



REVOLUTION

Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

25¢

Vol. 1, No. 12



October 1, 1976

Mao Tsetung 1893-1976



**To the Central Committee
Of the Communist Party of China:**

When the mountains thunder the grim word, the quiet tears bathe the valley.

The working class and the oppressed peoples of the world have lost a champion precious to their cause, and the deprivation is sore to bear.

Phrases pale in the attempt to measure this loss. The struggles of the Chinese people brought forth a Mao Tsetung and the world is illumined by that strength. The battle swells and his rich Thought flies as a leading banner in the march.

His memory has many monuments more substantial than granite, more enduring than difficulty or danger, more vital than death can overcome. For all who struggle against exploitation and oppression there are the means and the method, the courage to conquer difficulty and danger, the confidence to persevere to working class victory. And in the last great continuing battle of his life, the consolidation of working class rule and the prevention of Soviet-style reversion, we cherish our trust in the revolutionary successors, nourished by his Thought and steeled in the battles he led, to overcome all obstacles and, in his name, to lead the way forward.

We merge our grief with that of his widow and family, with the grief of the comrades of the Communist Party of China, and the world's revolutionary peoples, and pledge ourselves to continue the fight until the basis for twisting human labor into private gain has been wiped from the face of the earth forever.

**LONG LIVE THE GREAT UNITY OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!
LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM, MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!**

**Central Committee
Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA**



The capitalists say auto workers didn't want to strike. But the determination to fight Ford's attacks and win the real rank and file demands shows in this demonstration at Gate 10, Ford Rouge complex on the first night of the strike.

Fight Hacks Plans for Phoney Strike

Ford Strikers In Tough Battle

On September 14 the assembly lines ground to a halt, the stamping presses fell silent and the cars and trucks stopped rolling off the assembly line. 170,000 Ford workers proudly and militantly began an important nationwide strike as the first of the four major auto contracts expired.

The strike is looked on by Ford workers as an important opportunity to deal some blows to the hated bosses of the fifth largest company in the world. At Ford facilities in Chicago and Mahwah, New Jersey, workers walked off their job hours before the contract expired. At the Brookpark Ford plant near Cleveland, Ohio, the company had the nerve to try to get one of the lines in the engine plant to work past the deadline. In defiance one of the workers stopped the line as his fellow workers broke into applause and cheers, then walked out. As the rank and file poured out of the plant 200 rallied outside the union hall to show their determination to make this a real fight. At the Ford Pico Rivera plant in Los Angeles 150 workers on the day shift wore arm-bands building up for the strike.

But even as the strike began there was a lot of confusion among the rank and file about what it was about. The problem facing the workers is: how to make this a real strike around real demands; how to break through the shackles their own UAW International union leadership is trying to put on the struggle and deal some real blows to the company.

For years auto workers have faced speedup, job combinations, layoffs, harassment, and other attacks by the auto companies. Now Ford Motor Company, followed closely behind by GM, Chrysler and AMC, proposes to greatly increase these abuses. In one contract proposal after another Ford has the gall to throw out these pitiful offers: 1) less than the traditional 3% annual wage increase; 2) new hires to be paid \$1 less per hour with almost no benefits, full pay and benefits coming only after one year; 3) taking away part of the Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) to extend the dental plan to retirees; 4) reducing dental coverage, "modifying" emergency room coverage, and having the workers pay more for medicine; 5) tightening up the rules requiring loss of vacation time for absenteeism while at the same time requiring workers to work the day before and after a holiday to get paid, even if one of these days is in a different week; 6) a provision which supposedly gives a few more days off per year but which actually tries to tighten up on absenteeism.

Rather than focus on these attacks and hitting at the vicious bloodsucking company policies they are designed to strengthen, the UAW International leadership has focused everything on a single issue—and it's a phony. They say the big demand for the workers is more days off. This is what all their original talk about a shorter workweek and so on has come down to. Their justification is that winning more time off will solve the problem of job security. The media has cooperated by presenting this as the key issue of the strike—a great philosophical battle with Henry Ford II refusing to pay workers "for not working" (although the union has already won over a dozen paid days off) and Woodcock fighting for jobs.

Jobs is a real issue all right—even according to Woodcock 117,000 auto workers have been permanently eliminated since 1973. The companies have managed this by

speedup, job combinations, forced overtime, subcontracting, limited callbacks when full production was restored after layoffs and a hundred other tricks all aimed at forcing fewer workers to do more work. Rather than aiming the strike and the workers' anger in general at these kinds of abuses, Woodcock and company are peddling the snake oil gimmickry of time-off: "Work less, get paid for it and help get your fellow workers rehired."

This is a joke, a few more days off won't mean any substantive numbers of workers getting rehired, more likely just increased speedup with the union bureaucracy still unwilling to fight it. Many auto workers don't even get the days off they already have. At Ford Sterling and GM Hydromatic near Detroit, for example, forced overtime kept workers on the job through the entire Labor Day weekend. Workers at Ford's Metuchen, New Jersey plant have faced nothing but opposition from their local officials in their consistent refusal of overtime as long as any workers are still on layoff, a situation that exists in auto plants from coast to coast.

Waging the Strike

Woodcock has done more than just push pie-in-the-sky schemes to keep the strike from becoming a real battle and the workers from taking things into their own hands. He has tried to make the strike itself a patchwork picnic to undercut the rank and file's strength, when what is needed is to shut Ford down tight. At the giant Rouge complex near Detroit the UAW leadership worked out a special agreement with the Ford Company to keep the coke oven workers on the job during the strike to keep the furnaces from cooling off and collapsing. A lot of anger has been building up in the coke ovens against the lousy conditions and pay, and the morning of September 15 these workers advanced this fight by shutting the operation down for the day and afternoon shift, some tearing up their special union work permit passes.

Instead of supporting this struggle the Local 600 Vice President came down to tell the men to go back to work, trying every low life tactic to divide maintenance and construction workers from production workers. The workers stood firm and only went back to work after getting the official to promise that they would get an incentive pay increase and better working conditions in the contract (particularly sharp demands in that department) or the International would authorize them to strike.

The workers at Ford's Michigan Truck and Wayne Assembly plants near Detroit had to fight a similar attempt by their union officials to weaken and undermine the effectiveness of the strike before it had hardly begun. The union local called a meeting the night of the walk-out to get authorization to allow skilled tradesmen into the plant, but had to back off in the face of the rank and file's anger. Presently though, there is no night picketing at these plants.

In other moves the International union kept the Canadian Ford workers at work, despite a common expiration date with American workers and Ford immediately began shipping cars across the border to bolster its U.S. stockpile. They even forced the entire 1600 member Local 245 to continue working using the excuse that they worked on emission control. According to

them if Ford didn't meet the Federal government's emission standards on time, it would jeopardize the jobs of thousands of auto workers.

It is clear that the aim of Woodcock and the entire International UAW leadership is not to deal some blows to Ford Motor Company but to cool out the rank and file. For them the negotiations and the strike are an annoyance to get over as soon as possible. They have been forced by the vicious and blatant takeaways proposed by Ford to call a strike, trying to look good, knowing that they would risk the wrath of the rank and file if they tried to settle at this point.

They hope that in a few weeks people will be hungry enough and demoralized enough by their sabotage to accept an offer along the lines of their present negotiations. They also are aware that a longer strike might unleash the initiative of the rank and file and that a strike will only start hurting the economic "recovery" after four or five weeks, a fact which Woodcock is especially conscious of now that he is a candidate for Jimmy Carter's Cabinet.

Despite these attempts by the top leaders of the UAW to make this a phony strike, the strike situation does open the door to more rank and file initiative and activity. It also sharpens the question most workers had before the strike began, "What the hell is the International asking for in these contracts anyway?"

Part of this is the struggle to shut Ford completely, to make sure no outside contracting goes on during the strike, that no stock, parts or equipment gets moved across the lines. But most importantly to turn this into a real strike means to focus it on the real demands of the rank and file.

Real Demands

Playing an active role in building this kind of strike has been a national group of auto rank and file, Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 (AWUF). For months leading up to the contract expiration AWUF systematized the key rank and file demands, popularized them in demonstrations, newsletters, leaflets and stickers. The key points of these demands are:

- 1) Full SUB (Supplementary Unemployment Benefits)—No cut-offs.
- 2) Defend and extend our right to strike over speed-up and all grievances.
- 3) No more forced overtime and no overtime in any plants where workers are on layoff.
- 4) An improved COLA and 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.

Up to the beginning of the strike over 110,000 copies of AWUF's program had been distributed to auto workers around the country and three issues of a national AWUF newsletter have come out and been distributed broadly. In addition 2500 "no sellout in '76" T-shirts have been sold. In fact the response to the T-shirts has been so overwhelming in some plants, especially on "T-shirt day" when hundreds of workers show up wearing them, that some union officials and even a local negotiator or two have been forced by the rank and file to buy them and wear them.

Another key to focusing the strike on the real demands of the rank and file has been a national contract bulletin which AWUF started to print after the strike jumped off. The first issue, eagerly received by Ford workers on the picket lines and GM, Chrysler and AMC workers, said in part, "The fact is we can turn this strike aimed at cooling us off into our advantage—turn it into a real fight for our real needs. The rank and file must continue getting organized throughout this

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To UAW International a few more days off is key issue of strike. AWUF is exposing this and rallying rank and file around real demands, like in this Ford World Headquarters demonstration.

Steel Workers Carry Struggle to Convention

The 18th Constitutional Convention of the 1.4 million member United Steelworkers of America (USWA) assembled in Las Vegas, Nevada in the first week of September. The last two years since the previous convention, held in Atlantic City, New Jersey in 1974, have seen the struggle of the steel workers intensify and sharpen considerably. Because of this, the steel bosses were looking to this convention and to their agents within the top leadership within the USWA to diffuse and set back a growing movement of the rank and file. Still, organized forces of the rank and file began this year to carry the fight even into this tightly controlled arena.

The upsurge on the part of steel workers in the last couple of years has been in response to the increasing attacks on the part of the steel monopolies. "Productivity drives" have meant massive layoffs of thousands, while the jobs of the laid off workers have been thrown on the backs of those still working, using job combinations, speedup, forced overtime and even putting foremen to work. On top of these outrages is the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA)—a no-strike deal between the Abel leadership and the ten major basic steel companies. It takes away the weapon of a national strike until 1980. The agreement, which hits the steel workers directly, is aimed at the whole working class, and is being pushed as a "model for the future" by the capitalists, their spokesmen in the bourgeois media and many of their partners at the top of the major unions.

The convention was supposed to take up and prepare for the contract fight coming up next year, to make necessary changes in the constitution and by-laws of the USWA, and to take up other resolutions put forward from locals around the country. Three of the main targets for steel workers around the country at this convention were dumping the ENA, winning the right to ratify contracts—this for the first time for the more than 360,000 workers in basic steel—and to turn back the dues increase the Abel machine rammed through at the last convention.

This convention, like others, was held far away from the battles and demands of the rank and file, in body and spirit. This year, even though many more delegates came on the basis of their locals sending them there with a program to fight the steel companies as a result of the rank and file upsurge, the convention was generally a well-orchestrated affair run by the International leadership.

So instead of being a place to marshal and unite the forces of the rank and file for the battles ahead, the convention was used to attack the growing movement of the rank and file. It was used to run away from the most important issues facing steel workers today. It was used to promote the theme of "common interests" between the capitalists and the working class. This is the same class collaboration that has stolen the steel workers' right to strike through the ENA under the lie that the conflict between the working class and the capitalists is "old fashioned and out of step with today's realities." This "common interests" scheme goes on to add that today fighting the companies is useless, and only through cooperation and producing more for the capitalists do the workers have a hope of winning a decent life.

Opening Remarks

In his opening remarks to the convention, I. W. Abel spoke not a word about fighting the steel companies. Instead he spoke for them, setting the terms for the convention by throwing down the gauntlet to the rank and file while pretending he was attacking a "small group." "A number of people are trying to undermine the United Steelworkers of America," he said. "This attack on our union is unmatched in its harshness and intensity. It is based on charges so absurd as to defy rational comment...One can overlook some things that are said by people who are fools and don't know any better. But you can't overlook the things that are said by people who know the truth, yet deliberately lie. I say to them, we don't want you, we can't afford you, and we are not about to surrender this union to you."

Well, there *are* people trying to undermine the union. Only it is not the rank and file. Instead, Abel and his



Steelworkers from around the country caught I.W. Abel among the one-armed bandits in a Las Vegas casino and handed him the Open Letter drawn up by the Steelworker rank and file newspaper.

machine, who work side by side with the companies to shackle the workers, who want to continue policies like the joint union-management productivity commissions, the ENA sellout, are themselves carrying out that dirty work.

Abel was forced to attack the rank and file steel workers openly and sharply. The growing rebelliousness of the workers has been reflected in sharpening struggle against the companies, with wildcats, walkouts and job assignment refusals on the increase. The resistance has been carried out within the union, too. Recent local elections saw a number of Abel men being thrown from union office. All this is weakening the Abel machine and has pushed Abel into taking more drastic measures to try and keep his grip on the union.

So it was not out of strength that Abel chose to unleash his attack, but out of a worsening position on the part of the capitalists and the necessity to turn back and diffuse the rank and file movement. The Abel attack combined with the determination of the rank and file to use the convention to advance their struggle made the convention itself a battleground in the class struggle.

Isolated Malcontents?

The strategy of Abel's machine was to shut down and silence any resistance, trying to make it appear to millions of workers around the country that steel workers were united with their leadership and stood behind their program of sacrificing more and more to the companies. Whatever resistance did surface they would try to pass off as "a little band of malcontents" and speak as though it was coming almost entirely from one source—from District 31 (Chicago-Gary area) and in particular, from Ed Sadlowski, District 31 director.

To carry out this strategy, Abel had to come into this convention with every bit of power and organization he could muster. An army of 800 staff men—delegates accountable only to the International leadership—tried to control the action on the convention floor. They grabbed microphones out of the hands of delegates who were making speeches exposing the collaboration between Abel and the steel capitalists. They compiled lists of names of delegates who were speaking up so they could threaten them later. On signal, they would line up at the mikes and praise the "great wisdom" of the International Executive Board.

On the opening day of the convention Abel made a big show of force and threw one delegation from Local 65, U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago, out of the convention, refusing to seat them. The excuse was a protest by Frank Mirocha, the Abel machine local president of Local 65 who had been voted out of office during the summer.

Local 65 election procedures were hardly the issue. First, the delegation had been sent with a mandate from the local to fight the ENA, fight for ratification and to turn back the dues increase, among other things. Also, this was Sadlowski's "home local." Kicking it out of the convention was supposed to show, right from the start, who was running the show. During the same morning a District 31 delegate was beaten up by Abel staff men when he caught them forging delegate credentials to further pack the convention.

These tactics were able to intimidate some delegates for a time, partially because the anti-Abel forces were not well enough organized before the convention. At the same time, the use of such tactics further exposed the growing weakness of the Abel machine.

A significant advance was made by the working class at this convention. Rank and file steel workers from

around the country were brought together in Las Vegas by *The Steelworker*, a national newsletter aimed at building the struggle against the steel companies as part of the overall battle of the working class. These workers were not in Vegas to drink and dine and drop nickels in the slot machines but to represent the rank and file back in the mills and plants, to break through Abel's lies and further build the growing resistance. In at least one case in Los Angeles, a plant collection had raised funds for these workers to come to the union convention.

This was very important because it represented taking the actual battles and demands of the steel workers at the present time and being able to pull that together into a nationwide force within the steel industry that would go directly into the convention and challenge the domination of the companies. During convention week these workers put out something from *The Steelworker* on a daily basis, hitting at the major issues at the convention, the major questions that were coming up, and pointing toward what had to be done.

Workers around *The Steelworker* met with individuals and groups of delegates who had come to the convention to represent ongoing battles, wanted to fight Abel and saw the need for the rank and file to organize nationwide, and not to allow themselves to be broken up, local by local or district by district, by the companies or the union hacks.

By the second night of the convention there was a lot of demoralization among anti-Abel delegates. The Abel machine had been able to defeat any proposal that spoke to the demands of the rank and file. Two of the main issues, right of ratification and the ENA, were buried in a blanket resolution that had many different parts to it, many of them pretty good, such as a big wage increase for the next contract. In order to vote against the ENA and for contract ratification a delegate would have had to vote against the whole thing, including the big wage increase, etc. Abel would not allow either issue to get taken up on its own.

Had to Fight

The big question that was taken up at that time was: should we make a fight of it or should we pack it up and go home and wait for another day to fight. At a meeting called by Sadlowski forces some disagreements surfaced. Some of Sadlowski's supporters argued that if you can't win a vote, it's silly to try to fight. Workers from *The Steelworker*, including members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, took that up and pointed out that the rank and file didn't really have the choice not to fight. If there was no fight on the part of the rank and file, they explained, Abel would get over with his aim of creating the image of happy, contented members, who really had nothing to complain about. He would use a quiet, peaceful convention to further isolate rank and file fighters as a small band of "malcontents," and set back the struggle.

By fighting, even if the Abel machine was able to win the vote, a clear message would be sent across the country that would more reflect the actual situation, the battles going on in the mills and plants and mines across the country. This would lay the basis to better carry on the fight after the convention. The terms of the fight had to be to lay the issues right on Abel's doorstep and make clear what was going on at the convention—the selling out of the rank and file to the companies.

The next day *The Steelworker* followed through and circulated "An Open Letter to I. W. Abel." The open letter, which reached over 3000 delegates, responded to

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Carter & Ford Road Show

'76 Elections a Trap Not a Solution

The usual election year hoopla is in full gear once again. Like so many circus barkers the candidates razzle-dazzle us with tantalizing promises of what's in store just inside their tents. "Step right up! Vote for Jimmy Carter! You'll get Jobs! Peace! Health Care! Tax Reform! Honest Government!" On the other side of the midway Jerry Ford hawks "Fiscal Responsibility! Lower Inflation! National Defense! Prosperity! Honest Government!"

But this year, even more than selling a particular candidate, the newspapers, TV and "public figures" seem to be devoting their efforts to selling the elections themselves. They worry publicly about the opinion surveys suggesting that less than half the potentially eligible voters will even bother to show up at the polls on November 2nd.

Growing Cynicism About Elections

This concern is well founded. There is a deep and growing cynicism about elections and government among the American people. Of course there has always been a certain general skepticism about the whole business. It is a common sentiment that the politicians always promise more than they can deliver, that things aren't going to change much for the better no matter who is elected, that big business runs the government while politicians skim the cream off the top and the working man gets the shaft.

But there's a big difference this time around. In the past there was generally some expectation that despite whatever problems, there would be better times ahead. Working class parents looked to the possibility of their kids getting into college and escaping the drudgery of factory life. In the last couple decades the civil rights movement offered hope to Blacks that the burdens of generations of discrimination and denial of democratic rights would be lifted. In pre-Vietnam days, there was even some hope that we might see a generation or two of peace.

Today the mood of the country is very different. People's daily experience is that things are going to hell at a pretty rapid clip. The children of men and women who started their working lives in the depths of the depression of the '30s are themselves walking the streets looking for work and see *their* children facing the same bleak future. After decades of labor and toil millions of workers confront the certainty that they will hardly be able to live on what inflation leaves of their retirement checks.

Despite the advances it won, the civil rights movement is little more than a memory as the government strives to intensify the oppression of minorities, pit whites against Blacks and keep the working class divided along national lines. With little more than a year elapsing since the final departure of the U.S. from Vietnam phrases like "the reality of the *pre-war period* we live in" are starting to crop up in the news as hundreds of billions are poured into military build-up. Meanwhile the cities fall apart, the schools deteriorate and medical care and other essential services are cut back.

In addition, fewer and fewer working people find it possible to believe that the government and political leaders will bring fundamental improvement in their lives. The stench of lies, deceit and corruption associated with Watergate has been spreading with more recent exposures of bribery, spying, assassination squads, sexual degeneracy and on and on.

People have some very basic and serious questions about what's in store for themselves and their children. They are more convinced than ever that they have no real say in how they are ruled, that money doesn't just talk, it barks the orders.

All the instruments of election year propaganda have been orchestrated to counter this new level of skepticism and cynicism about the elections. They play the reassuring theme that the problems are not with the system itself. It is merely a problem of leadership.

Every effort is being made to lure voters into the booths. Big voter registration drives are being sponsored by the AFL-CIO leadership among others. When it appeared Carter had been played up too much as a sure winner, and public interest was in danger of flagging, his support was suddenly reported to be "soft," and his campaign in disarray, while Ford, no longer stumbling and tripping, was said to be in "hot pursuit." All this to make it seem like more of a horse race and urge people to get out and actually vote for one or the other. For the first time since 1960 there are televised debates between the presidential candidates, debates which hopefully might,

as one newspaper put it, "stir public interest at a time when participation in the political process is discouragingly low."

The people who are really concerned about this "discouragement" are the ones to whom the elections are so key, to whom they really make a difference: the capitalists who rule this country and for whom the elections and the whole system of capitalist democracy is a vital disguise which hides the division of society into classes with them on the top, ruling and raking in the wealth the masses produce.

"Everyone is equal in the voting booth", they tell us. "Your vote counts just as much as David Rockefeller's." The industrialists, bankers and millionaires might have a lot of *influence*, it is conceded, but our political democracy is supposed to be the great equalizer. It is supposed to insure that people can really have a voice and stake in the system, that their votes are actually the determining factor in the policies the government follows.

These capitalists don't just need politicians in office to *administer* things for them. They want people to demonstrate support for these politicians, to show that they have a real mandate from the masses of people—not just for a particular politician, but for the system itself. That way wage freezes, anti-labor legislation, tax hikes, social service cuts, war preparations, etc. can all be presented as the will of the people, or at least as necessary and sometimes courageous decisions by their chosen leaders.

In their efforts to keep people believing that they do have a stake in the system, and set them up for heavier attacks, the capitalists have got their work cut out for them. For starters they have come up with a whole series of "post-Watergate" snow jobs which attempt to turn all the exposures upside down and make them into proof of the basic health of the political system, to show that despite all the problems, the system is capable of correcting itself. The same people for whom Nixon was a faithful servant for so many years now claim credit for driving him out of office. The very fact that many of the crimes of the FBI and CIA have been exposed is held up as proof that they will never again be used to spy on the American people and sabotage their struggle.

But above all they have been looking to come up with someone who could be held up as a leader, who can make people believe in him and at the same time believe that the system can operate in the interests of the majority.

Gerald Ford was put in because he was sort of an "honest," uncontroversial nonentity, someone whose apparent plainness and honesty would contrast sharply with the rottenness of the Nixon scene. But Ford's role was transitional. He was clearly not the one who could stir up much enthusiasm or give working people a sense that he was someone who stood with and cared about them, who would defend their interests—especially after presiding for a year and a half over constant attacks on the living standards of the masses of people. What was needed was a new face, someone who might attract some excitement, stir up some hope that maybe, just maybe, things could be changed if he came to power.

Enter Jimmy Carter

Enter Jimmy Carter. Peanut farmer, scientist, businessman, humble origins, deeply religious. His greatest asset was precisely what was supposed to be his greatest liability, the fact that he was an unknown. Here was someone who could put himself forward not as a politician, but as a common man—"just like you and I."

Millions of dollars worth of media publicity advertised that yes, Jimmy Carter was a man the American people could trust. He was a man workers could have confidence in, because he himself knew what it meant to come up the hard way. He knew what it meant to work for a living.

Carter has been promoted as a man of the soil, a good 'ol boy from the deep South who grew up in a segregated society, but rejected racism and segregation and proved himself to be not only an exponent of civil rights, but a fighter for Black people who would take concrete steps to remedy the injustice of racial discrimination.

The romanticization of Jimmy Carter, the effort to turn him into a new popular hero, reached its peak at the Democratic convention. As innumerable speakers portrayed all the outrages of previous administrations, scores of ecstatic supporters testified that Carter was a new type of man. While Walter Cronkite slobbered over Carter's "outspoken mother" and clever daughter, cameras focused on every Black face in the hall and Martin Luther King Sr. proclaimed that Carter had been sent by the Lord. On cue, the television cameras showed the delegates in what amounted to a state of religious ecstasy when Jimmy was nominated.

But far from showing that a poor man, a common man can come from among the people and represent the interests of the people, the Carter candidacy shows that the capitalists have a vast supply of loyal servants on whom to draw and that enough money can weave together a tissue of lies that can make illusion seem like reality—at least for a while. In fact, the image of Jimmy Carter contrasted with the reality of Jimmy Carter reveals exactly what the capitalists want to accomplish with these elections.

The Real Face of Carter

Carter is no man of the soil. He is a small capitalist who has risen higher by pushing others down into the dirt. In fact, although he lives on a farm and his family owns thousands of acres of Georgia farm and woodland, he is not even a farmer. The bulk of his wealth comes from warehousing and selling other farmers' peanuts and from commodity trading. The Carter family operation is estimated to be worth more than \$5 million and Carter himself is a near millionaire. But his workers are still paid the minimum wage of \$2.30 an hour and in the opinion of his brother Billy Carter, "some are grossly overpaid at that."

The Jimmy Carter who is presented as a new Kennedy-type "friend of Black people," but who actually grew up with and had "many Black friends as a boy," ran for Governor of Georgia in 1970 on a program of blatant racism and segregation. It was only after he was elected that he began to talk about "equality and justice for all." In reality it remained talk, with a little window dressing—equality and justice came no closer.

During Carter's administration, for example, the city of Atlanta was the scene of massive and brutal police repression, carried out under the direction of the Atlanta police chief, a dog named Imman. Twenty-three people were murdered by the police in Atlanta in an 18 month period. Thousands of Blacks and whites staged rallies and demonstrations demanding an end to police murder and the immediate removal of Imman. But when a delegation went to Governor Carter to appeal for his intervention to get rid of him, his response was that he "was working for the best interests of the city" and he described him as merely a "tough and honest cop."

The image of Carter projected by the media is that of the man who emerged from nowhere.

Well Known to Capitalists

The real story of Jimmy Carter's sudden rise to prominence is quite different. If he was unknown to most American people, he was not unknown to the biggest capitalists in the country. They have been grooming him for his role for several years. "While he was still governor of Georgia," reports one of Carter's semi-official biographers, "he had been spotted by David Rockefeller, president of Chase Manhattan Bank, as a rising figure." As part of his preparations, he was recruited by Rockefeller to represent the southern half of the United States on a Rockefeller-started operation called the Trilateral Commission, an exclusive grouping of leading capitalists, politicians, and foreign policy intellectuals from the U.S., Western Europe and Japan.

Carter's preparation was not just limited to being surrounded with some of the capitalists most reliable advisors. In 1974 he was given the job of chairman of the Democratic Party campaign committee, a job he used to become familiar to politicians and party regulars all over the country, and helped to lay the groundwork for much of his primary campaign.

But this year's big sell is not restricted to the packaging and marketing of Jimmy Carter.

Some sections of the ruling class even feel Ford has done a decent job for them and would like to see him stay in office. Both candidates are presented as basically decent, honest, down to earth people and it's emphasized that neither is a complete lemon, a shifty, neurotic crook like they portrayed Nixon.

All this is intended to help convince people that they really do have a choice, and that if they blow it

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Trap...

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by voting for the wrong candidate, or more important, by failing to vote at all, then whatever hardships the future brings, it's their own fault.

The televised debates are supposed to prove that there are important differences of policy and program between the two candidates, something that certainly hasn't been very clear so far.

Even though the candidates and their positions seem pretty similar, this is to some extent offset by the particular emphasis placed on the seeming difference between the Democrats and Republicans. This "two party system" is supposed to be the real guarantee of political democracy and freedom of choice. In fact it's an important weapon to keep the masses of people whipsawing back and forth, undercutting attempts people make to organize their own struggle and fight for their needs. When the Republicans are in office, all the problems are blamed on them and the solution, very simply, is to vote for the Democrats. When the Democrats have been in for a while, the answer is to vote Republican. And if the difference between the donkey and the elephant wears a little thin, there are third parties or independent candidates, like Eugene McCarthy this year, who pop up to siphon any disaffected voters back into the political system.

Historically, there have been differences between the two parties. In part this is due to the fact that the capitalists have differences and competing interests among themselves and use these parties to promote their own interests. In part it is due to the fact that the whole capitalist class has to appeal to different sections of the American people, different classes among the population. Which section of the capitalist class a given party represents and to what other class forces it attempts to appeal has changed over the years. In the Civil War and post-Civil War era, for example, the Democratic Party represented the Southern aristocracy and claimed to represent the interests of the small farmer, while the Republicans represented the interests of Northern capital and claimed to represent the interests of the freed slaves and Northern wage workers.

Franklin Roosevelt

The Democratic Party became the "party of the working man" rather suddenly under President Franklin Roosevelt in the midst of the Great Depression of the 1930s. FDR won easily against Herbert "prosperity is just around the corner" Hoover, sprinkling his campaign with a little radical sounding rhetoric about "throwing the money-changers out of the temple." In 1932, to have run on a platform of *defending* big business would have been political suicide.

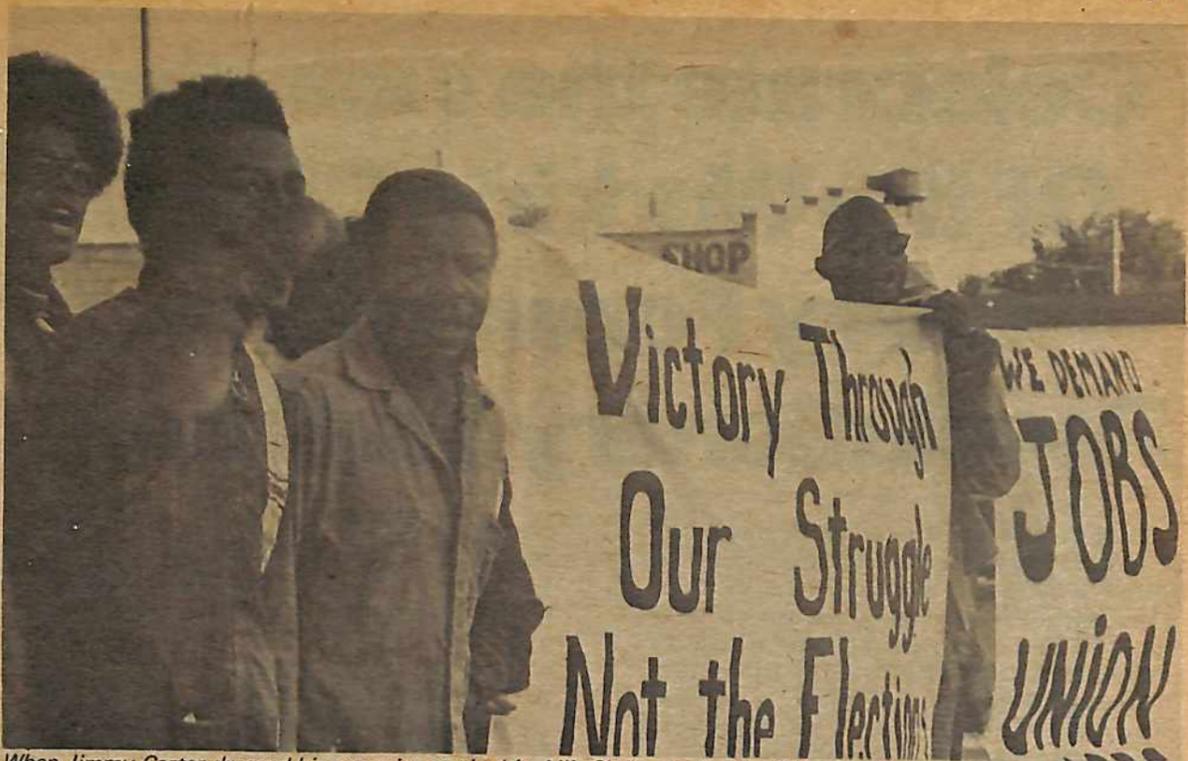
But Roosevelt's actions belied his words. He immediately sacrificed small banks to save the big ones and came up with a whole series of programs—NRA, NIRA, CCC and so on—which pumped government money into getting private capitalist production going again.

The struggle of millions of people—farmers, tenants, the unemployed and, above all, workers—in the 1930s forced many concessions from the capitalists and their government, notably unemployment insurance, social security, and industrial unions. One of Roosevelt's greatest services to the ruling class was in posing as the concerned and pro-people *donor* of some of these concessions, once he saw they were inevitable. He was aided in this by many top union leaders who portrayed him to their membership as some kind of saviour in exchange for high posts in the government and Democratic Party and the prestige of White House visits and presidential "friendship."

But for his first six years in office, none of Roosevelt's policies dented the Depression. They couldn't. The capitalists had been forced to shut their plant gates because they could not sell what they produced. The tremendous ability of the working class to produce had run smack into capitalism's restriction of market for the goods the workers create. Millions were out of work while factories lay idle.

War, Not FDR, Ended Depression

The U.S. economy began to climb out of the Depression only at the end of the 1930s as the world situation changed, with various capitalist powers attempting to deal with the economic crisis by expanding into each others' territory and colonies. War preparations and arms sales to other countries at last provided the market and the stimulus to production the capitalists craved. It was the onslaught of World War 2 and the demands of war production that put millions to work and millions into uniforms. And it was the emergence of the U.S. after the war as the strongest capitalist power that finally ended the Depression.



When Jimmy Carter dragged his campaign to the big Allis-Chalmers plant in Milwaukee recently, workers, organized by the United Workers Organization, met him there with an angry demonstration denouncing the elections trap.

Politicians Fight for \$ Interests We Must Fight for Our Own!

The Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) is calling for a campaign around the upcoming presidential elections, culminating in demonstrations in over 20 cities on election day itself.

The capitalists are working overtime this election year to hook people back into having faith in their politicians and faith in their whole set-up. They are doing everything they can to drum up the vote and interest in the elections. Like it says in the current UWOC national newsletter, "While the American people are greeting this with all the skepticism and distrust bred of 10 years of lies about Vietnam, Watergate, and an economy springing leaks all over, the question is still out there—what is the way out of this mess?"

UWOC is calling for organizing a response that calls out the situation for what it is and which points the way forward—not into the voting booth, but into struggle. The campaign and the demonstrations will give organized expression to people's disgust with and hatred of bourgeois politics and bourgeois politicians:

**POLITICIANS FIGHT FOR \$ INTERESTS
WE MUST FIGHT FOR OUR OWN!**

As they did with the victories the working class wrested from them through bitter struggle, the capitalists credited Roosevelt's policies with the economic recovery, thus turning even their system's inevitable drive to war to their political advantage.

Thus was carefully created the myth of FDR—the man who stood with the common people against the Wall Street Barons and built up a powerful coalition of working people, minorities, farmers and professionals within the Democratic Party and made it a balance to the Republican Party—the Party of Big Business. Roosevelt and the Democrats led the suffering masses out of the valley of depression and into the light of prosperity.

This lovely picture has grown pretty faded and frayed at the edges but many people still think the Democrats, no matter how bad, are at least more likely to favor the common people than the Republicans. Jimmy Carter is trying to play on this sentiment by painting himself as the new Roosevelt, a real leader, a friend of labor. He promises jobs, relief for decaying cities, racial harmony, anything if only enough people get behind him.

And all the top union leaders, the worthy successors of the traitors who originally painted Roosevelt as a saint, are doing their best to peddle this nonsense.

George Meany says that the most important thing the unemployed can do this year is to vote for the Democrats. Caesar Chavez tells farm workers that the way to force growers to recognize the union and to win contracts is to vote for Jimmy Carter for President. The heads of the construction unions tell their membership that the way to fight scab construction and win jobs is to get rid of Ford and put a "friend of labor" in the White House. If you've had it with discrimination, police harassment, lousy housing, deteriorating schools, organize effectively and get a candidate who represents "your views" into office.

The nature of the political system is defined by the class that runs it. When a handful of high and mighty own everything in society, from the factories, the banks, the media that shapes public opinion, to the government that keeps them on top, how can

This slogan sums up the main thrust of the campaign, an exposure of the specific political attack the elections represent in 1976. This comes out around many issues and real abuses people face; and a very hot issue this election year is the question of unemployment and the overall direction of the economy. In the face of all their pious proclamations about "putting America back to work," UWOC will everywhere be raising "Jobs, Not Hot Air." And in the face of their various schemes, Democrat or Republican, to cut unemployment insurance and find the ways to mobilize the unemployed against the employed as a force to cut wages—UWOC will be raising its demand for "Union jobs at union wages from government or industry, or enough income to cover the cost of living for all periods of unemployment."

UWOC has called on all forces—employed workers, youth, students, vets, and everyone else to join with them in making a battle out of this election campaign, and participate and build for these demonstrations on election day. ■

there by any true democracy for the working class and the masses of people who create the wealth the rulers grab and control? Most politicians bear the stamp of the system they serve clearly—they are corrupt and greedy, seeking power and wealth. But even if a president were personally honest, it would make no difference in the nature of his job.

Real Laws of the System

No matter how much politicians wrap themselves in the mantle of previous "successful" presidents, it is not the intentions, good or bad, the programs or policies of this or that politician that determine how things are going to develop in this capitalist society. That is determined by the needs of the capitalists to constantly maximize their profits, by the laws of capitalist production and by the struggle of the working class fighting for a decent life.

This necessity pits each individual capitalist and whole capitalist nations against each other in bloody competition for markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of influence. It continually drives them to war to protect and expand their investments. It forces them to drive the working class to produce as much as possible, as fast as possible, for as little pay as necessary.

Remember LBJ vs. Goldwater? Johnson promised no land war in Vietnam, while Goldwater was painted as Dr. Strangelove, ready to bomb Indochina into the stone age. Well, Johnson the Democrat did exactly what Goldwater the Republican had promised to do. It wasn't just because Johnson was a lying dog—though he was. Any U.S. president would have been forced to try and crush the efforts of the people of Indochina to throw out their foreign masters, and to try and protect the capitalists' raw materials, markets, cheap labor and, in the larger sense, their whole worldwide empire.

In 1972, the voters were told that McGovern was the peace candidate, the only choice for getting out of Vietnam, while Nixon was the well-known hard liner. But Nixon was forced to withdraw the bulk of U.S. troops within the year, not because he was secretly for

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Celebrate the Victories Of the Working Class! Carry Forward the Revolutionary Tradition!

During the month of October, the Revolutionary Communist Party will be sponsoring meetings in many cities across the country celebrating the anniversaries of two great achievements of the international working class—the victory of the Russian October Revolution in 1917 and the Chinese Revolution in October 1949.

These celebrations have been held for several years now, and play an important part in the struggle here, in particular in strengthening the Party and the advanced forces of the working class.

This year these meetings will focus on the international situation and the struggle, stand and tasks of the working class in the face of the growing threat of world

war. World war, while posing great dangers and hardships for the working class, also places before it great possibilities to advance, to break the constant pattern of wars and depression the capitalist system drags it into. All this was powerfully shown by the experience of the masses of Russia and China, who came through such wars with revolutionary victories.

This year these meetings will be held under the slogans: Celebrate the Victories of the Working Class! and Carry Forward the Revolutionary Tradition!

The Party in local areas will be scheduling the time and place of these events. ■

Important Conference Planned

An event of great importance is taking shape in New York City. A very broad range of forces from around the country including the Revolutionary Communist Party is coming together to convene a conference on the international situation, war, revolution, and the internationalist tasks of the American people.

The conference is significant because it will draw together the main different views and programs on the international situation. This will be the first time that such a broad range of views have gotten together in years. The purpose of the conference will be to clarify and debate the main trends on this most timely issue.

A call has been signed by many forces and is being circulated among broad numbers of progressive and revolutionary minded peoples and organizations. As the call states:

"These (questions around the international situation) are life and death questions. The world is in great turmoil, with contradictions sharpening on all continents and all countries. The very forces who through struggle stood together against the U.S. ruling class in Vietnam in the 1960s now debate: putting forward different analyses, different answers, different directions for actions and struggle. And now, just as then, the actions of the masses can make the crucial difference in the struggles worldwide.

"There is an urgent need to both sharpen and broaden the debate to put the different views and ideas and trends squarely and clearly before the greatest number of people."

To overcome the obstacles involved in bringing such a broad group together and insure a disciplined and productive conference the debate is being developed along the three general trends that presently exist on this question. First, the position that says that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the vast majority of peoples of the world, and the Soviet Union is either a friend, neutral, or lesser character in shaping world events, and stressing that the main blow be directed against U.S. imperialism in support of liberation struggles around the world. Second, that the contention between the two superpowers is heating up and pushing things toward world war while the prospects for revolution are increasing, and inside the U.S. the main blow should be directed against U.S. imperialism, while opposing it and social imperialism on a world scale. And third, that the contention between the two superpowers is the chief determinant of events, while the factors for revolution are also growing, and that the USSR is variously the main danger, the main enemy, the most dangerous, etc., and should be the focus of the main blow of the peoples' struggles around the world, while opposing U.S. imperialism.

The groups discussing the conference agree that it must be tightly structured and debated along the three lines to avoid any forces from taking advantage of the broadness to push their own group instead of dealing with the issues.

After the call has been circulated it will be released and public propaganda, posters, educational material, put out to build for the conference which is scheduled for New York City, November 13th. ■

This issue of *Revolution* is being published two weeks later than usual because of the time required to produce the special supplement on the life and contributions of Mao Tsetung. The next issue, Volume 2, Number 1, *Revolution* will come out on October 15, resuming the normal schedule.

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THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

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Trap...

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peace all along, but because the U.S. was defeated militarily and politically by the Vietnamese and the mass anti-war movement in the U.S.—a movement that was built and gained tremendous power outside the electoral process and threatened tremendous social upheaval.

There are countless other examples of politicians attempting to claim credit for what they were forced to do by the struggle of the people, or to deny that they will let happen what the laws of the system make inevitable.

The capitalist system will be driven to crisis and to war no matter who is president. Capitalists can be forced to make concessions to the struggles of the masses whoever is president—and they will be forced to try and take back those concessions, to intensify their exploitation of the masses, whoever is president.

Now, as the '76 elections approach the "solutions" the capitalists came up with to resolve earlier crises are becoming millstones around their necks. They are in a serious economic crisis and their worldwide empire is challenged by freedom-minded nations and capitalist rivals as well, especially the USSR. They have no choice in the course of action they must follow: squeeze more profits from the labor of the working class and step up their competition with their foreign competitors, while arming for the inevitable showdown with them.

"Follow Us"

To do all this they have to rally the masses of people to their banner, to make them feel that these are their problems, even their fault, and to persuade them that the way out is to follow the leadership of the capitalists and make the many sacrifices that are needed.

This is why the "democratic system of election" is so vital to the capitalists. It is the main means they have for dressing up their system of exploitation and oppression in the costume of "the will of the majority"—and trying to convince people they have a stake in it. It is a channel into which they try to divert all the discontent and anger, all the frustrated aspirations and struggle their system generates. And in doing so they

try to appeal to the sincere desire of many workers to believe their oppression can be ended by some other way than a revolution to overthrow the rulers.

The capitalists have proved time and again that they will not hesitate to use open force to beat back the struggles of the people if they deem it necessary. If they have to they will rule the country by naked armed terror rather than give up their profits and their rule, but it is easier for them if they can convince people that the "fair workings of the democratic process" will take care of everyone's interests.

The people are given a vote, but for the capitalist class as a whole, whether a particular politician wins or loses the election is relatively unimportant. Different capitalists or groups of capitalists may prefer—or own a bigger piece of—a given candidate, but each one has been selected and built up on the basis of his ability to serve the interests of their class once in office. And all of them, win or lose, spread the ideas the capitalists want the people to absorb and serve as a lightning rod to defuse their struggle.

Although no significant section of the capitalist class supported George McGovern in 1972, they were happy with and helped finance his candidacy which tried to channel the mass movement against the war in Vietnam into the election process and let it rest there. Ronald Reagan did not represent the views of the majority of the ruling class on exactly how their interests were to be defended throughout the world at this time, but Reagan played a very important role in beating the war drums and telling people that "like it or not" we are faced with the reality of sacrificing to defend the U.S. empire.

A lot of people do not buy this "salvation through the democratic process" because it contradicts a lot of daily experience. But the same view is put forward in other forms, especially the lesser of two evils line. "Why not vote for Carter, he can't be worse than Ford. We've got to have one of them anyway."

But the lesser of two evils is just a recipe for accepting evil, and the way things are going that means worse and worse evil. It's not a choice the working class can afford to accept. The road forward for the working class does not end in the voting booth, but leads to struggle, to battle the capitalists and their attacks at every turn and to reject their traps and phoney solutions. This is the road of taking matters into our own hands, of revolutionary struggle against the capitalists and their whole system of class exploitation and sham democracy. ■

Revolution

Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA (RCP, USA). It is published on the 15th of every month. All correspondence to the Party should be sent to RCP, USA, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.



For 3 months the people of Azania have shaken the white supremacist government with continuing rebellions.

U.S. Scurries to "Save" S. Africa

Azania Rises Up Righteous & Mighty

For the third month in a row the flames of struggle continue to blaze in Azania (South Africa). At every step of the struggle the masses of oppressed people have been met with bullets and savage repression at the hands of South Africa's white supremacist ruling class. But despite the repression the struggle has surged forward, involving ever broader numbers of people, and becoming better organized.

In mid-September a mammoth strike broke out against the apartheid system involving hundreds of thousands of workers, the majority of the workforces in South Africa's two major industrial areas, Johannesburg and Cape Town. The strike completely shattered the lie spread earlier in this country's press that the rebellions were limited to black African students and opposed by the workers. The strike demonstrated great unity between the masses of black Africans and the millions of other non-whites living under the heel of the hated apartheid system whom the rulers have tried to pit against the blacks.

During the strike, in the face of gunfire, demonstrations took place with thousands chanting and carrying signs "Kissinger is a murderer" and "Kissinger Go Home" at the very time the U.S. imperialist emissary was scurrying about southern Africa trying to find a "peaceful solution" to the growing conflict engulfing the whole area. A solution, that is, that would squash the revolutionary struggle of the people and protect U.S. imperialist plunder of the peoples of the countries of southern Africa.

Kissinger's "Scuttle Diplomacy"

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy" trip to southern Africa, following on the heels of his second meeting in three months with Prime Minister Vorster, underscored the desperation of the U.S. imperialists to find some way to protect their investments and influence in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (Southwest Africa) and to prop up the white supremacist regime in South Africa.

Shaken by the explosion of mass rebellion in Azania (South Africa), coupled with the dramatic advances of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and the success of the Soviets in grabbing a foothold in Angola, the U.S. and South African ruling classes are scurrying to find some "peaceful means" to save themselves. The current aim of the U.S. efforts in Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe is to reach some sort of negotiated settlement, guaranteed and supported by the independent black states of southern Africa, that will stifle the revolutionary liberation movements and block the Soviet Union from advancing its imperialist interests in the area at the expense of the U.S. Whether any settlement is satisfactory can only be decided by the people in these countries.

The U.S. ruling class is trying to turn its past open support for the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa to its advantage. The U.S. is trying to play the role of mediator, trying to present itself as the power that can bring all sides together and reach a solution that will avoid further war and bloodshed.

The U.S. ruling class is being forced to take note of

reality: the advances in the Zimbabwe liberation struggle point to the doom of the white racist settler government of Rhodesia. Likewise, the growth of the liberation forces in Namibia together with mounting external pressures and threat of a U.N. sponsored boycott, make it increasingly difficult for South Africa to blatantly hold onto its claim to this mineral rich colony.

Zimbabwe

South Africa is the main pillar of support for the Rhodesian regime. In the past Rhodesia (as well as Namibia) has been seen by the South African ruling class as part of its defence perimeter, a buffer of white settler states surrounding South Africa itself and separating it from the independent black African states. But with the collapse of Portuguese colonialism (whose African colonies composed the other so-called buffer states) and with the growth of revolutionary struggle throughout southern Africa, Rhodesia is becoming a thorn in the side of the South African regime instead of an asset.

The South African government is greatly worried that if it continues to stand fast behind Ian Smith's regime it could get drawn into a war that would surely quicken the development of the struggle within South Africa itself, pit itself militarily against black African states and threaten the collapse of the whole apartheid system.

Faced with these facts, the South African regime, together with the U.S., would be willing to abandon support for Rhodesia's white settler regime if it would be possible to bring about an African government in a new state of Zimbabwe that would be relatively friendly with South Africa and agree to continue U.S. and Western investments and influence.

The U.S. is under even greater pressure to try to pursue this course. Not only may it turn out to be the only way to maintain a foothold in Rhodesia and Namibia, continued U.S. support of white rule in southern Africa greatly strengthens the hand of its Soviet rivals in the battle for influence throughout the whole area and the intensification of armed conflict could, the U.S. fears, provide the basis for Soviet Angola-style adventures.

To promote its plans in Zimbabwe, the U.S. has offered to underwrite any losses white settlers might suffer as the result of a black government coming to power and has pledged to train "black leadership" in the skills and methods of government. In other words, to try to set up a pro-U.S. neo-colonial regime in Zimbabwe.

But wishes and realities are two different things. Their options and freedom of action are severely limited and their plans for a neo-colonial regime friendly to the U.S. could pop like a bubble in the face of the armed struggle of the masses.

In Namibia, the South African government has agreed to a multi-racial, majority ruled, independent state in two years. But this proposal is a sham. South Africa has controlled Namibia since it took over this former German colony at the end of World War 1 and it does not want to relinquish its control of this economical-

ly and geographically important territory. This was made clear at the so-called constitutional conferences, the latest of which were held in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, in early September.

The Southwest African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), the main liberation organization in the country, was excluded from the conferences, and representatives of the South African government and whites living in Namibia met with handpicked "tribal representatives" to plan the supposed transition of power. In fact they are trying to engineer the creation of a client state with some black figurehead leadership under the direct control of South Africa and run by whites. At the same time the South African government is increasing its military garrisons in Namibia and carrying out armed attacks on "suspected guerrilla strongholds."

But in Namibia as in Zimbabwe the struggle of the masses is dealing sharp blows to the dreams of the reactionaries. As a result of the growing armed struggle in Namibia and the needs of the South African ruling class to try to cool the flames of revolution before it burns them up, it is growing more likely that South African regime might be forced to agree in the near future to a settlement that would represent an important victory in the march of the Namibian people toward liberation.

Struggle Surges in Azania

The most dramatic development threatening to upset the whole applecart for the U.S. has been the rebellions in Azania (South Africa) itself, the bulwark of the U.S. and British imperialists' hold on southern Africa.

In the face of vicious repression, the uprising of the masses of people of Azania has continued to spread, growing in militancy and broadening to a call for an end to the whole system of white minority rule, and becoming stronger and more organized.

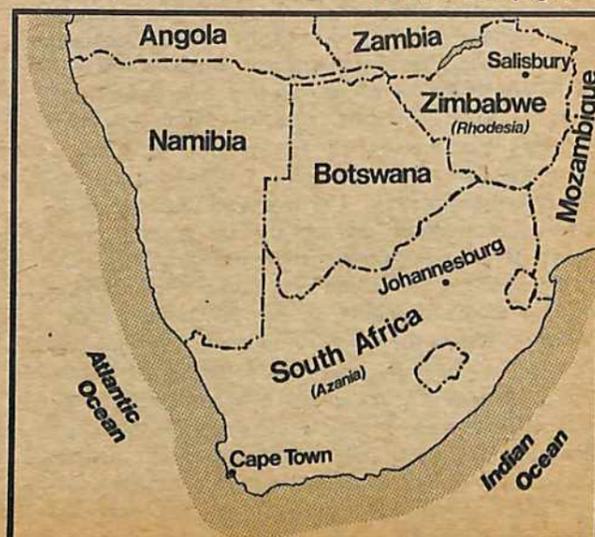
In late August leaflets and pamphlets were circulated throughout the black township of Soweto, calling on workers to join a three day strike in support of the anti-government demonstrations. "Azikwelwao"—we will not get on—became the rallying cry, as thousands of workers refused to board the busses to be taken to work in Johannesburg. Three quarters of the African workforce refused to work. White businessmen and shopkeepers were in a panic. Denouncing "industrial terrorism" they demanded that the government take whatever measures necessary to force the Africans to return to work.

In addition to outright murder of hundreds of demonstrators and mass arrests of any suspected leaders, the Vorster regime employed its divide and conquer methods of pitting black against black. Police encouraged workers in Soweto to form vigilante committees to attack demonstrators, urging them to carry clubs and axes to use against anyone attempting to build support for the strike or block workers going into Johannesburg. On August 25th, headlines in the South African and U.S. press gloated that Zulu tribesmen had attacked demonstrators in Soweto and that many had been killed. The police commander in Soweto hailed this as a "positive development," saying that the people of Soweto are "getting fed up with the troublemakers."

The government immediately used these attacks to try to portray the rebellion shaking the country as nothing more than the actions of "youth gangs," opposed by the masses of Africans, who accepted white rule. They tried to legitimize the apartheid system by saying that the Zulu attacks on other Africans was proof that people of different races or tribes are incapable of ruling themselves, cannot live together peacefully in South Africa and must rely on the benevolent rule of the white ruling class.

The Zulu tribesmen involved in the attacks on demonstrators and striking workers were residents of one of the many crowded, fenced in barracks called hostels where thousands of workers from the bantustans or "tribal homelands" who have no permission for permanent residence in the townships are forced to live. They are forbidden to bring their families and exist in the most wretched conditions. Under threats from police and faced with the possibility of being shipped back to the tribal areas, where there is little work and even worse living conditions, some of them ignored the

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Ford ...

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strike and not let Woodcock and Company keep the lid on the strike...Most important, we have to build this strike clearly for our real demands, not pie-in-the-sky gimmicks, like short-time plans, extra holidays, which are designed at best to divert our attention away from dealing with the real attacks we face."

AWUF is spreading the word by spreading struggle. In building for a real strike, members led a demonstration of 80 people through all the cafeterias in the Dearborn Stamping Plant at Rouge, the heart of Ford's empire, sending labor relations scurrying like rats in fear of a walkout. Later, at midnight, they organized a demonstration at the plant gate, helping to systematize the anger and determination of the rank and file and focus it around the real demands of the strike. They have continued to organize on the picket lines.

The growing strength of AWUF that this kind of action reflects has prompted local union officials in several plants around the country to shift their tactics. At first they tried to ignore AWUF, pretending it didn't exist. More recently they have been forced to attack the organization, combining lies about how AWUF is out to split the union or that it is composed of non-UAW members, with redbaiting and outright goon tactics. But the slander spread by these gangsters and sellouts does not reflect the isolation of AWUF as they say, but rather the fact that AWUF is beginning on a local level to lead a significant number of auto workers and on a national level is playing a role in building the struggle against their attempts to sell out the contract—and this scares the hell out of them.

On the lines AWUF has organized to make the pickets real, not some meaningless gesture. Four days into the strike AWUF members at the Rouge built a picket line, joined by other workers, at Gate 10 that no one crossed, stopping foremen and salaried personnel for several hours. Plant management freaked and called more cops who arrived with riot gear and a paddy wagon, but by the time they arrived shift change was over and no cars were coming in.

On September 20, rank and file workers headed by AWUF set up a picket at the plant the International ordered Local 245 to keep open. One building was shut down for almost an hour until cops broke up the line. The International tried to patch its fences that afternoon in an open letter to the local: "As you are aware the decision by our International union that members of Local 245 remain at their workplace was made after careful study of all the factors in-

involved and in the interests of all Ford workers."

But the next day when a picket line of 200 Ford skilled tradesmen organized by the International Skilled Trades Council (see *Revolution*, April 15, 1976) joined by AWUF shut down even more gates, many members of the Local were encouraged enough to demand a special union meeting to vote to extend the strike to their plant. That night this pressure forced the Local 245 Executive Board to call the strike—in direct opposition to the International—a real victory in the battle to break the choke hold on the strike nationwide.

At the same time AWUF is trying to build the links between Ford strikers and workers at GM, Chrysler and AMC, whose contracts are being extended. The first auto contract traditionally sets the guidelines for the other contracts, although this year GM in particular has made a lot of noise about refusing to follow the terms of the Ford settlement. But even more importantly the lessons learned in the Ford strike will be key to moving the struggle ahead for all auto workers, as they are important for the entire working class.

Vote No on Sellout

The key question as long as the strike continues is how to turn it into a real strike over real demands. But at the same time it is clear that the top UAW leadership has a sellout plan in the making, which means it is important for rank and file auto workers to get prepared, in the course of building the strike, to vote down any contract which opens the door to a whole series of takeaways in exchange for a few crumbs.

The stronger and more united the rank and file is in building the strike around its real demands, the more



Ford Rouge workers rally in front of plant on the first night of the strike.

Then in the first week of September thousands of students of mixed blood (classified as "coloreds" by the apartheid laws) dealt a stunning blow to the rulers of South Africa. Massive, planned demonstrations were held in the heart of the white sections of Capetown. As a U.S. news report put it: "It made the whole white power structure in South Africa look more vulnerable than any time since the current unrest started back in June."

The South African ruling class has always cherished the hope that the "colored" would side with them in any struggle against the black majority. The ruling class has tried to divide them from the black population by giving the 2.3 million Azanians of mixed blood a few more rights than the 18 million black Africans. But they are still denied all basic rights and are seen by the ruling class as nothing but a buffer with the blacks and a source of cheap labor. The sight of mixed blood demonstrators standing shoulder to shoulder with black demonstrators has blown away this illusion for many of South Africa's whites. Leaders of the Capetown demonstrations that brought the fighting into the previously peaceful white sanctuaries of the main cities, have made it clear that they want nothing short of the end of apartheid and minority rule.

A Great Inspiration

The South African ruling class has tried every means at its disposal to try to squash the growing revolutionary struggle, including trying to drown it in blood. But so far they have not been able to prevent the masses from surging forward. The massive strike that broke out in mid-September and the political denunciations of Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy" that accompanied the strike represented a great advance in the struggle of the people of Azania for the overthrow of the imperialist backed, white supremacist system.

The torrent of revolutionary struggle is shaking all of the southern Africa and dealing a very heavy blow to the ruling class of this country which has long feasted on the labor of the masses in those countries and propped up white minority rule to enforce this exploitation. The courageous struggle of the people in Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe is truly inspiring for the working class and the oppressed the world over. ■

Next issue of *Revolution* will carry an analysis of the recent "agreement" by the Rhodesian regime to move towards black majority rule in two years—ed.

it is able to break the chains of the International officials and the companies and organize its own strength in the course of the strike, the better position it will be in to resist the surrender of its top officials.

The lessons of the 1973 Ford contract struggle apply today. A very important reason why the International was able to force a sellout through then, despite the fact that both skilled tradesmen and production workers voted it down, was their ability to divide the rank and file along these lines. This time they are again trying to foster these divisions, offering skilled trades a special pay increase and the right to reject the contract. Both skilled and production workers need to be prepared to build a united vote-no campaign if it is a sellout, so loud and clear and together that Woodcock can't use again these divisions to pretend they voted "yes" in order to put a lousy contract over on both.

Broader Struggle

It is important to build the struggle around these auto contracts as powerfully as possible, to win as much as can be won and to weaken the enemy. But the struggle doesn't end once the contracts are signed. Speedup, job combinations and the other abuses auto workers face on the job are sure to continue. As the program of AWUF says, "No contract, even the best is any kind of cure-all to our problems. Even the best contractual language can be ignored or can be turned around by the company—if they can get away with it. By the same token, the working class is not bound by the rotten terms that may be in any contract, if we are strong enough to break through its restrictions."

Moreover, the auto contract is just one clash in the long battle of the working class against its exploiters and oppressors. The capitalists, and their agents in the UAW, have a sense of this and could not help but introduce political questions into such a major contract. The debate over "workers getting paid for not working," the question of the contract's effect on what the bourgeoisie is trying to bill as an "economic recovery," the relation of the strike to the elections and Carter's campaign—all of these have been raised by the media as well as the company and the International bigwigs themselves.

Woodcock, for instance, tried to put his "time off" proposals forward as a question of preserving the capitalist system from the masses: "We are deadly serious about spreading employment. This can be done by reducing work time, without loss of pay. It is pretty obvious that this society of ours cannot continue with the grossly high levels of unemployment we've developed without serious turmoil along the way."

The work that Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 is doing serves not only to cut away at Woodcock's phony strike and mobilize the rank and file to fight for a real one and to vote down any sellout, it also helps provide answers to those broader questions the strike has raised. By showing the real nature of the companies' attacks and their roots in the endless drive for profit, profit that can only be increased by further squeezing the workers, AWUF helps auto workers understand they have no interests in common with those who grind them down. By exposing the various lines and schemes that come forward, whether it be calls for increased productivity in "exchange" for higher wages or "Vote for Carter, he'll create jobs," AWUF is helping to deepen the understanding of the class nature of both the auto workers' fight and the traitors who seek to weaken and divert it.

Fought in this way, countering the auto giants' and Woodcock's attempts to corral the workers into a phony exercise in blowing off steam, to the battle around these auto contracts can win real gains and lay the basis for even stronger organization and struggle in the future. ■

Azania ...

Continued from page 7

strike and went to work in Johannesburg.

They were confronted by demonstrators trying to enforce the strike and police attempted to whip them up to retaliate against the demonstrators. The South African rulers fanned the initial incidents to spark wider attacks on demonstrators and when the turmoil had served its purpose of creating confusion, police opened fire on the Zulus. One of the government's latest maneuvers was to burn down one of the Zulu hostels, blaming it on the demonstrators in Soweto, in an attempt to stir up more fighting between blacks.

Unity Being Forged

But all these murderous efforts to sabotage and divert the struggle of the masses have backfired. The tribal leader of the 4.8 million Zulu people, largest of the tribal groupings in Azania, exposed the fact that the attacks on the demonstrators were the result of infiltration and provocation by police spies. Larger sections of Azania's oppressed people have been united and on several occasions hundreds of white students took to the streets in support of the Africans' demands.

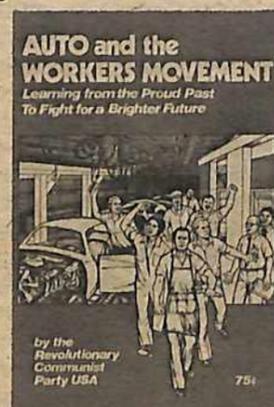
The struggle has also sharpened contradictions within the South African ruling class over how to best suppress the popular uprising. While the ruling class has relied mainly on machine gun fire and imprisonment, they have resorted to dual tactics holding out the carrot as well as the stick. The Transvaal Chamber of Industries, representing many of the largest companies in South Africa, called on the government in mid-August to grant some reforms, and even held out the illusion of equal wages for blacks, an absurdity under a social system based on the superexploitation of African labor.

When several hundred white students at the University of Capetown held a solidarity demonstration and attempted to march to the black townships to join the black demonstrators, police went into a frenzy, attacking and jailing these whites who dared expose the government's claim to total support from the country's four million whites.

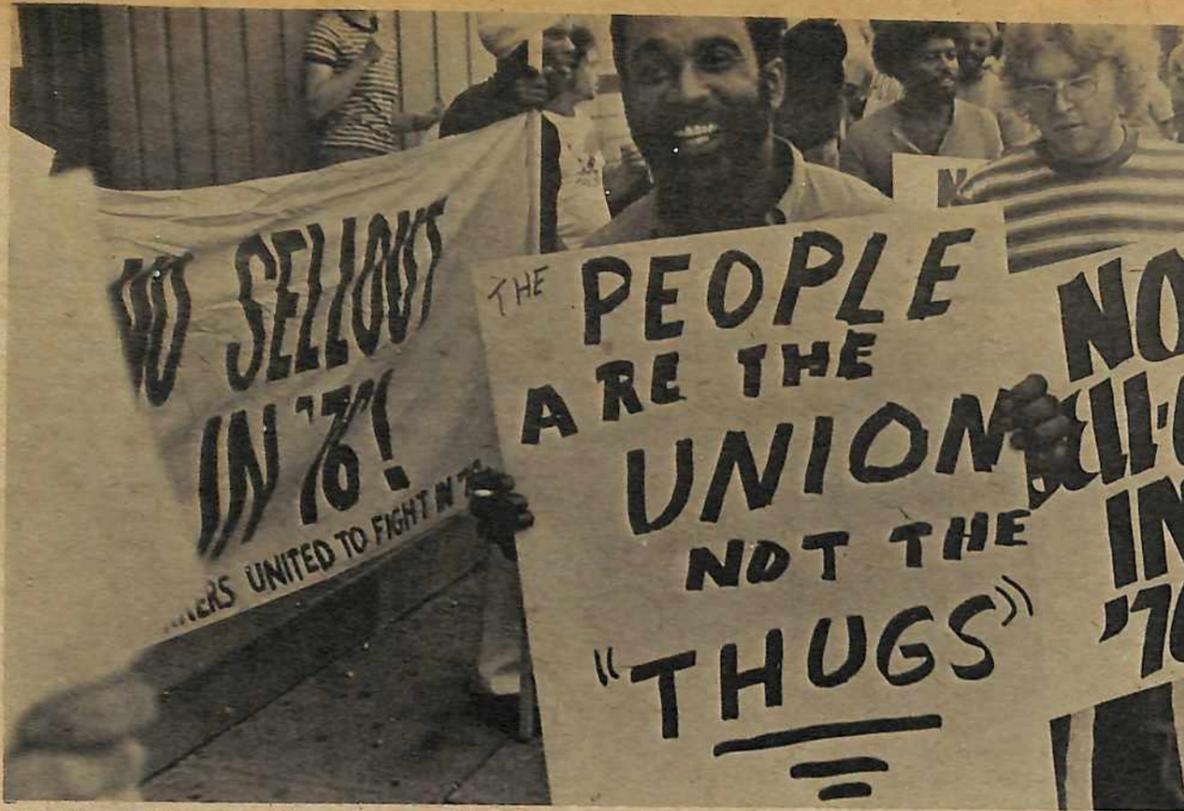
This pamphlet lays out a battle plan for auto workers and points to the method for building today's struggle against the auto companies and their class and breaking the handcuffs of the union officials. It contains an exciting concise history of the great struggles to unionize the auto industry, including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



Picket line at IUE union office at Dayton, Ohio Frigidaire plant.

Workers Beaten, Shot at Union Meeting

Hacks' Assault Fails To Stop Struggle

Workers at General Motors' Frigidaire/Delco Air plant in Dayton, Ohio are locked in combat with their so-called union leaders, the latest in a whole string of local officials who have peddled a series of company schemes to cut wages and divide the workforce. The current crop of class collaborationists, who have been driven back and back by the rank and file, lashed out with a gangster-style attack at the August 22nd union meeting which left two workers in the hospital, one shot, one beaten unconscious.

This attack succeeded in buying Local president Cassel Palmer some time in which to further his plans for a sellout in the contract that expired September 14, but at the same time it exposed as never before the fact that he is nothing more than a loyal servant of GM. All this laid the basis for further developing the struggle not only against his treachery but against his capitalist masters as well. The struggle has continued in the weeks that followed, focusing first on the gangster attack and then expanding to take on the contract fight as Palmer refused to call a strike even though he admits the company isn't negotiating.

The workers in International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 801 have plenty of experience with class collaboration. Their present struggle has its roots in 1971, during the early stages of the national wage freeze. The workers who make appliances, half the total workforce at the four plant Frigidaire/Delco Air complex (the other half make GM auto parts) were "offered" a big pay cut under the pressure of company threats to send the appliance jobs out of state. The hacks faithfully pushed through the cuts and the news was spread on national TV about the "far-sighted spirit of sacrifice" of the Frigidaire workers.

In the years since, the pay gap has grown, leaving appliance workers \$2 an hour behind the automotive section. Layoffs continued and many workers came to see that giving in to the company is like throwing kerosene on a fire, far from putting it out it just helps it consume everything around. Their response to this setback has been to build a movement over the last five years, strong enough not only to take on continued company attacks, but to go on the offensive to win back what was lost and more.

The company, for its part, has not let its attack slacken. This year they proposed that the local should be formally split in two and the contracts for automotive and appliance be completely separated even to the point of having different expiration dates. This would be another big step in weakening and dividing the workforce so each half could be played against the other and wages, benefits and conditions driven further down.

Cassel Palmer actually had the nerve to recommend the membership vote to accept this proposal at the April union meeting. Mobilized in part by leaflets and organizing by members of the IUE-GM section of Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 (AWUF), a thousand shouting, jeering workers unanimously voted down this treachery.

Palmer's grip on the workers was slipping and he knew it. At the June meeting this became even clearer.

The IUE-GM section of AWUF had leafletted the plant before the meeting. They proposed contract demands based on the national AWUF demands plus two local demands—a single contract for automotive and appliance, and a catch up raise for appliance.

Palmer wouldn't let the proposals be brought up until new business at the end of the meeting. When the first demand was finally raised he said, "I agree with this, let's go home." The workers said, "If you agree, vote for it." The first resolution passed and Palmer nervously said, "I'll entertain a motion to adjourn." A chant of "No, no, no" broke out and the second demand was moved and passed. Again Palmer tried to adjourn the meeting. Again chanting workers stopped him in his tracks. Finally Palmer agreed to accept all the demands and the program of the IUE-GM section of AWUF became part of Local 801's official bargaining platform.

For the August union meeting, the workers in AWUF leafletted with two new proposals that would have really undercut Palmer's ability to pull a fast one. One resolution mandated an automatic strike if the two key local demands were not met by the September 14 expiration date. The other, that any proposed contract had to be voted on in an open mass meeting so the vote couldn't be fixed.

For Palmer and his sidekicks, these demands spelled doom. Their team in office had been one of cooperation with whatever the company came up with, from defending the wage cut their predecessors had negotiated to trying to split the local, and enjoying the benefits of official position at the expense of the rank and file. They launched goon attacks on workers distributing the leaflet but it got out anyway, and hundreds of workers showed up on August 22 to see the proposals were passed.

Palmer had learned from the June meeting. He an-



Auto workers in Detroit at a picket line and press conference sponsored by Detroit AWUF-'76 in support of Dayton Frigidaire workers.

nounced an agenda that consisted mainly of an open-ended strike authorization that would leave the decision in his hands and did not include old or new business. When Erik Larsen, a committeeman and a member of AWUF, was recognized on a point of order and stepped forward to demand a regular agenda so the two resolutions could be discussed, Palmer ruled him out of order and signaled his goon squad, which headed for Larsen.

Workers leaped forward from all over the room to defend him. Then one goon pulled a pistol and shot Charles Wheeler. Confusion ran wild, as people hit the floor and the goon aimed his gun at the other workers. Most of the workers got out of the hall quickly but some were trapped inside, including Larsen. The goons worked him over and fought off anyone who tried to pull Erik away from them.

Ten minutes later workers who massed outside saw the doors open and the goons throw Erik Larsen on the ground, beaten unconscious. Meanwhile, having quietly presided over this pre-planned assault, Cassel Palmer then had the 10% of the workers who remained in the hall vote him his strike authorization, adjourned the meeting, and was escorted to safety by the police.

As Larsen and Wheeler lay in intensive care in the hospital, their fellow workers hit back at Cassel Palmer's gangland style tactics. Hundreds of signatures were collected on a petition demanding Palmer's resignation or impeachment. 70 workers demonstrated at the local hall the following Friday to stand up to the attacks and demand Cassel Palmer's ouster, prosecution of those responsible, and a full report to the membership on the secretly conducted contract negotiations. Fear of the rank and file caused Palmer's clique to lock the hall up four hours in advance and take off. AWUF followed this up later holding a picket at the local police station to demand the persons responsible for the attack be caught and indicted.

Support for the Frigidaire/Delco Air workers came from around the country. Eight auto workers from Detroit came to the Friday night picket to show their solidarity. AWUF held a press conference and put out a national leaflet. Telegrams poured in from all over with messages like, "Workers at Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point, Maryland condemn the attack on Erik Larsen and Charles Wheeler. You were attacked because of your courageous fight against the companies and their interests in your union. We steelworkers are waging the same battle."

Atmosphere of Fear

For his part Palmer did not stop pressing the advantage he had won. While denying any responsibility for his goon squad's crimes and even "condemning" it, he red-baited AWUF frantically, claiming they are out "to destroy Local 801," and even dragged IUE national president Dave Fitzmaurice into town to back him up. Many workers are pretty nervous about having much to do with the union if it means facing brass knuckles and flying bullets and Palmer has gone out of his way to build this atmosphere of fear. He cancelled the September union meeting in the name of "preventing violence and restoring order" and has put forward a proposal that the Local hire off-duty cops or rent-a-cops to help him in "maintaining order" at the meetings! People in Palmer's clique have threatened active workers that they will get their "brains scrambled" if they continue to fight GM and its pets like Palmer.

Under cover of all this, the main thing he has done is moved to see that the company's needs are met. Just as AWUF had warned, he used the authority he has to call a strike, to instead make a contract extension agreement with GM whereby the contract not only continued in effect after the September 14 expiration date but also requires 30 days notice to terminate and call a strike. He has made militant but ambiguous statements about how "the problems of appliance workers must be resolved in these contract negotiations!" without ever mentioning the question of whether the local will be split. Furthermore IUE negotiators have been talking about the appliance part of the contract in terms of the G.E. and Westinghouse contracts signed earlier this year, not the substantially better UAW contract at issue in the Ford strike right now. All this spells sell-out loud and clear, and points to the fact that Palmer is stalling because at this time he doesn't dare propose the kind of deal he is working out.

The rank and file has continued its battle. An Auto Workers United to Fight spokesman addressed the red-baiting upfront, saying, "Everybody knows some AWUF members are communists," and pointing out that people in the IUE-GM section of the national group, including the minority who are communists, are not the ones who are destroying Local 801. Rather it is Palmer and his company-loving crew of thugs and sellout artists who will stoop to any depth to keep their comfortable positions on the workers' backs."

On September 14, the day the contract had been supposed to expire, the IUE-GM chapter of AWUF sponsored a motorcade through the area, stopping at the different plants in the Frigidaire/Delco Air complex. The company was so frightened of the rank and file they set up for a strike, even bringing cots into one building in case scabs were trapped inside! The workers demanded

Continued on page 11

What Is U.S. Doing in Korea?

On August 19 and in the days following, a provocation by U.S. forces in Korea brought the situation there to the brink of a shooting war, once again highlighting the unjust occupation and control of the southern half of the country by American imperialism. A few facts are clear even from the reporting of the U.S. press. A squad of soldiers from the Republic of Korea (ROK) led by American officers were sent to "trim" a tree in the demilitarized zone at the 38th parallel. When soldiers from the north, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), protested, a fight broke out and the Americans lost. The U.S. imperialists reacted rabidly, calling the deaths of the American captain and lieutenant murder, and two days later mobilized a flight of B-52 bombers, squads of fighter planes and helicopter gunships, and sent 300 soldiers to cut down the offending tree as a "show of strength." Since then the immediate situation has become somewhat less tense.

But the real story lies in what the bourgeois press did not play up or report, both about the incident and more important the situation behind it. On August 5th, the DPRK issued an urgent statement warning that "the Korean people are faced with the critical situation in which war may break out at any moment" because "the United States is at long last going over to the stage of direct war provocations from the stage of war preparations." The very next day U.S./ROK forces made a first attempt to cut that same tree, because it interfered with their ability to spy on the north. The north Koreans stopped them, pointing out that under the terms of the armistice any such actions had to be discussed and approved by both sides at the conference table. The U.S./ROK troops then left. No discussions were held and when they returned later in the month in large numbers with pikes and axes, and with movie cameras trained on them, it was an obvious attempt to provoke a fight. Unarmed DPRK troops again demanded the "trimming" stop and then the inevitable fight broke out, resulting in the American deaths and five DPRK injuries, some serious.

In the days that followed, the leaders of the DPRK acted with calm and principle, refusing either to kowtow before the American bluster or to be provoked into military responses that could trigger full-scale war. They issued a statement regretting that the incident had occurred, which the U.S. media claimed was an apology, but refused to print in full because it clearly was not.

Behind U.S. Provocation

There are plenty of reasons why the U.S. would provoke such a clash in Korea now. The U.S.-backed south Korean dictatorship of Pak Jung Hi is in shaky shape. Mass movements among many sections of the Korean people, workers, students, religious groups, intellectuals and others, are coming out in more open opposition to Pak's savage dictatorial rule. His response, repression and more repression, with barbaric executions sometimes justified by a public show trial, has created more resistance as well as mass revulsion around the world. Even sections of the American ruling class are insisting that unless he cleans up his act and erects more of a "democratic" facade, Pak is an overall liability for them. The recent incident has been used to strengthen Pak's control in the south. It further commits the U.S. government to continue backing his regime up. For instance, Jimmy Carter, who had been among the ruling class forces tut-tutting over Pak's crimes and hinting at a pullback of support for him, rushed to endorse President Ford's belligerent moves after the fight.

Also the incident was remarkably convenient for the U.S. ruling class which must, since its defeat in Vietnam, constantly remind the world that its capacity for massive rapid and vicious military action in defense of its interests has not vanished. It was convenient as well for Gerry Ford, who was in the middle of a tight election race and doubtless remembered the brief surge of popularity he enjoyed after the hoked-up Mayaguez incident last year.

But all of this is really secondary. Regardless of the degree to which this incident had been planned in advance, similar clashes will continue to occur as long as the U.S. remains there. To fully understand the Korean situation, it is necessary to answer the question the mother of one of the dead American officers posed bitterly to a newspaper interviewer, "What are American troops doing in Korea anyway?"

The answer is as simple as it is ugly. The Republic of Korea is a vastly profitable and militarily and politically crucial outpost in the worldwide empire of the American capitalist class. Dozens of U.S. corporations

have invested millions of dollars each in south Korea, mainly in constructing factories for light industry.

"Made in Korea" is such a familiar label on clothing, electronic equipment, and wigs because Korean workers earn as little as 35 cents a day for an average workday of twelve hours and up. In fact, most of the raw materials for these products and plywood, Korea's number one export, are all brought into the country from outside by foreign capitalist firms to be processed into finished goods by these workers. The main exploiters of Korea besides the U.S. capitalists are their opposite numbers in Japan, who also back the Pak Jung Hi regime to keep their profits flowing.

Furthermore, the importance of southern Korea as a military outpost in Asia has increased vastly in recent years. With U.S. imperialism driven out of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and with its air bases in Thailand shut down, Korea has the main U.S. airfields, port facilities and army bases on the continent. The country is strategically located at the center of a triangle made up of the U.S.'s main and most dangerous capitalist rival, the USSR, one of the lesser important of their competitors and a current ally, Japan, and the People's Republic of China, a mighty socialist country which represents the front of the struggle against everything the U.S. ruling class stands for. There are 40,000 U.S. troops permanently stationed in Korea, both to prop up the Pak Jung Hi government and to serve as a strike force to carry out military aggression for the U.S. any place in the area. The U.S. also has 600 nuclear weapons stockpiled there and Ford, Kissinger and many military top brass have threatened the U.S. will use them if war breaks out in Korea again!

The Division of Korea

The present situation in Korea has its roots 30 years ago, at the end of World War 2. The defeat of Japan enabled the Korean people to push their long guerrilla struggle through to victory and to declare independence from Japan, which had occupied the country since the early 1900's. They established a provisional People's Government with representatives from every major political party. But then as part of "mopping up operations against Japan," the U.S. government moved into Korea as it was all over Asia to try to take control of the countries, people and natural resources there and to stop revolution.

The U.S. occupied the southern half of Korea, dissolved the government, revived the secret police set up by Japan, banned trade unions and other forms of mass organization, declared English the official language and set about finding puppets who would run Korea as an American colony. So hated was the U.S. occupation that an opinion poll taken in 1946 in Seoul, the largest city in the south, indicated that 49% of the people had actually preferred the brutal Japanese occupation!

In the northern half of the country where U.S. occupation did not reach, the Workers Party of Korea, a Marxist-Leninist party led by guerrilla leader General Kim Il Sung, was leading the people in eliminating

feudal and imperialist leftovers and building a socialist society. More and more Koreans in the south saw that this was the path to take.

Faced with this, the U.S. ruling class realized democratically reunited Korea would soon break free of their domination. They therefore moved to formalize the separation of the two halves of the country just as they were to do a decade later in Vietnam.

The U.S. ruling class established a government in the south in 1948 headed by a loyal servant, Syngman Rhee, and immediately began to build up the south Korean army. Their goal was reuniting Korea all right, but under U.S. domination. The puppet government met only the most widespread resistance from the masses—general strikes, mass demonstrations, boycotts of "elections."

On June 25, 1950 the Korean war broke out. Although it has always been portrayed by the media of this country as a DPRK invasion of the south, many bourgeois scholars now hedge and say that it is not possible to know how the war started. In fact, this backpeddling act is an attempt to cover the fact that a long-threatened attack by the ROK triggered the fighting. In elections only a month before, Syngman Rhee's party had suffered serious losses to a wide variety of candidates pushing for peaceful reunification of the country. In June 1950 the bulk of the DPRK's armed forces were nowhere near the 38th parallel, but those that were defeated the ROK invaders and pushed south. Joined by many people in the ROK, armed forces from the DPRK were soon rolling up Syngman Rhee's puppet troops and on the verge of liberating the whole country.

The U.S. ruling class was desperate—all its plans had gone awry. Quickly, President Truman ordered an invasion of Korea and simultaneously had a vote passed in the United Nations, which the U.S. then largely controlled, to declare war on the DPRK so the U.S. troops would fight under the more acceptable U.N. flag. After three years of bitter fighting, during which Chinese forces joined the Koreans after U.S. military commanders moved to cross the Yalu River and invade China, the U.S. government gave up. The DPRK had not been crushed and the country remained half free and half under U.S. control.

Although the Korean War didn't become as exposed and hated among American people as U.S. aggression was to become in Vietnam, the capitalists were never able to make it the kind of holy anti-Communist crusade they wanted. Rank and file workers in the U.S. refused to let their unions accept a no-strike pledge the capitalists tried to push in the name of "national sacrifice for victory." GI's hated the war and morale became a serious problem for the Pentagon, especially among Black soldiers who were integrated into regular units for the first time and faced vicious discrimination and attacks at the hands of racist officers. It is no accident that the popular TV show M*A*S*H, which pushes bourgeois pacifism and the "senselessness of war," is set in Korea—the U.S. aggression there didn't make sense to many people even then and in today's light of Vietnam and the last 20 years this is doubly true.

The years since the Korean war have shown dramatically the difference between imperialist domination and working class rule in a country. The Republic of Korea has been occupied by U.S. troops and its government run by U.S. puppets ever since. And ever since it has been plundered by the U.S., Japan, Australia and other imperialist powers. For instance, there was no profit in building up agriculture, so peasants were driven off the land to become low paid workers and only massive and expensive food imports from the U.S. and other countries prevent famine from sweeping the land. In addition to the profits squeezed from Korean workers, the capitalist powers also rake in through unequal trade agreements and interest on loans, to the point where the ROK now has over \$6,200,000,000 in external debts.

Although plenty of American foreign aid and publicity has been devoted to presenting the ROK as an example of the good life in the "Free World," the results of this robbery speak for themselves. The miserable conditions suffered by Korean workers cited before are only the tip of the iceberg. Out of a total population of 36 million men, women and children, seven million people of working age can find only occasional work or are totally unemployed. The "Be a foster parent to a Korean child" ads in American magazines are no joke—it is estimated there are up to 1,000,000 vagrant street waifs in south Korea begging and hustling to stay alive.

To maintain this hideous system, the U.S. and Pak Jung Hi rely on force of arms and naked terror. The ROK army, which is actually under the command of U.S. Army officers, is the fifth largest in the world and has the most modern weapons the U.S. can provide. The Korean CIA, which has received attention in the media lately for bribing congressmen and sponsoring "Reverend" Sun Myung Moon, has up to 300,000 agents whose main task is crushing dissent and keeping Pak and his U.S. capitalist backers in the saddle. It was the Korean CIA that helped bribe and terrorize the Koreans who cut off their little fingers live on TV in what was supposedly a gesture

Continued on page 11

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Korea...

Continued from page 10

of their loyalty to Pak, and symbolic of the masses love for him.

Crossing the 38th parallel into the north is like entering another world. There are no foreign troops there—the last Chinese soldiers left 21 years ago. The DPRK was devastated by U.S. bombing raids during the Korean War, to the extent that only a tiny handful of buildings in Pyongyang, the capital city, had even their frames left standing. But today there is no sign of this. In the years since the war, the DPRK has gone from a poor agricultural nation to an industrial power, producing from its own resources practically everything the country needs from food to locomotives.

The working people of the DPRK made and continue to make great sacrifices to build their country up, yet they live far better than the masses in the south. In fact, the workers of the DPRK, who have never stopped working for the reunification of their country, have said that the wealth they have produced belongs to all the Korean people and offered to bring unemployed and street waifs from the ROK to give them a decent life—even offered to send food and other aid to the needy in the south. All these offers have been refused and hushed up by the gangsters who rule in the ROK, fearing the exposure of their system and the misery it causes.

Censorship. Lies. Terror. None of it has succeeded in convincing the people of south Korea to accept the misery in which they live or in ridding them of the desire to see the country reunified once again. None of it has been able to crush their struggle.

Teachers and bakery workers, journalists and agricultural laborers have all struck in recent years demanding not only better pay but also democratic rights. At the beginning of the last school year the Pak government had 800 college professors fired, hoping thus to quell dissent among students. Yet all the repression, all Pak's "Emergency Decrees" mandating jail or death for anyone criticizing the government have only bred new fighters.

Many are joining the People's Revolutionary Party, a Marxist-Leninist party with ties to the Korean Workers Party of the DPRK. The Party organizes the day to day struggle of the people in the ROK and aims it at the U.S. imperialists and their puppets. Its goal is revolution and, when victorious, moving to reunite the country on the basis of nationwide general elections for a unified central government.

Korean Proposal

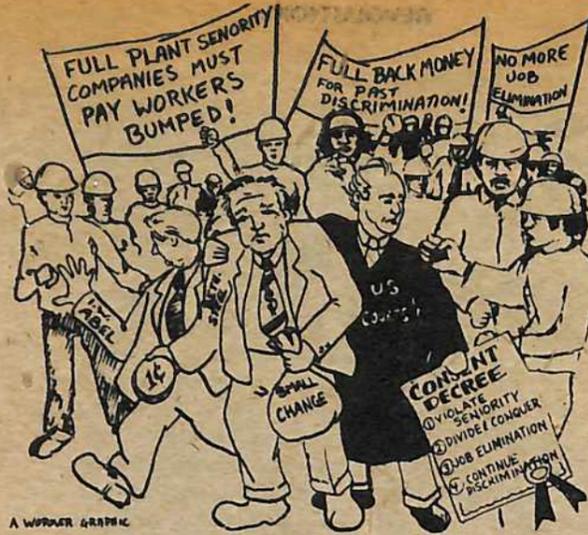
The U.S.-provoked tree cutting incident last month proves once again that, just as it was in Vietnam, the main question facing the Korean people north and south is the defeat of U.S. imperialism. Not only is the U.S. ruling class responsible for the prolonged division of the country and the suffering of the 36 million people of the south, but it could plunge Korea into a war—even a nuclear war—at any time as a result of its occupation.

Without the political, military and economic support of the U.S. ruling class, Pak Jung Hi would be scurrying for safety in Hawaii like Thieu and Lon Nol before him and Korea would be on the road to reunification and a society free of exploitation and misery.

The U.S. is no longer unqualified king of the imperialist dung heap. Its capitalists have been battered by liberation struggles around the world, like that of the people of the ROK, and by competition from rival bandits like the up and coming Soviet Union. But these developments have only made the U.S. imperialists more desperate to hold onto and squeeze what they have left, using any means they think they can get away with.

One major obstacle to their efforts is the American people, who learned many lessons about the nature of their rulers and the wars they waged during Vietnam. The ruling class tried to get maximum mileage out of the fight in the truce zone, waving the flag and beating war drums, but they're meeting resistance and questioning when they try to whip up public opinion for their adventures. It is an important task to expose their real motives and mobilize against their war plans. The potential was shown by demonstrations called on short notice in a number of cities by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War to protest the U.S. ruling class provocation. Though small, these actions were met with real enthusiasm by passersby, some of whom even joined up.

The DPRK has not withdrawn its August 5th statement and even though tensions at the truce zone have relaxed since the beginning of September the threat of war is still grave. It will remain until the U.S. ruling class drops the pretense of being the U.N. in Korea, withdraws its troops from the country and its backing from Pak Jung Hi and his like, signs a peace treaty to replace the truce agreement and thus leaves the whole Korean people free to build their future united. ■



Steel...

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the attack Abel and his machine had made on the rank and file and turned it back on Abel and the steel bosses. The open letter ended by taking up the gauntlet Abel had thrown down on opening night:

"We know that our problem doesn't lie with 'outsiders' but with the way our union is being run on the inside by company men like yourself—while tens of thousands of jobs are being eliminated our top leadership talks of the 'successes gained by union/management cooperation'...

"You can't show your face in a lot of plants across the country because the workers wouldn't let you get too far. And here, in the territory you want to claim as yours, the sentiment against you is growing. It'll continue to grow and get better organized.

"...You're sitting on a powder keg...That powder keg is the rank and file."

Later that night a delegation of steel workers went to present the letter to Abel himself at his headquarters in the Las Vegas Hilton. They found him in the casino among the one-armed bandits. As the steel workers denounced Abel and his sabotaging of the struggle, a crowd began to gather around the confrontation as the workers demanded a reply.

The only thing Abel could say for himself was that he was president of the union and no one else and that he was too busy to respond because he was on union business. He ran out a side door of the casino and yelled for guards to eject the rank and filers.

The next day *The Steelworker* held a press conference outside the convention to demand that Abel come out from hiding and answer the open letter. A USWA staff man, posing as a rank and file delegate, broke into the press conference to claim that almost everybody in the union loved Abel and what he was doing and, in fact, that Abel was one of the greatest leaders in the history of the working class.

His scheme was exposed when someone yelled out, "Where do you work, brother?" Reluctantly, he answered that he worked for Abel. Then he attacked some of the workers for being "observers" and not "delegates," saying that the workers were "outsiders." But this ploy was turned around and exposed for what it was. "How dare you say we don't belong here," one steel worker responded. "We're union members who've paid our own expenses to travel halfway across the country to be here. And you say we shouldn't be here? Why is this convention being held in the middle of the desert as far away as possible from the major steel centers and the masses of steel workers? We think more of our brothers

should be here, not less. And we'd much rather have them be here than someone like you, someone who bows and scrapes for I. W. Abel and turns his back on the workers!"

After the press conference a number of delegates came up to the steel workers and expressed their support for what they had done. They talked about what was happening to the men back in the mills and plants and exchanged addresses for getting together after the convention. During the last days of the convention more delegates began arising from the floor and challenging Abel's railroading.

Much of the convention was spent on strangling the workers' struggle against attacks on their living standards and working conditions. At the same time, the capitalists and their agents in union leadership used the convention to attack the workers politically, to tie them up to one or another wing of the bourgeoisie. They tooted the Bicentennial horn and praised the rule of the bourgeoisie, they paraded a long battalion of Democratic politicians including "Fritz" Mondale, and they passed resolutions supporting the rule of south Korean despot Pak Jung Hi. These weasels left no stone unturned. *The Steelworker* took this up, too, with a leaflet titled "Jimmy or Jerry? Neither's for Us...Victory Through Struggle!"

Sadlowski Candidacy

Shortly after the convention Ed Sadlowski announced he was going to run for the USWA presidency against the retiring Abel's picked successor, Lloyd McBride. Sadlowski's candidacy poses some questions for the rank and file. He has taken a stand against many of the bad policies of the Abel clique but in practice, for example at the convention, he has tended to slide backwards.

Rank and file forces within the USWA will have to determine what stand to take on Sadlowski. The key question is whether a victory for Sadlowski, or even a strong campaign, could contribute to further developing the initiative of the rank and file by helping to break the stranglehold of the Abel machine and its class collaborationist policies over the union. The main thing for the rank and file, in this as in any battle, is to build their own struggle and initiative and, at all times, maintain their independence. In any case, the workers must not let the election become a "superpower contention" between the Abel clique and the Sadlowski forces, where the rank and file gets left in the backwash.

The next period of time offers many opportunities for the rank and file to wage sharper struggle and build broader organization in taking on the steel companies. The election campaign for USWA president opens the door for further blows against the Abel machine, a task that must be taken on with or without Sadlowski. The contract for the workers in basic steel comes up next August. Although it's already clear that Abel and the steel capitalists are planning a sellout and with the ENA the workers don't have a "legal" right to strike, the contract can be made a real battleground for the rank and file and victories can be won.

The 18th Constitutional Convention made a couple of things clearer. Abel and the company machinery within the union will not wither away and die by itself. Abel wasn't joking when he said on the first day he had no intention of surrendering the union to the rank and file. But because of the struggle waged at the convention and the contacts made there were some advances for the workers. All this increases the basis for intensifying the struggle that is already taking place and building it as a more conscious struggle against the capitalist class. ■

come more frantic. With their treachery threatened by the struggle and organization of the rank and file, there is no step they won't resort to, even to the point of taking up arms on behalf of the capitalists.

In recent years not many local labor traitors have had their members shot in an open union meeting, and this is precisely why the experience of the rank and file in Dayton is so important. The national publicity it has been given by Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 and the various *Workers* around the country has spread lessons to thousands of workers who are actively fighting the two-headed monster, the capitalists and their henchmen in the unions. As their battles develop, they too must be prepared for any degree of treachery and viciousness from those they are fighting, including gangland style assaults.

But, of course, most of these traitors today don't acclaim and defend actions like those of Palmer. So the more light is shined on the foul tactics of the Palmer mob, the more difficult it makes it for others of his like to carry out such attacks in the future. This, too, is part of the contribution of the courage of the rank and file in Dayton in building their fight against—and despite—the Palmer gang, and of the support they have received from workers around the country.

The beating of Erik Larsen and the shooting of Charles Wheeler was a desperate act. Palmer is working to take advantage of it on behalf of GM, but the final advantage will belong to the masses of workers, as the attack helps to deepen their understanding and fuel their hatred of Palmer, GM and the system in which they flourish. ■

Assault...

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to know what was happening in negotiations, an immediate union meeting (for which they had the number of petition signatures required by the local constitution), and an open vote on any proposed contract.

Like the picket at the Union office before it, this demonstration was an important step for the rank and file in regrouping its forces. It served notice on GM and their bought-and-paid-for union hacks that just as the workers fought back after having been lied to and robbed in 1971, they will continue to build their strength and struggle.

The recent events at Frigidaire/Delco Air can provide an even firmer foundation to advance the struggle there by unmasking further the real class nature of traitors like Cassel Palmer and his predecessors. They do not serve the bourgeoisie inadvertently or in part. They use their comfortable positions to sell the rank and file through all kinds of fancy talk and pressure tactics to those who exploit them. As workers come to see that caving in to the company leads not to job security or whatever other advantages are promised but only to company demands for further surrenders, the hacks be-