous future (much as the priests talk about the kingdom of heaven on earth) totally without significance for action.

But the actual direction for the struggle offered in the pages of the *Guardian* is anything but revolutionary. While portraying the workers' struggle as something limited to strikes and other struggles around economic issues, "progressive" union officials like Cesar Chavez and Arnold Miller, leaders of bourgeois organizations like NOW and the NAACP, progressive lawyers and congressional liberals are, in practice, promoted as the leaders of the "political struggle."

The basis of the *Guardian's* line is not love for the Soviet Union but contempt for the working class and the masses of people and their ability to make revolu-

tion. Instead, they search for "saviors" and easy solutions—sometimes trailing "progressive" union bureaucrats and other times justifying reliance on Cuban troops and Soviet rubles and tanks. With a line incapable of mobilizing the masses for revolutionary struggle, the *Guardian* will find itself left high and dry as developments lead toward a superpower showdown.

In such circumstances, and especially the actual outbreak of such a war and the increased exploitation and oppression it will bring in this country, those who hold the line of the *Guardian* will find themselves with little of substance to say to the masses, little to base themselves on in opposing U.S. imperialism and will find they have "little choice" but to capitulate to the U.S. bourgeoisie in one form or another.

A quick look at one of the *Guardian's* current part-time pals, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, (the above-ground mouthpiece of the Weather Underground) shows how such "revolutionaries" can flip from one opportunist line to another. When they started out, the Weathermen claimed they were going to tear down "pig amerika" by the actions of a small handful, while screaming about how they opposed revisionism and the Soviets.

They quickly ran up against the futility of this line which was not based on relying on the masses and concluded that even the Vietnamese people, let alone the masses in this country, were incapable of winning victory through their own efforts. The supporters of the Weathermen flipped into supporting George McGovern.

Now the Prairie Fire crowd is trying to outdo the *Guardian* in cheering on the Soviet/Cuban aggression in Angola, gleeful in fact that they have finally found a force—an imperialist force—capable of "standing up" to the U.S. bourgeoisie. But without basing themselves or the masses of people in this country, these people, also, could easily abandon this stand and capitulate to U.S. imperialism.

Labels Can't Cover Role

One of the charges the *Guardian* levels at the People's Republic of China is that, in making use of contradictions within the ruling circles of different countries, China has quoted imperialist spokesmen the *Guardian* deems "more reactionary" or "more right wing." (May 26, 1976)

But the world is not divided into "wings" between the "right" and the "left" but into *classes*, a basic fact which the *Guardian* continually ignores. This view of the world goes hand-in-hand with their attempt to obscure and cover up the class nature of the Soviet Union.

The label worn by imperialists is of little concern to the victims of their plunder. The U.S. launched its first imperialist war (the Spanish-American War) under the guise of aiding the people in Spain's colonies in fighting for their liberation. But the results of U.S. imperialism "liberation" are well known—the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico were seized from Spain and made into colonies of the U.S.

Similarly, when the U.S. went all-out following World War II to replace the old colonial powers, Britain and France, as the chief exploiters of the people of Asia and Africa, they did so under the name of "democracy and freedom" and of opposing colonialism. In 1956 the U.S. condemned the British, French and Israeli effort to seize the Suez Canal from Egypt—did this make the U.S. imperialists more democratic, progressive or less reactionary? Obviously not. Imperialist powers have always opposed the imperialism of their rivals.

Several years ago India and the Soviet Union launched a phony "national liberation movement" in East Pakistan and used it as an excuse for Indian troops armed with Soviet military equipment to "liberate" the people there and form "independent" Bangla Desh. At that time there were many who hailed this aggression as liberation. But today, five years later, few would dare argue that the invasion led to progress for the masses there.

Yet there are some, including the *Guardian*, who repeat the same error today around Angola and, under the guise of focusing on the "main enemy," promote a political line which in effect gives the Soviet Union a blank check for their imperialist aggression.

The framework the *Guardian* has tried to create for the debate on the international situation is one in which two opposing and equally wrong camps argue over which superpower is the "main enemy" of the world's people. What the *Guardian* (and for that matter the October League) try to obscure and cover up is that there is a *third* stand, the Marxist-Leninist stand on the world today where revolutionary struggles are on the rise and the danger of war is increasing. This is the stand of opposing both superpowers, arming the working class of this country with the understanding necessary to advance the struggle against the U.S. bourgeoisie in the context of worldwide struggle against the two superpowers. The working class does not have to pick its poison—choose which superpower to side with. In this country, the working class, armed with the understanding of the class nature of both superpowers and the conflict between them, will direct its main blow against its own exploiters—the U.S. imperialist ruling class, and will build the kind of movement that can really stand up to it and actually bring it down. ■

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War...

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war." ("On Contradiction," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 321)

It would certainly seem that the countries of Western Europe are characterized by the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In fact, unless Lenin's definition is incorrect, these countries are imperialist. Do not their monopolies play a decisive role in economic life? Are they not ruled by finance capital? Do they not export capital? Do not their capitalists take part in international monopoly capitalist combines? Are they not out to increase their share of the spoils from the imperialist division of the world?

Are these just "tendencies" of these countries which need to be "opposed" while encouraging some redeeming features, or are they their essential characteristics? Furthermore, under existing conditions, the West European imperialists can only accomplish this last goal by riding the coattails of a more powerful imperialist power. They do not oppose both superpowers but are basically in the camp of U.S. imperialism. (Although it is not inconceivable that some could try to switch their eggs to Moscow's basket if they thought it opportune, just as Italy changed sides in the middle of World War 1.)

The world war in preparation will be a war between the imperialist blocs headed by the superpowers and as Lenin pointed out 50 years ago, "In short: a war between imperialist Great Powers (i.e., powers that oppress a whole number of nations and enmesh them in dependence on finance capital, etc.), or in alliance with the Great Powers, is an imperialist war." ("A Caricature of Marxism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 34, emphasis Lenin's)

Even in the highly unlikely event some maverick monopoly capitalist class should actually militarily take on both superpowers at once (not merely staying "neutral" to make sure of later jumping in on the winning side), it would make no difference in the overall nature of the imperialist war. During World War 1, the masses of the Serbian people led by their bourgeoisie, who had not developed into imperialists, were waging a national liberation struggle against the Great Power Austria—not in "defense" of an existing imperialist state—but to consolidate into a modern nation.

Nevertheless, Lenin warned, "The national element in the Austro-Serbian war is an entirely secondary consideration and does not affect the general imperialist character of the war." ("Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 159)

All this obviously does not mean that there are not contradictions of many sorts among the imperialists. China has been able to utilize its position as a socialist country to take advantage of these as pointed out in the November *Revolution* article cited earlier, which continues:

"In the present situation, China, recognizing the fact that the Soviet Union is overall on the offensive, is giving special emphasis to making use of contradictions—even those between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists—to place obstacles in the path of Soviet expansion. This China does in order to delay the outbreak of war and to make the conditions more favorable for the masses of people and their revolutionary leadership to develop their struggles, strengthen their forces and get prepared to continue the struggle under the conditions of world war, should it break out from superpower contention.

"The Chinese also do this in order to make it more difficult to launch an attack on China. And as a part

of strengthening the forces of the working class and its allies worldwide, China is paying serious attention to preparing itself for defense against attack. Under the present conditions the greatest danger of such attack comes from the Soviet social-imperialists."

Again, it is one thing for China to do this and quite another for communists within an imperialist power to mechanically adopt this policy to avoid the task of developing a revolutionary strategy and tactics by using Marxism to analyze concrete conditions.

"By the same token, a working class which does not have state power, while it does not have the same ability as the socialist countries to use state to state relations, etc. to further the worldwide struggle, also does not have the necessity to make compromises with various imperialist and reactionary forces and governments, in the same way as the socialist states do in order to make use of contradictions, etc." (Same article)

Defend What?

With the contradiction of a war between imperialist bandits looming, can making a revolutionary strategy of "national defense" advance the interests of the proletariat of the Western European countries or the U.S.? It doesn't matter whether it is used to imply openly uniting with the bourgeoisie or to say the bourgeoisie will somehow betray the interests of its own nation so the workers must uphold them. In either case the argument literally cries aloud for *class analysis*.

Whose interests are the "nation's"? Is there no monopoly class? Has this class no dictatorship, no state apparatus? Has it no armed forces? Are these armed forces not used to threaten and crush the struggle of the working class and masses as well as for protection and aggression against neighbors and rivals? How in the hell can the working class advance its interests by standing up for all this?

If "national independence" means independence from any superpower control and exploitation it can be achieved only two ways. One way is as a byproduct of working class revolution and the construction of socialism. If this is what is meant, communists should not be organizing for it under the national flag, because in long established imperialist countries national ideology is a tool "now being utilized in a totally different and imperialist epoch by the sophists of the bourgeoisie, and by the traitors to socialism who are following in their wake, so as to split the workers, and divert them from their class aims and from the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie." (Lenin, "Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," *Collected Works* Vol 21, p. 160)

If bourgeois rule is not overthrown, the only way one of these lesser imperialist countries can ever be qualitatively more "independent" is to be more powerful than imperialists now trying to dominate them! Should the working class really be fighting to see that Japan, for example, or a re-united imperialist Germany, becomes a new superpower?

It does not matter if lip service is rendered to the goal of proletarian revolution, so long as the political line steers the masses away from it. Thus we are confronted with the absurdity of the October League asserting in the August 2 *Call* that "it is only by aiming the main blow against the revisionists and their social-imperialist masters that the fight to overthrow U.S. imperialism can be brought to a victorious conclusion." Overthrow U.S. imperialism by aiming our main blow at the rival it is preparing for war against? Come again? The future efforts by the ideological acrobats of the October League to explain this interesting thesis should be spectacular.

What World War 2 Teaches

One final justification offered for this line is based in comparisons to history. The USSR is just like Hitler Germany, it goes, and wasn't Hitler Germany the main enemy of the world's people? Bearing in mind that revolution can be made only by concrete analysis of concrete conditions and not simply by historical analogy, there is still much to be learned from the comparison that is offered.

Yes, the Soviet Union, like Japan or the Third Reich in the 1930s is an up and coming imperialist power, desperate to increase its piece of the action, to "expand or die." It too is under the fascist form of bourgeois dictatorship, spends a great portion of its GNP on military preparations, has fifth columns in the countries upon which it has designs, etc., etc. But these characteristics do not make the Soviet Union a "greater evil" than the U.S. now, any more than they made Germany a "greater evil" than France or Britain when World War 2 broke out in 1939.

Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese revolution and the international working class, declared at that time, "On whichever side, the Anglo-French or the German, the war that has just broken out is an unjust, predatory and imperialist war." ("The Identity of Interests Between the Soviet Union and All Mankind," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 277)

This class analysis was the key to the situation. It made no real difference in the character of the war that in Germany the capitalists ruled by naked terror, while in France and Britain the bourgeois dictatorship was in

the guise of a democratic republic.

In fact, World War 2 is a good example of how different contradictions must be resolved by different means. The character of the war changed with the invasion of the Soviet Union by Germany on June 22, 1941. The imperialists did not change their nature—both blocs remained imperialist to the core.

Again class analysis provides the key to understanding the situation. With the invasion, the overall character of the war became determined by the contradiction between a state "under the dictatorship of the proletariat and states under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." (Communist Party of China, *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, p. 7) The Axis powers and Germany in particular then became the main enemy. In different countries, "communists grasped the necessity of entering the war on the same side as the imperialist bloc that had been forced to ally with the Soviet Union and turned this necessity into freedom. They took advantage of the split in the imperialist camp and the alliance of one bloc with the Soviet Union, to fight for leadership of the struggle against the Axis, and use that leadership to advance the struggle to socialism. Within a few years of the end of World War 2 the socialist camp had grown to a dozen countries." (This is from an article focusing on the history of the proletarian line on war in the May 15, 1976 *Revolution*.)

In the course of a new world war such a change could conceivably occur again. If either superpower were to attack China, the working class of every country would act to defend the People's Republic as part of the overall task of building the struggle for working class rule around the world. The overall concrete situation at the time would determine what form this defense would take.

The Real "Lesser Evil"

In any case, the workers will be ill-equipped to grasp and implement a quick change in strategy like that of World War 2, should it be required, unless communists have worked to help them understand the situation politically, in class terms, and how the central question is advancing the struggle of the proletariat toward the goal of socialist revolution through whatever twists and turns the situation may take.

Communists must work to fill the workers with class understanding of and further develop their class hatred for the whole system of imperialism and particularly their own capitalists, not with misleading nonsense about how those selfsame capitalists should be supported as the "lesser of two evils."

To take this last course condemns the workers to perpetually side with one bourgeois bandit against another and always at the expense of carrying their struggle through to victory.

As Lenin pointed out, the revolutionary working class movement "will remain true to itself only if it joins neither one nor the other imperialist bourgeoisie, only if it says that the two sides are equally bad, and if it wishes the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie." ("Under a False Flag," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 144)

Further he pointed out that the workers in every country have a special need and duty to work for the defeat and the overthrow of their own rulers. Applying this to the tasks of the Russian workers, he wrote, "We consider the defeat of Russia the lesser evil in all conditions." ("Conference of R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," *Collected Works*, Vol 21, p. 163)

In the event of a new world war like the one shaping up now—a vicious and predatory combat over which set of imperialists will be the number one plunderer of the people—communists in the Western capitalist countries and, in particular in the U.S., will learn from Lenin to organize the masses of workers and their allies to welcome the only real "lesser evil"—the defeat of their own capitalist class—and pave the way for the greatest good—working class revolution. ■

Evictions ...

Continued from Page 6

immigration officials. "They kept us divided then—but now I cannot tell you from the bottom of my heart what it means to see the Caucasians with us in our struggle." As one middle-aged white worker said after a support rally in Chinatown, "Imagine, an 86 year old man saying that 'the future belongs to us!'"

But the future does belong to us, to the working class. Struggles like the I-Hotel show that the movement powerful enough to seize that future from the bloody hands of the capitalist class grows stronger each time resistance is mounted to their attacks and directed toward getting rid of their rule altogether.

As the speaker from the Asian Community Center said at the Cultural Center rally, in buying all this property and attempting to evict the tenants of these hotels, "Four Seas Corporation has invested \$3.5 million in creating a working class fortress." ■

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