

# Inside: International Conference Furthers Exposure of OL and Guardian see p. 7



# REVOLUTION

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## New Carter "Promise": Inflation And No Jobs

Unemployment has crept over the eight percent mark again, production has fallen or remained stagnant for three months in a row, and the recent hike in steel and aluminum prices means that inflation is beginning to pick up some real speed. The number of U.S. banks going under this year just hit 16. Jimmy Carter has looked long and hard at this picture, with the best advice money can buy. "What looked bad before," he said, "now looks worse."

When Ford and Carter were running neck and neck, the TV and newsmagazines told us how to make our choice. It's simple, they explained, just vote your pocketbook. If you're more worried about inflation than unemployment, vote for Ford. He'll hold down spending and keep prices steady. If you're more worried about unemployment, vote Carter. He'll spend unemployment away.

But the election hoax was less than a month old when it began to melt in the light of reality. No matter who you voted for, unemployment and inflation is what you get. Even before he takes office Carter is already beginning to back down on his promises, saying that he doesn't really expect to bring unemployment down below 7% before 1980 when he runs for office again, but maybe during his next term...

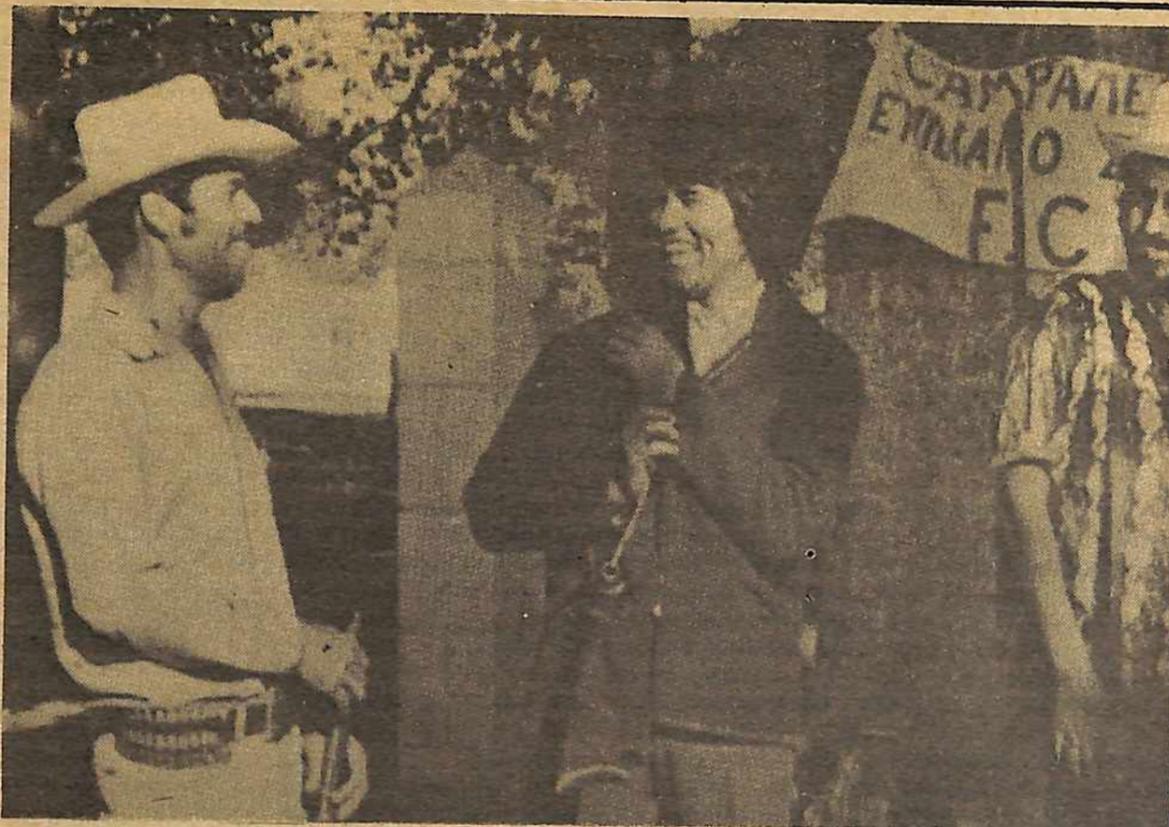
The "economic recovery" we were hearing so much about a few months ago has turned out to be nothing but a little spurt within an overall downward trend. And because of this overall downward trend, the current downturn is starting off from a lower level than before.

It was not until the fall of this year—from September through November—that the total production of all this country's factories and farms finally hit the same level as two years ago, with unemployment millions more than at that time. But while this brought profits up a little at the workers' expense, even this feeble "upswing" just brought about more problems after a while, because production overran consumption, and once again goods began piling up on the shelves. Seeing this and remembering the huge amounts of unsold goods that suddenly piled up before Christmas two years ago, many merchants began to cut back their orders in the last couple of months, pulling production back. As this leads to layoffs and less spending, still more cutbacks in inventories are in sight.

Pointing to even more trouble is the fact that neither the unsold consumer goods nor the non-appearance of the bourgeoisie's hoped-for capital spending binge have done anything to stop inflation or even slow it down much. In fact, while consumer prices are now rising at a rate of 6% a year (which is an increase from earlier this year), wholesale prices are shooting up at 10% a year. This will be reflected in even greater overall inflation, since steel and aluminum prices, among the fastest rising, affect the prices of nearly everything else. In turn, inflation makes it even harder for businesses to expand (since the price of machines, raw material, etc. keeps going up) and means that the masses of people can't buy as much.

The general crisis of U.S. imperialism has been sharply reflected in periodic crises of overproduction. The last time led to big layoffs in the winter of 1974-75. And now the factors for such a downturn, such as

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Landless Mexican campesinos like these have seized almost a million acres of land in northern Mexico since October.

### Seize Land, Fight Authorities

## Storm of Struggle In Rural Mexico

As Mexico's new president, Jose Lopez Portillo was sworn in December 2nd with Henry Kissinger, Mrs. Jimmy Carter and Lady Bird Johnson at his side, the Mexican people were unleashing a storm of struggle against the miserable conditions that the rulers of Mexico and the U.S. imperialists have kept them in for so long.

Since October, tens of thousands of peasants, many armed, have occupied nearly a million acres of land owned by large wealthy landowners in the states of Sonora, Sinaloa, Durango and Coahuila in northern Mexico. These are ruined peasants, unable to survive on whatever piece of land they could manage to acquire and cultivate, and thousands of unemployed, migrant agricultural workers, unwilling to be put off once again by the government's empty promises of land redistribution. They were raising the generations-old demand for land.

This latest wave of land occupations is a continuation of the struggle that exploded in the countryside of northern Mexico in 1975 and which stretches back 60 years to the Mexican Revolution of 1910-20. In Sinaloa alone there were 76 land seizures in 1975. Landowners, police and soldiers responded with open terror in many parts of the country, murdering over 100 landless campesinos (peasants and agricultural workers).

But when police massacred 10 campesinos in Sonora in October '75, a threatened uprising of the masses of peasants forced the government to make new promises of land. Striking a militant pose and pretending to be in support of the peasants, the government of recently retired President Luis Echeverria verbally attacked large landowners. He charged that they and their "imperialist allies" were subverting the "true goals of the Revolution" and that "the trickery of the handful of landowners stood in the way of progress for all the people."

Hoping to convince the rebellious peasants to sit back and wait for the government to meet their demands instead of continuing the occupation of the land,

Echeverria ordered the expropriation and distribution of 200,000 acres of land belonging to 74 wealthy landowners in Sonora.

#### Tired of Waiting

But the campesinos of northern Mexico were tired of waiting. As one peasant said, "It's 22 years since we first petitioned for land. In March this year [1976] we occupied the land for two months and then withdrew after new promises were made. But nothing happened, so we've returned for good now." On November 19 thousands of peasants seized hundreds of thousands of acres of land in Sonora and Sinaloa. Echeverria again tried to diffuse the uprising with new concessions. But a week later, as the government moved troops into the area, 10,000 peasants staged a militant march in Culiacan, the capital of Sinaloa, promising to defend the occupied land to the death. And on November 29th peasants in Durango occupied 400,000 acres of private land, the largest land seizure in Mexican history.

The struggle spread. On December 9th peasant families supported by students in the area moved onto land in Torreón, Coahuila, about 1000 miles north of Mexico City. 400 armed police agents were sent to the fields to drive them out. An all-out battle ensued. Groups of peasants blocked the roads to prevent police trucks from getting through and a mass demonstration was held outside the police headquarters where one of the leaders of the peasant organization was being held. By nightfall the peasants still occupied the land.

As a Mexican farmworker who has been involved in the recent struggle in the state of Nayarit said in an interview in the December issue of *The Worker for the Southern California Area*, "The bourgeoisie is scared. They want peace....How is it possible for there to be peace when they are grabbing what others have harvested or they are harvesting what others have planted? It

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# Chicago Nurses Gain In Long Strike

Almost a thousand registered nurses (RNs) from Chicago's Cook County Hospital and a smaller associated hospital have stood up against the capitalists' plans to cut back public health care. Their 38 day strike which ended December 12 was one of the longest and most militant struggles waged by health care professionals in recent history.

The main issue that triggered this strike was the hospital administration's demand, when the nurses' contract expired in June, that they give up their sick pay for the first day of any absence. At the same time, the administration added insult to injury by offering *no* pay raise over the two year contract, while refusing to budge on the nurses' demand that the hospital stop making untrained nurses fill in for trained nurses in highly specialized tasks.

But the most important thing about management's arrogant contract offer was that it was the spearhead of an overall attack. The nurses contract came up in the wake of management's attempts to break other unions at the hospital outright. The hospital administration meant to demoralize and intimidate the nurses by walking all over their union, and in this way set back the militant struggle that has been arising among all the various kinds of employees at Cook County in the last few years. At the heart of the battle was not only the immediate attacks on those who work at the hospital, but also the fact that these attacks are part of the administration's overall drive to cut the heart out of the hospital's services on which masses of people depend.

Cook County Hospital is the only public hospital in a county of six million. Already the administration has cut down the number of patients it has beds for from 3500 to 1400, and in the near future plans to cut down even further to 500 beds. Along with this cutback in patients has come a cutback in the care they get. For instance, nurses from already understaffed wards are being pulled away to help out in wards that are even more understaffed.

Throughout the hospital the administration has set up a reign of terror as nearly all employees, from elevator operators to doctors, walk in fear of losing their jobs, while even the most conscientious find that hospital bureaucracy and deteriorating working conditions prevent them from doing their job well. The more the hospital begins to get a reputation for confusion and disintegration, the more the administrators use this as an excuse to cut back even further. The strike by the registered nurses became an important front of struggle against these attacks.

The nurses didn't win all their demands, especially around the sick days. They ended up accepting 25% of a day's pay for their first sick day out. They did win their demand that only specially trained nurses be used in units such as intensive care, burns, etc., and they won a 14% pay hike over two years. They even managed to turn the hospital's attacks on their union around, making the administration accept a union shop for the hospital. As one striker said afterwards, "We didn't kill the dragon, but we wounded it and we're going to be fighting it when we go back." The concrete victories that the strike did win and the even more important gains in the nurses' unity, organization and understanding came because they took on the hospital's attack on them in the context of the overall attack on health care that it was part of, and threw it back in the faces of the criminals to whom the people's health means nothing.

The cutbacks at Cook County are part of a pattern of cutbacks in public health care and especially closings of public hospitals and clinics all over the country. Boston City Hospital, the only public hospital in that city, has been cut from 1800 to 450 beds, while Philadelphia's only public hospital, Philadelphia General, has been closed down altogether. Public hospital closings have been a big part of New York's financial crisis, including the attempt to prevent the city's new North Central Bronx Hospital from opening which was successfully beaten back by mass struggle (see *Revolution*, Oct. 15, 1976). Basically the bourgeoisie is trying to eliminate the cheap health care the public hospitals provide, while forcing more and more people to either bear the expense of private hospitals and insurance or else try to get along without much medical care at all.

Along with this has come a new militancy on the part of the professionals who work in the hospitals. Many

doctors, registered nurses and other employees from such strata once generally considered themselves above the mass struggle and considered their organizations "professional associations" rather than unions, now there have been a number of militant doctors and nurses strikes and other struggles. This was the third strike by professionals at Cook County in four years, and it came shortly after registered nurses in Seattle also carried out a long and hard-fought strike over similar demands.

The hospital is run by a governing commission which has been dominated by local bigtime finance capitalists who have been pushing the general line of the bourgeoisie on public services these days—that they can't afford them. In addition, on the governing commission are some executives of some of the city's private, profit-making hospitals, who take advantage of every problem at Cook to chime in with the bigger capitalists that it should be shrunk or closed down totally—and that their hospitals should get Cook's piece of the action.

The hospitals' Governing Commission has tried to hide the cutbacks in facilities and staff moves to "decentralize" the gargantuan hospital and bring medical care to the "community." At the same time they've hired a Black administrator, James Haughton, who's proved himself a rat trying to present these moves as in the interests of Black people who are the bulk of Cook's patients, and blasting resistance to the cutbacks, such as the doctors strike, as "whites who can't take orders from a Black man." Under his reign, the number of workers and health professionals has been reduced sharply, while the number of administrators harassing each employee has shot up.

The hospital management had already cut back the sick days of other hospital employees at Cook, worked hard to bust some of the unions there and imposed a sellout contract on the nurses two years ago. The doctors' strike last year had gone up against an injunction and the jailing of leaders. By the time the current nurses' contract came up this June, many nurses saw it as the time to make a stand against what was happening at Cook before it was too late. The fact that management's contract offer represented a step backward on every front made it even clearer what lay ahead.

## Injunction

Almost as soon as they walked out November 4, they were hit with an injunction. The courts imposed a \$10,000 a day fine on their union for every day out and threatened jailings. The hospital sent mailgrams and had supervisors telephone the nurses to tell them that because of the strike their patients were dying on the one hand and they'd lose their jobs on the other. The Filipino and Thai nurses—about 40% of the total—got phone calls saying that they would be deported if they didn't go back.

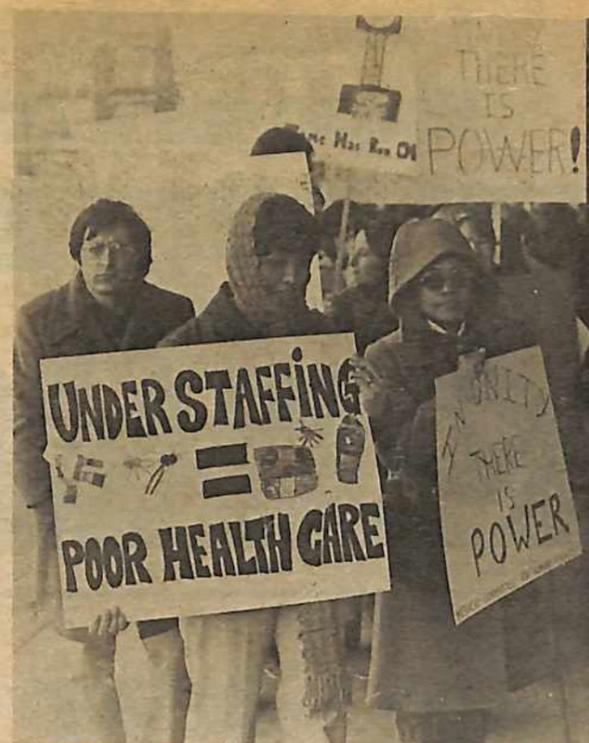
At an angry meeting of almost 600 the nurses voted to defy the injunction and all the rest and stay out. Then, in the face of these attacks, their union, the Illinois Nurses Association (INA), pulled out of the strike. This reflected a line within the INA, which is part of the nationwide American Nurses Association, that striking is "unprofessional" and militant struggle no way for nurses to act. Again, there was a militant mass meeting, and again the nurses voted overwhelmingly in favor of continuing their strike, now as a wildcat.

Leaders of the INA local continued to lead the strike, although now unofficially. But this question of how to wage the struggle, whether to build it as broadly and as militantly as possible or to rely on "good behavior" to win the administration's heart—this question still wasn't settled. It came up again and again in the course of the strike.

For instance, after the injunction came down, some



In one of the longest and most militant strikes of health care professionals, nurses won significant victories against a hospital management intent on breaking their union.



Assaults on the quality of health care at Cook County hospital were a main concern of the strikers.

strike leaders put forward that the nurses shouldn't say that they were on strike, but rather that they were only "individually withholding their services." This helped create an atmosphere which allowed the administration to spread confusion about whether the strike was really over or not, and the administration for awhile did succeed in fooling a few people into coming back to work. However very little scabbing occurred during the strike as the nurses adopted the practice of small groups of nurses having talks with any who began to waver. The Filipino nurses, partly because of their close ties with each other and partly because of previous strike experience in the Philippines, remained an especially firm and militant force within the strike.

In the face of the hospital's tactics of spreading confusion and offering bribes to nurses who broke ranks and came back, the nurses grew more determined. They developed a telephone tree to reach out to all the RNs and blow away the administration's backstairs rumor-mongering. They even got some nurse supervisors to stop doing nurses' jobs during the strike. By the end of the strike some nurses' leaders who at first had refused to speak at rallies when they could later be cited for contempt of court had been moved forward by the strike's militance and momentum to defying the injunction openly.

## Sit-ins

The nurses decided to escalate their struggle about three weeks into the strike. They began a sit-in in the lobby of the Nurses' Residence building where the Governing Commission has its offices. At times they also sat in at the offices of the Governing Commission and the personnel office where scabs were recruited. During this sit-in the RNs continued their picket lines at shift changes, while spending other time out of the bitter Chicago winter in the lobby, where they were able to have conversations, political discussion, singing and so on which helped build their unity and understanding.

While all this was going on, in other unions at the hospital, including that of the licensed practical nurses, there was very widespread sentiment to support the RN strike. But misleaders among the leadership of these unions

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# Theoretical Struggle Crucial Part of Working Class Movement

In his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* V. I. Lenin laid out very important guidelines for the working class and its Party in building its revolutionary struggle. Despite significant differences between Russia at that time (1902) and the U.S. today, 75 years later, the basic principles Lenin sets forth in this pamphlet still hold true and have great significance. It is vital for the Party in this country, and through it the working class broadly, to learn and to apply these principles in order to carry out the struggle for socialist revolution.

One of the main points Lenin stresses in this pamphlet is the need for the working class to master Marxist theory, the science of revolution, in opposition to the reactionary theories of the capitalist class. Citing Frederick Engels, collaborator with Karl Marx in founding the science of revolution, Lenin emphasizes that there are *not merely two* forms of the working class struggle that must be waged—the political and economic—but *three*, the third being the theoretical struggle. Lenin summed up in a very concentrated and powerful way the importance of this in the statement, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." In other words, the working class can emancipate itself and all mankind only by grasping and applying the science of Marxism, which provides the only correct method for understanding the development of things and the laws governing them—in both nature and society—and which represents the outlook and interests of the workers as a class in overthrowing and sweeping away capitalism and class society as a whole.

What does it mean to "wage the theoretical struggle," what are the main forms this must take, and what is the correct relationship between this struggle and the economic and political struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, under the conditions facing the U.S. working class in this period?

Basically this revolves around three main points: (1) establishing as a firm foundation of the Party a basic understanding of the most important points of Marxist theory, continually raising the all-around theoretical level of the whole Party, and continually training workers and other revolutionary forces who come to the fore in struggle against the enemy in these fundamental questions of theory in order to develop them as communist leaders of the working class; (2) applying the general principles of Marxism to concrete situations, to actual problems, especially with regard to the present conditions, as well as the historical development, of our own country, in order to concretely analyze these conditions, solve these problems and develop specific policies to push forward the revolutionary movement; and (3) combatting the reactionary theories of the bourgeoisie and its representatives, in both open and disguised form, and developing Marxism and popularizing it among ever broader ranks of the masses through the course of this. All three of these are, of course, interrelated and none can be done well unless all three are taken up and progress made in each of them, and unless the relationship between them is correctly handled.

At any given time one or the other of these will be key. In an *overall sense* studying theory with particular problems in mind and applying it to solve concrete questions posing themselves in the actual movement of the working class and masses is the way in which Party members and others will *most* deepen their grasp of theory and their ability to apply it in a living way. This is also stressed by Lenin in his statement that "theoretical work only supplies answers to the problems raised by practical work." ("What The 'Friends of the People' Are...," *Collected Works*, Vol 1, pp. 297-98, footnote) Mao Tsetung, too, makes the same point very forcefully: "Marxism," he writes, "emphasizes the importance of theory precisely and only because it can guide action" ("On Practice") and "It is necessary to master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work")

## Dogmatism and Empiricism

These statements by Lenin and Mao are directed against dogmatism—the tendency to treat Marxism as a set of ready-made formulas which must only be memorized and recited, to deny the primacy of practice and the overall dependence of theory on practice, and to see the world and the scientific analysis of it as static and unchanging, which is in direct opposition to the basic principles of Marxism itself. But there is another serious error that historically has arisen in the revolutionary movement which also divorces theory from practice—empiricism. Empiricism takes partial experience as universal truth, denies or downplays the importance of *indirect knowledge*—knowledge summed

up from the experience of others—and of theory generally. Some forms of empiricism even insist that all that is knowable and all that exists is what is immediately experienced.

This is tied in with the revisionist line that "the movement is everything, the final aim nothing," which Lenin sharply criticizes in *What Is To Be Done?* Speaking of those who apply such a method, Mao wrote that "vulgar 'practical men' respect experience but despise theory, and therefore cannot have a comprehensive view of the entire objective process, lack clear direction and long-range perspective, and are complacent over occasional successes and glimpses of the truth. If such persons direct a revolution, they will lead it up a blind alley." (*On Practice*)

In the course of leading the Chinese revolution through various stages, Mao many times had to struggle against this kind of line as well as the mirror-opposite error of dogmatism. For example, about six years ago, during the struggle against the counter-revolutionary Lin Biao in China, who cooked up the theory that "geniuses," not the masses, make history. Mao had to sternly warn members of the Chinese Communist Party, especially its leading members, to study more Marxism and take this task more seriously. This was because Chen Po-ta, another opportunist in a leading position in the Chinese Party's Central Committee, dished up a shoddy attempt to "prove" Lin Biao's "genius theory," and many members of the Central Committee were temporarily taken in by this.

On this Mao rather sharply commented that many leading people thought they had a firm grip of Marxism or could rest on their revolutionary "laurels" and did not need to study, so they got fooled for awhile. But, while stressing that "Even those who have a better grasp of Marxism and are comparatively firm in their proletarian stand have to go on studying..." ("Speech at CPC National Conference on Propaganda Work," 1957), Mao also pointed out many times that it is not enough for only leading members of the Party to study, not enough even for Party members as a whole to study Marxism, but, as he emphasized once again within the past two years, the entire Chinese people must undertake this task, in order to continue to successfully wage the class struggle and continue on the socialist road toward the achievement of communism.

This same point was addressed very sharply in Chou En-lai's report to the 10th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in August, 1973. Chou said that "It should be emphatically pointed out that quite a few Party committees are engrossed in daily routines and minor matters, paying no attention to major issues. This is very dangerous. If they do not change, they will inevitably step onto the road of revisionism."



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## the COMMUNIST

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- **Commodities, Capitalism, Class Divisions— and their Abolition with the Achievement of Communism**
- **Social-Imperialism and Social-Democracy, Cover-Up of Capitalism in the USSR**  
(or How Martin Nicolaus and the October League Have "Restored" Socialism in the Soviet Union)
- **Bourgeois Democracy and the U.S. Working Class**
- **On the Character of World War 2**
- **Bourgeois Right, Economism, and the Goal of the Working Class Struggle**

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NOTE: Information on ordering *The Communist* is on page 15. As mentioned last month, an error by the bindery resulted in distribution of some mis-bound copies. If you received one, return it to RCP Publications and we will send a good copy.

If such is the case in a great socialist country like China and for the Chinese Communist Party, whose correct line has been developed in struggle against erroneous lines through its 55 year history, and which has stood as a beacon light for communists all over the world, it is all the more so for our Party in this country, which is all an infant Party. And the need to train ever broader ranks of the masses in Marxism in relation to and as a key part of the struggle against the bourgeois ruling class is also a constant, urgent task for the RCP, as the Party of the working class in the U.S.

In fact, at the present time in this country, although dogmatism mainly characterizes a number of opportunist so-called "communist" groupings and although dogmatism has some influence within the Party itself, within the Party empiricism now represents a greater error than dogmatism. This is for two main reasons.

One, the history of the U.S. is one in which pragmatism—which our Party's *Programme* characterizes as the view that "It is not really possible to know the laws that govern nature and society; if something seems to work, never mind the reasons, do it"—is deep-rooted and has been particularly promoted by the bourgeoisie and its "philosophers." It also characterized the Communist Party in this country for long periods, even during the time when it was still overall a revolutionary party and the vanguard of the working class.

Secondly, the tendency toward pragmatism—which is essentially a variant of empiricism—has some soil to grow in in our Party exactly because our Party, from its very foundation, and in the roots that gave rise to it, while carrying out much theoretical work and ideological struggle has *correctly laid stress* on the need to link up with and sink roots in the practical struggles of the working class and masses of people. For these reasons, while continuing to expose and oppose dogmatism both inside and outside the Party, it is especially important for the Party to combat empiricism in our own ranks.

## Theory In Its Own Right

This points to the need, especially great right now, of studying theory "in its own right." This means studying it to gain a deeper grasp of the fundamental principles of Marxism, the first point outlined before. While in such study, examples from the mass struggle, economic and political, against the ruling class can and should be brought out to *illustrate* the points of theory being studied, this is not the same as studying theory with particular problems in mind, which has the opposite emphasis—concentrating on the particular problems and applying theory specifically to them in order to solve them. The fact that this latter method is, as stated, *overall* the main way in which people's grasp of Marxism is deepened, does not eliminate the need to *also pay serious attention* to studying theory "in its own right."

On the other hand, "in its own right" does not mean and is not the same as "for its own sake." Studying in the latter way means turning Marxism into a dogma, divorcing it from practice altogether and robbing it of its revolutionary role as a guide to action. In fact there is and has been a general tendency in the history of the revolutionary movement to separate theory from practice in the peculiar form where theory is treated as a thing in itself and dealt with dogmatically, forcing things into quick and easy categories and conclusions, while practice still remains mired in pragmatism. This tendency has existed and continues to exist in the RCP, and must be actively combatted.

The point is that when it is said that Marxism is a guide to action, that must not be taken in the narrow sense, reducing Marxism to simply a tool for developing *tactics* in any immediate battle, but in a sweeping, all-encompassing sense—a guide for the working class to grasp the laws governing the development of all things, in nature and society, and to carry forward the world-historical task of wiping out capitalism and achieving communism and advancing mankind's struggle against nature (for production) and its struggle to develop science (scientific experimentation) to a whole new stage. Of course, from this point of view Marxism will also serve as a guide to formulating policies and tactics for immediate battles, but this will be guided by a grasp of how each such battle fits into the general and long-term revolutionary goal—which is the only way, in fact, that policies and tactics can be developed and deepened in a correct way over any period of time, in a way that will continue to move things forward, despite temporary setbacks or reverses.

To get at this more deeply, let's examine two statements, one by Lenin, the other by Mao, which may ap-

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# Theoretical...

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pear to contradict each other. In "On Practice" Mao states, "Only social practice can be the criterion of truth." On the other hand, in "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," Lenin exposes pragmatism, which, he says, "ridicules the metaphysics both of materialism and idealism, acclaims experience and only experience, recognizes practice as the only criterion..." (Collected Works, Vol. 14, p. 342, footnote, emphasis added). Do Mao and Lenin actually disagree, is Mao denying the role of theory or Lenin denying the fact that, as Mao says, "theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice"?

No, neither is the case. What Lenin is criticizing is the particular empiricist view, summarized earlier, that only *immediate experience* can represent "truth," that things beyond the immediate, direct experience of a person, and the interrelationship of things in the world generally, are not knowable to that person—or to anyone at all. This denies the existence of objective truth—and of the objective world outside of and independent of any person or their mind, or "sensations"—and so is *idealist*. As Lenin pointed out such a view necessarily leads back to "god" as a unifying force to "tie together" all the different things in the world and the separate perceptions or "sensations" of different individuals. It contradicts the correct, materialist understanding that there is nothing in the world but matter in motion, no "supernatural" forces of any kind and nothing which is *unknowable*—though at any time many things are *unknown*, and this will always be so.

In fact, in "On Practice" Mao makes exactly the same point as Lenin. He states that "All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience. But one cannot have direct experience of everything; as a matter of fact, most of our knowledge comes from indirect experience, for example, all knowledge from past times and foreign lands." (emphasis added) And the thing that enables us to grasp the essence of things and their interconnections, to grasp objective truth, correctly reflect in our minds the objective world, is, Mao stresses, *precisely theory*. "Perception only solves the problem of phenomena," he points out, "theory alone can solve the problem of essence."

## Theory and Practice

The Marxist theory of knowledge, as Mao summarizes it in "On Practice," shows that in all processes of gaining correct knowledge people's experience goes from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge—or, from practice to theory. In raising perceptions to a rational understanding of what is being perceived the role of theory is central. From perceptual to rational, from practice to theory, is a *leap*—as for example, in going from the perception that your car has broken down to an understanding of *why* it has, what has gone wrong.

But, as Mao repeatedly emphasizes, there must also be *another leap*—from theory back to practice (to *fixing your car*) which will now be on a higher level than before, because it is guided by more rational knowledge, by a deeper grasp of theory. This is the meaning of Mao's statement that practice is the only criterion of truth, of his analysis of the "dependence of theory on practice"—which does not at all deny the role of theory but shows how it *originates* in practice, in direct experience of all kinds, and must in turn be returned to practice, to guide it on a higher level. Otherwise, such theory will turn into its opposite, cease to correctly reflect the objective world, which is constantly changing according to the laws governing it, and will become not a guide to correct action in correspondence with these laws, but to inaction, or actually to *incorrect* action of one kind or another.

This summation by Mao Tsetung is exactly in accordance with what Lenin says in "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" (and elsewhere) on the relation between theory and practice. Lenin's whole point, too, is that theory has its *origins* in practice, but is *not the same thing* as any particular practice, or experience; it is, in fact, a *leap* to a comprehension, a synthesis in the mind of things perceived in the world, things which exist outside of and independent of anyone's mind or "sensations."

This summation by Mao of the Marxist theory of knowledge is also the basis for the *mass line*. It is exactly by applying theory to the scattered, unsystematic experience of the masses, concentrating what is correct and criticizing what is incorrect, that the correct line is developed and deepened and can be taken up by the masses and become a tremendous material force to change the world. As with the development of knowledge in general, this is a constant process, of endless cycles, continually going from a lower to a higher level.

This, once again, emphasizes the importance of theory and its correct relation to practice. Without studying theory, both in relation to particular problems and also—if secondarily in an *overall sense*—in its own

right, it is impossible to not only link up with but *lead* the struggle of the masses, to act as the vanguard of the working class in carrying out its historic mission. How can theory be applied if it is not studied, how can it be applied well if it is not studied deeply and consistently?

## Know Concrete Conditions

But, as stressed several times, it must not only be studied but applied—and applied especially to the concrete conditions, and the historical development, of the particular country in which the party exists. And this speaks to the second of the three points outlined at the beginning of this article.

It is good to know about the history of the Russian and Chinese revolution and other revolutionary movements in different countries; it is *absolutely essential* to study and learn the main lessons of these experiences. But it is not *enough* to do this, nor is it, overall, the *main aspect* of our theoretical work as the Party in this country.

Mao Tsetung sharply criticized exactly this kind of approach—of learning about other countries, but not studying the concrete conditions and history of your own country and not, on this basis, developing the line and policies to lead the working class to its revolutionary goal in your own country. During the War of Resistance against Japan in China Mao paid particular attention to combatting this tendency, criticizing those who "ignorant of their own country,...can only relate tales of ancient Greece and other foreign lands...."

Of such people he noted that "though they read, they cannot digest. They can only cite odd quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in a one-sided manner, but are unable to apply the stand, viewpoint and method of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to the concrete study of China's present conditions and her history or to the concrete analysis and solution of the problems of the Chinese revolution."

These people, he said, often "enjoy a reputation unwarranted by any real learning," and "have no intention of seeking truth from facts, but only a desire to curry favor by claptrap." He characterized such people as "gramophones" who "forget their duty to understand and create new things." Their influence, he pointed out, led to a situation where "we are studying Marxism," but, "the way many of our people study it runs directly counter to Marxism." In contrast to this, Mao insisted that "Marxism-Leninism is a science, and science means honest, solid knowledge; there is no room for playing tricks. Let us, then, be honest." (Above quotes from "Reform Our Study")

Does not all this have direct relevance to the revolutionary movement in the U.S. today? Do not all these sharp criticisms from Mao Tsetung apply perfectly to such completely dishonest and opportunist "gramophones" as the October League (OL) and some others, who, instead of making any serious analysis of concrete conditions, clutch, robot-like, to now this, now that phrase, quotation or formulation, treating and repeating them like religious incantations and branding as heretics those who try to approach and apply Marxism as a living science?

But it is not enough to learn by negative example from such as the OL who "have no intention of seeking truth from facts, but only a desire to curry favor by claptrap." As the Party of the working class in this country the RCP has the responsibility to not only study theory but to apply it concretely to the present day conditions, as well as the history, of the U.S.—while also studying and keeping in mind the world situation and learning from the historical and present day experience of the world revolutionary movement.

There is much work to be done in analyzing far more deeply the present position of U.S. imperialism, the alignment of class forces in the U.S., how different classes and strata are affected by the deepening crisis, how they perceive the development of things, how to build and broaden the united front under working class leadership, how to link the struggle of the oppressed nationalities with the overall workers' movement as the solid core of the united front, and many other vital questions. All this must be undertaken by the Party, in order to deepen our ability to apply the mass line, to develop lines and policies that can continue to lead the working class and masses forward toward the revolutionary goal and can enable ever broader numbers of workers and others struggling against the enemy to grasp and apply the science of revolution in order to achieve the concrete task of making revolution in this country.

## Combat Reactionary Theories

In order to do this it is necessary, of course, to actively combat the reactionary theories spewn everywhere by the bourgeoisie, and its representatives both inside and outside the workers' movement, including those who call themselves "revolutionaries" and even "communists" but actually serve the counter-revolutionary interests of the ruling class. Not only is it necessary to wage struggle against them in order to expose them, but also in this process the Party and other genuine revolutionary fighters will deepen our own grasp of Marxism. For as Mao Tsetung also pointed out, "Marxism develops in the struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, and it is only through struggle that it can develop." ("Speech at CPC National Conference on Propaganda Work")

This relates to the third general point outlined at the start of this article—the third main form now of waging the theoretical struggle. But, as stressed before, these three forms are interrelated and affect each other. In particular, waging the struggle against opportunism and against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology generally, is indispensable to applying the mass line.

As the article, "Mass Line Is Key To Lead Masses in Making Revolution" (December 15, 1975 *Revolution*) points out: "There is, and will be so long as classes remain, a continual struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat over how to sum up the struggle, what lessons to draw from each battle and what road to take in order to change the situation. To the degree that the proletariat, through its Party, does not correctly sum up this experience, does not correctly concentrate the ideas of the masses, the bourgeoisie will, through its political leaders and representatives, put over its summation."

In order to lead the mass struggle forward, in order for the masses to recognize through the course of many battles the face and features of the enemy more clearly, to be able to distinguish friends from enemies and to fight more consciously and effectively, it is essential for the Party of the working class to struggle against bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, to deepen its own grasp of Marxist theory and its ability to concretely apply it, and to train ever greater numbers of workers in this science. This is also essential in order for the working class to learn to differentiate its own class interests from those of others who are also oppressed by the ruling class, so that the working class can build the broadest united front under its leadership against the enemy and lead the masses in carrying the struggle through.

To sum up the main points, then: the working class, led by its Party, must take up and wage the theoretical struggle, in all its forms, along with the political and economic struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie. In fact these three forms of struggle of the working class—economic, political, and theoretical—are also interrelated, and it is also true that unless all three are carried out, "in harmony, in...[their] interconnections, and in a systematic way" (to quote Engels) then the struggle of the working class will be set back on all fronts.

All this does not mean that we should turn upside down the correct overall relation between practice and theory, making theory principal over practice, that we should reverse the correct dialectic, practice...theory...practice, or that the theoretical struggle, in any form, should be raised above, or divorced from, the economic and political struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. What it does mean is that the theoretical struggle cannot be ignored, or downgraded—and exactly that it cannot be divorced from the other forms of the working class struggle—without losing sight of the revolutionary goal and leading the working class up a blind alley.

## Tasks in Present Period

Today, when there is not a revolutionary situation in this country and the working class movement is still at its beginning stages of development, or resurgence, in this present period, we are faced with a different freedom and different necessity than we will be at a point of a much higher tide of struggle, and particularly with the development of a revolutionary situation and a revolutionary mood among the broad masses. The more the working class movement develops and the more the Party, through the application of the mass line and correct policies based on it, brings new workers into its ranks, the more difficult it will be to pay attention to the theoretical side of the class struggle. Lenin pointed out in *What Is To Be Done?* that as the workers' movement in Russia, and the influence of Marxists within it, grew in significant proportions, this "was accompanied by a certain lowering of the theoretical level. Quite a number of people with very little, and even a total lack of theoretical-training joined the movement because of its practical significance and its practical successes." Overall it was, of course, a very good thing that masses were drawn into the communist movement at that time. But it also had its bad side, a certain lowering of the theoretical level, which had to be paid attention to, but which could not, in the short run, be entirely prevented, without barring

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# Revolution

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## N.Y.C. Cutbacks Hamper Treatment

# Death Toll Rises In Gum Plant Blast

**November 20, 1976**—The heavy steel machinery roars, six days a week, 24 hours a day at the American Chicle Co., a division of the Warner-Lambert pharmaceutical company in the Queens borough of New York City. The machines chew up the molten lava-like gum and spit out thousands of tiny pieces of gum every minute. And always present, spewing out of the machines in huge billow clouds, is the white dust mixture of sugar and magnesium stearate, a chemical lubricant.

The workers rush about the machines, under the hawkish stares of foremen and supervisors who know only one purpose—making more production. There is much grumbling among the workers about the speedup and forced overtime, the dangerous machinery where a finger or hand could be snapped up in a second, and the dust, thick as fog, which makes breathing difficult. But in this nonunion shop, complaining gets a worker transferred, suspended or fired. The company doesn't want to hear a word from the workers. Good slaves are quiet and hard working. Like the rest of their class, these bosses are driven by profits, and production is all they want to know about.

Saturday, November 20, was like any other Saturday night at the plant. The night shift was working the usual overtime. The machines were roaring away and the workers were toiling through the night, looking forward to the day of rest the next day and the upcoming Thanksgiving holidays.

But there were troubles in the Freshen-Up Gum Department. This was a new product, and production schedules were even heavier here. Four machines were down for cleaning, blowing out the white dust thicker than usual. A fifth machine began vibrating and shaking violently.

The workers complained, but the bosses turned a deaf ear. They allowed the broken machine to run for an hour. Suddenly a spark shot out of the machine, the white dust ignited, and a thunderous explosion rocked the plant, blowing out dozens of big glass and steel windows and hurling workers and machines into the streets four stories below. Thick globs of molten gum were thrown through the air, and a flash fire swept the floor.

Workers poured into the streets, running, screaming, with clothes and flesh burned by the boiling gum and the fire. One witness said they looked like pictures he had seen of napalm victims in Vietnam.

The toll was heavy—55 workers injured, many seriously with third degree burns covering much of their bodies. Five workers later died from their burns.

In the days after the explosion, the whole story began to come out. An inspector at the factory had warned of the danger of the highly explosive white dust, but to no avail. The workers told of the grueling work pace, and the machine running for an hour with a broken drive shaft scraping the floor. And the highly flammable cleaning fluid, spread all over the floor, that ignited in the blast to turn the department into a blazing inferno.

The company was clearly to blame, and the injured and dead workers join the long list of their many brothers and sisters over generations, murdered by the profit drive of the capitalists, a force that allows nothing, including human life to stand in the way.

### The Crime Compounded

It's bad enough that these capitalist bloodsuckers are responsible for the deaths and injuries caused by industrial accidents. But their system dominates the whole society and their murderous deeds spread beyond the walls of their prisons of labor. The tragedy of the Queens factory fire was compounded by the cutbacks of the New York City crisis. There were no burn-unit facilities available for most of the workers.

In New York City, where eight million people live, there has never been an adequate burn treatment center, and the cutbacks of the last two years have turned the situation from bad to intolerable. In the whole municipal hospital system, there are only 37 burn-unit beds, and the cutbacks have reduced the staff for these by 50%. This is in a city where hundreds of fire alarms sound each night, where block after block of poor neighborhoods, especially Black and Puerto Rican communities, are burning down. In Queens, where two airports and the largest factory district in the city are located, there are no burn centers at all.

Of the 55 workers injured in the explosion, 27 were hospitalized and 15 had to be sent to hospitals outside the state, some as far as Chester, Pennsylvania. In one burn center in New York, six workers were able to be treated only when private nurses were brought in.

Who can say how the hours of waiting for treatment, the long ambulance rides to hospitals all over the city, the shifting from ambulances to helicopters to hospitals a hundred miles away affected the victims? Perhaps the five could have been saved. Perhaps the scars on the others would not be so deep. But these are not the terms that govern the rule of capital. The profit system in crisis demands increased productivity in the plants, cutbacks in social services, and the results are misery and even death for the masses of people.

This is not the first time the glaring lack of services for burn victims has stood out. Just a few weeks earlier 25 young men and women burned to death in a blaze that ravaged a Puerto Rican social club in the Bronx, and many others were injured. Yet most of the victims were brought to municipal Lincoln Hos-

pital, which has no burn center and is overcrowded, understaffed, undersupplied. And 1½ years ago, when the jet crashed at Kennedy Airport killing over 100 people, the few badly burned survivors were taken to burn centers all over the country, as far as Texas.

As if to whitewash this sore lack of a vitally needed good burn center, as if to blunt the reality of the decline of all services in the city, two days after the explosion the opening of a new burn center was announced with great fanfare in the press. But it is only 22 beds and it is in an expensive private hospital, where treatment will be out of the reach of most New Yorkers. At the same time, the city hospital system is slated for more cutbacks, as much as \$100 million over the next year.

The crisis of the cities, of which New York City is the vanguard example, further highlights the criminal absurdity of the capitalist system which lives off the labor, and blood, of the workers, but cannot even provide the necessary medical facilities for those that are injured creating the very profits on which the capitalists thrive.

Workers at Warner-Lambert are now openly talking about the brutal conditions that laid the basis for this tragedy to occur, and they are beginning to take steps to change them.

Throughout New York City every instance, every example of the toll that the cutbacks spawned by the city crisis have made on the health, safety, education, and the very lives of the people is deepening the determination of the masses not to be driven down and forced to pay for the crisis of capitalism. ■



Actively building support for their struggle, I-Hotel tenants have forced the sheriff and other city officials to back down time and again on their eviction plans. Tenants and supporters are determined to carry through to victory.

## Long Battle To Save I-Hotel Still Hot

The eight year fight against evictions of the residents of the International Hotel and the Victory Building in San Francisco's Chinatown-Manilatown has become a mass question with literally thousands of eyes following the twists and turns of the latest battle.

This past summer S.F.'s Mayor Moscone had been forced by the growing support for the I-Hotel struggle to offer a plan to keep the tenants, mainly retired Chinese and Filipino workers, in the Hotel. But the solution was full of ifs, ands, and buts—the City would maybe buy the hotel from Four Seas Corporation if they could then in turn sell it to the tenants for a cool \$1.5 million. The stand the Workers Committee to Fight for the I-Hotel and the Victory Building took then was, "It's ok with us if the City buys the I-Hotel. But Four Seas or the City Housing Authority—we won't let any landlord move us out."

Through the summer and fall, mass support for the I-Hotel struggle has grown and forced the city's Board of Supervisors, on November 30, in an unprecedented action, to pass a plan to buy the Hotel. Though forced to take this step, the City has continued their part in the attack on the tenants. They refused to couple their purchase with enforcing "eminent domain," i.e., the city's legal right to force Four Seas Corporation to sell their property to the city, as it is deemed in the public good. The effect of this stand is that the eviction order still stands. And on top of this, the City still is trying to force the tenants to buy the building. The Board says that before they can lift a finger the tenants must come up with a \$50,000 deposit!

The committee has not stood still, fighting on several fronts. One, to jam the City on "eminent domain," and for City Hall to come up with the financing of the Hotel. Secondly, the Committee is not letting its guard down around the eviction fight. There

have been three deadlines (July 15, September 22, and November 24) and each time the Committee has forced the court to issue a new sixty-day order.

Four Seas brought Sheriff Hongisto up on contempt charges because he's been unable to carry out the last three eviction orders. One judge in the case, in referring to Hongisto's inability to carry out the order said, "This is a threat to every court in the country," and told Hongisto that he had until December 15 to carry out the order. But the Sheriff has had to back down again and again—passing the buck back to the court and the City, asking for delay after delay. "Feelings are running too high," he says. "It's too emotional," at this time. And he's right, as there is too much mass resistance from the tenants and workers and other supporters of the struggle to allow the Sheriff to carry through his orders.

One of the members of the S.F. Board of Supervisors said, "This issue has divided our whole city." True, but it's not a 50-50 split. The fight has become a focus of sharp class struggle in the Bay Area. In Chinatown, the I-Hotel fight has stirred up so much controversy that when *Chinese Times*, the only daily newspaper in the community, wrote an editorial attacking the I-Hotel fight, the Workers Committee picketed its office, demanded a retraction and got it. People all over the community were buzzing—glad that *Chinese Times* had been taken on for such slander.

When the Workers Committee's banner, which had flown since July over Kearny St., a main thoroughfare through Chinatown, was taken down by the City without warning, people all over the community were outraged. The Committee jammed City Hall demanding a permit. The press and media picked up on it and the battle of the banner—which read "Workers Unite to Fight Evictions, Fight for the I-Hotel and Victory Building" in English, Chinese and Tagalog—became a symbol of the struggle. The politicians were forced to back down and the banner went up again.

The eviction order still stands but it's been eight years and three eviction orders and the tenants are still standing their ground. The tenants and the Workers Committee have been able to do this because they've proved that by their organized strength they don't have to bow down to the capitalists and their flunkies. They've relied on the power of the working class and have taken the rulers on politically by their words and actions, exposing this eviction to be in the interest of the rich and not in the interests of the masses of people who've increasingly signed the petitions and come to support the I-Hotel. ■

# Suicidal Killer Used To Bring Back Death Penalty

The case of Gary Gilmore, the convicted murderer who fought in court for the "right" to be executed and even tried to take his own life twice by overdosing on sleeping pills when the courts postponed his execution, has focused attention on the death penalty issue.

No doubt Gary Gilmore is a nut. After all he's spent his last 18 years in prison and doesn't look forward to spending the remainder of his life there. Now after a vengeful and wasted life he finds some kind of distorted meaning in his own exhibitionist destruction.

Capitalist society breeds a lot of psychos like this. But the ruling class has picked him out of the crowd, headlining articles about him almost every day, romanticizing his sick desire to die. \$100,000 has already been paid out for the rights to a book and movie about his life.

Why all this publicity? Because this guy *wants* to die in front of the firing squad and this fits very nicely into the bourgeoisie's plans to revive the death penalty. No one has been executed for capital crimes in the U.S. since 1967. At that time the death penalty was discontinued in the midst of the general movement against social injustice, especially the Black liberation struggle. Part of this movement included a struggle against the death penalty. After 1967 further executions were held up after a number of court suits were filed challenging various states' capital punishment laws as discriminatory, inconsistent and arbitrary.

## Capitalists Demand Death Penalty

Ever since then the capitalists have been trying to bring it back. In 1972 the Supreme Court ruled that various states' capital punishment laws as constituted were "capricious and arbitrary" but in so doing left the door open for the states to rewrite these laws to make them "fairer" and "more rational." Then in July of 1976 the Supreme Court voted overwhelmingly that the rewritten capital punishment laws of three states were constitutional, opening the possibility of execution for the over 400 prisoners now on death row.

Gary Gilmore, the man who wants to die, gives them an *opening wedge*, a chance to create public opinion in order to carry out the first execution in 10 years either of him or someone else and create a precedent. The capitalists don't give a damn about this psycho, one way or the other. But they do want the death penalty for two reasons.

First, with a growing distrust in government and its ability to solve the pressing problems facing people, the capitalists want to be able to put forward that they are dealing with the problems, including the rising crime rate and social decay. At the same time they want to take peoples' hatred for the way things are and turn it into support for reaction and repression. Of course their solution to crime, like their solution to everything else, is to put more power in their own hands.

Second, in this light they want one more powerful reminder to the masses of people that they, the bourgeoisie, hold the power in this country, even the power of life and death. They want to be able to point to the gas chamber, the electric chair, the hangman's noose, the firing squad when they say to the swelling ranks of those who are fed up with their lousy system, "Don't organize, don't fight for a better world! Step out of line and you're in deep trouble."

For these reasons the capitalists try to justify the restoration of the death penalty saying it will serve as a "deterrent to crime." They say "with the death penalty murderers and rapists are going to think twice before they act. Without the death penalty look at how crime has skyrocketed the last few years." Beyond this, the capitalists declare that the death penalty is society's retribution" for those who commit heinous crimes.

## Death Penalty a Deterrent?

But will the death penalty in fact deter crime? Not according to the UN which reported a few years ago: "Neither the number of death sentences nor the frequency or infrequency of executions appear to have any direct effect on the crime rate. This has been es-



Gary Gilmore at one of his many press conferences denouncing the fact that he is still alive. This pathetic suicidal creation of the prison system has been used as a pawn in efforts to get a foot in the door for new executions.

tablished in nearly all areas [of the world] where total or partial abolition has been introduced."

Even the U.S. bourgeoisie's own investigations reached similar conclusions. The homicide rate has gone up the last few years. It also moved upward in the U.S. from 1900 until the middle of the thirties, dropped sharply for the next ten year period, and then started an upward turn after the second World War. Studies show this trend does not coincide at all with application of the death penalty.

To be more specific, one study found, comparing Illinois (which had the death penalty at the time) with Michigan (which had no executions since 1930 and abolished the death penalty in 1963), two states with large urban populations, that the average homicide rates for the years 1950 - 1965 were 5.3 per 100,000 in Illinois and 4 per 100,000 in Michigan. Studies comparing other states show similar findings.

There are in fact many indications that capital punishment may actually be, in the cases of some very sick people, an incentive to murder. James French, one of the last men to be executed in the United States, on June 2, 1967, for strangling his cellmate, refused counsel. Before dying he confessed that he was angered his first conviction did not result in a death sentence. His basic motive in the second murder, he stated, was to force the state to execute him. Who can say that these weren't also the motives of Gary Gilmore, someone who wants to have himself killed and who certainly is *enjoying* the national spotlight his bizarre case has attracted?

Beyond this, if the capitalists want to reinstitute the death penalty to carry out "society's retribution" they had better start with themselves. If they want to point the finger of blame around the problem of crime they had better point it at themselves, the biggest criminals and robber barons the world has ever known. Their whole system is based on legalized robbery of the working class and enslavement for profit of people around the world. It is surrounded by an ideology which teaches people to "look out for number one" and to step on the other guy to get ahead. This combined with an economic crisis that ruins the petty bourgeoisie and creates massive unemployment among the working class drives a whole section of people to resort to criminal means to survive. Their

decaying and decadent system in which their prisons, their so-called "rehabilitation centers," are themselves breeding grounds for still more crime, produces twisted killers like Gary Gilmore, himself in jail almost continuously from age 14.

The death penalty in the hands of the capitalist class has always been used as a tool of reaction, as a weapon to bolster their class rule. It has been directed entirely at the working class and oppressed masses. The rich, when on the rare occasions they are accused of a crime, can afford to hire the best criminal lawyers, usually getting off with no sentence or a very light sentence. On the other hand, someone without these resources may have to spend months, or even years, in jail, unable to pay bail, waiting for trial. And as many people have found through bitter experience, the court appointed lawyer is usually a cruel joke played on the accused.

In the past the capitalists have been particularly vicious in their use of the death penalty as a tool in their subjugation of Black people, especially in the South. Legal murder together with lynch laws were part and parcel of the sharecropping system and legalized terror and repression continue today as weapons for maintaining national oppression. Of the 3859 persons executed in the U.S. since 1930, 53.1% were Black. The figures for rape are even more revealing: of the 455 men executed for rape since 1930, 405 or 89% were Black men convicted of raping white women, 398 of these were convicted in the South. By politicizing murder and rape trials in which Blacks are accused of crimes against whites, such as the famous trial of the Scottsboro Boys, the bourgeoisie has attempted to spread divisions among Blacks and whites, and through execution of the accused Black person, attempted to terrorize Black people into not rising up against their oppression. As a former police chief candidly stated while speaking before the Ohio State Legislature in May, 1965: "We need capital punishment to keep the Negro in line."

The capitalists have also used the death penalty to murder leaders in the organized fight against their rule. The Haymarket martyrs who were in the thick of the struggle for the eight hour day; Joe Hill, who tirelessly fought to organize the working class in the days of the IWW; Sacco and Vanzetti; the Pennsylvania miners known as the "Molly Maguires"—all were put to death for fighting against the capitalists. And in more recent times, Ethel and Julian Rosenberg were executed in the 1950s on false charges of "atomic spying" as part of the ruling class' postwar attack on the masses of people, and during the high tide of the Black liberation struggle during the late '60s several leaders of that movement faced trumped up charges carrying the death penalty.

Of course the capitalists don't need a law to kill those fighting against them. In 1969 they shot Fred Hampton, leader of the Black Panther Party in Chicago, while he was asleep in bed. They shot college students in 1970 at Kent State in Ohio and Jackson State in Mississippi during a wave of demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. Still, having the death penalty on the books would make it easier for them to hold up their executions as an example to terrorize people and keep them from rising up.

The capitalists may be able to get one guy, already a psychotic, ground down to the point where they can tamely lead him out into the courtyard and execute him at sunrise. But in doing so they will only be lifting a rock to drop it on their own feet. If they begin executing people right and left they will surely find themselves confronted again with a growing outrage and movement against the death penalty. Nor are the masses of people going to follow Gary Gilmore's example and accept things the way they are. We're going to keep on fighting all their attacks, including the murderous death penalty. ■

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## Call Outdoes Itself

# Int'l Conf. Provokes OL, Guardian

One of the most important accomplishments of the Conference on the International Situation held last November has been the renewed interest with which Conference participants, and others who were unable to attend, have plunged into discussion and struggle over the critical questions raised at the Conference. Precisely because the Conference succeeded in raising these questions so sharply and before such a large audience, various forces who did their best to prevent and sabotage it have been forced to comment on it and to reveal more of their own positions on the questions raised at the Conference.

The *Guardian*, which refused outright to participate, ran a lengthy report on the Conference and in their typical style of bourgeois journalism gave a basically "objective" account, not commenting on their own boycott of the Conference, despite the repeated calls for "debate" on these questions in the pages of their paper. They did, however, feel compelled to run a front page editorial statement in which they run down the *Guardian's* general position on the international situation and the question of the "main blow" (which will be discussed shortly).

The October League, on the other hand, which tried pitifully to obstruct the building of the Conference and then to wreck the Conference itself, cast aside any pretext of reporting the facts and instead dished up a disgusting brew of misquotes, lies and deliberate distortions. "As predicted," began the December 6 *Call* article, "the Nov. 20 Conference...turned out to be a circus of revisionists, Trotskyists and centrists who joined together in an anti-China and pro-social-imperialist chorus."

The OL could hardly help but declare, irrespective of reality, that the Conference was as they "predicted" it would be. After all, they had to justify their own refusal to put their own line to the test of debate and principled struggle at the Conference and their beha-

avior at the Conference itself, which was one of coupling phrasemongering with hysterical attacks aimed at disrupting the Conference.

This is not the first (and, unfortunately, probably not the last) example of OL's *apriorism* in which they insist that reality conform to their preconceptions. Having repeatedly attacked the RCP for "national chauvinism" and declared that the RCP's line could never lead to revolutionary unity between workers of different nationalities, the October League felt obligated to report that the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition demonstration in Philadelphia was composed of mainly "white, middle class youth" when even the bourgeois press reported it as a demonstration made up mainly of workers of all nationalities. OL's method of bending reality to fit their "predictions" is reminiscent of Trotsky's behavior, when first he declared that socialism could not be built in one country, and when the Soviet working class proceeded to build socialism all he could do was declare that it wasn't socialism at all—as he had "predicted."

While it is impossible, and unnecessary, to refute every lie of the October League and untangle all of their distortions, their attempts to portray the Conference and the RCP's participation in it as an "anti-China and pro-social-imperialist chorus" is so vile it must be denounced. In both of the two major speeches made by the RCP at the conference the RCP's stand of supporting socialist China was made completely clear. To cite just one example, in the evening debate, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, answered a question concerning the relationship of the People's Republic of China to events in Chile over the past several years by pointing out that China has consistently supported the revolutionary struggle of the Chilean people and had aided the Allende regime. He pointed out that it was the line of the revisionists of Chile, backed by social-imperialism, that

left the Chilean working class disarmed and unprepared for the bloody massacre at the hands of U.S.-backed reaction. Comrade Avakian, several times in his remarks, and other speakers representing the RCP throughout the Conference, including panelists and participants from the floor in the workshops, reiterated the RCP's support of China, of the need for the working class worldwide to defend China and other socialist countries, and supported China's stand on a host of international questions. We know what kind of game OL is playing by portraying the RCP as anti-China, but such brazen slander won't stand the light of day.

OL's whole approach to the conference was guided by two factors: on the one hand, to avoid their own exposure, and on the other, to paint a totally false picture for those, be they near or far away, who could not attend. But, unfortunately for the October League, over 2300 people participated in the Conference and know what actually came down and transcripts of the major speeches of the Conference are available for those interested so they will be able to make up their own minds.

### Call for Debate

OL's call for a debate between themselves and the RCP reveals what they were up to. When plans for the Conference were well under way, and the OL was scurrying for excuses to boycott it, we were told in the October 18 *Call* that the RCP "dare not confront [OL] face to face." This was followed up by a challenge in the *Call* (also delivered verbally) for a debate between the RCP and the OL. Now, after the Conference has been successfully concluded and the RCP has accepted their debate challenge, OL suddenly seems to have lost interest in any debate at all and is inventing excuses for backing down—a stand we certainly hope they will reconsider. All of this raises the question of whether their whole debate challenge was but a ploy to try to sabotage the Conference and justify their own nonparticipation.

According to the Nov. 22 *Call*, the RCP confused the "struggle within the Marxist-Leninist movement over a correct line with the struggle by Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism." Later they went so far as to attack RCP member Nick Unger because "he did not bring out the need for a new Marxist-Leninist Party to lead the struggle against imperialism." What a telling exposure! We cannot avoid pleading guilty to failing to call for a new party when the existence of the

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## Letter Responds To Call Distortions

Dear Editors:

The incredibly dishonest portrayal of the recent successful conference on the international situation which appeared in the December 6 issue of *The Call* demands correction. In hopes of clearing up this question and presenting the actual facts to the broadest number of people I am submitting this letter to both *The Call* and to *Revolution*.

While I was not present in all of the conference workshops, I did attend the morning and evening sessions, which contributed significantly to shedding light on the crucial questions raised at the conference. And I can comment on the workshop on China's foreign policy in which I was a panelist. My own presentation began with an exposition of proletarian internationalism as the basis of China's foreign policy, and the goal of China's revolutionary state foreign policy—the creation of the most favorable international situation for the advance of the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples and the defense of proletarian state power in China. I touched briefly on why China seeks to normalize state relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and on the two different kinds of compromises as outlined by Lenin—those which overall aid the imperialists and necessary compromises which overall aid the struggle against them. I outlined China's general analysis of the current world situation and the united front against the two superpowers. And mindful of the principal questions before the conference, I spent some time on why China raises the analogy of Munich in the current situation and on my understanding of what Mao Tsetung's analyses of Munich and WW 2 actually were.

Bill Hinton who followed me in speaking agreed

that proletarian internationalism was the basis of China's foreign policy, but took issue with my analysis of WW 2 and the Munich analogy. It would seem that these are fairly important political questions upon which the October League might make some substantive comment. Instead *The Call* produced the following amazing characterization of the discussion: "Instead they both proceeded to distort China's foreign policy, again displaying their unity with the centrist *Guardian*. Both attacked the proletarian internationalist foundation of China's socialist foreign policy. Hinton preached building a united front with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. Kissinger slandered China's foreign policy, saying it is based on a policy of 'concessions to reactionary governments because of the need for state relations.'" This last "quotation" attributed to myself was simply created.

While this workshop did deal with the questions being taken up by the conference in a lively way with much participation from the audience, its work was partially obstructed by two elements. First was the third panelist, Ralph Shoenman, whose Trotskyite views I rebuffed briefly but sharply, and which were angrily rejected by the overwhelming majority of people in the audience. The second obstruction came from members of the Spartacist League and the October League who jumped up at regular intervals demanding that the panelists state their views on Chiang Ching and "the gang of four."

To dispense with the little league heckling, the panel did respond to a questioner who, in the manner of a prosecuting attorney, demanded an answer. My response was summarized by *The Call* as follows: "Kissinger and Bob Avakian, RCP Chairman, heightened the chauvinist anti-China slanders from those made earlier by going so far as to charge that 'if the Chinese elected a chimpanzee as Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party,' the October League 'would send a telegram of congratulations.'" "

This is nothing but a combination of outright lies and distortions. First of all, my answer was not chanted in unison with Bob Avakian who was sitting in the audience and it was only I who made any references to primates to criticize the OL's flunkeyism. Obviously, I did so in a completely different context and with a completely different meaning than the OL puts on the whole thing. As to the content of my remarks in response to this question, readers should judge for themselves based on the following complete transcript:

"The import of the question as I understand it is an attempt to discover who is the truest, bluest support-

ers of China within the audience and this is a tactic I think that is frequently used by those who wish to substitute their adherence to China for a principled discussion of the concrete problems that are facing the people of the world. I'll be the first to admit that I was not privy to the internal struggle that went on in the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. But I'll tell you this, that no matter what would have happened, if a chimpanzee had been elected Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, he would have gotten a telegram of congratulations from Michael Klonsky.

"What's going on in China today is nothing that is unusual. It's, what, the 11th two line struggle within the Central Committee of the Communist Party, it's going to happen again and again and again and the details of what's going on there are going to be unfolded both in China and internationally and Marxist-Leninists all over the world are going to study them and are going to make their judgments about what went on on the basis of the material that has come out and on the basis of the line that is being carried forth by the leadership of China. I have the greatest confidence in the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party."

Let me add that I stand by the content of my full remarks, including in particular the parts which OL, in its desperate attempt to distort, completely omitted.

The October League is using the method of fools and cheap hustlers, not the method of Marxist-Leninists. The actual practice in the United States has and will continue to show who stands with China and the revolutionary proletariat and who it is that frantically "waves the red flag" in order to actually oppose it.

As much as I oppose the ideas of Bill Hinton which call for uniting with the U.S. ruling class against the Soviet Union, one must respect the manner in which he forthrightly states his views, carries them to their logical conclusions, responds to the actual statements of his opponents and does not feel the need to lie about or distort those statements. The OL apparently holds no consistent line nor adheres to any principle except to promote its sectarian interests, and falls far short of Hinton in its methods of struggle and in making any contribution to achieving clarity and unity around a correct line on vital questions like those discussed and debated at the recent conference.

C. Clark Kissinger  
Chicago

# Int'l Conf...

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RCP is an established fact.

But more importantly, OL's whole argument reveals their complete failure to understand how it is that the vanguard Party actually establishes its leadership—by actually *leading* the struggle, and enabling masses of people to see in the course of practice how the Party's line leads to the advance of the movement. This is in opposition to the method of "leadership" of all varieties of sectarians and Trotskyites who insist on demanding that the masses recognize their own "vanguard" role.

No, OL, the Conference was not (nor was it intended to be) a debate among Marxist-Leninists and, yes, arguments were presented that are wrong, dangerous and even in some cases outright reactionary (not the least of which OL's own line). There is no "Marxist-Leninist movement" in the way OL means it—though there are and will continue to be increasing numbers of people who are beginning to seriously take up Marxism-Leninism. It is absolutely necessary for the Party to unite and struggle with such people and also absolutely necessary for the RCP, as the Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S., to debate and expose opportunists—which is why we are anxious to debate the OL and hope that they will reverse their stand of backing out of such a debate.

The point is that wrong tendencies exist in the real world and have influence over relatively large numbers of people who have fought against imperialism in the past and are genuinely concerned with understanding the situation in the world so as to make contributions to the struggle in this country and internationally in the future.

Conferences and other forms for debating out ideas are one of the methods by which the great majority of revolutionary-minded people can and will be won to a correct understanding of the tasks confronting the working class and masses of people. In the course of this struggle to unite the great majority around the leadership of a revolutionary line the Party is not afraid to confront political representatives of opportunist tendencies, precisely so they can be politically defeated and their influence minimized.

As far as organized Trotskyites and the CPUSA are concerned, the Conference organizers excluded them from participating in the planning, speeches or panels, since they have already been exposed to the great majority of revolutionary-minded people and their participation would only have had the effect of disruption and made it more difficult to take up the positions which actually confront those who genuinely want to battle imperialism. That, despite this policy, some Trotskyites snuck into the Conference and in a very few cases got onto panels—by denying affiliation with any Trotskyite or revisionist groups—should come as no surprise. It should be obvious that politically "screening" all participants is not easy, and that political conditions are not always such as to allow for the physical removal

of Trotskyites and other opportunists. But when Trotskyites attempted to disrupt the activities of the Conference and spread their counterrevolutionary poison, including attacks on China, they were both answered and roundly denounced by virtually all present.

## What Aids Trots and Revisionists?

In fact, it is the October League's own opportunist line and method of work which is providing an opening for the growth of Trotskyism and revisionism in this country. By claiming to be the true defenders of the People's Republic of China and engaging in sectarian "Marxist-Leninist" phrasemongering all the while promoting an opportunist line, OL is having the same kind of effect that the long-discredited and Trotskyite Progressive Labor Party had during the late '60s, the effect of discrediting Marxism-Leninism and China in the eyes of some inexperienced people who want to fight the bourgeoisie.

Trying to untangle all of OL's lies and distortions about the Conference brings to mind Lenin's lament that "It requires roughly ten pages of print to untangle and popularly explain ten lines of confusion." ("Caricature of Marxism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 48) For example, they charged in their article that the Conference revealed the "RCP's long-standing opposition to these concepts" (of the Second and Third World) and they put forward a view that the Conference denied any progressive movement among Third World countries to oppose imperialist, and especially superpower, domination.

Nowhere in the article do they point out that there was a workshop devoted to discussing the "Third World and the New Economic Order." As far as the RCP's alleged long-standing opposition to the concept of the "Third World," it is enough to quote our *Programme*, which is surely familiar to the OL:

"Besides the workers in every country, the proletariat in the U.S. has as its allies in the international arena today the great struggles of nations throughout the 'underdeveloped world' or 'Third World' for liberation from colonialism and imperialism....

"In addition [to the struggle for national liberation], in the world today, with the decline of U.S. imperialism and the increase of its worldwide contention with Soviet social imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds), a number of non-socialist governments in the Third World, including even some that represent the rule of the landlords and big capitalists in those countries, are to one degree or other resisting the domination of the imperialists, especially the two superpowers....

"For this reason, the working class supports them insofar as they oppose this domination and encourages them to put up more resistance. This is especially crucial for the working class in the United States...."

And finally the *Programme* sums up, "Against the imperialists, especially the two superpowers, the proletariat supports even the exploiting class governments in the Third World who resist them. Against these governments, the proletariat supports the revolutionary struggle of the people, and in so doing gives the greatest support to the fight against imperialism." (pp. 73-76)

Obviously the claim that the RCP has long opposed

the concept of the Third World is a sheer lie. But wait! Perhaps there is a grain of truth in OL's tirade after all. If what they mean is that the RCP refuses to see the Third World as a monolithic force, but instead recognizes the actual situation: that the Third World is composed of different countries with different social systems, that the fundamental support must be to the masses of workers and peasants in those countries—if *this* is what OL means by the RCP's rejection of the "concept" of the Third World (for Klonsky and Co.'s concept is precisely to see it as a monolith and blur over the sharp class contradictions within it), then we must plead guilty.

## Lesser Imperialist Countries

As for those lesser capitalist and imperialist countries, other than the U.S. and the USSR, sometimes referred to as the Second World, our position is also clear: "These ruling classes are driven by the same profit-seeking law as all bourgeois classes, and there is no way the contradiction between them and the workers and other people they exploit and oppress can be resolved, except through revolution. But, on the other hand, their drive for profit brings them into conflict with the two superpowers, and in *this conflict* the proletariat supports them against the superpowers, in order to weaken the whole imperialist system." (*Programme*, p. 77, emphasis in original)

What OL is really getting at when they attack the RCP for its stand on the "Second World" is shown by Michael Klonsky, chairman of the OL, in the June 7 issue of the *Call* in response to a question, "What is the relationship between giving support to the positive moves made by second and third world countries and supporting the workers' struggles within those countries?" Klonsky replies: "...In the second world countries, we must give resolute support to the working class in its struggle, not only to defend the national interests of their country, but also to overthrow their capitalist governments and build socialism.

"On this complex question, we should always keep in mind who the principal enemies of the world's people are—the two superpowers—and not raise the contradictions with lesser enemies to the level of the principal contradiction."

Talk here of "principal enemies of the world's people" is a smokescreen. What does this mean for the revolutionaries "In the second world countries"? Does it mean that they should not make the contradiction with their own bourgeoisie principal over the contradiction with the U.S. and USSR? If so it is entirely wrong and a line of opposing revolution in these countries. If not it is mere double-talk.

And what, Mr. Klonsky, are the "national interests" in an imperialist country other than *imperialist* interests? Are we really supposed to believe that for workers in, say, West Germany or France, the principal task is defending the interests of the "nation" against the two superpowers and mainly, of course, the "most dangerous" Soviet Union?

On top of everything else, this is a recipe for actually strengthening the hand of the revisionist parties in these countries who will parade about as the upholders of the banner of "class struggle" against the capitalist enemy.

This, of course, is the real substance of the disagreement which the *Call* attempts to cloud when they package up a distorted paraphrasing of RCP speaker Mickey Jarvis in a Conference workshop. The *Call* puts it: "The struggle against social-imperialism in the European countries, said Jarvis, 'is not very important,' since the revisionist parties 'represent the bourgeoisie in their own countries.'" This is yet another invention of the not-too-creative minds of the *Call* editors. As for this hatchet job characterization of our so-called failure to see the struggle against social imperialism as of any significance in Europe, and our actual analysis of the role of the revisionist parties there, all anyone has to do is read, for example, the December 15, 1975 *Revolution* article, "West Europe Revisionists Barrier to Revolution; Aid to USSR," which is reprinted in the "War and Revolution" pamphlet, and which was summarized by Comrade Jarvis in the workshop.

## How to Expose Soviets?

In the November 22 *Call* we read that by promoting the Conference the "RCP attempts to cover its own opportunist line which fails to educate the masses of people about the danger of revisionism and social imperialism." This statement is simply another in a by-now boring series of attacks claiming the RCP refuses to take up its responsibility to educate the masses of people in this country about the nature and role of the USSR.

Perhaps the worst example prior to their "reportage" on the Conference was the September 6 *Call*. In it they respond to a polemic in the July issue of *Revolution* which stated: "You have to be pretty out of it not to be aware that today American workers are much more likely to understand that the New Czars are pushing towards war than that our own capitalists are—our rulers are doing plenty of 'education' on this point."

And according to the October League, what does the above statement prove? That "Nowhere before

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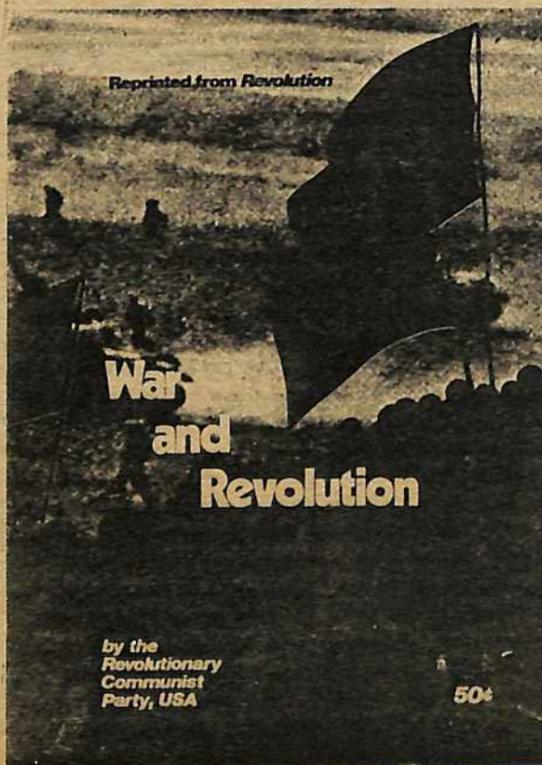
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## High Court Judges Attack Women

# No Disability Pay For Pregnant Workers

On Tuesday, December 6, the Supreme Court of the United States overturned six lower court decisions and an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission policy and ruled that employers don't have to pay job disability benefits when their workers are pregnant. The ruling was a tremendous boon for large sections of the capitalist class, approving a whole slew of additional ways for them to take advantage of the great numbers of women who want to work or have been forced into the job market.

The Supreme Court justices didn't seem to have much trouble in declaring that pregnancy isn't disabling or deserving of insurance payments, but the fact that they are all elderly men was not the real factor which determined their decision. Nor was the decision, in the equal rights lawsuit by women working for General Electric, really based on the legal fol-de-rol they handed down about how pregnancy is not a "disease," how disability plans don't have to cover everything, and how the plan in question treats men and women equally in areas it does cover.

For one thing, this "non gender-based" plan does pay for circumcision and vasectomies, which are neither disease related nor, for that matter, operations frequently undergone by women workers. Secondly, the judgement ignores the fact that at G.E. it is standard procedure to force pregnant women out of their jobs, a fact well documented in the workers' lawsuit, and legitimizing the refusal to pay benefits only makes this tool easier for G.E. and other companies to use. Most importantly, people need those benefits to help have and raise a family.

The Supreme Court with this decision overturned not only lower court rulings against G.E., but similar lawsuits against other companies. These lower court decisions were no more motivated by "love of justice" or "respect for and knowledge of the law" than was the high court ruling. Since the 1960s there has been a powerful social tide of women standing up for equality and demanding rights and this is the context which made possible decisions which would have been unthinkable in the 1950s.

But, speaking piously of "equal treatment" for men and women, the Supreme Court put its foot down on behalf of the entire capitalist class. They were not about to give the thumbs up sign to a suit that would, as one desperate witness from the airlines industry pled, cost "the country" (translation—the capitalists who employ large numbers of women) up to one billion dollars a year. They were not about to cut into the vast profits the ruling class extracts from America's working women.

Women are pouring into the workforce at an unprecedented pace, over a million and a half this year alone. Almost 50% of all working age women have jobs now, up from 35% twenty years ago. These women, 38,600,000 of them, have taken jobs in order to make a living or bear the burden of raising a family. This latter group includes not only single, widowed and divorced women with children, but millions of working wives. The federal government now estimates that fully 46% of all individual incomes in this country are too small to provide an "adequate" standard of living for a family! Small wonder that many married women are holding down jobs—two incomes are necessary just for survival.

### Continued Discrimination

Despite the important, and well-publicized, breakthroughs women have made in entering traditionally male and higher paid jobs, more women entering the job market than ever wind up in traditional "women's jobs," like clerical, waitressing, sales and domestic service, or in low paying unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in light industry and food processing.

These women are a source of tremendous profits to the bourgeoisie. Their pay levels are low and very frequently less than those of men doing the same work—female high school teachers, for instance, make an average of 81% of what male teachers make. Sometimes this discrimination is open, sometimes it is carried out by various subterfuges, like juggling job titles so a male janitor, for example, is a "custodial worker" while a woman doing the same work is a "custodial assistant."

Furthermore, bosses take advantage of the fact that many working women have little experience in holding down jobs and slim prospects for finding new employment, and play on this to try to keep them from organizing themselves to stand up to company attacks, unionizing unorganized shops, etc.

The fact is that, despite the victories won and social changes triggered by the women's liberation movement, despite the various "equal rights" laws that have been

passed, the gap in pay between men and women is growing. Recently released government figures admit that while women in 1956 pulled down an average of 64% of what men earned, in 1976 they only drew 52% as much! Statistics like these are music to the ears of the bourgeoisie, the music of ringing cash registers.

Of course, various politicians and media mouthpieces for the capitalists continue to blame high unemployment on "the unprecedented number of women seeking jobs" and run out the old chestnut about how they're only working for pin money and really stealing jobs from men who need them. Accompanying this noise have been real attacks that make it harder for women to hold jobs, like the closing of most of New York City's day-care centers, an attack occurring all over the country. However, driving women back into the home is not the general thrust of the bourgeoisie's attacks. They are more interested in steps like the recent Supreme Court decision, which itself opens the way to further attacks

on the rights and living standards of women workers.

Even if the bourgeoisie as a whole wanted to cut substantially the number of women on the job, there is not much they could do about it. For one thing, the individual capitalists who employ women rely on having a large pool of readily available replacements to keep wages down and profits up. More important still, it is the whole decay of the capitalist system and the growing economic crisis that is propelling women onto the job market in ever growing numbers. Nothing the capitalists do can reverse this trend, even though as the crisis worsens, jobs themselves will get even harder to find.

The influx and integration of millions of women into the workforce is a source of great actual and potential strength for the revolutionary workers movement in this country. As for the entire class of which they are a part, the path ahead for working women is one of intensified struggle against the monopoly capitalists. The gains that were won by women in the course of the social ferment of the late '60s and early '70s cannot be protected, let alone extended, without organization and more conscious struggle. The question of disability for pregnancy is an example of this—the court ruling that it is not mandatory will certainly inspire many companies to cut their benefits and look for new ways to increase their profits by playing on the differences between men and women workers.

While the court ruled that companies denying women disability for pregnancy is not discriminatory, it has not dared declare disability payments for pregnancy illegal. The defense or winning of such benefits will surely be on the agenda for men and women workers all over the country in the not too distant future. ■



Affirmative action in hiring and in college admissions were among the important gains won through the mass struggle of millions of Blacks and other oppressed minorities in the '50s and '60s.

## New Rulings Attack Minorities

# Capitalists Play Up 'Reverse Bias' Bunk

Allan Bakke had applied for medical school at the University of California. He was turned down and sued the University, charging that he was a victim of reverse discrimination because he had scored higher on admission tests than several Black applicants who had been accepted. The California Supreme Court agreed in a recent ruling, declaring that a white could not be passed over because an affirmative admissions program required the enrollment of a certain number of minorities.

In New Jersey the State Supreme Court ruled, at the end of November, that state and local governments could not pass over whites who scored higher on employment tests in order to hire Blacks to jobs from which they had been excluded in the past.

Affirmative hiring and admissions, declared the courts, were unconstitutional "reverse discrimination." *The Wall Street Journal* heartily endorsed the New Jersey decision: "As we have pointed out here many times, there is a glaring logical flaw in trying to correct past racial and sexual discrimination by discriminating in the opposite direction today."

This concern for equality by these tools of the capitalist class is an outrageous fraud. Centuries of oppression have forced Blacks and other oppressed nationalities to the bottom of the capitalist system of wage slavery. After being subjected to the "privilege" of attending miserable ghetto schools, minority youth are

told to compete "equally" in standard admission tests for college. And despite the fact that many Black students passed these tests easily and entered higher education once outright segregation barriers were broken down, the fact is that these tests themselves, like many skilled trades apprenticeship tests and job applications, are culturally biased, based on language skills and vocabulary that few minority youth acquire as part of their own education and experience.

Affirmative hiring and admissions were significant concessions forced from the ruling class by the civil rights movement, urban rebellions and other mass struggles of the '50s and '60s. Laws outlawing open and blatant discrimination were important victories, but they meant little to Black high school graduates who could not get a job or college education because they couldn't get by qualification tests that were objectively discriminatory. People demanded that these barriers also be broken down and that larger percentages of minorities be brought into schools and jobs from which they had been previously excluded. They fought for and won affirmative action programs which did open up some jobs, particularly in state and local governments and did increase minority enrollment in colleges and graduate schools.

The bourgeoisie of course immediately began attempts to use affirmative action in their efforts to fur-

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## “Bias”...

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ther pit Blacks against whites. They promoted the idea among whites that the reason they can't get jobs or get into schools is because Blacks and other minorities are getting the cream off the top, they are getting a free ride. At the same time, they have tried to turn affirmative hiring and admission into various share-the-misery schemes as part of their efforts to make the working class bear the burden of their economic crisis. They say that the pie is only so big, and if Blacks are going to get a bigger share because they have been denied in the past, then this will have to be at the expense of white workers.

They try to set it up so that whites, Blacks and other minorities will fight among themselves for pieces of an ever-diminishing pie—and they say that if it's equality you want, this is how it has to be fought for. All this, of course, is to let the capitalists off the hook as the source of the whole structure of national oppression, together with the increasing attacks on all sections of the people. In this way they try to get workers fighting among themselves over whether there should be separate seniority lists for Blacks and whites, when layoffs come down, for example, instead of uniting and fighting layoffs and unemployment.

But the real fight for affirmative action in hiring, while a fight against national oppression, is also closely linked to the fight of the working class for jobs.

Now, to further divert the blame from themselves, the capitalists try to cloak themselves as “opponents of discrimination against anyone” and upholders of “equal protection under the law.”

They have been joined in this charade by the leadership of the AFL-CIO. In a recent case in Washington State the AFL-CIO Executive Board was quick to jump to the support of Michael DeFunis, a student who claimed reverse discrimination had kept him from being admitted to the University of Washington Law School. The AFL, along with the National Association of Manufacturers, filed a friend-of-the-court argument in support of DeFunis. This legal brief was not so much interested in law school admissions as it was in opposing legal decisions that would open the skilled trades unions to minority apprenticeships.

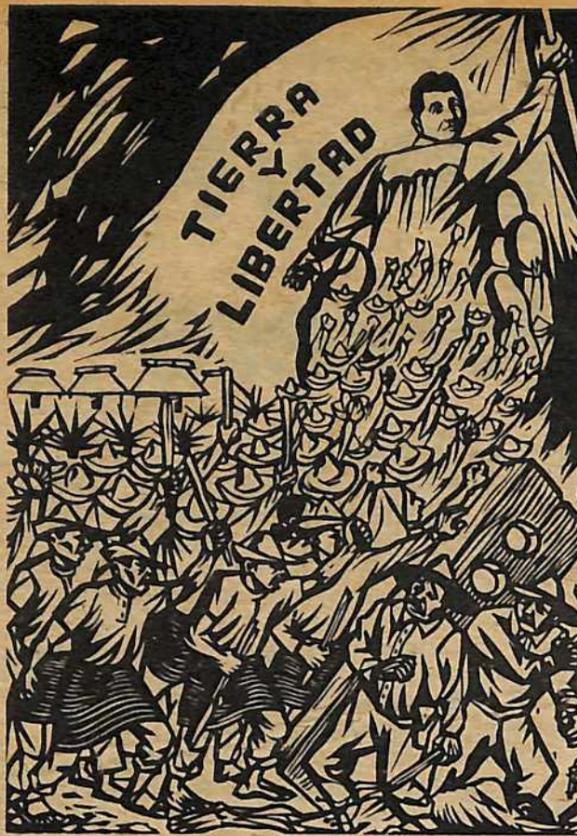
These bureaucrats say that they are for jobs for Blacks, but not at the expense of whites. But in their view fighting for jobs begins with surrender to the capitalists, accepting the capitalists inability to provide enough jobs and their need to keep a reserve pool of unemployed workers. Since the number of jobs is limited, they argue, if affirmative action programs open up the unions to larger numbers of Blacks, it will have to be by discriminating against whites who are equally or more “qualified” for those jobs. So instead of waging militant campaigns to organize the unorganized, the skilled trades leadership, for example, concentrate their efforts on restricting their membership and preserving their monopolization of skills.

But equality has to be viewed as a social question—not just what happens to one individual. Discrimination in employment and education is a part of the whole system of national oppression which the capitalist system enforces in order to increase its exploitation of the working class and to keep workers divided among themselves. The history of national oppression of Black people in America did not end with the abolition of slavery, or with the legal outlawing of discrimination in employment by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It continues and its effects are felt in countless ways. And it benefits no one but the capitalists. For the working class it is a bigger question than whether one worker gets into a job. It is a question of what will combat oppression and, in so doing, strengthen the unity of the class and solidify its alliance with the oppressed nationalities in the struggle against capital.

The construction unions are a vivid example that failure to open their unions and organize large numbers of national minorities does nothing but weaken the unions and aid the capitalists' efforts to drive down the conditions of all workers. Today over 50% of commercial construction is done by non-union labor. The capitalists are quite willing and have trained non-union workers, many of whom are minorities, to do these jobs at much lower wages.

The kind of logic pushed by these labor hacks—posing as defenders of the rights of the individual not to be discriminated against—reduces down to the same basic arguments used by the advocates of reactionary “right to work” laws who cry that union shops discriminate against workers who do not want to join the union and pay dues. In both cases, the real question is not whether workers' “individual rights” are infringed upon, but the social question of what strengthens and benefits the workers as a class.

These court decisions serve only the ruling class and have to be exposed for what they are: the capitalists' efforts to get people fighting among themselves for crumbs while they intensify national oppression as part of their overall efforts to make the masses of people bear the burden of their economic crisis. ■



## Mexico...

Continued from Page 1  
is not possible.”

### Struggle for Land

Mexico is primarily an agricultural country and although the bourgeoisie has intensified their efforts to develop industry, especially in the past few years, over 50% of the workforce is agricultural. Land has always been a key question for the masses of people, particularly in the north. Under the leadership of Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa, millions of peasants rose up in the Mexican Revolution and over two million gave their lives in years of bloody war to throw off the oppression of a handful of wealthy landlords and the domination of foreign imperialists, especially the U.S. U.S. troops helped bring this revolution to an end, before it had carried out its goals. Still, as a result of this struggle the Mexican Constitution, drafted in 1917 and the Agrarian Reform Law which is part of it, contains a provision which states that “the nation has the right to restrict or expropriate private landholdings” and that “necessary measures shall be taken to divide the large landed estates.”

But the promises of this bourgeois democratic revolution were never met for the masses of the Mexican people. At various times, as the result of sharp mass struggle, land concessions have been granted by the Mexican ruling class. This was particularly true under Lazaro Cardenas who was President of Mexico between 1934-1940, during the years of the worldwide capitalist depression. During his term in office 45 million acres of public and private land were distributed. These *ejidos* were usually small, poor plots of ground in barren areas, or larger parcels of land that were farmed collectively by a number of peasant families. But there was seldom sufficient capital, available to these collective *ejidos* for irrigation and other requirements enabling efficient farming. And where the ruling class made capital available, it brought the *ejidos* under the control of the large landholders and bankers. For the most part these concessions were ultimately reversed and the masses of peasants remained in wretched conditions.

The struggle for land in northern Mexico has sharpened in the last few years. Mexican and U.S. capital has been heavily invested in the northern states, particularly Sonora and Sinaloa, to develop large-scale capitalist agriculture. Because of restrictions of foreigners owning land, most of this land is owned by Mexican citizens. But often this is a front for U.S. control and the U.S. has a virtual monopoly in the sale of farm machinery, fertilizer, feed products and the marketing and procession of agricultural commodities. Since the early '60s this area has primarily grown vegetables for the U.S. market. Mexico now supplies over 60% of all the fresh vegetables consumed each year in the United States during the winter months, and two thirds of this export comes from Sinaloa.

The modernization and mechanization of agriculture in northern Mexico has meant a further concentration and monopolization of the land and greater unemployment and ruination for the peasants. This situation has become even more bitter, because the ruining of small-scale peasant farms in the south had driven many peasants north in search of jobs. Now again many peasants have had to migrate, looking for work.

In the last few years Mexico City has become one of the fastest growing major cities in the world as landless and unemployed peasants have poured in. It is sur-

rounded with miles of poverty-stricken *barrios*, shanty towns where hundreds of thousands of people are crowded together in ever growing misery. About half of the country's working people have little or no work. This in turn has intensified the struggle of the working class and masses in the cities.

### Echeverria

The Mexican government tried to take advantage of the increasing difficulties encountered by the U.S. imperialists in maintaining their worldwide empire in recent years to gain some measure of leverage and independence for their own bourgeoisie. Internationally Echeverria became very outspoken in identifying the interests of Mexico with the interests of other underdeveloped countries against the developed imperialist countries. Domestically, the Mexican capitalists attempted a rapid development of industry, particularly in oil and steel—almost all with borrowed capital from the U.S. and the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund. But this has greatly increased Mexico's foreign debt, making it even more important that Mexico increase its agricultural exports (vegetables, cotton, sugar, coffee). This in turn has been partially responsible for the fact that Mexico has to import many food crops (wheat and other grain). The constant import of capital goods has also caused a growing trade deficit. In August, the Mexican ruling class was forced to devalue the peso by 40% in hopes of encouraging industrial export (by making Mexican goods cheaper on the world market) and discouraging imports of foreign goods.

The devaluation had a devastating effect on the masses of the Mexican people. Even before the devaluation, inflation in Mexico was twice as high as in the U.S. But afterwards the price of food and many other things jumped 50%. While the wages of the Mexican workers and campesinos were thus being cut, the government tried to impose a wage freeze. In some of the border industries in the north of Mexico, where Mexican workers employed by U.S. firms were paid in dollars, the employers immediately cut wages by 50%.

The ruling political party in Mexico, the Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI), which has controlled the government for 50 years, tries to cover itself with the glory of a half century old revolution. It uses the rhetoric of revolution, even invoking the memory of Zapata and Villa, when it is useful to diffuse the struggle of the masses and cover up the fact that the Mexican ruling class, along with the U.S. imperialists, are driving the masses of Mexican workers and peasants into further misery and deprivation. The same Luis Echeverria, who as Secretary of the Interior during the student uprising of 1968 ordered the machine gun murder of 400 students in Mexico City's Plaza de Tlateloco, as President combined repression with promises of reform and social justice. His successor Lopez Portillo is issuing threats of austerity and upholding court orders against land seizures. But whether they raise the carrot or the stick, the people of Mexico can expect increased attacks.

But the long history of struggle of the Mexican people has demonstrated, and the current wave of militant land seizures underscores, that whatever measures the Mexican ruling class and their senior partners in the U.S. take, the revolutionary cry *Tierra y Libertad*—Land and Liberty—raised by the masses in the Mexican Revolution, will not be silenced. The struggle against exploitation will grow. ■



## Kissinger Leaves, Policies Remain

# Capitalists Change Guard at State Dept

A big issue, or so it seemed, of the recent presidential election was U.S. foreign policy. Secretary of State Kissinger became a target of the Carter drive both for the substance and the style of his diplomacy. And now that the caretaker Ford administration is being dismantled, Kissinger will be replaced by Cyrus Vance, who had served as the Under Secretary of Defense and, earlier, as Secretary of the Army under Lyndon Johnson.

In his eight years of service, first under Nixon and continuing under Ford, the capitalist media focused attention on Kissinger as an individual—"the Kissinger foreign policy" and "Super K" (referring to the Secretary's jet set shuttle diplomacy). During the elections Reagan raked Kissinger over the coals for "crimes" like "selling out to the Soviet Union," and Carter at times echoed this. Now that Carter has won it would seem that Henry would be packed off in disgrace.

But hardly. As Kissinger wraps up his term in office he reveals that he and Cyrus are long time good buddies and that he is confident that Vance will do a good job. All of a sudden everyone is talking about "continuity" between the "Kissinger foreign policy" and the "Vance foreign policy." As the media sums up the Kissinger years they admit that, taken as a whole, the "Super K" did a fine job.

The fact is, and what the spotlight on Kissinger as an individual has helped to obscure, is that U.S. foreign policy is not formed upon the whims of individuals. Its direction and changes arise out of the needs of U.S. imperialism, and are determined by the laws of imperialism. What does change, and what has become known as Kissinger's policies, is the form and methods used to advance the interests of U.S. imperialism.

Some of the criticisms of Kissinger were pure political claptrap, concocted by politicians to win votes. But much of the fire directed at "Super K" reflected different ideas on the part of the U.S. ruling class on what was the best way for the U.S. to come out on top in the midst of a changing world situation.

The period Henry Kissinger presided over saw great turmoil in the world that had a big effect on the international policies of the U.S. The national liberation struggle in Vietnam was on the road to total victory and was inspiring millions of oppressed peoples to follow that heroic example. The Soviet Union stepped into world affairs as a full-blown imperialist superpower, angling for the top spot among the world robbers. The lesser imperialists of Japan and Western Europe, exerted new independence within the U.S. bloc. The People's Republic of China was defeating the U.S.-led encirclement and the Third World, the developing countries, mounted sharper struggles against the two superpowers.

The sharpest differences so far within the U.S. ruling class came out over Vietnam and how to deal with the rise of Soviet social-imperialism. The squabble between Kissinger and then-Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger centered on the key question of how directly, how much right out in the open, to confront the New Czars. Kissinger held that U.S. imperialism's interests demanded detente, and more concealed forms of contention, while Schlesinger opted for bringing it all out front, accusing Kissinger of "selling out."

In looking at these differences, the thing that comes across most clearly through all the rhetoric is that both Kissinger and Schlesinger were trying to deal with a situation where the U.S. was overall on the defensive. The arguments, such as they were, focussed on what policies the U.S. ruling class should and was able to implement to accomplish goals on which both sides agreed: erecting barriers to Soviet advances, defending and, where possible, extending U.S. interests in the Third World and the more developed industrial nations as well, and strengthening the U.S. military machine as a U.S./USSR showdown grew more likely. Today this still is the fundamental unity between Kissinger, Schlesinger and Vance—no one disagrees that the U.S. should lord it over as much of the world as possible. Furthermore, the majority of the bourgeoisie approved of most of the policies carried out under Kissinger's guidance or Henry would've been back boring freshmen at Harvard long ago.

As long as the system of exploitation remains in the U.S., the laws of imperialism will require driving to dominate the world and while the main lines of foreign policy will change to suit conditions the thrust will not change. U.S. foreign policy must advance the bloody interests of U.S. imperialism, no matter who is appointed to formulate, preside over and execute the policies.

What appears to be different "foreign policies" the



*Defeat in Vietnam and the rise of Soviet social imperialism gave a severe jolt to U.S. dreams of unchallenged world domination and forced major changes in foreign policy. U.S. troops were sent in to crush the resistance of the Indochinese people. But broken hulks of U.S. tanks in Vietnam testify to their failure. In the end, the U.S. ambassador scrambled out of Saigon just before the liberation forces took over the city.*

U.S. government has carried out over time actually represent the pursuit of the same goals under changing conditions in the world. The "Kissinger foreign policy" grew out of these changes.

### Changing Conditions

At the end of World War 2 U.S. imperialism squatted on top of the imperialist dungheap arrogantly declaring that the "American Century" was unfolding. U.S. policy was, while threatening and confronting the socialist camp headed up by the Soviet Union, to rebuild and protect from revolution the war-shattered capitalist economies of Western Europe and Japan and to do so in such a way to bind them tightly to the interests of the U.S. ruling class; and to step up its exploitation of the underdeveloped nations, especially penetrating the newly independent countries who had been part of the British, French and Dutch colonial empires.

Even though this era is looked upon fondly by U.S. capitalists as the good old days, it was not a period of uninterrupted success for the world robber barons. The U.S. saw China, northern parts of Korea and Vietnam, and Cuba slip away from its grasp, suffering its first major defeat in direct combat in Korea and find-

ing itself the target of oppressed peoples' struggle the world over.

With the rise of national liberation struggles in every corner of the globe the U.S. imperialists were forced to adopt new strategies to defend and extend the empire. This took the form of a modern gunboat diplomacy with theories of "limited war," "special war" and "flexible response." U.S. imperialism was at that time aided by the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. As the New Czars concentrated on consolidating bourgeois rule and capitalist economic relations, they colluded with U.S. imperialism in holding down such revolutionary struggles—contention between the U.S. and USSR was not yet principle over such collusion.

This period, the Kennedy/Johnson years—and the time when the upcoming Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, won his spurs—revolved around U.S. aggression against Vietnam. The Vietnam War turned out to be a stone around the imperialists' necks. The Marines had been sent in in 1965 in hopes of a quick victory against the "rag-tag Vietcong." The imperialists wound up pouring billions of dollars in treasure and hundreds of thousands of soldiers into the battle and all they hoped for was a glimpse of light at the end of the tunnel. But the aggression was necessary, to crush the Vietnamese liberation struggle and make Vietnam a negative example for struggling people everywhere.

In 1968, the whole second period of postwar U.S. foreign policy slammed up against a brick wall. The National Liberation Front launched the Tet Offensive, striking with a power the U.S. had not dreamed the liberation forces having. This decisive victory for the people shattered any real U.S. hope for imperialist victory.

The Tet victory had a dramatic effect on the U.S. anti-war movement. Smoldering since 1965, it soon burst into flames with millions of people taking an active part. This, growing as it did alongside the mighty storm of the liberation struggles of the oppressed nationalities in the U.S., combined to make a serious domestic problem for U.S. imperialism. On top of this, massive war spending on a war that was expanding, not being quickly won, was twisting the U.S. economy out of whack, a situation in which the U.S. imperialists' allies moved toward greater independence, including demands for re-adjustment in monetary and other economic relations with the U.S. and making separate deals with the Soviet Union. This string of failures drove LBJ from office as he declined to run for a second term.

Later that same year the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia, signalling a new, imperialist militance on the part of the New Czars. The invasion was followed up by the announcement of the Brezhnev Doctrine, which used terms like the "international dictatorship of the proletariat" and the "international division of labor" to elaborate a policy claiming the "right" of imperialist intervention and the "right" to set up neo-colonies and to continue subordinating Eastern Europe to the needs of the Soviet capitalists.

### Kissinger Takes Helm

In January, 1969, Kissinger took the helm of U.S. foreign policy as head of the National Security Council under President Nixon. (William Rogers was installed as Secretary of State but there was little doubt who was running foreign policy. Rogers later resigned when the embarrassment of being a fifth wheel got to be too much; Kissinger then took over the office.) His task was to close out the second period of post-World War 2 imperialist policy and open up a new phase, able to serve U.S. imperialism under new conditions.

In this phase they had to resolve the struggle in Vietnam as quickly and as successfully as possible, meaning, with the least losses to imperialism, and formulate a way to contend with the social-imperialists. The U.S. still needed to exploit the Third World, and, indeed, to increase and intensify this exploitation. But its old methods of "limited war" no longer cut the mustard so well in the face of national liberation struggles and Soviet competition. The U.S. also had to find ways to tighten up the U.S. bloc (NATO and Japan) and supervise the dismantling of the failed policy of isolating the People's Republic of China.

Overall, the U.S. imperialists were forced in the main into the defensive. It had to be a time of pulling back, consolidating, retrenching. The maintenance of U.S. imperialism's interests required a flexibility so far unknown in the postwar period. This was true for a number of reasons, including the struggles directed at the U.S. over the past two decades as the main enemy of the world's people, the extent of the defeat developing in Vietnam, and the increased competition from other imperialists, both within its own bloc and with the Soviets.

The victory of the Tet Offensive had widened splits in the U.S. ruling class over how to handle Vietnam and take care of larger imperialist interests. This split was popularized as being between "hawks" and "doves," but the real differences were over how much of the U.S.'s domination over Vietnam it was possible to salvage and how badly the salvage efforts would hurt the government's prestige and its control over developments elsewhere. Kissinger helped formulate a course of action that, until its total collapse in 1974

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# Nurses...

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tried to convince people that the RNs strike was something that concerned the RNs alone. Because of the way they pushed this line and even more because of the concrete way they sabotaged any concrete steps to aid the nurses, unity among Cook County employees was not built on as broad a scale as would have been otherwise possible.

This was also true within the doctors' still relatively new House Staff Association (HSA), which had the experience of a fairly successful strike a year ago under its belt. Here, too, there was much sentiment to join with the RNs but opportunists within the leadership opposed it. Much of this sabotage came from the revisionist Communist Party, whose basic strategy for changing things at Cook is to build influence within the hospital administration. For this reason, the CP tried to use the mass struggle there as a tactical weapon in accomplishing this goal—useful as a battering ram to open some doors at times, but to be kept from "getting out of hand" and really threatening the CP's influence in the administration. They certainly opposed actions, policies, and leadership that might threaten their ability to ride herd on the workforce in this way.

To the extent that they and a few other opportunists like them exercised some influence among the leadership of the striking nurses, setbacks resulted. This resulted in their being able to block a resolution by the nurses asking other employees not to cross their picket line. They also prevented the passing of a proposed decision that the nurses not go back until the hospital agreed that the others laid off supposedly due to the strike would go back to work too. This would have been very helpful in unmasking the administration and building real unity. By appealing to petty bourgeois prejudices about "professionalism" and trying to play down the seriousness and underlying causes of what's coming down at the hospital, these forces worked to keep the struggle narrow in scope and restricted in participation.

## Battle for Public Opinion

But no matter what these opportunists did the question of unity among the different employees could not be swept under the rug. In fact, its necessity was brought home sharply to nurses and other employees because the administration used the strike as an excuse to lay off over 200 people and close down eight wards, using the strikers as the scapegoat and trying to whip up both other employees and public opinion in general in Chicago against them.

During the previous strikes at Cook, the same kind of layoffs and ward closings took place, and after the strikes some of the layoffs and closings became more permanent. The administration even tried to use this by saying that the strike was costing the public its medical care and the other employees their jobs. It was widely speculated that this was part of their intention in provoking the nurses' strike.

To deal with this, attempts had to be made to take the strike issues out broadly. This included working to rally doctors and other employees to support the RN strike on the basis of it being a strong force standing up to the administration's attacks on the public health care that had attracted many interns and others to Cook County in the first place, and also by presenting the strike as an important factor in strengthening the struggle of the other unions against the administration.

At one point, a meeting of the House Staff Association voted to aid the nurses' struggle. A leading member of the HSA who is also an open member of the revisionist CP was so panicked by the prospect of doctors trying to "take over" the nurses' strike (as he put it) and meddle where according to him they didn't belong that he called an emergency meeting of the HSA the next day where he was able to gather enough backward forces to reverse the decision made at the previous meeting.

Nevertheless doctors did take part in the nurses' strike. Some did daily picket duty with the nurses and helped leaflet other doctors and others, and many more took part in some demonstrations. A very militant and spirited march on hospital chief Haughton's office included 200 nurses and 75 doctors. Other efforts to broaden the strike included two meetings between strikers, other employees and some people from the communities which use Cook, and extensive leafletting of the wards.

The Chicago chapter of the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR), played an important role in these advances. MCHR is a nationwide organization of nurses, doctors, lab technicians, students in health care and others who work in medicine which fights the problems coming down in hospital and health care as a product of the profit system. Nurses and doctors who are members and supporters of MCHR worked to build the nurses' strike, to bring out its overall importance and explain the nature of the attacks, and on this basis build support for it as widely as possible. This came out not only in conversations, meetings and leaflets, but also in building some actions such as those just mentioned which helped develop unity in practice and raise the

issues broadly and sharply.

Especially by the end of the strike, many nurses began to get a much clearer picture of the nature and importance of this struggle, how it went beyond just a trade union issue, and how it fit in with other struggles being waged around health care and other outrages the masses of people are increasingly facing. This was a tremendous boost to their unity and determination, playing a big part in why they were able to fight so long and hard.

The strike ended when a judge ordered the nurses' negotiators to remain in his courtroom until they accepted a settlement to take to the rank and file. After almost 12 hours of being literally locked in, they agreed to take the proposal to the nurses, but they would not recommend that they accept it. The settlement passed by a narrow vote, with the more active strikers overwhelmingly against it. Even so, it's important to note that Chicago newspaper comments about how the strike was smashed represent some wishful thinking and propaganda aimed at other Cook employees and the area's

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and '75, managed to win the support of the bulk of the bourgeoisie.

Before 1968, the U.S. had engaged in "peace talks" mainly as a part of driving for a military victory, using them to try and isolate the liberation forces politically and line up world and U.S. opinion behind aggression. Now, the emphasis was reversed and the U.S. tried to preserve its position and angle for a settlement—not a complete victory—by cynically upping the ante in the "peace talks": widening the war with the invasions of Cambodia and Laos and stepping up the bombing campaign over the north.

At the same time, the plan of "Vietnamization" was adopted in order to replace U.S. ground troops and defuse the anti-war and GI movements. Eventually, the U.S. settled for "a decent interval," pulling out soon enough to be able to place the blame for imperialism's defeat on the ineffectiveness of the Thieu puppet regime. Even this didn't work out so well—the rapid collapse of the puppets in the storm of the 1975 liberation offensive made the interval positively "indecent"!

## Detente

To deal with the Soviet Union, which was on the offensive and rapidly becoming the main problem for the U.S., and to strengthen U.S. leadership of the Western imperialists in dealing with the New Czars, Kissinger began expanding on the theory of detente. In one form or another this theory was already a current in imperialist policy, especially in West Germany's *Ostpolitik* and De Gaulle's "Third Force," for dealing with the Soviets. Detente was ballyhooed as a system of cooperation and even mutual dependence between the U.S. and USSR based on discussion and compromise, creating the possibility of permanent world peace and stability. In this regard it is a complete phony.

But the concept is more than a propaganda exercise to hoodwink the people of the world. It stands for a group of policies which make up much of the terrain, the battlefield, on which most of the contention between the superpowers is being fought out at the present, as opposed to open, direct confrontation.

Detente was possible not because the two superpowers suddenly had a hankering for "peace." Each of them perceived the terms of the struggle as advantageous to their particular imperialist interests and relative strengths at the time. (These terms of struggle included elements of collusion, like the mutual recognition of superpower "spheres of influence," though this doesn't and can't stop each from trying to grab parts of the other's "sphere.")



Egyptian soldiers cross the Suez Canal on pontoon bridge during 1973 Middle East War. Kissinger viewed the Sinai agreement between Egypt and Israel as major step in efforts to keep U.S. as "power broker" in the area.

working people. This is an attempt to win back some of what the bourgeoisie had lost in the strike by spreading demoralization and defeatism.

The strike's victories were partial and the administration is sure to counterattack. But overall the struggle has really moved forward. The nurses have shown that the administration can't just walk all over people, that even in the face of court injunctions and other very serious threats people can stand up, stay united and win things. The length and militancy of the strike were in themselves setbacks to the administration and the capitalists' plans. Because in the course of the strike the nurses developed stronger unity and fighting capacity and understanding of how the hospital's attacks are part and parcel of all the mounting miseries that the capitalist system of profit brings, the struggle is sure to sharpen. At the same time, the nurses' strike has helped raise before millions the sharp question of what's happening to health care and other social services, and provided a strong example of struggle on this front. ■

For the USSR, more than covering up the tremendous arms buildup they engaged in, detente was an opportunity to gain access to Western Europe, setting up banks and trading companies, and it was an opportunity to secure Western capital so badly needed as industrial investment in the Soviet capitalist economy and to build up its military machine. For the U.S., more than just cleaning up their image as the aggressors in Vietnam and elsewhere, it offered the chance to invest in the Soviet Union, the possibility of big profits and a chance to create a mutual dependence and network of connections that Kissinger hoped could be used to influence the Soviet Union and divert it away from challenging U.S. interests.

Detente meant that the superpowers would attempt to limit their contention in the Third World to various forms of "aid" and economic penetration and avoid direct military conflict. Again, this was not a desire for peace coming to the fore but a recognition of reality: the Soviet Union then had less ability to contend militarily with U.S. imperialism all over the world than today, and the U.S. was both bogged down in Vietnam and politically limited because of the strength of sentiments against their wars among the American people and in the world as a whole. Of course both of them built up certain countries as "gendarme states"—in the U.S. this was called the Nixon Doctrine—able to enforce militarily (or politically with the threat of force) the wishes of their superpower masters in a way the U.S. and USSR could not do directly.

## "Peace" Agreements

The Helsinki Agreement and the SALT disarmament talks are examples of detente in action. In each, the U.S., because it was on the defensive relative to the Soviet Union, made more concessions than it gained. But through these agreements the U.S. rulers hoped to stabilize the status quo, a situation advantageous to U.S. imperialism. At the time of Helsinki it seemed as if the U.S., by recognizing the postwar borders of Europe, was recognizing the hegemony of the Soviet Union over Eastern Europe. Not so. On the eve of his departure for the Helsinki talks, President Ford made clear that any agreement would not be "legally binding on any particular state," adding that the U.S. has never and never will recognize "the Soviet incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia." Other much heralded sections of the agreement, such as the part "On Co-operation in Humanitarian and Other Fields," are loaded with phrases like "under mutually acceptable conditions" and "according to the modalities particular to each country," in other words signifying zilch. Nonetheless, the Helsinki talks, while only a temporary accommodation between imperialisms, were useful to the superpowers.

But detente has also been useful to the U.S. imperialists exactly in order to hoodwink the American people, who are sick of foreign wars. In a speech given be-

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U.S. tanks on NATO maneuvers in Norway. Despite talk of detente and arms limitations, both superpowers are arming to the teeth.

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fore the International Institute for Strategic Studies on June 25, 1976 in London Kissinger said, "...The concept of 'detente' has been applicable only to an adversary relationship." And "only a *demonstrated commitment* to peace can sustain domestic support for an adequate defense and a vigilant foreign policy. Our public and Congress will not back policies which appear to invite crises; nor will they support firmness in a crisis *unless they are convinced that peaceful and honorable alternatives have been exhausted.*" (emphasis added)

So then for the U.S. detente is also a part of a long campaign to regain support among the American people for war. The U.S. imperialists hope to present every outbreak of conflict in the world as the fault of the Soviet Union, to paint the Soviet Union as the main enemy of world peace and stability and the U.S. as the main guardian and defender of world peace. The Soviets use it for the same purpose on their side. The logic will wind up calling for war in order to maintain peace, a 1970s version of World War 1's "war to end all wars." Of course, since imperialism itself is the source of war the U.S. is also preparing for war, to defend its empire of plunder and to extend it where possible.

### Mideast and Southern Africa

In relation to the Third World Kissinger has become known for his flexible policies, especially in the Middle East and Southern Africa. Some bourgeois commentators have attacked him for "selling out Israel" or "giving in to communistic expansion" and others have applauded him for "learning the lessons of Vietnam." In fact, neither has happened. U.S. imperialism has simply been forced to defend its interests in new forms, with varying degrees of success.

Kissinger began his term on the heels of the stunning Israeli victory of 1967 in the Middle East, when the Zionists added vast territories to their domain. The USSR stepped in in a big way on the heels of this big defeat for the Arabs and with its arms loaded with economic and military aid, with a thousand strings attached, offered itself as the savior of the Arab people. The U.S. countered by rebuilding Israel's armies, continuing to rely on it as a gendarme state in the region, and also by building up Iran and Saudi Arabia as back-up forces in the oil-rich area, thereby spreading its eggs around to a number of baskets.

Then, after the indecisive outcome of the 1973 war—an outcome mainly imposed by collusion between the U.S. and the USSR—the U.S. gradually began to put pressure on Israel as a bargaining chip to mend fences with Egypt and Syria. Over the period since then the U.S. ruling class was able to maneuver the Soviets right out of Egypt and gain a foothold in Syria, especially as the Lebanon civil war unfolded.

All this did not mean that the U.S. was becoming a bit "anti-Zionist" or that it would recognize the rights of the Palestinians. The U.S. has continued to arm Israel to the teeth. But in conjunction with this the U.S. would now try to play off as many divisions as possible to become the kingpin in the area. This neat bit of maneuvering, a big victory for the U.S. and a big defeat for the Soviets, at least temporarily, was partly accomplished through the shuttle diplomacy of Kissinger.

The U.S. faced a similar problem in Southern Africa. For decades it had been associated with the Portuguese wars against the national liberation struggles and the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. The peo-

ple's victories in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique altered the situation rapidly. Initially the U.S. sought to retain a hold on Angola by pretending to support national liberation by giving backing to two of the liberation organizations who had fought the Portuguese there. This bid was crushed under the treads of Cuban-driven Soviet tanks.

In the same way as in the Middle East, the U.S. tried to use its relations with the white settler states it has armed to the teeth as a bargaining chip with liberation groups and the African "front line" states. Kissinger even announced he favors "majority rule" and then set up shop as the man who could talk with everyone. U.S. imperialism, seeing what changes were in the wind, tried to maneuver itself into a position where it could have a bigger hand in the outcome of the struggle. In particular it tried to find potential lackies among the Africans, forces who could be relied on to make some cosmetic changes and continue to do business with the U.S.. The U.S. ace in the hole was its superior capability to export capital and make trade deals. Kissinger counted on the U.S. being able to "outbid" the USSR in any non-military competition.

### China and the Soviet Union

These same tactics, taking account of U.S. weaknesses and by developing flexible new responses to consolidate and strengthen U.S. imperialism, can be seen in Kissinger's handling of the historic move to open relations with the People's Republic of China. The U.S. policy of isolating China had failed miserably—even other imperialists in the U.S. bloc were going off and recognizing China on their own, making trade deals, etc.—and more and more this policy was no longer possible.

In the midst of a war in which the People's Republic was supplying arms to U.S. imperialism's enemy, Vietnam, President Nixon went to China. In part the U.S. hoped to get China to decrease its support of the Vietnamese liberation struggle, but this was only a pipe dream. The U.S. agreed to knock down barriers to trade with China and to improve diplomatic relations. They also recognized that Taiwan was an integral part of China but after this planned to do little.

What Kissinger wanted out of relations with China was mainly to develop another way to get at their superpower contender, the Soviet Union. The aim of U.S.-China diplomacy from the imperialist point of view was to make the Soviets sweat, to burden them with the worry that improved U.S.-China relations would free the U.S. to concentrate on the USSR. With China the U.S. aimed to talk about preventing Soviet expansion, especially in Asia; meanwhile in relations with the Soviet Union the U.S. did what it could to steer the New Czar's attention toward China—this was, for instance, one merit of all the talk about "European stability and security."

### Permanent Structure of Peace?

Kissinger has indeed been a master of wheeling and dealing. But as the Vietnam experience pointed up, defeats on the battlefield cannot be turned into victories at the negotiating table or the State Department cocktail party. The "permanent structure of peace" Kissinger has tried to negotiate and loves to pat himself on the back about is only a diplomat's illusion, and certainly not one that the diplomats themselves are deluded by. Kissinger's "permanent structure" has been mainly an attempt to buy time for U.S. imperialism to construct stable "defense lines," to repair the damage that rippled out from the Vietnam War like a boulder tossed into a pool, to prepare against the even heavier challenges to U.S. supremacy which are to come. His diplomatic achievements could only be temporary and unstable.

Imperialist countries develop unevenly in relation to each other. Imbalances in strengths are sometimes

mitigated by negotiation—temporarily—but this, too, is a form of struggle and ultimately what is backing up each side's "negotiating stance" is the threat of force. Because the various bourgeoisies refuse—and have to refuse—to give up their precious empires simply because another bourgeoisie asserts that it is stronger and therefore there should be a more "just" division of the spoils of world robbery, all of these different temporary agreements break down and the "inequality" between different imperialist blocs is settled by war. This is all the more true in times of worldwide capitalist crisis as each ruling class is backed up against the wall.

The superpower intervention in Angola is a sign of this intensifying contradiction between the U.S. and the USSR, between the extent of the U.S. empire and the actual strength of the U.S. imperialists and the extent of the Soviet empire and the actual strength of the social-imperialists. Angola shows that detente cannot replace superpower contention and points to the fact that an eventual direct military confrontation between them also cannot be prevented by detente.

The drive toward war between the Soviet Union and the U.S. is intensifying. Both superpowers claim that the other is stronger, that therefore they must spend billions more dollars or rubles on "defense." The U.S. ruling class is increasing its combat forces, the most technologically advanced in the world, as fast as it can. The Soviet Union, with the largest armed forces in the world, is increasing its ability to supply those forces beyond the borders of the Warsaw Pact. Each, in its own way, is making ready. Within the U.S. this is understood as clearly by Carter who has quietly dropped his "defense cut" campaign promises as it was by Nobel Peace Prize winner Henry Kissinger, who never stopped arguing that the U.S. had to amplify its military might.

In addition, each side is trying to tighten up its bloc to deal with the intensification of superpower rivalry. For the Soviet Union this means efforts to keep shaky Eastern European economies—like Poland's—on an even keel and trying to stamp out signs of political independence within the Warsaw Pact. The U.S. ruling class faces a more difficult task with the relatively far more independent bourgeoisies within its camp. On the one hand, the Soviet threat is a powerful incentive to make all these Western bandits kiss and make up; on the other, as the worldwide capitalist crisis grows the tendency of each capitalist class to look out for itself and itself alone increases.

Kissinger began to approach this problem on two fronts, first by firmly reestablishing the U.S. as the leading force among the Western powers and the mover in initiating and carrying out diplomatic strategy and, on the other hand, by conceding a larger role to U.S. allies in so-called "trilateral" alliance between the U.S., Western Europe and Japan. Looking after and strengthening these ties will have to be a major priority of the new "Vance foreign policy."

### Future Course

In summation, Henry Kissinger, of course, did not alter the system of imperialism and its inevitable drive toward war. What he did was to reorient the direction of U.S. foreign policy to serve imperialism and that drive towards war under the new conditions arising out of the 1960s.

The new Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is taking over as the contradictions Kissinger faced are intensifying. So while the thrust of the "new Vance foreign policy" will be the same the methods and forms will undergo change to take account of the superpowers' stepped-up drive towards war, alongside the continuing liberation struggles worldwide. Over the coming period there will be less of "detente" and more Angola-type showdowns. It is even possible that U.S. and Soviet military power will confront each other directly without necessarily leading, immediately, to all-out war.

The debate about foreign policy within the U.S. ruling class will sharpen and be carried out through spokesmen like Vance and Schlesinger, and probably Kissinger will still have his say as a bourgeois-academic-in-residence at some prestigious university. This is bound to happen because as the stakes involved get higher the importance of each and every particular maneuver grows greater. The polite disagreements of today will be replaced by bellowings about "appeasers" or "warmongers" as advocates of each viewpoint seek to line up support from among the masses for one or another imperialist policy in which there is not a single thing of benefit to the working class or the great majority of the American people.

Behind it all, just as was behind the "Kissinger foreign policy," are the hard truths that the Soviet Union is still on the offensive, clawing to rip more of the U.S.'s empire from its grasp; the people of the world still oppose imperialism and want revolution and the overthrow of all exploitation and oppression; and U.S. imperialism must fight to defend its empire and, in the final analysis, to either expand or die. Nothing will remain stable, the factors for both revolution and war will rise at an even more rapid rate, and things will continue to move in an overall direction more and more favorable for the people of the world despite any difficulties, dangers, and hardships. ■

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has the RCP more clearly abdicated the responsibility of exposing the role of the revisionists and social imperialism. Their conclusion is that the workers are already familiar with the social imperialist character of the USSR and need no 'education' from communists." Is the RCP really saying that education on the role of the USSR should be left to the capitalists? Is it possible that perhaps OL, nosing about like the proverbial blind pig, has finally come up with an acorn?

No, OL's batting average remains .000, for what OL does *not* quote is the very next sentence of the *Revolution* article which goes on to refute OL's very argument: "Communists," *Revolution* pointed out, "must bring out to the masses what they [the capitalists]—and the October League—won't: the fact that our ruling class and the USSR's have the same capitalist *class nature* and show how it is this class nature that not only drives them to rob us every day but likewise impels them to war over which will be number one plunderer of the world's people. And we must concentrate our main fire on the enemy we face directly—our own rulers." The omission of the last half of the paragraph in the *Revolution* article is truly an example of OL's practice of deliberate distortion *par excellence*.

OL's antics in trying to accuse the RCP of failing to educate the masses about social imperialism and revisionism bring to mind a comment by Lenin on his opportunist attackers when he wrote, "to ascribe to an opponent an obviously stupid idea and then to refute it is a trick that is practiced by none too clever people." (*Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, FLP, Peking, p. 81)

Perhaps OL has forgotten that it was the Revolutionary Union (which played the leading role in the formation of the RCP) which published *How Capitalism Was Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle* (*Red Papers 7*), which has since been adopted and distributed by the RCP since its formation? Can there be any question among honest forces about the role that this work played in bringing a Marxist understanding to revolutionaries in this country of the nature of the USSR and of the danger of a third world war and the changing tasks facing the peoples of each country as a result of the USSR's emergence as an imperialist superpower?

Of course the October League has also "exposed" the Soviet Union, through a book published by a former member of its central committee, Martin Nicolaus. But these courageous battlers against social-imperialism are themselves now forced to admit that Nicolaus' book was opportunist. In publishing Nicolaus' book, OL was not interested in a scientific analysis, but hoping to put a feather in their cap. So in their rush to publish something they put out trash, which in fact totally obfuscates the real nature of the USSR and covers up the capitalist restoration there. And now, while they blast Nicolaus, they don't comment on how the OL leadership, which claims that, unlike the RCP, it is engaged in educating the masses of people to the danger of revisionism and social imperialism, itself approved a revisionist work on the USSR and a revisionist criticism of *Red Papers 7* which was published in their theoretical journal *Class Struggle*. (For more on this see the first issue of the RCP's theoretical journal *The Communist*.)

It is also well known that the RCP has devoted numerous articles in the Party press (the local editions of the *Worker* as well as *Revolution*) to exposing the Soviet Union's nature and role around the world, not to

mention publishing a pamphlet on the Soviet penetration of Cuba and the Cuban leadership's revisionist role. What then is behind OL's criticism that the RCP "fails to educate the masses of people about the danger of revisionism and social imperialism?"

## Main Blow

The answer to this question can be found in OL's insistence that the Soviet Union be presented to the U.S. working class as the "main danger" and specifically in their latest emasculation of Marxism, their thesis on the "main blow," "main danger," and "main enemies."

Conference participants were treated to the spectacle of OL members parading this latest thesis like children showing off their new toys Christmas morning. While communists use Marxism-Leninism to develop the correct line and policies to lead the class struggle forward, for the October League "Marxism-Leninism" has an entirely different meaning. For some time now the OL has been searching frantically for a "theoretical justification" for their opportunist line. In particular, they needed to come up with something to distinguish themselves from the views of William Hinton who has argued in print, at the Conference, and on other platforms that revolutionaries in the U.S. should support NATO, support arms sales to reactionary governments in the Third World and even imperialist countries who are opposed to the Soviet Union, and has criticized leading representatives of the U.S. bourgeoisie for a policy of "appeasement" toward the USSR.

But OL's differences with Hinton are one of formulation and of little practical significance. OL has refused to participate in demonstrations which call for an end to U.S. imperialist arms shipments to the reactionary Shah of Iran, for example. And in Klonsky's May 13, 1976 *Call* interview we read that "we must firmly oppose those in the U.S. who appease or conciliate to Soviet social-imperialism and who thereby bring on the war that much sooner."

While Hinton and OL agree that the USSR must be the target of the "main blow" internationally, we are supposed to believe that what divides OL from Hinton is that while Hinton claims that *internationally* the people of the world face one main enemy, OL contends that the U.S. is also a "main enemy."

OL claims that the phrase "two main enemies" saves them from falling into the same objective unity with U.S. imperialism. But OL's recent proclamations make it clear that their "two main enemies" is really just a ruse to cover themselves while they direct the main fire on "exposing" the Soviet Union. In the *Call* the RCP is criticized for not propagating the line among the workers that the Soviet Union is "most dangerous" and the "main source of war." (*Call*, Sept. 6, 1976) Does the October League really believe that the working class of the U.S. should be told that danger of a third world war does not stem from the imperialist system itself, from the drive for profit of all the imperialist powers, especially the two superpowers, that the U.S. bourgeoisie would not be *equally* the source of such a war if it breaks out? And how, we must ask, does OL's agitation around the USSR as the main source of war differ in substance, once it is stripped of its flimsy "Marxist" cloak, from the agitation and propaganda of the U.S. bourgeoisie itself?

Lenin pointed out that a war between imperialists arouses a "Hatred of the 'enemy,' a sentiment that is carefully fostered by the bourgeoisie" and, among the class conscious workers, "hatred of one's *own* government and one's *own* bourgeoisie." Lenin says that the first sentiment is of "value *only to the bourgeoisie*," and that the proletariat must foster the second sentiment; "one *cannot* be a sincere opponent of a civil (i.e., class) truce without arousing hatred of one's own government and bourgeoisie." ("The Defeat of One's Own Government in the Imperialist War," *Collected*

*Works*, Vol. 21, p. 280) Lenin does not mean that communists should not expose the class nature of all the imperialist powers and their responsibility for such a war, but that in each imperialist country the communists must especially direct their fire at their *own* ruling class, expose especially *its* imperialist nature, and build hatred for *it*, or else the task of revolution cannot be carried out. The OL, with its insistence that, even in the U.S., communists must portray the Soviet Union as the "most dangerous" imperialist and the "main source of war" clearly opposes Lenin here.

The November 22 issue of the *Call* was peddled at the Conference as having OL's views on the international situation and runs down the "main blow," "main danger," "main enemies" double-talk in all its glory. OL's views base everything on quotations from Stalin in which he described the tactics of the Bolsheviks as directing their main blows at isolating the compromising parties in the period of preparation for the revolution, pointing out that it would be impossible to overthrow the enemy unless these parties were isolated. Applied to the U.S., according to OL, this means that "we must direct the main blow at these forces—the reformists and revisionists," and, going further, OL says that the CPUSA revisionists "are even more dangerous" than the "majority of the trade union leadership."

## OL's Application of Main Blow

Stalin's formulation, especially when rigidly and dogmatically applied as OL seems intent on doing, can lead to serious errors, and in fact has done so in the past in other situations. Considering the CPUSA one of the two "main props of imperialism" in this country is ludicrous, no matter how much the CP would love to occupy that position.

But OL's application of the "main blow" theory goes from the erroneous to the absurd when they talk about what it means for the international situation. While, for the sake of appearance, OL concedes that both the U.S. and the USSR are the "main enemies" it goes on to call the USSR "the main prop of imperialism" which makes it the "greatest danger," "augmented greatly by the fact that the social-imperialists are the more aggressive of the two superpowers." Here OL's attempt to dogmatically apply Stalin's formulation falls flat on its face. Is the problem with the Soviet Union, in 1976, that it *compromises* with U.S. imperialism? Is the Soviet Union the "main prop" of imperialism, or itself an imperialist superpower which would like nothing better than to knock the prop right out from under its U.S. rivals?

In the August *Revolution* we predicted that OL's ideological acrobatics would be spectacular in an effort to explain their August 2 *Call* article when they wrote, "it is only by aiming the main blow against the revisionists and their Soviet social-imperialist masters that the fight to overthrow U.S. imperialism can be brought to a successful conclusion." They have certainly not let their readers down. In their frenzied efforts to have their cake and eat it too, to define and re-define their thesis on the "main blow," they have sunk deeper and deeper into the opportunist pit.

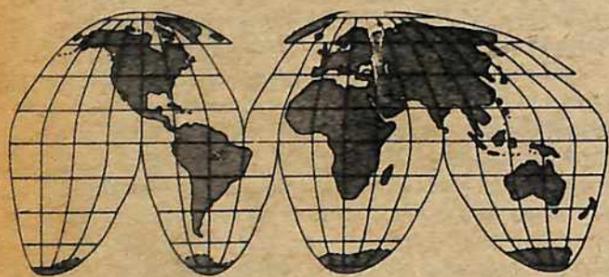
## Correct Stand

The correct stand of Marxist-Leninists is to unite all who can be united against the main enemy—which in this country can only be the U.S. bourgeoisie and which is the two superpowers internationally—to win over as much of the middle forces as possible and to isolate and expose enemy agents in the course of aiming the main blow at the main enemy. For all that the OL would like to accuse the RCP of "covering" for and "uniting" with revisionism and the Soviet Union because we refuse to direct our "main blow" at them, revisionists and opportunists in this country and internationally—as well as the U.S. ruling class—would be positively glee-ful to read OL's latest thesis.

The masses of people in this country are exploited and oppressed by the U.S. bourgeoisie. The U.S. ruling class is today carrying out aggression and preparing for a third world war with all the suffering and misery that will inevitably mean for the masses of people. Large numbers of people have come to see the U.S. ruling class as an aggressive imperialist power which exploits the working people of many countries throughout the world as well as here at home. Naturally, people rise up against this exploitation and oppression, more and more become conscious of the face of the enemy—the imperialist ruling class—and direct their main blow against it.

And what would the OL have us tell the workers and others who are rising up in struggle against the U.S. bourgeoisie? Hold on, wait, direct your main blow at the CPUSA and trade union officials, and don't forget that the social imperialists are more dangerous and the main source of war. And what effect will OL's protestations have? Only to reinforce every anti-communist and anti-China slander put out by the revisionists and the bourgeoisie, to strengthen the bourgeoisie's own efforts to prepare public opinion for going to war against the USSR, and to drive many honest revolutionary-minded people in this country into the arms of revisionists and opportunists who claim to uphold the ban-

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Full transcripts of the major speeches and debate from the Conference on the International Situation will be available after January 1st for \$5.00 from the conference organizing committee, P.O. Box 20, Bronx, New York 10468;

## Late News

Authorities in Houston have dropped the major charges against 92 members of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) arrested in Texas last month. The students were jailed after local police and Iranian secret agents (SAVAK) attacked an ISA demonstration which had been called outside the French consulate in Houston, to protest the French government's arrest and

deportation of leaders of the World Confederation of Iranian Students. The dropping of the charges and threatened deportation of the ISA members in the U.S. was a victory in the struggle against the reactionary regime of the Shah of Iran and his imperialist backers. Further plans are being made to carry on the struggle around the Iranian students under attack in Europe.

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ner of struggle against the U.S. ruling class.

The OL's fishing about for a "theoretical justification" for their opportunism, and all the contortions it leads them to is not at all unrelated to their method of polemics, which consists of shameless lies and distortions. Both have their roots in the complete deviation from the scientific approach of Marxism, of, as Mao says, "seeking truth from facts." With such a Marxist approach there is no reason to distort things and lie about the positions of those who oppose you, and every reason not to—truth is on the side of the proletariat and is revealed by its science, Marxism-Leninism, which develops in opposition to bourgeois ideology.

This is why Mao also emphasizes that "thoroughgoing materialists are fearless." It is only those who take the stand and represent the interests of the bourgeoisie who fear a full and all-sided analysis of reality, for such an analysis reveals their own bankruptcy. And it is because its line does represent the outlook and interests of the bourgeoisie that the OL frantically tries to torture reality to fit their completely erroneous and opportunist views, and repeatedly resorts to slander.

## The Guardian

The "radical newsweekly," the *Guardian*, which also boycotted the Conference, used the occasion of the Conference to write an article putting forward their own thesis on the "main blow." The main thrust of the *Guardian's* Dec. 1 editorial is an attempt to prove, in a one page article, that Lenin's thesis on imperialism is out of date.

The *Guardian* editors pose the question—is world war inevitable?—and answer, "We say no. Marxist-Leninists are not fatalists. Imperialism's drive for war is indeed inexorable. But the masses of people are the makers of history and they have it within their capacity to stop war." Despite the reference to "Marxism-Leninism" and the homage payed to the masses as the motive force in history, this line is really no different than that of the War Resisters League and Mohandas K. Gandhi.

It is true that the masses have the ability to stop a particular war as in the case of Vietnam where the U.S. imperialists were beaten as a result of the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and the massive outpouring of resistance to the war by the masses in this country and others. It is also true that the outbreak of a particular war can be postponed as a result of the struggle of the masses of people. But to declare that the masses can "stop war" altogether, without eliminating imperialism from the face of the earth, is truly an argument that Khrushchev would have been proud of.

As long as imperialism exists there will continue to be wars, including revolutionary wars which the working class and oppressed masses have no interest in stopping, but in fact will organize and wage. The imperialists will continue to launch wars of aggression against the peoples of the oppressed nations. And the masses of people in these countries will continue to wage just wars of national liberation. The imperialists will launch attacks on socialist countries and these attacks will be resisted. And just as inevitably, the conflict between the need of the imperialist powers to expand their

bloodsoaked empires of exploitation will lead to global conflicts for world supremacy. The working class will inevitably rise up and wage armed revolution to overthrow the imperialists and establish its own rule.

As regards to the world war now brewing between the two superpowers for world domination, either revolution in the U.S. and the USSR will prevent this war, or if such a war breaks out it will give rise to a great revolutionary storm throughout the world and greatly hasten the doom of imperialism.

According to the *Guardian* what changes everything is the emergence of national liberation struggles on a world scale. Of course it goes without saying that the rise of national liberation struggles has a great impact on the international situation. But to stretch this truth to mean that the national liberation struggles change the nature of the epoch, making it something different than the era Lenin described, marked by world war and proletarian revolution, is absurd. National liberation struggles hit hard blows at the imperialist system, but to argue that they can overthrow imperialism or eliminate world war distorts the whole nature of imperialism.

Surely the *Guardian* does not really believe that they are the first to discover the significance of the national liberation struggles or that such struggles just recently began to play an important role in world events. As far back as the First World War, Lenin pointed out the revolutionary storm growing in the East. And during the Second World War one important aspect of the war was the national liberation struggles, especially in China and other parts of Asia, where the defeat of Japan and the other fascist powers was a critical step in winning liberation from imperialism altogether. But just because during World War 2 the struggle of China and Vietnam, for example, was principally part of their struggle for national liberation, the overall character of the war did not change as a result, in either of its two phases.

While the *Guardian* likes to present itself as the arch enemy of social chauvinism and the October League, they share more in common with OL than simply the tendency to pick their favorite superpower. Just like the October League, the *Guardian* muddles together all the different forces in the Third World ("armed struggles from Indochina to southern Africa, in the growth of the nonaligned movement, in the growing influence of the world's most populous country—the People's Republic of China...") without any real class content.

## Angola

The other thing that the *Guardian* finds in common with the October League is a total disregard for the facts. In the article they imply that the RCP put forward only the slogan "Superpowers Out of Angola," which is an out-and-out fabrication. It is true that the RCP exposed the role of the USSR and Cuba in Angola, which not only reflects the facts, but is necessary to show how their intervention was imperialist, and had nothing in common with "communism." Bringing out the class nature of the conflict was crucial to make it clear how the working class in this country had no stake in supporting the U.S. ruling class' efforts.

It is also true that the RCP ran articles in the Party press with headlines like "U.S. Makes Grab for Angola." And no one who read our propaganda and agitation could help but realize that the main thrust was to explain the Angola events as a result of imperialist inter-

ference and to call on the U.S. working class to oppose calls by the U.S. bourgeoisie to unite behind its banner. The claim that the RCP made the struggle against U.S. intervention in Angola "conditional" on a cessation of Soviet interference is an outright lie.

Similarly the *Guardian* distorts its own position on the Angola events. It claims that its slogan was "U.S. Hands Off Angola," while failing to mention that it always coupled this with lauding the "heroic Cuban volunteers" and demanding that the slogan "Support the MPLA" be accepted, insisting that this stand was the cutting edge of anti-imperialism.

The *Guardian's* position on the international situation is that the people of the world face only one main enemy, U.S. imperialism. When it comes to describing the Soviet Union, the *Guardian*, as if trying to learn from the OL school of doubletalk, calls it "social imperialist" but claims that capitalist relations "have not been fully restored." (For more on the *Guardian's* opportunist line on international affairs see the August 15, 1976 issue of *Revolution*, also reprinted in the "War and Revolution" pamphlet.)

In their December 1 editorial statement on the "main blow" the *Guardian* makes it completely clear where their line leads: "We cannot be blind to the fact that in a period when superpower contention is indeed intensifying, peoples struggling for their independence will make use of the contradictions between the two superpowers. Where the principal enemy is—as in most cases—U.S. imperialism, people will seek aid, arms and political support from U.S. imperialism's superpower rival. They will do this no matter what some 'Marxist-Leninists' in the U.S. may say because that is the pressing reality of their struggle."

The Chinese Communist Party has correctly pointed out that, while communists in each country must determine the strategy for revolution according to actual conditions, in those countries where U.S. imperialism is, together with the reactionary ruling class, the main target of the revolution, the people must take care not to allow the Soviet social imperialists in the back door while the U.S. is being kicked out the front. What the *Guardian's* line in practice amounts to would be to welcome the enemy at the back door and even rely on it and allow it to take over in fighting the enemy at the front, because of the "pressing reality of the struggle." OL, on the other hand, has a line that in practice would have the people of those countries rush off into the backyard to fight against the "main danger" while the U.S. imperialists remain in the living room. Both the OL and *Guardian* formulations are recipes for defeat.

On any number of questions OL and the *Guardian* are mirror images of each other's opportunism. OL claims that the USSR is stronger militarily, while the *Guardian* finds it necessary to write articles on the superiority of U.S. arms. OL claims that the Soviet Union "must take the greater part of the blame" (March 18) for provoking a civil war in Angola while the *Guardian* claims that only after the U.S. and South Africa made their Angola move, did the "heroic Cuban volunteers" and Soviet military aid start rolling in. OL claims that the Soviet Union must be the target of the main blow internationally and continues to spin out new formulations at a dizzying rate as to why this is so, including that the Soviet Union has the smaller sphere of influence and is up and coming, while the *Guardian* argues the reverse side of the coin, saying that since the U.S. still dominates a larger chunk of the world, they are therefore the more dangerous and deserving of the main blow internationally.

The *Guardian's* line may perhaps seem to be the less dangerous of the two since, speaking to the tasks of U.S. revolutionaries, they target our own imperialists as the focus of our struggle. But this is not in fact the case. The *Guardian* line misleads people about the struggle on the international scale, and thus aids one of the two main enemies of the people of the world. In addition, as we pointed out in the August 15, 1976 *Revolution*, as the superpower showdown heats up toward war, "and especially [with] the actual outbreak of such a war and the increased exploitation and oppression it will bring in this country, those who hold the line or the *Guardian* will find themselves with little of substance to say to the masses, little to base themselves on in opposing U.S. imperialism and will find they have 'little choice' but to capitulate to the U.S. bourgeoisie in one form or another."

Both lines—that of the *Guardian* and that of OL—aid imperialism in one form or another and are obstacles to the struggle of the people of this country and the world against it.

The fact that both the October League and the editors of the *Guardian* were forced by success of the Conference on the International Situation to further expose their own opportunist lines on the international situation is a positive development. The dangerous content of their lines further shows that the Conference was both necessary and timely. The debate over the correct line on the international situation will continue and grow sharper, and in the course of this struggle the correct line of concentrating the main blow of the struggle in this country at the U.S. bourgeoisie, within the context of the worldwide united front against imperialism aimed especially at the two superpowers, will grow stronger. ■

# Publications

- War and Revolution. Seven articles from *Revolution*. 50¢.
- The Mass Line. Three articles from *Revolution*. 25¢.
- Elections '76: Capitalists' Desperate Deceit vs. Workers' Growing Struggle. 15¢.
- Auto and the Workers Movement. 75¢.
- 200 Years is Long Enough! 50¢.
- CUBA: The Evaporation of a Myth. Reprinted from *Revolution*. In English and Spanish with footnotes in English. 50¢.
- Our Class Will Free Itself and All Mankind. Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA on the occasion of the founding of the Party. 75¢.
- Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. \$1.

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

The pamphlets *How Socialism Wipes Out Exploitation* and *The Party—Invincible Proletarian Vanguard* are no longer in print. The pamphlets *200 Years is Long Enough!*, *Classes and Class Struggle* and *Correct Line Achieved Through Study, Struggle, Criticism* are in very short supply and soon will be out of print. Supplies of these pamphlets should be ordered accordingly.

(The following publications were originally published by the Revolutionary Union and adopted by the Party)

- How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle. \$2.50.
- The Chicano Struggle and the Struggle for Socialism. \$1.

The following reprints are in both English and Spanish:

- Revolution: Only Road to Women's Liberation. 25¢.
- Proletarian Dictatorship vs. Bourgeois "Democracy." 10¢.
- Classes and Class Struggle. 10¢.
- Correct Line Achieved Through Study, Struggle, Criticism. 10¢.

Enclosed is \_\_\_\_\_ for the materials checked.

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Over 5000 lined up at Detroit Cadillac in October when the company announced it was taking applications. Hundreds chanted WE WANT JOBS!, reflecting the anger of the American people at widespread unemployment.

## “Promise”...

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more pile-ups of unsold goods and more layoffs, are increasing. The laws of capitalism drive businesses to produce as much as possible, without regard to needs but only potential profits, while at the same time they restrict the purchasing power of the masses. Right now, even with another 200,000 more unemployed last month, bringing the official figures to 7.8 million, the number of hours those still working spent on the job also jumped dramatically, as the bosses tried to wrench even more production (and profit) from each worker. This led to even more goods being made, while even fewer could buy them.

Last Spring the capitalists' various experts, especially those whose job is to reassure the public that things really are going somewhere besides to hell, pointed to the upsurge in consumer spending as proof that the economy was turning around. But as was said in *Revolution* (April 15, 1976), it's capital spending—for things such as new plants and machinery—that is crucial for any real expansion of the economy. Historically the capitalists have been driven by competition to invest in new machinery, and it's this investment that drives the overall expansion of the economy by providing jobs (and therefore more market for consumer goods) as well as a market for yet other machinery and raw materials.

At things developed over the last year, although there was some small upward motion in machine tool orders and so on, the capitalists haven't been able to get together enough capital for any heavy expansion, and now with the drop in consumer spending many companies are dropping or putting off even their limited plans for capital spending. Because of the falling rate of profit, although their profits may be very big they're still not big enough to really expand the already massive amount of capital they have invested in plants and machinery. This contradiction—that they have to expand their capital investment in order to up their rate of profit but they can't raise the capital because their rate of profit is too low—has been an underlying cause driving the imperialist economy into crisis in the first place.

This is driving the capitalists to desperate measures, as various capitalists and groups of capitalists try to save themselves and damn the rest. This month's steel price hikes are an example of one of the ways that this is happening.

The 6% boost in the price of steel didn't come from any sudden increase in the demand for steel or any shortage of the metal. The demand for steel has hit a low—the mills are producing below what they did ten years ago. But the steel companies had to try to raise their prices anyway, because they're so desperate to up their low rate of profit that it's better for them to risk losing business by charging more than to go on the way that they have.

This kind of thing hasn't been the main force behind inflation, but it is important as a sign of the desperate situation the capitalists face, and it will help feed inflation's fires if the especially strong monopoly position of the steel companies enables them to make this price increase stick.

Of course Carter had to bark a little when the steel

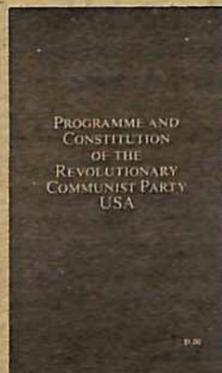
companies made their move—but how could he bite the hand that feeds him? Other capitalists (such as the auto makers) don't like to see the price of the steel they use going up, especially since it'll make their goods even more expensive than their European and Japanese competition, but they know that all U.S. industry is hurt by the weakness of the steel companies. The steel price hike was one of many things that recently led to a whole chorus of cries of distress about the economy's slowdown and pleas that the incoming President do something to stimulate the economy.

### Carter's Tax Cut

Carter responded by pulling a rabbit out of his hat—the declaration by one of his top economic wizards that there will “almost certainly” be a tax cut next year, which by odd coincidence was just what a round-table meeting of the biggest finance capitalists recommended. But this is a very old trick. In fact Ford pulled the same rabbit out of his own football helmet two years ago, and even then the rabbit was already nearly dead. This tax cut that Carter's aides say will work miracles produced little for Ford or any of the other Presidents that tried it. In fact, it helped bring about the conditions of today.

From what's been said about Carter's plan so far, just like Ford's tax cut, Carter's will also have as its centerpiece an increase in the investment tax credit for business, meaning that they will have to pay taxes on even less of their income if they reinvest in expansion. Along with this, as before, there will probably be other tax breaks for business and a few features designed to increase the purchasing power of the masses so that business can sell what's made. Supposedly this will lead to new jobs, and other trickle-down benefits for the working class.

What few jobs Carter does offer directly—250,000 more through the CETA training program is the biggest current promise—are hardly more than an insult,



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given the more than eight million officially without jobs.

But all the government's economic stimulus in the past has led things to the mess they are in today, and Carter's plans will have the same effect. Whether by cutting down the amount of money the government takes in (through tax cuts) or increasing the amount the government pays out (through government spending), either way this has forced the government deeper into debt. Government borrowing ends up competing with business borrowing for available funds, and less money is available for capital expansion. No capital expansion means precious few new jobs. Furthermore, government spending of what it doesn't have is another strong factor leading to inflation.

### Inflation like Heroin

This inflation is like heroin—the addict gets sick if he doesn't get it, but he'll only need more and more to stay alive if he does. The things the government has done to artificially stimulate business has given rise to inflation, and inflation in turn cuts away at the power of the masses to buy, and even more crippling to the capitalists, it cuts at their power to accumulate enough funds to replace and expand their means of production. The new shot of dope that the addict demands may make him feel better for a while, but it sure won't cure what ails him, which in this case is fatal.

The conservative business economists like the *Wall Street Journal* warn that experience has proved that this stimulus only causes more problems in the long run, while the liberal *Business Week* warns that without more stimulus the economy faces a big fall. Both are right. But whichever route they take, unemployment, inflation and all the other miseries of the system in crisis is where it's taking us.

The capitalists in this country were able to temporarily climb out of their last major crisis in the 1930s and put off the current one for so long because of World War 2 and the dominant position of U.S. imperialism in the post war world. This enabled them to expand their exploitation onto the far corners of the world, including pushing aside other imperialist powers. They were able to “prime the pump” through massive government deficit spending, and flood other countries with U.S. dollars, thereby exporting inflation. But all this gave rise to struggle against imperialism and the U.S. in particular everywhere, and along with the rise of the USSR as an imperialist competitor, today the chickens are coming home to roost.

In this situation, whatever the capitalists and their government do to try to cure economic stagnation and unemployment only leads to inflation, while inflation just works to pull down the economy even more and contributes to unemployment as well. The working class gets it coming and going while the capitalists totter back and forth on their tightrope, trying to maintain what balance they can with the factors for inflation and unemployment to keep from plunging into the darkness below. As events are proving very quickly, the election “vote your pocketbook—choose your poison” routine was hypocrisy and a hoax. ■

## Theoretical...

Continued from Page 4

workers who *should have joined the movement* from doing so.

At the present time in the U.S. our situation is somewhat different. Although, from its formation, the Party has continued to seek deeper roots, forge stronger links with the mass struggles of the working class and has drawn people in this movement into the ranks of the Party, all this is still not at the same level that Lenin is summarizing in *What Is To Be Done?*

While this is not as good as the situation will be when the working class movement is on a much higher level—in terms of mass struggle and class consciousness—and when the Party has drawn far greater forces in the working class into its ranks, still the present situation does provide us with the opportunity—and indeed the necessity—to lay as strong a theoretical foundation in the Party as possible and to pay as much attention as possible to training advanced workers, as well as Party members, in the fundamentals of Marxism. And this must be done in close connection with the task of forging all possible links with and building to the greatest degree the mass struggle of the workers, and others oppressed by the enemy.

So long as we carry this out with correct methods, linking theory with practice in an overall way—while also studying theory “in its own right”—and waging the theoretical struggle in correct relationship with the economic and political battle against the bourgeoisie, it will enable us to maximize every possible gain now and to make the greatest possible preparation for the future. It will enable the Party to continue carrying out the policy of preparing its own ranks and the masses for the inevitable development of a revolutionary situation in the future and to continue to make the greatest strides toward that future at each stage of the struggle. ■

**"Victory at Entebbe"**

# TV Movie Glorifies Zionist Aggression

The Superhuman Courage! The Brilliant Strategy! The Daring Rescue that Electrified the World! Towering Inferno? Earthquake? Airport? No—these come together with the likes of Elizabeth Taylor, Burt Lancaster, Kirk Douglas, Helen Hayes and others were used to publicize the ABC Monday night *Victory at Entebbe*. By comparison to the venom of this propaganda movie, the disaster fictions were entertainment, for this TV special was created for a far more deadly, serious and real purpose. The film billed as "the real story behind the most heroic rescue of our time" was in reality a distorted recreation of facts to portray a despicable imperialist act of aggression as heroic freedom fighting. The all-star cast and prime time TV slot were used to poison as many as possible with an imperialist interpretation of the incident at Entebbe, to glorify the act and push the line that everything is justified in the fight against "international terrorism" and to try to unite the American people behind the interests of U.S. imperialism and their allies in the Middle East and around the world.

**Entebbe Raid**

The film was the second to be shown on TV based on the June, 1976 hijacking of an Air France flight of 150 passengers by seven terrorist supporters of the Palestinian people. The hostages were flown to Entebbe, Uganda where they were held for the release of 58 Palestinians and their supporters being held in Israeli and West European prisons.

The just struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland stolen from them by terror in 1948 when Israel was set up and later expanded through aggressive wars, which is the root cause of the conflict in the Middle East, is hardly mentioned at all in the film. When it is, it is only to hold it up to ridicule. During the hijacking, one of the men explains to the passengers the reason for the action and how the Zionists stole the land. Then he turns around and says, "I'm tired. I'm confused. Now you know the internal workings of a lunatic's mind."

Upon landing at Entebbe, Idi Amin, President of Uganda, talks about the fight and rights of the Palestinian people. But the whole purpose of the portrayal of Amin is aimed at making him—and by implication any "little colored countries" whose national rights happen to stand in the way of the "heroic acts" of Israel or other "great democracies"—seem like childish buffoons and fanatical fascists.

Throughout the film, the whole cause of the Palestinians and any resistance to Zionist aggression is equated with fascism and the personal persecution of the Jews. An Israeli man who still bears a number from a German concentration camp demands to know from a hijacker how they are different from the Nazis, but the man is unable to give a comprehensible answer. Such constant and strained efforts to portray every-

thing connected with the Palestinian struggle as anti-semitism and Nazism—an outrageous attempt to turn everything upside down—are even bound to stir up anti-semitism among some on whom the whole performance wears thin. This is especially so since the Jewish passengers are pictured as self-righteous and "select." The film runs out the constantly repeated lie that the destruction of the Zionist state means the extermination of the Jews, instead of the creation of a non-sectarian state in Palestine where people of any nationality and faith can live together equally.

**Movie Whitewashes Zionism**

Little mention is made of the repressive regulations and conditions the masses of Palestinians living in Israeli occupied territory are forced to endure at the hands of the Zionists. Before the hijacking occurs, the Israeli leaders are busy discussing the Israeli squatters who are moving into and taking over Arab villages. Rabin is tactically opposing this at the present, for the reason it is weakening his ability to obtain more weapons and export credits from the U.S. The plight of the state of Israel is mentioned many times throughout the movie to create the image of a weak but determined underdog toughing it alone against the world, instead of the reactionary armed-to-the-teeth outpost of U.S. imperialism it actually is.

When the hijacking occurs, they immediately speak of the military and political ramifications of negotiating and appearing weak. This is one aspect of the film that was accurate, that the Israeli leaders don't give a damn about their own people or the safety of the hostages. Even though parents were demanding and demonstrating that they negotiate the release of the hostages, their response to the demands was "Israel does not negotiate with hijackers," and "Every citizen of Israel is considered a front line soldier." In other words, they are expendable to the Zionists' efforts to protect and expand their exploitation and plunder in the Middle East.

They even briefly consider taking counter hostages from Palestinians living on occupied land, before they eventually agree to negotiations. But this is only to delay the deadline for the execution of the hostages to give them time to mount a military assault. They make no bones about the violation of Ugandan sovereignty, killing Ugandans, the safety of the hostages, or anything else, but openly lust for another victory "like the Yom Kippur War," to further themselves. The film ends with the raid on Entebbe, freeing 103 remaining hostages, and killing 3 hostages, 20 Ugandans, and the 7 terrorists in a hail of Israeli firepower, all to the cheers and celebration of the Zionist leaders.

The film itself is a patchwork of the personalities of the individual hostages caught in this situation to draw out an emotional response. Together with the sentimental music, the interactions of the hostages leaves



Big stars, big promotion and big money. But "Victory at Entebbe" was a trashy effort to use the Zionist raid to glorify any and all acts of imperialist piracy done in the name of democracy and fighting terrorism.

no onion uncut in an effort to wring tears and a sympathetic response from the audience to the political line the movie puts out. The point of all the emotionalism is to further build support for the "brave Zionists" who rescue them.

At the time of the Entebbe raid, countless editorials and politicians held it up as an example of the kind of fighting spirit the American people should have. "Courageous," "heroic," and "exemplary" were some of the words used to describe it by Ford, Carter, Reagan and others. And the bourgeoisie wasted no time in getting out their message in this soap opera, "David vs. Goliath" tale to confuse and suck people into their twisted version of "justice and freedom."

Since Vietnam, they have been trying to whip up enthusiasm for and glorify their war adventures again and again. The movie *The Green Beret* was made to justify the aggression in Vietnam. The Mayaguez and the Korean tree cutting incidents were twisted and propagandized around to build popular support for increased U.S. aggression around the world. Always, the same old tale about "defending democracy and freedom" is run out to paint their own aggression as a just cause. But the depths to which the bourgeoisie will sink in movie making are only exceeded by the depths to which they will be sunk as the masses of the American people and the people of the world rise up to bury them once and for all. ■



Arab demonstrators in New York supporting Palestinian struggle. The U.S. imperialists have gone all-out to generate support for Israel, which is an imperialist outpost in the Middle East. But their efforts to picture Zionist aggression as heroism and disguise resistance to it as persecution of Jews has been increasingly exposed and opposed by the people of the world.

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