



REVOLUTION

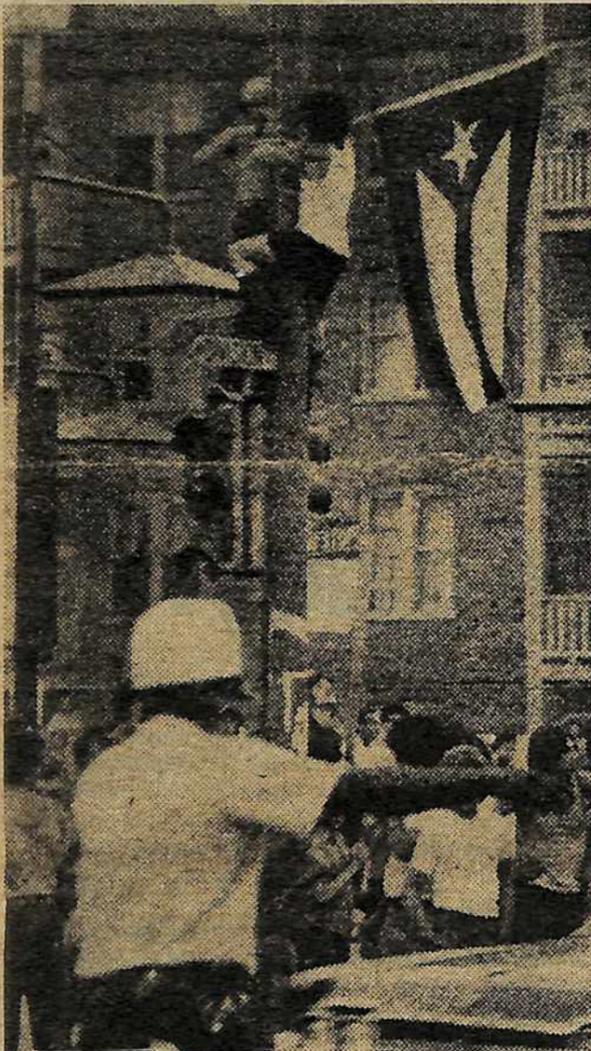
Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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Slum housing, no jobs, constant police harassment, the anger of the Puerto Rican people against their national oppression exploded in rebellion on Chicago's West Side.

Puerto Ricans Rise Up In Chicago

Righteous Rebellion In Humboldt Park

A firestorm of rebellion exploded in a Chicago Puerto Rican community in June—an explosion of the people's hatred of the conditions they're forced to live in and their determination not to let themselves be ground into the dirt, an explosion triggered by the very police brutality that the ruling class had unleashed to try to prevent the Puerto Rican people in Chicago from rising up.

The Puerto Rican parade which takes place on a traditional Puerto Rican holiday has long been a day when the Chicago city officials use a little pageantry and a lot of speeches to try to rally Puerto Ricans to the Democratic Party machine, much as they do on Latvian Day, Saint Patrick's Day, etc. That's why this year the parade was moved up a week to June 4, just before the mayoral elections. But much more than that, especially in the last few years, it has become a day on which people proclaim that they are proud to be Puerto Rican, that they are men and women of respect and demand to be treated as such.

It is a day which reflects the deep feelings people have for the homeland they were forced to leave behind and their hatred of the way Puerto Ricans are treated in this country. For this reason, it has long been an explosive day. The authorities try to contain it to the downtown official parade. When the people

return to their neighborhood to picnic in Humboldt Park, the police are there in force, menacing and often swooping down. The fact that this year the demand for Puerto Rico's independence was raised by some in the parade and appeared in chants and chalked on many cars especially enraged the authorities.

Around four in the afternoon, using the excuse of antagonisms between two gangs, the police began moving in to clear the park. Shouting at everyone to get out, insulting people and calling them "dirty spics," setting fire to a Puerto Rican flag, they kicked over people's beer cans and food and began kicking the people themselves as they sat around their picnic blankets. The cops set up roadblocks to keep traffic from coming into the park, and as families piled into their cars to get out, the police battered the cars with their nightsticks. Before long, clubs were flying freely as the police became more and more savage.

Abused, attacked and insulted—especially on this day, Puerto Rico day—the people began to defend themselves with whatever they could get their hands on. The cops found themselves quickly facing the aroused wrath of hundreds. In the face of this, they lashed out wildly like the mad dogs they are, opening fire on the crowd. One youth, Rafael Cruz, walking

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Masses Mobilize To Stop New I-Hotel Eviction Try

"MOSCOLE'S PLAN IS AN EVICTION PLAN! WE WON'T MOVE, NO WAY! WE DON'T CARE WHAT THE COURTS SAY!" The chants rang out in front of the International Hotel on Sunday, June 12 as over 4000 people demonstrated in San Francisco against the latest eviction order by the courts and the local capitalists. Thousands circled the block around the hotel, forming a human barricade eight deep in front of the hotel itself. Hundreds more jammed the sidewalks across the street and the bridge running over Kearny Street. The demonstration was called by the International Hotel Tenants Association (IHTA), the Workers Committee to Fight for the International Hotel and the Victory Building, and the IHTA Support Committee with less than a week's notice.

Five days earlier agents of the sheriff's department had slipped into the hotel in the early morning hours, sneaking around like cat burglars in an effort to escape the wrath of the tenants and their supporters. It was the second time in six months that sheriffs had posted eviction notices. This little bit of legal dirty work had no more effect than the first time, when people ripped down the notices and burned some in the street and then marched down to the sheriff's office where they



Arms linked, forming a human barricade, 4000 people massed in front of the I-Hotel on June 12, defeating yet another eviction attempt. The defense of the I-Hotel and the peoples' right to decent, low-rent housing has become a mass social question in the Bay Area. The capitalists and their politicians have been fought at every step.

threw the rest on his desk.

The massive demonstration on June 12 was a powerful statement to the capitalists and their courts about what they could do with their eviction notices because the tenants, after nine years of struggle, had no intention of moving. The diverse cross section of people who turned out reflected the broad support the tenants have from people throughout the Bay Area and the deep commitment of many to seeing this battle through to victory.

On the same day a public statement of support endorsed by hundreds of organizations and individuals was published in *The San Francisco Sunday Examiner-Chronicle*, *The San Francisco Progress*, and several

Chinatown community newspapers. The ad carried the stand of the I-Hotel battle into over a million homes: "For nine years, the tenants have waged an inspiring fight. After a lifetime of labor, the elderly Filipino and Chinese have been left with next to nothing. Exploitation and racial discrimination drive their wages to the bottom, and force them to live in lousy housing in overcrowded communities. Now Four Seas Investment Corporation, adding another link to chains holding people down, is intent on evicting the tenants and demolishing their homes and community centers so that a more profitable development can be built. . . We support their demand that the city government

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Down With Krugerrand - Crutch For Apartheid

The Krugerrand, the one-ounce gold coin from South Africa, is being promoted on TV as a "solid" investment. What it really is, is a desperate attempt by the racist government of South Africa and its imperialist backers to prop up and finance the shaky system of *apartheid* in South Africa, to preserve the profit system there and to continue and strengthen the enforced plunder of the labor of black Azanians (South Africans).

South African mines produce three-fourths of the Western world's gold—\$1.7 billion worth last year. The black workers who mine this wealth are forced to work 60 to 72 hours a week for an average yearly income of less than \$1100. Armed force, concentration camps and a whole system of laws are used to keep blacks working at these slave wages in mines and factories, many of which are U.S.- and British-owned. With \$1.5 billion invested in the country, 400 U.S. banks and corporations have a big stake in seeing that the South African regime stays in power and continues to protect their investments there.

Faced with massive uprisings which have swept over South Africa, with strikes and demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of black workers and students and growing international strength and support for this struggle, their continued rule is up against a deadly political challenge. Interrelated with this, *apartheid* is going in the hole economically. Foreign investment in the country has slowed because of the shaky future of the white settler government, while heavy military spending and a big fall in the price of gold has driven the government heavily into debt.

Krugerrand Sales Vital

The sale of gold in bulk and in the form of the Krugerrand is vital to the continued existence of the *apartheid* system. The revenue from gold sales supplies 40% of the foreign exchange the South African government needs for its imports, including its heavy purchases of military equipment to enforce its brutal system. Last year the sale of 4,800,000 Krugerrands at the price of an ounce of gold—about \$140—plus other charges, represented 21% of South Africa's total export of gold. They were not sold on the established world gold market, which helped to keep the price of gold up.

The importance of the Krugerrand for the South African government and the imperialists is seen in the fact that the South African Chamber of Mines is spending \$4 million to market it in the U.S. alone, its largest market for the coins, while the sale of the Krugerrand has been taken up by major U.S. capitalists, including the Republic National Bank of New York and Merrill Lynch, a major U.S. brokerage firm. In addition South Africa's rulers and their U.S. backers are using the Krugerrand campaign to win political support by presenting a picture of a wealthy, stable country, rather than an international outlaw regime with a bleak future.

A tremendous political and material blow to *apartheid* and in support of the Azanian freedom struggle can be delivered by confronting the peddlers of the Krugerrand wherever they pop up. By ripping the mask off a "good investment" off the blood-soaked Krugerrand and making it the symbol of oppression and *apartheid* that it is, the South African regime and its imperialist backers can be isolated to the extreme, making it difficult to peddle their filthy coins.

Such struggles have already had a powerful effect. When the local African Liberation Day Coalition in Hawaii picketed a Merrill Lynch office on May 27th in honor of African Liberation Day, they found the office closed. From a company official they learned that the shutdown was because the company knew the demonstrators were coming. He added that it was the twenty-first such demonstration at Merrill Lynch offices around the country within a few weeks! He even claimed the firm was considering dumping the Krugerrand because of this "public outcry." The bonanza it represents has thus far kept Merrill Lynch in the Krugerrand business, but it's clear they are feeling the heat of mass outrage.

By mounting an offensive on the Krugerrand as part of building support for the struggle for liberation in Africa, we can help bring closer the day of the eventual downfall of *apartheid* in Africa. Not all the gold in the world can save it.



Wearing red T-shirts emblazoned with the call "Victory to the People of Southern Africa," the Soweto Brigade moved 600 strong through the streets of DC on African Liberation Day. Working class youth and students from the Midwest, South and East Coast united with 1000 other demonstrators in marching on the White House May 28.

Blow to Rulers, Foundation for Future

1600+ March for African Freedom

More than 1600 people celebrated African Liberation Day 1977 with a powerful march on the White House that not only expressed solidarity with the rising freedom struggle in southern Africa but was in itself a powerful blow against the U.S. ruling class and its schemes to continue dominating that area. The demonstration and rally was more than just large. It was militant and politically focused clearly on supporting the real struggle in southern Africa and linking that struggle with the struggle of the American working class and people against national oppression and imperialism. It was multinational and forged strong bonds of unity among all those who took part in it.

The success of the demonstration despite many obstacles which arose in building it—from opportunists of various stripes working to sabotage a united ALD to the KKK spewing its racist poison on behalf of the rich—shows the strong sentiments of support for the African liberation fighters which are growing among the American people. The march and the campaign leading up to it were in fact an impetus to building continued powerful support for African liberation and rebuilding the African Liberation Support Committee as an important rallying center for such struggle.

The hammer blows of the people of southern Africa against the white settler regimes now going on called for a powerful demonstration of support here, and people came forward to take up the task. Among them were many members of the African Liberation Support Committee, which once led mass ALD rallies but has been crippled by the antics of self-serving dogmatist factions recently. When members of the Workers Viewpoint Organization in ALSC obstructed plans to form a coalition to build such a demonstration, several chapters of ALSC moved on their own to form the African Liberation Day Coalition (ALDC).

Another difficulty they faced was the fact that the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, a Pan-Africanist outfit headed by Stokely Carmichael was also planning an event in Washington, around politics which failed to truly aid the struggle in Africa, to hit the U.S. ruling class and expose its Soviet rivals for their crimes or to show the true links between that struggle and the struggles of Black people and of all working people right here in the U.S. At the same time the organizing done by Carmichael's group and especially the fact that they held the permit for the traditional ALD rally site, Malcolm X Park in Washington, D.C., meant that their rally would probably draw a fair-sized crowd, the majority of them coming to show their solidarity with their brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia. This presented the problem of struggling for some form of united action with the AAPRP without capitulating to narrow nationalism, support for Soviet imperialism, or sacrificing the real purpose of an ALD demonstration.

Just as the only way to overcome the WVO dogmatists in ALSC was to begin the work of uniting all possible forces in the kind of coalition that was necessary, there was no way to jam Carmichael, except through building that coalition and organizing the kind of demonstration that could genuinely build support for and solidarity with African liberation.

Because of the difficulties faced in even getting off the ground, the Coalition began its full campaign less than two months before ALD. By this time it had hundreds of endorsements ranging from Julian Bond to the Iranian Students Association and active participation by dozens of militants from the Black liberation struggles, including even whole organizations like the People's College, a group with its roots in the Black movement of the '60s and early African liberation support work; and the Revolutionary Workers Congress, an organization with origins largely in the now defunct Black Workers Congress; as well as the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Revolutionary Student Brigade and a number of local Youth In Action groups.

Theme of Demonstration

How, given serious contradictions and a limited amount of time, was it possible to build such a significant demonstration? One important factor was the general theme for the campaign: "Fight National Oppression and Imperialism from the USA (Union of South Africa) to the USA (the United States of America)." This spoke to the real feelings among the masses, especially the Black masses, among whom there are strong feelings of kinship and solidarity with the people of southern Africa. At the same time it laid a basis for a scientific understanding of the actual similarities and differences between the two "USAs," for multinational unity against a common enemy and for making the U.S. ruling class and its Soviet rivals clear targets in the battle. None of these were offered, for instance, by the AAPRP actions which were built for under slogans about how until all Africa is "united under a socialist government," Black people everywhere, including the U.S., will have no "national home." This approach discouraged workers and others who are not Black from taking part and slid over the key task of focusing attention on the situation in southern Africa and building real support for and ties with it. Furthermore, the AAPRP rally upheld the Soviet Union and Cuba as "socialist," covering for their crimes in Angola and Ethiopia and their efforts to extend Soviet domination throughout southern Africa.

Those organizing for the demonstration concentrated their efforts primarily among strata and groups which were most ready to move around ALD, in particular Black people, students and youth, and in cities close to the D.C. rally site, particularly Washington itself. At the same time, the importance of winning workers to take part in an organized way in the demonstration was not slighted as the large workers contingent called for by the National Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization, made up of hundreds of workers of many nationalities, clearly showed.

Because the tradition of mass militant ALD's had faded in the absence of clear leadership recently, and because a number of different forces were calling for ALD activities in Washington, May 28, not to mention other cities, the march on the White House could not be built simply by saying, "Come to African Liberation Day" or by proclaiming, "Ours is the real ALD." Continued on page 14

Excerpts From C.C. Report (Part Two)

Revolutionary Work In A Non-Revolutionary Situation

Editor's Note: In the latter part of 1976, at its most recent meeting, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA held discussions summing up the work of the Party and the development of the workers' movement and the overall struggle against imperialism in the period since the formation of the Party, including the battle around the Bicentennial and the July 4th "Rich Off Our Backs" demonstration in Philadelphia, and made an extremely important analysis of the objective situation, the laws and features of its development and the role of the Party as the vanguard of the working class in relation to this. On this basis the Central Committee issued a report for study and discussion by the whole Party.

Because of the importance of the analysis made by the Central Committee, we are publishing here major parts of this report, excerpts from a paper and a speech presented to the Central Committee by its Chairman, Bob Avakian, and discussed, deepened and developed in final form by the Central Committee in its report. These excerpts from the report have been edited for publication in Revolution and are being presented in two parts. This is the second part of the report. The first appeared in last month's issue of Revolution, June 1977.

These sections deal mainly with the situation in the U.S. The Central Committee also discussed the international situation at length, deepening the basic analysis in the Programme and the Revolution articles recently reprinted in the pamphlet War and Revolution. For a further understanding of the Party's line on these questions, we suggest people study these publications.

The study and discussion of this and last month's articles by the broadest numbers of workers and others involved in the revolutionary struggle will play a significant part in advancing the development of the revolutionary movement of the working class and the united front under its leadership, and in building its Party as a crucial part of that process.

First of all, the paper [the "paper" referred to is the document excerpted as an article in the June 1977 Revolution] tries to proceed with one thing building on another, but there is a theme that runs all the way through it and that is indicated by the title—how to do revolutionary work when you don't have a revolutionary situation But we also felt in our discussions (on the standing bodies) that we need to say more about what, for any given period, does it mean to be advancing towards the revolutionary goal in a little more concrete sense than just, "well, we have to be advancing towards the revolutionary goal and let's make sure that we're striving to fulfill the three objectives"—"to win as much as can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy; to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the struggling masses and instill in them the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat; and to develop the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists, recruit them into the Party and train them as revolutionary leaders." (Programme of the RCP, p. 102)

It is very important in any particular struggle—at any given time—to analyze how we're striving to fulfill those three objectives. But more concretely than that, for any given time that you are trying to draw up your battleplans, how do you take concrete steps to advance towards that revolutionary goal, without falling into "stagism," walling off different periods in the development of the struggle, and really treating each period as an end in itself? There are periods of time when you are summing up, trying to learn from what you have done and project to what you are going to do, but all of this has to be viewed in the context of the long-term revolutionary goal.

Quantity and Quality

And there is a philosophical point involved here which underlies what we are talking about. As it says in the paper, there is a dialectical relationship between objective and subjective. The paper points out how they interpenetrate and react upon each other, and the same thing is true for the question of quantity and quality. There is the same kind of dialectical relationship between quantity and quality. In other words, as Mao Tsetung puts it, there is quality in quantity and quantity in quality. The paper points out that what is objective for the Party is subjective for the masses of workers, and so on and so forth—another way of saying that what is universal in one context becomes particular in another and vice versa. Well, the same point can be made and has to be understood about quantity

and quality. Quantity in one context is quality in another and vice versa.

Or to break it down more, between the kind of situation that we have now (nonrevolutionary situation) and the kind where you can naturally do the dog (revolutionary situation) is a qualitative leap. Viewed from the overall sense of the kind of things we're talking about, this is the big change from quantity to quality. But within that and leading up to that are a series of quantitative changes. And within that series of quantitative changes there are also qualitative changes. For example we might say in a small way, the July 4th demonstration was a qualitative change. Now I think it is correct to warn against exaggerating its importance or drawing undue comparisons to other times and places. But in terms of the effect that it had on the working class and on the masses of people in general it did bring about a qualitative change within the quantitative buildup for the big qualitative change.

So I think we can project and begin to see that at any given time you do have to figure out how to make concrete, qualitative (within quantitative) advances. But you have to do this without falling into a theory of stages or "here's the program for the next period," which then turns into its opposite and becomes reformist. Because if you ever try to erect a program for a certain period or stage in the struggle, short of your overall program, and make it an end in itself it's going to turn into its opposite and turn into reformism. For example you can see that in the history of the old CP when they went about building the industrial unions, there was a real tendency to make those unions an end in themselves and to make the building of them a program in itself. And when you do that, then instead of the reforms being a by-product of the struggle for revolution, the dialectic gets reversed and they become an end in themselves and revolution becomes something separated from your day to day work and off in the distant future. Then the question of achieving the final goal becomes something which becomes reduced to rhetoric or occasional propaganda or in one way or another becomes divorced from what you are doing.

Recognize Stages, Reject "Theory of Stages"

We have to understand the relationship that there is quality within quantity, as well as the other way around, but especially that aspect—that there is quality within quantity—without developing a theory of stages. There are objectively stages in the development of a struggle. But there is a crucial difference between understanding that and developing a theory of stages about the struggle. And there is the difference between "left" and right, between Trotskyism on the one hand, and revisionism on the other hand, which is really the same error but in opposite form. So if you fall into the error of not recognizing that objectively there are stages in the development of anything, then you are going to make the errors of that little pointy bearded guy (Trotsky). On the other hand if you recognize the stages alright, but you raise them to a principle and say that the only thing that we can achieve is whatever is possible in the given stage, then you make the opposite kind of error of Gus Hall and all those other kind of people (revisionists, like the Communist Party, USA).

So it relates back to the same point that is indicated in the paper, about recognizing necessity and the relationship between freedom and necessity. If you don't recognize necessity you're going to fall into idealism, and the particular form would be voluntarism, thinking you are going to accomplish anything you want, just by wanting it, regardless of conditions. You can vulgarize that thing about "nothing is hard if you dare to scale the heights," not see it in terms of protracted struggle but in terms of immediately, by will power, you can accomplish what you want. That's why we call it voluntarism.

On the other hand if you do recognize necessity, but then make an absolute out of it—fail to see that it is in a dialectical relationship with freedom and that, by grasping what the necessity is and what the laws are that govern any particular thing, as well as the general development of things, you can break through and advance things—then you bow down before necessity and you make errors in the form of vulgar materialism and determinism: "whatever is immediately impossible is always impossible and whatever you are doing is all that can ever be done." Of course neither one of these (voluntarism or determinism) is going to lead to victory.

Now there are some ways in which the second (de-

terminism) is more alluring, because at any given time you can seem to be doing something and you can seem not to be isolated. So it can be attractive. But that is a false attraction, a false allure, a dangerous seduction. And that's touched on when the paper talks about the hard road and the high road—that we have to consistently struggle to avoid reformist, bourgeois illusions, and deepen our understanding of what is going on and the principles governing it in order to avoid them.

But to stress it again, we (the standing bodies) felt it was important to add the point about quantity and quality and to understand that there is quality within quantity. Now, the aspect of there being quality within quantity of course is something which has its opposite—that there is quantity within quality. You can see that because there are "final aims" and "final aims," depending on how you're viewing things. From the point of view of where we stand now you can say that our final aim is to overthrow the capitalists and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. From a certain point of view that can be viewed as our final aim; that is a qualitative leap and not to understand that would be a very serious error But there is also quantity within that, and that is being borne out by the history of those countries where the proletariat has seized power. Everything doesn't stop at that point; there are different stages within the development of socialism, and then another qualitative leap beyond that to communism. And without tripping out too much and getting too far away from the point, it is important to grasp this

In terms of building our work what it means is that we have to try to take stock of where the movement is at, at any given time, and we have to have objectives and things we are aiming for and campaigns that we are taking up, short of our final aim on the one hand without making them everything on the other hand. We have to be able to concentrate our forces, carry out campaigns that are short of the final goal but are linked to the question, to the process of development of the movement towards the final goal. And that, of course, is a difficult thing to do While it is important to point out, even emphasize, that the situation will undergo a big qualitative change (along with some of the other points that I'm going to talk about in terms of how we prepare for that, which are touched on in the paper and are very important), we felt that this point—that there will be qualitative changes within the quantitative buildup toward a revolutionary situation—needed to be added and stressed.

Objective and Subjective Conditions

Now, on the point about the relationship between the objective and the subjective. As the paper points out, the objective sets the stage. And that's something that I touched on already that is important to understand. Mao Tsetung says the same thing: he says it (the objective situation) sets the stage upon which many an actor can play many a different role, full of sound and fury (I can't remember all the poetry he used to express it). In other words once you recognize and analyze the objective situation you have a lot of freedom and the role of the subjective factor has tremendous importance. Also summing up from the role of Stalin, we can see an erroneous tendency of sometimes being undialectical about the relationship between the objective and the subjective, in terms of making them absolutes and not seeing them interpenetrate, as if there's the objective and there's the subjective and it's not like they react upon each other and that the one can change the other—sometimes this view comes through in Stalin, for example.

The most important thing for us to grasp is the dialectical relationship between them. Exactly by understanding what the objective situation is, it is possible to change it. Not easily, because just like I said, noth-

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Revolution

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C.C. Report...

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ing is hard in this world, but also nothing is easy. That is also a unity of opposites. But it is possible to change things. The point is for emphasis in the paper where it says "in this process the subjective changes, too." And that means several things. In the process of grasping the laws, understanding the situation and analyzing the concrete conditions, not only do we change the world, but we also change ourselves in the process. This is true of mankind as a whole; it is also true of the conscious organized force, the Party (at this stage). We change ourselves in the sense that we deepen our understanding and we continue that spiral that goes from practice to theory to practice . . . We continue to deepen our understanding. We change ourselves also in a quantitative sense, in that we bring in more forces—more forces who were not subjective forces become part of the subjective forces—in other words, masses come into the Party.

As it says in the paper, the mood of the masses is something that is external and objective to the Party. But again there is not a wall between the Party and the masses . . . So, in the process of changing the objective world, another aspect of changing the subjective is that it gains more forces. As the objective situation—and this includes the consciousness of the masses—develops, that is directly related to the fact that the subjective forces, the conscious forces, gain members and draw others closer around them. And as the subjective force (the Party) changes both quantitatively (more members) and qualitatively (deepens its grasp of the correct line and its links with the masses), this of course strengthens its ability to deal with the objective, to get the dialectic going in that kind of a way.

The contradiction between the objective and the subjective will never be eliminated. In other words, even when we achieve communism there will still be the real world and there will be people trying consciously to change it. But obviously that is a different kind of situation than when you have these class divisions that we have now and the different kind of philosophical outlooks that we have now where the backward and the declining and the historically obsolete philosophies stand as a barrier between mankind as a whole and the objective world outside of mankind. They stand as a barrier to transforming it, related to and flowing from the same way in which the objective organization of society in a backward, declining and historically obsolete way stands in the way of mankind being able to consciously transform nature. So this is why our aim is not some abstract or moral vision of "making a better world," but is to eliminate those divisions, to eliminate classes, in order that mankind can advance to the stage where it can more directly and consciously confront and transform the objective world. So viewed historically that's our goal.

And I think this is an important point because we have to arm ourselves and the masses with an understanding, a basic materialist understanding, of what is this society, what makes it function. We talk about these phrases that we have in these articles on the Mass Line, where it talks about how capitalist society is a barrier to development. What does that mean? I think we have to deepen our own understanding and the masses' understanding, and it's not an abstract question, unrelated to their lives. There is a very powerful thing from Lenin in one of these works that I cited here (although not in this particular quote that I cited) where he says something like: today there is not war, people are in their homes, scattered and isolated from each other, going to work and back. Tomorrow there is a war and all of a sudden millions of people are drawn together, put into uniform, and organized by the capitalists.

Understanding Laws of Capitalism

What he's showing there is that these forces and laws (and that war itself) were not something that were simply the "will," even of the capitalists themselves, but act independently of anyone's will. Of course, in the case of any war, with regard to the particularity of when it breaks out and how it breaks out, this is a conscious action on the part of the bourgeoisie; it would be vulgar materialism if we didn't see that they consciously decide at a given time "this is it, let's go down." But the fact that they were driven to do that and sooner or later are going to do that (go to war) is independent of their will or anyone else's.

The fact that people can be moved from a situation of going to work, coming back, going to work, having a certain life and family and everything, and all of a sudden millions of people's lives are transformed in an instant, this shows us in a living way that these are not abstractions we are talking about arming ourselves and the masses with, divorced from their daily lives. Nor should we present them that way. But in fact there are laws and there are forces that are governing and determining what happens to them every day, forces much bigger than their home, their neighborhoods, their jobs, their communities, or even their country

for that matter. There are laws of nature and laws of society that do determine this, but the laws act blindly and they act behind the back even of the bourgeoisie, and certainly the laws of capitalism act against the interests, against the will, behind the backs of and blindly to, the masses. So the question is not whether or not there are going to be forces out there that are going to affect your life and whether you can seal yourself off from them, but whether you can remove the obstacles and barriers to progress by consciously confronting them, both in the material world and in the philosophical realm.

What I've said so far is, in a sweeping kind of way, trying to lay the basis, act as introduction, to getting into some particulars. And I think it is extremely important for a leading body like this, and in general for the whole Party and ultimately for the whole working class, to be able to constantly deepen our ability to view things in that kind of sweeping way. Because I think that is what moves people forward, when the blinders are removed and people see that there are these forces shaping things and that you can consciously master them step by step—step by step, not all at once, not out of will, but by grasping the situation you can consciously master and overcome them. And it brings things home a lot sharper. It takes the hatred people have for the way things are and their beginning, rudimentary and fragmentary understanding of who's responsible for that—which divides into two, it is partly correct and partly incorrect—it takes it, concentrates it, channels and directs it in a way that doesn't just allow people to vent their hatred, which they do on each other all the time, but allows them to use that hatred and energy to transform the world and remove the obstacles to transforming it. So I think that is extremely important.

I want to say here a little bit more on this point and then move on. There is another quote in the paper from Lenin about the masses "uncomplainingly allowing themselves to be robbed." And I think again we have to understand this statement dialectically . . . "Uncomplainingly" there is a relative term, it's viewed in terms of its opposite—when the situation changes qualitatively in the big way we're talking about.

I think it's like that phrase (I can't remember it exactly) about the wheels of God grinding—they grind slowly but grind exceedingly fine—that's kind of how people spontaneously view things. It's like fate, powers that be, god, whatever, is just sort of grinding along, shaping life and there isn't too much you can do about it, except within whatever little freedom you presently have, so you try to find the best possible happiness you can or whatever you can find. As long as the situation is relatively stable—you have to emphasize *relatively* stable—for the powers that be, then relatively the masses do uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed. Not that they don't know that they are being robbed and ripped off. (It's very hard to find too many people who the minute you say, "you know they're ripping us off," won't agree.) But immediately the question comes up, "what are you going to do about it, that's always the way it is, that's the way it always will be" and so on.

Again these objective laws operating behind the backs of people and independent of the will of anyone, acting as blind forces, have a lot to do with changing people's outlook on that question too. It is as if the Mafia comes down the block every week and collects extortion money from you and the guy just shows up at a certain time every week and he's there and collects the money. And everybody hates it but that's part of life. But then if you have the Mafia beginning to fall out among themselves, starting to shoot each other up, other syndicates come in and try to grab the block off and the normal machinery begins to break down, then the question begins to arise much more sharply in the minds of those who are being robbed, "maybe this doesn't have to be this way; maybe there is a way that in fact it can be fundamentally changed."

Nature of Revolutionary Situation

And that's related to this question, this quote from Marx in the paper, about how when things are going well, competition takes the form of an operating fraternity among the capitalists. In other words, yes, there's competition but they're able more or less to peacefully resolve it—more or less, again these terms have to be understood relatively. But once the situation turns around against them, when it is not a question of their being on the upswing, with more and more prosperity temporarily, but instead there are more and more crises, when it's a question of dividing up the shrinking profit pie and dividing up the losses, some capitalists losing out in the process—then the competition becomes outright cutthroat. And that's related to Lenin's analysis of the conditions for the development of a revolutionary situation. Lenin formulated this in somewhat different ways, depending on what he wanted to emphasize in particular, but the essential point he makes is summarized in the three following conditions he said had to exist in order for a revolution to be successful: 1) that the old ruling class has to be unable to rule in the old way; 2) that the lower classes are unable to live in the old way; and 3) you have to have a conscious force, the Party, that's got the roots and the plan and

the understanding and the organization to be able to turn the opportunity into a success.

All three points are interrelated, but here, from what I have been saying, you can see especially how the first two points are interrelated. In other words, independently of their will and because of the internal contradictions and laws governing capitalism—and more generally the development of society—this operating fraternity of the capitalists is breaking down. It is only a relative stability anyway. It breaks down more and more to where they are less and less able to keep the machinery sort of grinding along smoothly. And all of a sudden there are jerks, there's fits and starts, there's repairs that they have to try to make in the machinery, there's arguments among the technicians about how to repair it. All of this brings out much more sharply in the minds of people, "hey, maybe we don't have to be just ground down by this machinery." The dissatisfaction that exists takes a much sharper form, it calls into question much more fundamentally the right and the ability—and I don't think we can underestimate that question, the ability—of these capitalists to rule . . .

This point about the ability of the old ruling class to rule is an extremely important question, not only in their own ranks but among the masses who are very practical minded and have to be because of the necessities of life. And there is and will be a big section of the masses who up to the point of insurrection (and even after) are not going to be that conscious of their position in society and the historic mission of the working class. A big thing that makes a lot of them active and brings them into motion and into unity with the conscious forces of the working class is the fact that these guys (the capitalists) don't seem to be able to make things run anymore. Of course, our indictment of the capitalists is not simply limited to that—it is something that goes deeper and much more fundamental—it goes to a) *why* they aren't able to run society in a rational way, and b) the whole thing about how society has to be transformed and how until it is crises, wars, and misery caused by capitalism are going to constantly arise. But while we have to go deeply into this with the masses, we shouldn't fail to understand the importance of the question of the inability of the old ruling class to rule.

You can see that if you put it in terms of its opposite. Right now we have a *Programme* and it has a long section "Life Under Socialism," and it describes all these things that are going to happen, which have a lot of power, but frankly to a lot of people seem distant and remote and don't grab them immediately. But once the situation ripens and you've literally got two opposing armies right there in the field and in particular you have the army that represents the working class in the field, it is a little bit different than now. The workers' army marches into a neighborhood and the Party sends out its political cadre and they pull out the *Programme* about how things are going to change and say to people (not only run down the generalities and future possibilities of life under socialism) but say "now, when we defeat the enemy, A,B,C, and D are going to happen." This makes a lot of difference to people. "Today you can't solve the question of criminals—tomorrow we're going to start solving it, and we have the armed might of the masses to solve it! Today millions are out of work and the economy is in chaos—tomorrow we will begin putting people back to work and restoring the economy—on a new basis, in a way to eliminate crises and chaos and make the economy serve the people's needs, and we have the armed power of the masses to enforce that too!" These are the major kinds of things that right now we're not able to fundamentally change. But when that situation ripens and the qualitative leap does occur, then your ability to resolve immediate contradictions confronting the people, as opposed to the inability of the opposing forces, becomes a very real question, the question of immediate action becomes very important, and your program has immediate and direct, life and death, importance . . .

Arming the Masses with Materialism

The dissatisfaction of the masses is always there, and it grows the more that this system goes into crisis and the machinery breaks down. But that does not automatically lead to tremendous upsurges of struggle or to any sustained upsurge of struggle . . .

Unless through all the tactical twists and turns we have in mind the long-range objective and we're constantly raising the general level of understanding and bringing forward the advanced and training them, we're going to eventually find initial gains turned into their opposite. The spontaneous upsurges and our ability to link up with them are going to be weakened, not strengthened. When we're fighting in close quarters, especially where there is a high level of spontaneous struggle, the question of how to carry out the second and third objectives (raise the general level of mass consciousness and recruit and train revolutionaries) in that kind of situation becomes in some ways more difficult. It's one thing if you're working in a place and people say "yeah, so and so is a communist, and other people have different philosophies," or they're even more in-

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On the Three Worlds And The International Situation

Turmoil, conflict, crisis on many fronts mark the world situation today. Behind all this lies the deepening crisis of the imperialist system, the growing threat of war between the U.S. and USSR, and the developing revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples. The forms of struggle that break out on this basis are many and complicated. In 1974 the Arab countries and others in OPEC united with real success in using oil as a weapon against imperialist policies. Today various governments of the underdeveloped countries continue to press in the United Nations and in meetings like the recent so-called "North-South Conference" for many demands less advantageous to the imperialists, including for a "New International Economic Order."

Meanwhile there are new developments in the relations among imperialist countries. On the one hand the military alliances of NATO, headed by the U.S., and the Warsaw Pact, headed by the USSR, are strengthening as a part of imperialist war preparations. On the other, contradictions sharpen between the lesser partners within each alliance and the two superpowers that command them.

For example, during Jimmy Carter's recent trip to Europe for the summit of Western leaders, behind all the smiles and fine general proclamations, there was increasing conflict between the U.S. and Western Europe and Japan over such basic economic questions as trade and protectionism. Not long before, at last year's Berlin Conference of European revisionist parties the New Czars of the Soviet Union tried to play the role of orchestra conductor, waving the baton to harmonize the revisionist chords around the Soviet tune. But the tune soured as the various parties fought each other like crabs in a basket—each scrambling to advance their own bourgeois interests.

Complicated struggles like these underline dramatically the fact that although the fundamental conflict characterizing our era is the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, many other important contradictions arise in relation to this and become very sharp. It also underlines that while revolution is waged country by country, this does not happen independently, but in the context of worldwide developments. This is all the more true in a country like ours, an imperialist superpower whose reactionary tentacles reach around the world.

Worldwide United Front

In this situation the Chinese Communist Party has put forward the basic analysis that a worldwide united front should be built against imperialism, aimed particularly at the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR. And more recently, as one aspect of this general line, the CCP has put forward the analysis that the world's countries are today divided into three groups or "worlds." The First World is the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and USSR. The Second World is made up of the lesser capitalist and imperialist countries (including the revisionist countries other than the USSR), particularly the European countries and Japan. These countries are themselves part of, but not the heart of, the target of the worldwide united front against imperialism but, at the same time, they have contradictions with the superpowers. The Third World is made up of the underdeveloped countries that have been victimized by colonialism and neo-colonialism, a group making up a large majority of the world's countries and peoples. This analysis, particularly the latter or three worlds aspect has been the subject of important discussion recently both in the U.S. and worldwide.

The Three Worlds Analysis

This three worlds analysis gives, in our view, a correct appraisal of the general role that *countries*, or groupings of countries, are playing today on the world scale. As such it is one important part of the more general worldwide united front line. It is part of making use of all contradictions and for isolating to the extreme the two superpowers, who are to the same degree and the same extent the main enemies of the world's peoples. Of course there can be no absolute categories, and within each of these "worlds" there are contradictory forces and tendencies, but the existence of these broad groupings is rooted in the class nature of the countries involved and the development and laws of the imperialist system, as well as its general features today.

Especially in the context of growing superpower contention leading towards war, it is certainly true that in the final analysis the people of these countries cannot achieve real freedom from the grip of the imperialist superpowers, let alone domestic exploiters, without revolutionary struggle and the final achievement of the

rule of the proletariat. But short of that even the exploiting class governments of the Third World and even of the Second World, do in different ways *resist* superpower domination, and, especially in the case of Third World countries, there is a trend of uniting to strengthen this resistance—and such resistance is an important characteristic of the struggle on a world scale today.

The three worlds analysis, as part of the general line of the united front against imperialism aimed particularly against the two superpowers, contributes to the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples against every imperialist and reactionary ruling class, because the two superpowers it targets and seeks to isolate are the two most powerful and main kingpins of the world imperialist system. Anything that weakens them weakens the entire imperialist system and brings the revolutionary victory of the people of all countries that much closer.

This analysis is also a weapon against superpower propaganda and the efforts of each superpower to strengthen alliances or blocs of countries under its control as a part of the sharpening contention between them that is leading toward war. From Jimmy Carter and Andy Young to Leonid Brezhnev and Fidel Castro, the imperialists and their point men spread promises and lies of "common interests" between each superpower and its victims. In pursuing plunder, they speak of common economic interests and, offering local collaborators a bit of the spoils, they say the only way to develop economically is to tie onto their superpower coattails. Militarily they try to round up and consolidate junior partners and gather cannon fodder, as they speak of common military interests in opposing the aggression of the other superpower.

The U.S. imperialists carry out this dirty work under the smokescreen of dividing the world between the "communist world" and the "free world" and their role as "leader" of the latter. The Soviets, newer and less exposed as imperialists, speak loudly of a world split between imperialist reaction and a "socialist camp," with them at the head of the latter, of course. They present themselves as the "natural ally" of all those struggling against imperialism, as they scheme to replace U.S. imperialism as chief overlord in every corner of the world.

The three worlds analysis is a blow at both of these self-serving superpower world views and their efforts to tighten up countries under their gangster-style protection. It hits particularly hard at the revisionist line, which is less exposed internationally than the older lies of the U.S. It lays bare that while there are certainly socialist countries, there has been no socialist camp as such since the Soviet Union has degenerated into capitalism, and far from being a "natural ally" in-

the struggle against imperialism, the USSR has become one of the two greatest imperialist exploiters.

The program of building a worldwide united front aimed at the two superpowers is not a substitute for, nor in contradiction to, the revolutionary struggles of the workers and oppressed nations, but is a line for uniting and advancing the worldwide struggles of various kinds against the two superpowers. As such it is a part of the struggle for proletarian revolution throughout the world. The three worlds analysis, as an important part of this general line, basically in the realm of the role of states, also contributes to this same goal.

It is the duty of the international proletariat in the arena of international struggle to encourage, assist and support all forces, even bourgeois forces, in whatever resistance they put up to domination by both superpowers. This helps throw up obstacles to the formation of imperialist war blocs, delays the outbreak of war, and thus gives more time and more favorable conditions to develop the revolutionary struggle either before or during a world war. This is particularly true for the proletariat in power in the socialist countries where there is both the necessity and the ability to deal with and influence many bourgeois governments. But it is also true—though often in different ways—for the proletariat where it is still waging the revolutionary struggle for state power. Marxist-Leninist tactics include that in order to defeat a powerful enemy we must make use of cracks and crevices no matter how small in the enemies' ranks.

Of course, the need to take into account these broad outlines of world forces, centering on the role of countries—essential as it is—is not a substitute for Marxist-Leninist forces in each country carrying out further class analysis and basing themselves on analyzing the role of the class forces *within* each country. This is because, although the context for the revolutionary struggles is the world situation (of which the three worlds analysis reflects an important aspect), revolution is waged and won country by country and in today's world requires the leadership of the working class and its party in every country.

Countries and Classes

To fail to do this would be in fact to present the struggle of *countries* as the main force in the international struggle. It would be in essence to deny that countries are divided into classes and that bourgeois forces rule the non-socialist countries. This would be to deny the decisive role of the masses of people and reduce the working class to a subordinate role to the bourgeoisie, a tail wagged behind the bourgeois dog.

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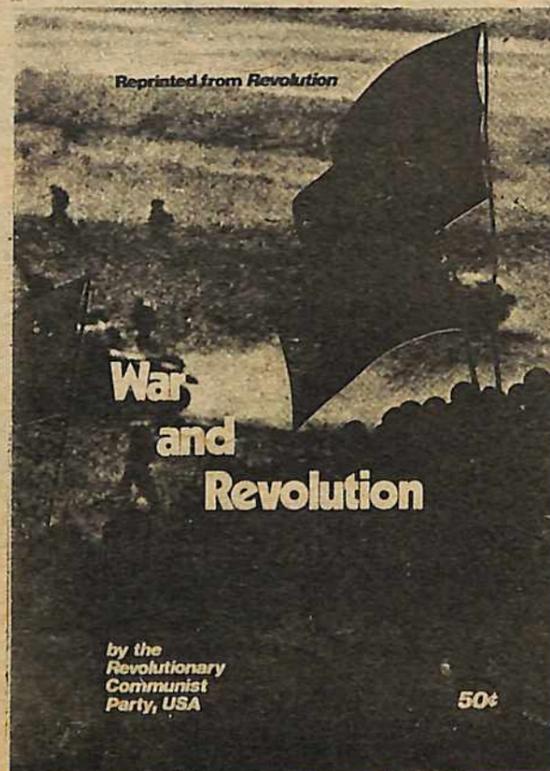
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Organizing Committee Backs Walkout

Latrobe Strike Ends in Victory

An important eight week strike at Latrobe Die-Casting near Pittsburgh, Pa., has just ended in victory for the several hundred workers involved, members of UAW Local 1984. The strikers beat back a series of vicious company attacks clearly aimed at destroying their union, court injunctions, federal marshalls and state police. In the face of this they stood strong despite the denial of strike benefits from the UAW International which refused to authorize the strike. Through the course of the strike the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization, which linked up and helped build the strike into a major battle throughout the Pittsburgh area as well as spreading news nationwide, particularly in the auto industry, showed what a key role it can play and quite a few workers from Latrobe and other industries have come forward to support it and become organizers for it.

Latrobe workers had signed their first contract last

October after the UAW won an organizing drive. But in January the company began a series of attacks. It started a strict absentee point system. It made a rule saying committeemen couldn't write grievances on company time, tried to combine three classifications into one and have the company appoint jobs rather than open posting as required by the contract.

A committeeman was suspended for a day and another had time docked when they tried to write grievances on company time. Even at this early point the UAW International was backpeddling, telling the local to "let it ride for a while."

But the local stood firm in the face of these attacks. The company responded by yanking out the pay phones, creating a new rule limiting how voluntary Saturday overtime was and set out 48 new rules for employee conduct. One rule went so far as to threaten discipline measures for conduct "off the plant premises" which affect-

ed supervisors, company products, property, reputation or goodwill in the community.

This sparked the strike and on April 12 the whole plant walked out.

The company got injunctions to get the dies out of the plant, sending in trucks with scab drivers and federal marshalls escorting them. 300 workers held out for 8 hours until 40 carloads of riot equipped state troopers arrived. Even then when the trucks left the plant, they left with broken windshields and no arrests were made.

At one point the company had been forced to agree to eliminate the absentee point system, plant rules and put the phones back. The workers were ready to go back to work but then the company fired 22 workers and gave two week suspensions to 13 more. People said, "No way we'll go back to work."

In the face of this the International UAW refused to authorize the strike or to pay strike benefits. This was their stand throughout the strike. The UAW regional director even came down to the line to try to get people back to work, working hand-in-hand with the company to try to start a back to work movement. But the strikers told this scab to hit the turnpike and not to show his face again.

The Pittsburgh area Organizing Committee for the national workers organization first heard about the strike from news reports after the battle on the picket line against the federal marshalls and state troopers. Steel workers and members of a UE local joined the picket lines and joined with the strikers to form a strike committee. Fairly early in the strike the Organizing

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New Film On The Battle Of Of The Bicentennial

The movie *The Battle of the Bicentennial* is out and is being shown in many cities around the country. It is a full color one hour movie which workers and other people will enjoy seeing.

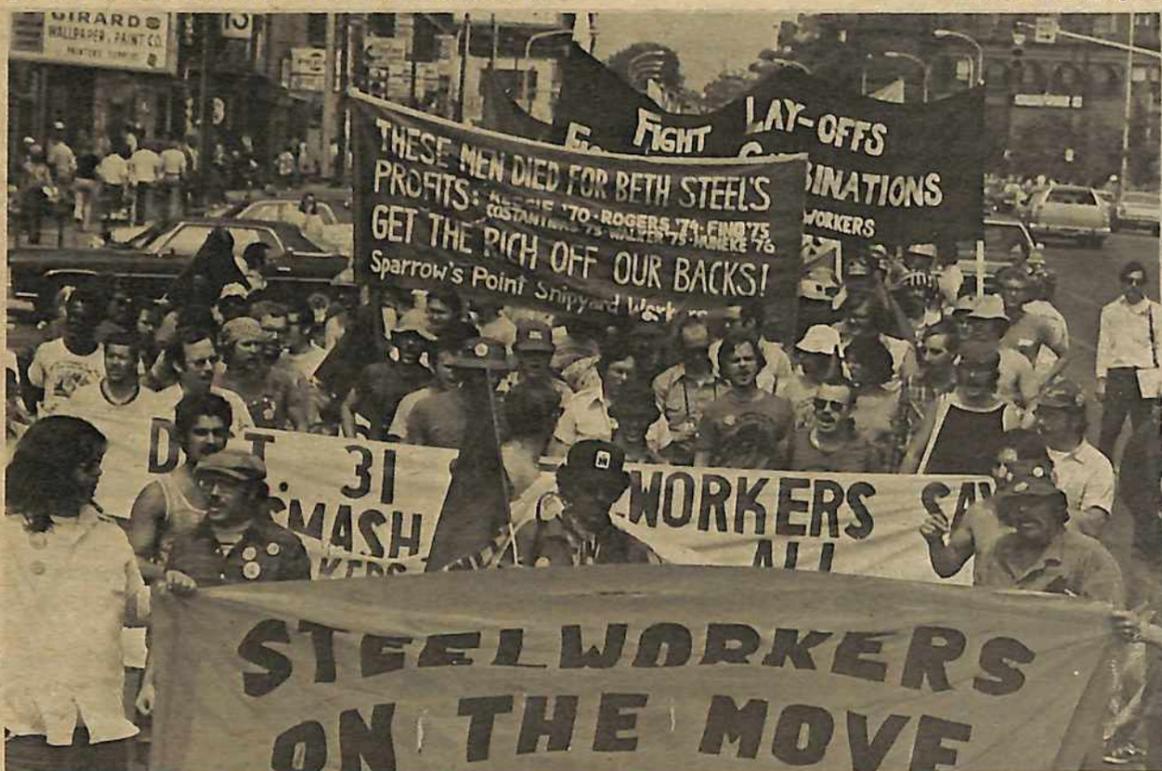
The movie captures the militant spirit and flavor of the mass struggle focused in Philadelphia around July 4th last year when the working class and others rallied their forces nationwide to take on the political attack represented by the ruling class' Bicentennial celebration. Using film footage taken in the thick of the struggle—interviews, speeches, newspaper clips and powerful Prairie Fire songs and background music—the movie closely follows the day-to-day events leading up to and climaxing with the march and rally of over 3000, bringing the force and vitality of that working class victory back to life.

The dramatic beginning of the movie puts the struggle around July 4th in the context of the broader battle between two opposing classes. The first scenes are of workers at work, some of it footage taken from inside factories, bringing out the socialization and productiveness of the working class. Then July 4th fireworks exploding at night flash on the screen. Out of this, in bold yellow letters, comes the title, *The Battle of the Bicentennial* by Single Spark Films.

Adding to this contrast of two classes mobilizing around the Bicentennial for opposite reasons, comes the second scene. One shot shows President Ford on some ship out in the middle of the N.Y. harbor, looking isolated and pathetic in a speech about "national unity." The next shot shows a scene happening at the same time—the ranks upon ranks of working people and others marching and rallying to declare "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!"

The movie shows the toe-to-toe struggle in the days leading up to the march, the working class forces advancing, then retreating only to advance even more forcefully. It shows the July 4th Coalition starting to break through the press blackout, taking over the Statue of Liberty, demonstrating at the Wisconsin and Hawaii State Capitols and on Armed Forces Day. It shows newspapers reporting on Philadelphia Mayor Rizzo's attempt to call in 15,000 troops and paint the demonstrators as "crazy radicals." Then scene after scene show the demonstrations leading up to July 4th—against the closing of Philadelphia General Hospital, in front of the unemployment office demanding "Jobs or Income," at City Hall in support of a slowdown of city workers, at Admiral Dewey's Flagship declaring "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War"—demonstrations which showed concretely to the masses of people what the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition stood for and which summed up and vividly concentrated the burning issues on their minds.

There are scenes of the "demonstrations on wheels," truck convoys carrying hundreds of demonstrators



Philadelphia, July 4, 1976.

through the back streets and working class neighborhoods of Philadelphia, scenes of people lining the sidewalks, leaning out the windows, giving clenched fists of support, proudly displaying the "Rich Off Our Backs" posters and leaflets. There are interviews with people in their communities talking about why they support the July 4th Coalition and why they and their families are coming to the demonstration.

The Battle of the Bicentennial is a movie about a festival of the oppressed, the masses of people, beginning to arise, to stand up to the enemy and in so doing to realize their growing strength, unity and determination. The movie focuses in to show the proud, smiling face of a worker when a "Workers History in Exile" is carried on huge display boards through Norris Park after the city officials refuse to grant permits for it to be put on permanent display. It shows Prairie Fire singing to a crowd on a street corner, people listening, moving, responding to "Let's Get 'Em Off Our Backs," a song written for the July 4th demonstration and used as the musical score in the film. The movie shows the sailors of the Admiral Dewey, forced below deck to "protect" them from the powerful demonstration of hundreds of veterans and others on the pier just outside, giving clenched fists of support and smiling through the portholes. All this complements, of course, the shots of the really massive actions: the July 3rd night of working class culture and the July 4th march and rally.

The movie shows how a relatively few thousand people, by concentrating their strength in a national classwide mobilization in a key battle, act as a starter motor to bring into motion and influence tens of thousands more. In this it gives a glimpse of one aspect of what is coming into being with the formation of the national workers organization.

From beginning to end the movie is definitely worth seeing both for those who participated in last year's July 4th action and many others. It is now being shown on the tour being made by the speakers from the Organizing Committee for the National Workers Organization, with another copy soon to be available for other local showings. ■

National Workers Organization Tour

The following is the schedule for the national speaking tour of the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization:

June 16-17: Pittsburgh-Wheeling
 June 18-19: Cleveland area
 June 20-22: Buffalo-Rochester
 June 22-26: New York City-Northern New Jersey
 June 27-29: New England
 June 30-July 4: Philadelphia, Baltimore, Reading
 July 6: Norfolk, Va.
 July 9-10: Atlanta, Ga.
 July 11: Birmingham, Ala.
 July 13: Mississippi
 July 15: New Orleans, La.
 July 16-17: St. Louis
 July 17: Houston, Tx.
 July 17-20: El Paso
 July 21-22: Los Angeles
 July 20-23: Cincinnati, Dayton, Indiana, Louisville
 July 23 and 25: San Francisco Bay Area
 July 24: Salinas, Cal.
 July 24-25: Detroit
 July 26-27: Honolulu
 July 28-30: Chicago area
 July 29: Seattle
 July 30: Portland
 July 31-Aug. 1: Milwaukee
 Aug. 1-2: Denver
 Aug. 6: West Virginia

In connection with this tour the film *The Battle of the Bicentennial* will be shown. ■



N.Y. phone strike of 1971. Guess why Ma Bell and the capitalist courts don't like the idea of strikers collecting unemployment benefits!

Win Fight to Bring In UAW

Trico Workers Wipe Out Company Union

On May 19, 2500 workers at the Trico Products Corp. in Buffalo, N.Y. won a big victory. They voted out the Trico Workers Union (TWU), a company union, and brought in the United Auto Workers (UAW).

This victory was important not only because it united the workers at the world's largest windshield wiper blade manufacturer with the nearly one million auto workers nationwide in the UAW, strengthening both. It is also significant that the workers at Trico organized into the UAW by mobilizing and relying on their own struggle, overcoming a UAW leadership which actually put up obstacles to their efforts.

For 30 years the UAW had tried to organize Trico. Twice in the last decade drives had been lost, largely because of the UAW officials' policy of organizing from the top down, to wit, bragging about their so-called expertise while failing to mobilize the rank and file. But the UAW's organizers hadn't learned much from these failures. When the workers raised the slogan "UAW in '77! Organize to Fight!" they said, "This is not a fight but an election campaign." The UAW officials even refused to issue buttons, so as not to "create antagonisms." And their main rap about their supposed feats in negotiating sounded less than convincing, especially after the Big 3 auto sellout the International crammed through last fall.

This gave an opening to the company and its trusty sidekicks heading up the TWU. The TWU tried to portray itself as a small, responsive union, free from the high dues and domination of the "strike happy" (!) Detroit leadership. It reprinted a list of the \$32.5 million in UAW staff salaries saying, "Your dues is what they really want."

The biggest argument of both the TWU and the company was about runaways, a big attack hitting many workers, especially in the Northeast. It published a poster with a graveyard of closed UAW plants, featuring two open graves, one marked "American Motors," the other marked "Trico," and a hearse entering the cemetery with a question mark on it.

To all these attacks the UAW organizers were silent. They wanted to rely on a mail campaign and tried to stop workers from doing any plant gate leafletting. They opposed every rank and file push for meetings, rallies and actions, and talked only about the union's "expertise."

With this no-fight practice the momentum of the union drive, which at first was heavily in favor of the UAW, began to tip towards the TWU. The UAW would have certainly lost this unionizing attempt too, had it not been for the militance of many rank and file fighters and their disgust with 35 years of TWU sellouts. As one worker summed up, "Going to the TWU with a problem is like going to the personnel office."

So despite the UAW organizers' passivity, when the company put out its "Meet the Competition" display to scare the workers about possible job losses, the workers at one plant threw the display out the window

and the workers at another plant defaced it so badly it had to be removed. When the UAW wouldn't issue buttons, so as not to "create antagonisms," the workers took TWU buttons and wrote "UAW" on them and wore them proudly. The walls and handtrucks were painted with slogans like "UAW in '77!"

Rank and File Organization

Helping to build this rank and file struggle and showing why it would be an advance to affiliate with the UAW even though the top UAW leadership were sellouts, was a group called Auto Workers United to Fight (not at this time associated with the national Auto Workers United to Fight group).

This group exposed the TWU and its argument that workers cause the runaways by showing how this was a program for suicidal sacrifice to preserve company profits. It brought out how by ridding themselves of a company union, by winning the UAW and joining strength with that union's rank and file, Trico workers would be in a better position to fight to improve their conditions. It defended the strike as an important weapon. And most importantly through all this, AWUF built the initiative of the workers themselves to win the union drive and prepare for the battles ahead.

At the same time, however, AWUF members who also belong to the local Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization are now summing up that they did not do enough in the group to build the drive as a part of the overall struggle of the working class and not just as an end in itself. For instance, AWUF for some time paid more attention to pressuring the UAW officials to move until it became clear that AWUF had to mobilize the workers against the company independently because the hacks weren't about to do it. As a result of this narrowness, some workers felt like AWUF's job ended with the elections and others still are not clear on the need to hook up with the national Auto Workers United to Fight group.

When the election results came in, the final vote was 1145-1124. It was a narrow victory, almost thrown away by the do-nothing organizing policies of the UAW representatives, but a big victory nevertheless. And the workers are keeping AWUF together as they come to understand that the election does not miraculously solve everything and that ongoing rank and file organization is needed. With a real union the workers will be in a better position to wage struggle in the upcoming contract around conditions in the plant, like the case of a 28 year seniority worker who lost his finger in a press at Trico and collects only \$119 a month pension at age 62. At the same time these 2500 workers now join in the struggle alongside their UAW brothers and sisters in the growing national struggle against both the auto companies and the top UAW officials. ■

Court Rulings Aimed At Strike Weapon

In two recent federal court decisions, the government has thrown two more rabbit punches at the working class. Although both rulings concern eligibility for unemployment insurance, they are basically directed at hamstringing the strike struggles of employed workers. The first came in New York State, one of only two in the country where, after a waiting period (eight weeks in New York), strikers could collect unemployment insurance. This had been the case since the 1930s when mass struggle forced the enactment of the first unemployment insurance laws.

The decision came in a lawsuit by New York Bell, which had been hit by a seven month strike in 1971 when Communication Workers of America members there rejected a sellout national contract and continued to fight. After two months, the strikers started to collect and Ma Bell had to pay \$49 million into the state benefit fund before it ended. Naturally they sued to get their bucks back.

The case was in court over five years, five years during which the capitalist crisis continued to deepen, with particularly devastating effects in New York. In his decision the judge dwelt at great length on the position of the government toward union labor. He ruled that the New York State law went against "the federal policy of free collective bargaining." The reasoning appeared to be that strikes themselves interfered with "free collective bargaining" and benefits to strikers helped them stay on strike longer.

Judge Owen set about proving his argument with some statistics: strikes in New York lasted 15% longer than the national average, "cost[ing] employers 933,000 man days." Since "free collective bargaining" is based on "government non-interference and neutrality," paying unemployment benefits to strikers, he ruled, is unconstitutional.

Ohio Decision

Just a few days later, the U.S. Supreme Court brought in a similar ruling in the case of a worker at U.S. Steel in Youngstown, Ohio who had been laid off when his plant was closed due to a lack of fuel. He was denied benefits because the missing coal came from a U.S. Steel-owned mine which was on strike and there is a law which denies benefits to workers laid off due to a strike against "their" company. The worker challenged.

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UWOC FILM THE CALL THAT JIMMY WOULDN'T ANSWER

March 5, 1977—Jimmy Carter staged his "People Call the President" show. But there was one call that Jimmy wouldn't answer. 1000 unemployed workers, led by the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee marched in Washington, DC, picketing in front of the White House gates to oppose cuts in unemployment benefits.

25 minute color film made by the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee. For showings in your area contact the local UWOC chapter.



Humboldt...

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with his sister, was shot dead in the back as he turned to get the family car. Another youth, Julio Osario, was also shot dead in the back. Many more were shot and wounded, including a ten month old baby and a little girl, both wounded in the head.

The news electrified the whole neighborhood in minutes—"They're killing Puerto Ricans—they shot a little girl!" Soon thousands were fighting back against the cops, pelting them with rocks and bottles, driving them out of the area so fast that the cops had to leave their cars behind, which the people quickly burned as hated symbols of oppression. The police later reported that 56 cops had been injured.

Cops Beaten Back

For most of the early evening the intersection on one side of the park and the surrounding streets were filled with thousands of people, whole families who'd been in the park or had come out of their homes, filled with indignation at the police but at the same time with joy at having stood up to the oppressors and hurt them bad. The air was filled with cries of "Viva Boricua, Abajo la Jara" (Long Live Puerto Rico, Down with the Cops).

Although the TV and press later made a big deal about a small white-owned store that was destroyed, for the most part the looting that took place was very selective—a currency exchange where people are robbed of several dollars just for the "service" of cashing their checks, a supermarket and so on. Up and down the block clusters of family and friends were arguing among themselves about what was right and wrong about what was going on and what to do, but whenever the police stuck their noses into the area there was almost complete unity, as rocks and bottles flew against the patrol cars and the police quickly got out again. Over 50 squad cars were treated to free remodeling this way.

A few hours later, as the crowd began to dwindle, the police reappeared in full force. Hundreds of them in riot gear marched down the street in military formation with the chief of police leading them with a pistol stuck in his belt, the mayor bringing up the rear, and a helicopter with spotlights swooping over the rooftops. Scattered battles took place all night long and into the following evening, with police outrages against the people continually fueling the fighting. They tried to clear the streets by chasing and beating not only those who filled the sidewalks but also families who happened to be hanging out their windows or sitting on their porches. The cops themselves picked up rocks and bottles, hurling them at bystanders and through the windows of homes.

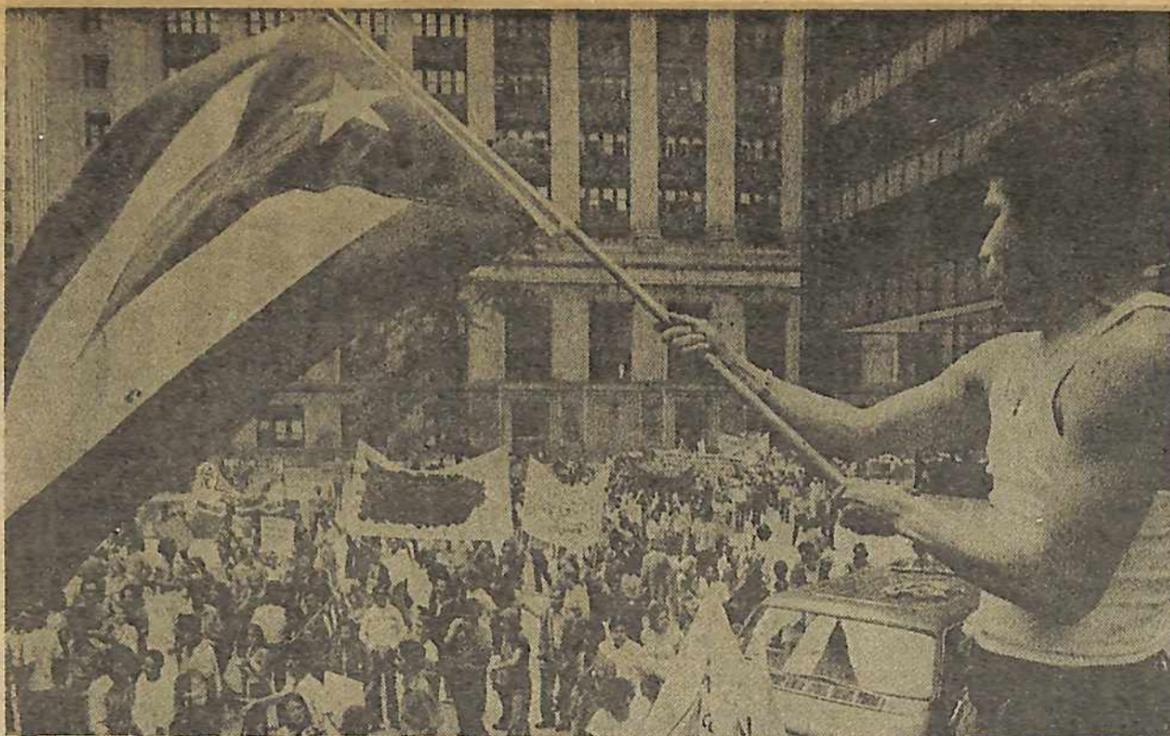
For several days the police enforced an open reign of terror. Hundreds of them stood around on important street corners looking for a fight with everyone who dared walk by, stopping and searching and beating people, clearing crowds by driving through them at high speed and hitting those caught in the way, and so on.

The bourgeoisie threw its media to work at full steam. While some of the first press coverage reflected the fact that some reporters had seen what the police did, soon the ruling class got its story straight and each report presented the whole thing as a fight between gangs which the police heroically tried to break up. The media played up the problem of gangs and crime for all it was worth to justify what the police had done, hide their crimes, turn the masses of people of other communities against the uprising and keep the spark from spreading. Within the Puerto Rican community itself they worked through their poverty pimps and some clergymen and whatever spokesmen they could find or build up in a hurry to sum up the uprising as a big failure, a senseless act of violence which had left people dead, hundreds injured and jailed and not a single improvement for the community.

While throughout the city as a whole they played on people's hatred of the gangs and tried to stir up racial animosities, within the community where the uprising had taken place they tried to play on cynicism and despair and people's feeling that nothing had been accomplished.

The West Town neighborhood adjoining Chicago's Humboldt Park on the east, along with the Humboldt Park neighborhood on the west side of the large park, is the main concentration of the city's roughly 200,000 Puerto Ricans. For generations it has been a slum packed with immigrants seeking work in Chicago's factories beginning with the Poles, Jews and Italians. The area was classified as "blighted" by a federal survey in 1939 and it's been all down hill since.

The housing is among the worst in the city and the rents are high, but discrimination makes it hard for Puerto Ricans to live anywhere else, even if they could afford it. The unemployment which is tremendously high among all Puerto Ricans in the city is even worse in West Town, where about half the families are forced to try to get along on welfare or unemployment checks. Many of the rest slave away in some of the city's worst



A week after Puerto Ricans in Chicago's West Side rose up against police attacks, angry demonstrators marched from Humboldt Park area to the City Hall, demanding an end to police harassment and terror.

hell-holes; the missing and crushed fingers and hands of the people coming home from work are testimony to the working conditions. These include not only the swarms of small, minimum wage sweatshops that dot the area, but also big electrical plants like Stewart Warner and Zenith.

Faced with almost no chance of finding work and with schools that not only don't teach how to read and write English but also rob them of their native Spanish, the vast majority of youth drop out of high school. Many are drawn into the gangs that are, along with the churches, just about the only social organizations in the area. Far from doing anything to stop the shooting, mugging and drugs, the cops take pay-offs to protect the biggest drug dealers and stir up the gangs to wage war on each other.

Redevelopment Plans

But in addition to the common conditions faced by the masses of minorities throughout the city and the whole country—conditions born out of the capitalists' drive for the extra profits that discrimination enables them to wring out of the labor of minority workers—there is something special about West Town. According to the city's Chicago 21 Plan, a master plan devised by a board of men representing the area's major financial interests, the neighborhood is to be "redeveloped" as upper "middle class" housing close to downtown for people now commuting from the suburbs.

There is a big obstacle to the capitalists' plans to make a killing in West Town—the people who now call it home. With the invisible hand of capital paying off the arsonists, over 150 major fires have swept the community, killing seven people in the last year alone. Whole blocks have been burned down and bought up by the secret land trusts which the banks and the real estate speculators hide behind. Almost always the fires start at night. Sometimes, when someone is in a hurry to clear some land, the fires are set on the front and back stairs of a building, trapping and murdering the families inside. People are frightened, especially for their kids, and they move if they can. But because they don't have the money, because landlords won't rent to them elsewhere or because welfare won't authorize moving payments, many, many people are trapped.

On top of all this there is the police. In Chicago as everywhere else in this country, the police serve the capitalists using force to keep the people down. The waves of police murders that have swept the city again and again have seen many whites as well as Blacks and Puerto Ricans shot down for no good reason by the cops. But again the police are openly terroristic in the Black and Puerto Rican communities and especially in West Town, where police harassment and brutality goes hand in hand with the fires to drive the people out, and to be beaten senseless for a traffic violation is not uncommon. The neighborhood on both sides of the park is full of stories about how the police protect the criminals from the wrath of the people, while they treat everyone on the street—especially youth—as a suspect to be shot or beaten first and then asked questions, usually starting with, "Why don't you go back to Puerto Rico?"

The fact is that the majority of people here were forced to leave their homes in Puerto Rico by the same capitalist ruling class—and sometimes the very same companies—that make life hell for them in the U.S. The so-called "industrial development" of Puerto Rico (which consisted mainly of U.S. companies setting up shop there to get even richer paying Puerto Rican workers next to nothing) ruined the agricultural economy on which Puerto Rico was based. For many of those who've come to Chicago from the small towns of Puerto Rico dominated by one or a few American

plants, when those plants closed down and ran away again in search of yet cheaper labor there was no alternative but to leave, looking for work.

Through this great uprising the people of the community had come to feel the joy and strength of standing up together and fighting back, providing a potential inspiration to all those across the city who know what it is to have to struggle to keep from being ground into the dirt. But the bourgeoisie immediately set to work to turn this around, and because of the purely spontaneous nature of the uprising, they began to have some success. It was necessary for the organized forces of the working class to work with other advanced people within the community so that the uprising could give rise to future political gains and not be summed up as proof that "you can't fight the system" as the bourgeoisie and backward forces were saying. At the same time, in order to turn around the bourgeoisie's attempts to slander the uprising in order to turn people of other nationalities against it and politically isolate the community, it was necessary to take out the truth of what had happened broadly to the workers, so that the Humboldt Park uprising could be a spark to further understanding, unity and struggle.

Organized Forces

Youth in Action, including some residents of the area, along with a few representatives of the Chicago Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization, called a series of community meetings, beginning with one of 80 people Monday night, which was pulled together after only a few hours of leafletting the high school and the streets. These meetings brought together both youth and older people, including many workers, who stepped forward to play a leading role. As people put their heads together, there arose a powerful idea for a militant, disciplined march to show that instead of being terrorized by the police attacks the Puerto Rican community was getting organized against them. Three demands crystallized and directed the sentiments of the neighborhood: Stop Police Terror in Humboldt Park! Drop the Charges Against All Those Arrested! Indict the Cops Responsible for Murder!

Although most people liked the idea, many had real doubts as to whether the community could get itself together in an organized way and whether any such action really could take place in the face of the threat of yet another assault by the cops. But through discussion at the meetings, leafletting and door-to-door canvassing, the idea for a march began to really take hold in the neighborhood and more people were won to doing the work to build for it, despite police attempts to frighten people away. At the meetings the people decided to form Humboldt Community United for Action in order to organize for the march around the three demands and march under a common banner.

The Chicago Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization had taken up the question of the uprising as one of its tasks, deciding to concentrate efforts mainly on carrying the struggle around the uprising into the plants. Several factories, especially where Puerto Ricans work along with people of other nationalities, were saturated with a leaflet laying out how the uprising was a righteous blow against the rich ruling class which oppresses and exploits all working people, and asking, "As workers, can we stand to let this police violence and attack on the people of Humboldt Park go unanswered?" As if to drive the point home, the bosses at one plant freaked out about the leaflet being given out at their gates, and called the police to storm into the plants, trying to intimidate those who'd taken the leaflet in.

This leaflet turned out to be extremely controversial, not only because of the division among the na-

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Face Company, Courts, Union

Battle Vs. Union Busting In St. Louis

On May 1, 1500 workers walked off the job at Hussmann Refrigeration in Bridgeton, Missouri. The contract had expired. Hussmann Refrigeration which is owned by the conglomerate, Pet, Inc., refused to bargain "in good faith." Instead the company made outrageous demands on their workers aimed at busting their union, the United Steelworkers of America, Local 13889. Hussmann/Pet Inc. demanded: 1) combination of job classifications which would have meant an estimated 500 layoffs; 2) elimination of the union grievance committee; 3) review of all past practice clauses which would have meant a loss of wages, work conditions, etc.; 4) strict limitation of bidding rights to jobs; and 5) removal of overtime rights to those who missed a day of work during the week; as well as many other takeaways.

On June 6, the company began to hire scabs to take the place of the workers. Over 350 workers gathered at the plant gates to turn back the scabs. After the rocks and bottles stopped flying, the cops were forced to close the plant gates. At least one scab car was demolished. Four strikers were arrested. Later that day, a county judge issued an injunction restraining all strikers and others from getting within 100 yards of the plant.

The next day several hundred strikers met in different places near the plant. The local union leadership, which had tried to cool the workers out on Monday, was totally absent. While many strikers talked of defying the injunction, the lack of leadership quickly took its toll. Workers in small groups went to the plant gates, where they were turned back by the judge and dozens of cops in riot gear.

After two hours, 150 workers gathered in a park near the plant to figure out "What do we do about the scabs and the injunction? Where was our union leadership? Where are McBride, and the International, now?" St. Louis is new USWA President McBride's home district. After a lot of debate, a union picket captain showed up and, speaking for the union officials, said that nothing could be done at that time and people should

come back later for a meeting. Under fire from the rank and file, the lackey left. The meeting began to break up.

Rank and File Organize

At that point a member of the St. Louis area Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization spoke to the workers about the need to carry on and spread the fight. After some discussion, the workers decided to picket the Bridgeton police station. Sixty workers went downtown and raised hell. The next two days, 25 strikers were joined by 10 to 15 Organizing Committee and UWOC members they had invited in demonstrations at the unemployment offices, demanding that the offices stop sending people to scab on the strike.

Off of these demonstrations, the strikers agreed to organize a meeting for the next day. On Friday, June 10, 75 to 100 strikers met with the Organizing Committee to discuss what to do. The local union president showed up during the meeting saying that it was not a union meeting, that the International's lawyers said that nothing could be done about the injunction except to file suit against the company and that the strikers should stay cool and go home. The strikers told him to go home, and the tendency to say screw the union altogether grew very strong at this point. Organizing Committee members argued that the strikers couldn't abandon the struggle within the union, pointing out that it is the rank and file who make up the union and need it, in spite of obstacles from any misleaders.

The OC at this meeting proposed actions to build the strength of the strike and gather support from other workers in the area, pointing out that the key thing was to keep scabs out and to keep production stopped. The strikers took up these proposals enthusiastically. They collected \$60 for literature, leaflets, etc., and grabbed up copies of the *Steelworker* and national workers organization buttons.

The Sunday following, a delegation of strikers attended an OC meeting where much discussion was held and a local boycott of Pet, Inc. was decided on. On Monday, June 13, despite growing attacks on the strikers and the Organizing Committee by the union leadership, 50-60 strikers and OC members picketed *The Post Dispatch* demanding that they stop printing ads for scabs. On Thursday, strikers, their families and OC members picketed Pet, Inc. headquarters where the OC announced a boycott of the company, focusing on 9-0-5 liquor stores, a division of Pet, Inc. Friday and Saturday, OC members and strikers picketed these stores in the area to turn back shoppers, particularly at the store across the street from the huge GM Chevrolet plant, where the boycott has been greeted with a lot of support from workers there.

The St. Louis Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization has decided to make the Hussmann strike a major campaign in the coming period. It is not only a hard fought battle but one which addresses key issues in the St. Louis area. The papers there constantly refer to the need to change St. Louis' "tough labor image" and to "improve the profit picture in the city." The past few years have seen a pattern of sharp attacks along these lines—from outright union busting to company attempts to force workers to give up past gains. There was an Anheuser-Busch assault on the Teamsters at their plant in which the union was saved but key contract issues were sacrificed, the construction industry's PRIDE plan to up productivity and slash at work rules, the Chemtech strike which busted Teamster Local 618 out of the plant. All this shows clearly the need for classwide organization to take on such attacks.

The struggle now is in a difficult stage. The company is getting out some production with a workforce of 500 scabs, working management and other lowlifes. The court injunctions protect them and the workers, without support from their union, don't yet feel strong enough to go up against the injunction.

The USWA local has not merely peddled inaction, but threatened active rank and filers and denounced the Organizing Committee. As *Revolution* goes to press, the hacks have been forced to announce a meeting for the weekend of June 19.

The workers have not given up in the face of all these attacks. They have elected an unofficial strike committee, including members of the local Organizing Committee, and made plans to continue the boycott, build pickets and meetings to strengthen their hand for the union meeting. The rank and file intend to force the officials to take steps—calling the whole local to a unity picnic, for instance—that will help them push the struggle on toward victory. ■

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nationalities that the ruling class has maintained and stirred up, but even more importantly, because what most people had heard was just the bourgeoisie's sum-up of how the whole thing was no more than a gang fight. This, in turn, made it even clearer how important it was to turn around the bourgeoisie's propaganda campaign.

Where communists and other workers struggled with their fellow workers around this issue, taking out petitions against the police harassment in Humboldt Park and demanding the dropping of the charges against the 164 arrested, they were able to bring out and unite with the hatred that all nationalities of workers have for the abuses of the police and all the other hell the capitalists bring down. A special flyer put out by *The Worker* for the Chicago-Gary area also proved very useful in carrying out struggle around this question in the plants.

These three demands and the idea of a mass protest march through the community on the following Saturday tapped a volcano of anger. But a fierce class struggle arose over exactly how to carry out a campaign around the demands and what kind of march to hold. As the ruling class painfully realized, the bought and paid-for "community leaders" to whom it turned to try to "cool things down" turned out to be few and weak. All sorts of forces, including poverty pimps and others on the city and federal payroll and various varieties of so-called "revolutionaries" tried to rush into the vacuum. Out of this arose a coalition led by some narrow nationalist forces, poverty pimps, would-be elected officials, Trotskyites, revisionists and all sorts of unsavory forces who banded together to plan their own march through the community.

The desire of the masses for there to be one united demonstration was very strong, but these opportunists refused to hear anything about unity, actually refusing to even discuss the question. They feared that the bigger things got the more danger they faced of losing control, and they refused to carry out the work of going door to door and block to block talking to people and organizing for the most powerful demonstration possible. Instead they planned something more "symbolic"—and less threatening to the bourgeoisie—name-



Arrests, beatings, murder, this is what the cops dish out to the Puerto Rican people in Chicago. But when they attacked the thousands of people picnicking in the park after the Puerto Rican Day Parade, the people rose up in a spontaneous rebellion against these armed thugs who terrorize their community.

ly, a short march followed by a car caravan downtown that would inevitably have involved only a few because of the lack of cars.

It was absolutely crucial that there be a single united march and not a situation which the bourgeoisie could use to make people in the community feel disunited, discouraging further action and organization. Humboldt United decided that in order to keep these wreckers and splitters from getting away with all their dirty work, there would be a united march whether any opportunists liked it or not. While trying to maintain as much political and organizational independence as possible, they fought to bring the broadest possible masses into the march and make it the organized outcry of protest of the entire community.

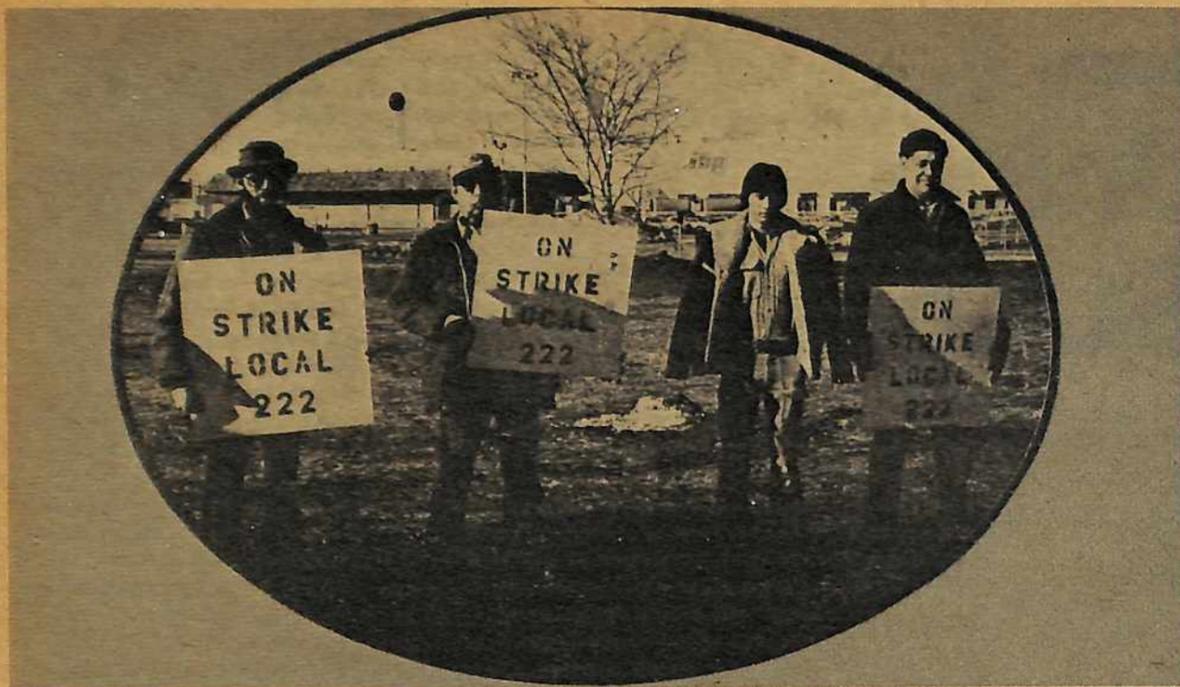
March Through Neighborhood

The result was an extremely successful march which began with 500 and picked up strength as it went, marching through the main street of the neighborhood, and then, because the opportunists themselves didn't dare to isolate themselves by splitting off a car caravan, proceeding through many blocks more of working class neighborhoods and all the way to City Hall. Along the way there was struggle over what to chant, with the opportunists trying to restrict the chants to only those which reflected the national sentiments of the people against the oppression of Puerto Ricans,

while opposing efforts to unleash as well the marchers' hatred for the overall nature of the system and the ruling class behind it. Nevertheless, the overall political effect of the march on the community and the whole city was very good.

It very definitely put the lie to the bourgeoisie's claims about how the police were only stopping a gang fight and helped put the reality of police terror against Puerto Ricans right out there as a burning question for people all over the city, dealing a real blow to the bourgeoisie's coverup and slander. Now the bourgeoisie finds itself more jammed up than ever on the question. The march and the efforts of the Organizing Committee to bring workers of all nationalities to take part had an important effect for those who saw it go by or even just saw it on TV. It also hit back and to some extent turned around the bourgeoisie's efforts to politically isolate the rebellion which had exploded in the Puerto Rican community.

The struggle around the three demands and all the conditions faced by the community is still far from settled. But the Humboldt Park uprising and the march won some real political victories, both for the Puerto Rican people of the area and the overall struggle of the working class and all the oppressed against the ruling class whose endless tyranny propelled the people to stand up with stones and bottles on Puerto Rico day and declare, "We've had enough—We won't allow you to push us into the dirt." ■



Striking Sioux City meatcutters at Iowa Beef Co., largest meat processing plant in the country. Members of the Milwaukee Meatcutters Solidarity Committee traveled to Sioux City to lend support and share their experience.

Iowa Meatcutters in Contract Fight

Nation's Largest Packer Struck

2400 men and women in the Missouri River packing center of Sioux City, Iowa have been on strike for four months against the country's largest meatpacker. The company, Iowa Beef Processor (IBP), is on the attack at its slaughtering and processing plant on the Nebraska side of the river in Dakota City. Their final offer was nothing but takeaways and was clearly intended to provoke a strike. The members of Amalgamated Meatcutters Local 222 have been forced to strike twice before in the last eight years. One strike lasted seven months, the other eight. On February 16th they walked out again with no doubt in their minds that IBP was trying to wipe the union out of its sprawling Great Plains empire.

The company had prepared for the strike by setting up a dummy corporation called "Farm Products," a processing division located right in the middle of the Dakota City complex. The workers in this department had been saddled with a phoney company union and a sweetheart contract, but they walked out along with the rest of the IBP strikers. Iowa Beef began recruiting scabs to work at "Farm Products."

The workers responded with picket line militancy, tire slashing, and other harassment of scabs. On March 9, when the Nebraska State Police and the Dakota County Sheriffs told pickets to disperse, they refused to budge. The cops beat, maced and teargassed the workers—all on local TV.

Fierce Strike in 1969

The ruling class was obviously scared of a repeat of the 1969 strike. The Sioux City area became a battleground as the company dug trenches around the plant and built watchtowers for its armed guards. The strikers threw everything they could at the scabs. One striker was killed in this strike, one of the most violent of the late '60s.

As soon as the current strike began the company got an injunction limiting the union to no more than four pickets to a gate. Also a court came up with a decision on an old lawsuit from the 1969 strike. It ruled that sympathy strikes at the two other union plants were illegal and that the union had to pay a fine of \$2.4 million. Meanwhile, the NLRB has stalled off any rulings on the union's charges of obvious unfair labor practices against the company.

The workers on whose backs Iowa Beef became the world's largest meatpacker in just 14 years aren't about to give up the union they've fought so hard to build. Even with a union, conditions on the job are almost unbearable. This is one of the most automated plants of its kind. A chain carries the beef from the kill floor through numerous high-speed butchering operations till the cuts are packaged and ready for the supermarket shelves. The IBP workers push out an incredible 180 cattle an hour and work 50-60 hour weeks. They're fed up with the harassment, the physical exhaustion, and an injury rate 44% higher than the rest of the industry. The wages are over a dollar below the industry average and the benefits are practically nonexistent—for example, they have no pension plan whatsoever.

The speed at which Iowa Beef runs those chains, combined with the nonunion conditions throughout many of their plants, have allowed IBP to rise to the top. Iowa Beef began as a small nonunion packer in a corn-

field in Denison, Iowa in 1961. It is now the world's largest beef slaughterer, largest beef processor, largest renderer, largest hide producer, the most profitable U.S. packer, and the 100th largest corporation in the country. They are three times bigger than their biggest competitor and larger than the so-called "Big 5" put together.

Changes in Packing Industry

Iowa Beef's rapid growth came at a time when the meatpacking industry was going through a major reshuffling. The old Big 5 (Armour, Swift, Wilson, Cudahy, and Morrel), up against a militant and organized workforce as well as rising costs in the major stockyard centers, either shut down plants, cut back production, diversified or moved to the plains states. A new breed of nonunion packers grew up near the Western cattle markets and the mammoth feed lots where acres and acres of beef are fattened in pens. IBP was the most aggressive of this new breed.

In recent years the already fierce competition has intensified. Foreign imports of beef have increased. The cost of feeding cattle has skyrocketed. With less profit to be made, companies are out to drive each other under.

American Beef of Omaha went bankrupt. The owner of Packerland was caught wiretapping his rivals in Milwaukee (and when he was apprehended by the FBI, he was so shocked he flopped over dead from a heart attack). The head of Iowa Beef states, "Business as we

pursue it is very much like waging war."

But the real victims of this war are the workers. The union busting attacks at Packerland in Chippewa Falls and in Milwaukee, long hours and intense speedup in other places, and plant shutdowns and big layoffs are the result.

Meatcutters at Flavorland Industries, another of the "new breed" of packers can testify to the hard times in beef right now. Men at the Flavorland plant in Sioux City were working 15 and 16 hours a day killing more cattle per man than even the Iowa Beef workers.

They were tired and angry, ready to strike for some basic gains and protection in the contract. After one week on strike the owner shut down the Sioux City plant and another striking local in Omaha. The men are still holding their picket line after six months—preventing the owner from selling the plant without a contract.

The same kind of shutdown came at Wisconsin Packing, one of the Milwaukee houses that decertified the union after a 15 month strike in 1975-76. When the workers had mobilized for a vote to bring the union back, the owner shut all boning and slaughter operations to keep the union out.

A Critical Battle at Iowa Beef

The struggle at Iowa Beef is the main fight in the meatpacking industry right now. A defeat for the union at this, the largest and fastest growing company, would open the door further to large wholesale attacks throughout the industry.

The International leadership of the Amalgamated has put number one priority on the IBP strike. They realize that if they don't fight this one, their whole hustle could go down the drain. But their strategy is not to unleash the workers in exercising their strongest weapon—the ability to stop production on the picket line. In fact strikers are told that if they get busted, they won't get bailed out. Nor is the International allowing the workers to mobilize broad support in the working class. They are calling for a boycott, but they are building it only in the most bureaucratic way, which proved to be totally ineffective during the Milwaukee strike of '75-'76. In addition, the International is grabbing a tighter grip on local unions throughout the country, trying to prevent any struggle from developing, pitting any local fights against the Iowa Beef struggle (arguing that it would deplete the strike fund, etc.).

For example the officials recently moved to squash the militant strike and boycott of Mountain Pass Cannery and put the militant El Paso, Texas local into receivership. But already rank and file meatcutters have taken some beginning steps to build unity on a fighting basis. Word about the strike is getting out in the pages of *The Worker* and in important meatpacking centers. Recently several meatcutters from the Milwaukee Meatcutters Solidarity Committee, who had been active in last year's important battle, visited the Iowa Beef strikers to help further unity. They discussed common experiences and spread the word about the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization.

The struggle of packinghouse workers in this country has a proud and militant history from the 1919 Chicago stockyards strike to the massive organizing drives of the '30s up to the heroic Milwaukee meatcutters strike last year. Now the gains of years of struggle are in serious danger. An important section of workers is embattled in a bitter fight. The Iowa Beef strikers are on the front lines. Victory to the IBP strikers! ■

Publications

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Shoddy Cover for Capitalism

New Czars Unveil Constitution

Recently the Brezhnev gang that rules the Soviet Union has concocted a new draft constitution as the "fundamental law" of the USSR. This constitution made news because it became public at the time when Podgorny was dumped as President and Brezhnev added that post to his impressive list of titles, thus increasing his power still more. But this constitution had, in its own right, revealing features worthy of note.

Brezhnev stated, in introducing the new constitution, that it is necessary because "major changes of fundamental importance have occurred in every aspect of public life." But this statement is about the only thing truthful in the entire constitution or Brezhnev's report. The fundamental change that has occurred which requires the replacement of the 1936 constitution drawn up under Stalin's leadership is none other than the restoration of capitalism in the USSR.

In socialist states where the working class rules, the constitutions of the state have been major documents reflecting the advances that had been made in the revolutionary struggle, consolidating the fundamental gains won by the working class into law and expressing in a concentrated way the new socialist relations in society.

While the various constitutions of the socialist states have varied according to different conditions existing in the separate countries and different periods in the revolutionary struggle, all have in common one basic feature—openly avowing the class nature of the socialist state as a dictatorship in the interest of the masses of working people. Not so, naturally, with the constitution of the new capitalist rulers of the USSR. Like the laws and constitutions of all bourgeois regimes it cannot openly proclaim its nature, instead it must claim to speak in the name of "the whole people."

And, once again like other bourgeois constitutions, it is a tissue of lies. With the USSR coming under attack by the Western imperialists for the lack of "human rights," the New Czars are countering by calling their constitution "the most democratic in the world."

Not only does the constitution make the ridiculous claim that Soviet citizens are guaranteed the right of free speech, freedom of the press, etc., they try to score a few points of their own on the phoney "human rights" front, as well as shore up their sagging pretensions of being a socialist state, by pointing to the provisions of the draft left over from the 1936 constitution guaranteeing the right to work, the limitation of the working day, etc. These provisions, too, are today as phoney as the foreign policy section which declares the USSR will never interfere in the internal affairs of another country—ten years after Brezhnev sent troops storming into Czechoslovakia and declared his infamous "theory of limited sovereignty."

But Brezhnev should not be too disappointed, at least one of his contributions to "Marxism" is upheld by the foreign policy section—the theory of "the international socialist division of labor." Under this signboard the social-imperialists justify making the economies of the countries under their thumb subservient to them.

"State of Whole People"

The heart of the constitution, and what is most revealing, is its contention that, "having fulfilled the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet state has become a state of the whole people." This proposition, first declared by the pioneer Soviet revisionist Khrushchev, is utterly opposed to Marxism.

Marxism-Leninism holds as one of its most basic assumptions that the state exists for the suppression of one class by another. The constitution, laws, state apparatus and most importantly the key component of the state, the standing army and police forces, exist to protect political rule of a given class and maintain the economic and social system that serves that class' interest.

If the Soviet state is a "state of the whole people," if "social and political unity has been achieved in Soviet society," against whom, may we ask, is the state directed? What is the purpose of the vast police and internal armed forces including the notorious KGB? Why the necessity of stressing the point that "the exercise by citizens of rights and freedoms must not injure the interests of society [sic] and the state"?

The Soviet claim to be the state of the whole people is but a pseudo-Marxist variation of the claim made by the U.S. constitution of providing equality for all citizens while a tiny handful own and control the country lock, stock and barrel. By this sleight-of-hand the capitalists of the Kremlin try to obscure the basic nature of Soviet society. The state ownership of the means of production is passed off as socialist ownership because



When the old Soviet Constitution became law in 1936, the workers, like these shown at a factory planning meeting, ruled the country. The new one reflects the changes in the Soviet government, now a dictatorship over the working class.

the state allegedly has no class nature and represents the whole people equally.

But the truth of the matter is the state and the means of production in the Soviet Union are in the hands of a small class of state monopoly capitalists who use the state apparatus to mercilessly beat down any challenge to their rule from the masses and have turned the former collective property of the working class into capital in the hands of these exploiters to extract wealth out of the hides of the Soviet workers and peasants. The basic class relations in the USSR are codified in the new constitution in one of the few truly revealing sections of the constitution (one with a bit of content besides absurd lies about the nature of the USSR). This is the whole new section on the economic system contained in the Brezhnev constitution. After dispensing a few false platitudes about "socialism" they get down to the heart of the matter: "Socially useful work and its results shall determine a citizen's status in society." Although they try to present this formulation as some sort of elaboration of the principle "from each according to his ability to each according to his work" that reflects socialist relations as they emerge from capitalist society and before truly communist relations can be established, in fact this is actually a justification for capitalist relations. The principle that a citizen's status is determined by "results" is used in the USSR as a justification for rewarding the managers of enterprises with percentages of the profits for their results in exploiting the worker, to grant the scientific and cultural elite huge salaries and fancy villas, and of course, to justify the highest status to the handful who sit on top of the state and can point with pride to the "results" of a full-blown capitalist economic system.

This principle of reward according to "results" is also used to justify the Soviet bosses' efforts to bribe a small section of the working class and set up competition for gain and divisions among the workers. Of course, under genuine socialism the working class is very much concerned with the results of its collective labor—not to raise their "status" but to further the revolutionization of society and further socialist construction.

Speedup and Exploitation

The section on the economy proceeds, after dispensing a few more lies (this time about production being based on the needs of the people) to declare that the state will "ensure the growth of labor productivity, the enhancement of efficiency in production, and the improvement of the quality of work, and the dynamic and proportionate development of the national economy."

Especially when seen in the context of past Soviet efforts to increase the "productivity of labor" this clause can only be regarded as writing speedup and exploitation into the constitution! And as if to clear away any lingering doubt the reader of the Soviet constitution might have, the next article goes on to say that "active use shall be made of cost accounting, profit, and production costs" in managing the overall economy and each individual enterprise.

One big problem facing the New Czars has been the

continued struggle of the oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union who constitute approximately half of the population. While the new constitution preserves the form of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, established under Lenin as a voluntary union of associated socialist republics, Brezhnev lets the cat out of the bag in his introduction to the constitution, "the very march of life brings all nations of the country together. A new historical community, that of the Soviet people has long been established."

According to Brezhnev, none of the non-Russian Union Republics lag behind the country as a whole. But any real observer of the USSR knows this to be completely false, with many of the Union Republics, especially in Asia, remaining in a very backward situation. What it does indicate is that despite the nice words about self-determination and equality of nations, the Soviet ruling class will continue their policy of Russification of the non-Russian nationalities and no longer will even pay lip service to the different level of development of the various peoples of the USSR. The constitution makes one big self-exposing slip of the tongue on this point when, in the section on education, they refer to Russian as the "mother tongue"—some equality!

Contrast to Socialist Constitutions

The true nature of the Soviet constitution can be seen not only by contrasting it to the previous constitution drawn up when the USSR was still a socialist state in the hands of the working class but also by comparing it with the genuine socialist constitutions of the People's Republic of China and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Both these constitutions, the Chinese adopted in 1975 and the new Albania constitution just recently adopted in December of last year, proclaim the states to be the dictatorships of the proletariat.

The Chinese constitution reflects the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, spelling out expressly that socialist society covers a long historical period of acute class struggle, the real danger of capitalist restoration and the need to defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, including exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure. While the Soviet constitution is full of meaningless verbiage about the "democratic rights" of all of its citizens (all of which is obviously contrary to the facts) the Chinese constitution stresses the new forms for carrying out the socialist revolution that were created by the masses in carrying out the socialist revolution: speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters. In addition the Chinese constitution upholds the basic rights of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and, expressly on Chairman Mao Tsetung's initiative, the right to strike.

The new constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania also reflects the experience and advances in waging revolutionary struggle during the period of socialism in that country. The new constitution reaffirms that the Albanian state is "a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all of the working people." It goes on to point out that "The People's Socialist Republic of Albania unceasingly develops the revolution by adhering to the class struggle and aims at ensuring the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road, at achieving the complete construction of socialism and communism."

While the imperialists of all stripes busily try to conceal their own real nature and attack each other with prattle about democracy and human rights, the revolutionary working class of all countries openly proclaims its intentions to make revolution, exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carry forward the revolutionary struggle all the way through till communism.

Both the Chinese and Albanian constitutions call for officials to participate directly in production. These important provisions are based not only on summing up the experience of the class struggle in their respective countries, but also worldwide. The experience of capitalist restoration in the USSR has shown the necessity of this measure that helps prevent the growth of a bourgeois stratum and is a concrete measure to reduce the differences between mental and manual labor.

The Soviet constitution pays lip service to the gradual elimination of these differences. But when it comes to concretes, instead of requiring officials to take part in manual labor, the Soviet constitution declares that "arduous manual labor" will ultimately be abolished "through comprehensive mechanization and automation of production." And pending this unattainable goal (for even under communism—at least for a very long time—men and women will exert "arduous manual labor" in changing the world) it is fine for the workers to go on producing and the new capitalists to go on exploiting!

The working class has no stake in the current mudslinging over whether "human rights" are best guaranteed by the bourgeois democratic states or the social-fascist state capitalist Soviet Union. Despite their different camouflages all have a similar nature, a vicious dictatorship over the working class and the masses of people to preserve and protect their kingdoms of exploitation.

No Change for U.S. Strategy

Zionist Hoodlum Wins Israel Vote

In the midst of new efforts by the U.S. imperialists to pull off a settlement in the Middle East favorable to their interests, the results of the May national elections in Israel have caused a stir of concern and an expression of fear among some of Carter's top aides that it may signal trouble for his hopes of a Middle East agreement this year. For the first time since the Zionists proclaimed the state of Israel on occupied Palestinian territory in 1948, the ruling Labor Party was defeated in the parliamentary elections. Menahem Begin, leader of the victorious Likud coalition, will become the new premier.

The defeated Labor Party is being described as moderate in comparison with the "hard line and hawkish" positions of Begin and the Likud on the question of negotiations with the Palestinians and the Arab countries. As if to prove the point, immediately after the election Begin announced that the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza strip taken in the 1967 June war were not occupied but "liberated" territory and that Israel would never give them up. The U.S. press reports say that the Labor Party had at least implied that it would be open to withdrawing from some part of these areas as part of an overall settlement that would bring a recognition of the Zionist settler state from the Palestinians and the Arab states.

But despite Begin's ravings about maintaining the Biblical boundaries of Israel and his accusation that the Labor Party leaders were too dovish and even traitorous, there is little more than a difference of style between these Zionist parties. Neither has favored returning occupied Arab lands and both are determined to maintain their racist state in the face of the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland.

Who Is Begin?

Israel was founded on terrorism and violence and is maintained on that basis, propped up by the U.S. imperialists. Menahem Begin won his first notoriety as the leader of the Irgun, a terrorist organization formed in 1936 to force the British to recognize a Zionist state in Palestine and to drive out the Palestinians by the use of murders, bombings and other atrocities. In 1948 Begin personally masterminded the Irgun attack on the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin which murdered 250 Palestinians, mostly old men, women and children. Even according to *Time* magazine, many of the Palestinians were chopped up with knives and the women raped.

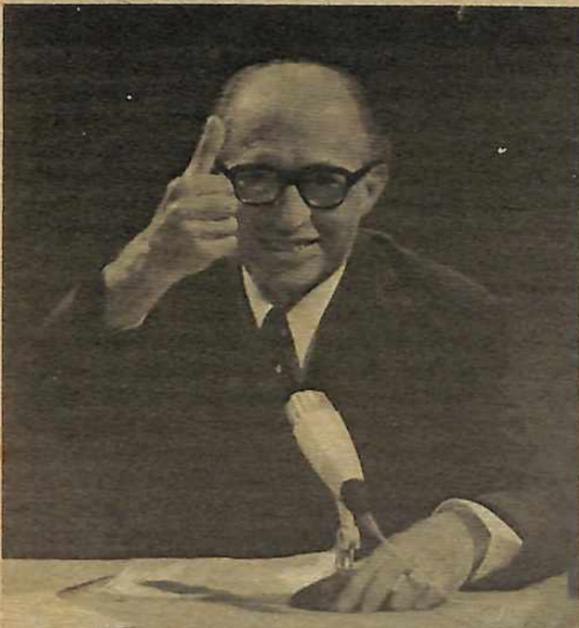
In his book about the Irgun, *The Revolt*, Begin proudly describes the effect of the massacre of Deir Yassin in the war to crush Palestinian resistance to the Zionist takeover. "The legend of Deir Yassin helped us in particular in saving the Tiberias and the conquest of Haifa . . . The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting, 'Deir Yassin!' Arabs throughout the country . . . started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened, uncontrollable stampede."

Over a million Palestinians were driven from their homes, villages and farms into miserable, crowded refugee camps in the surrounding Arab countries. The half a million or so Palestinians remaining within the boundaries of the Israeli state in 1948 were stripped of their rights and plagued by chronic unemployment or forced into slaving away for the profits of the Zionists who thrived on this superexploitation. All this has not brought panic or acceptance, but growing militant and armed resistance against the Israeli capitalists.

In the 1967 war launched by Israel against the Arab states, another one million Palestinians were brought under Zionist rule with the occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza strip. Again the Israelis implemented their policy of driving the Palestinians from their homes and farms. Since 1967 tens of thousands of Israelis have been moved into the occupied West Bank area. Over 100 armed Israeli settlements, including new industrial cities around Jerusalem, have been or are in the process of being constructed on land stolen from the Palestinians.

At Gitit, a new Zionist settlement not far from the Jordan river, the Israeli army cleared the land by spreading herbicides to kill the crops of the Arab villagers in the area. Thousands of Palestinians have been arrested and all are subjected to severe restrictions on their movement. All this has not been done under the leadership of the avowedly expansionist Begin and his Likud, but under the "moderate" Labor Party.

Key to U.S. maneuvers in the Middle East is the U.S. imperialists' ability to present themselves as the only effective power broker that can force some concessions from Israel. The Arab oil boycott and price increases, coupled with Soviet inroads in the Middle East, reem-



Behind the glasses and smile sits the Butcher of Deir Yassin, a fitting leader for the Zionist state, founded and maintained by imperialist-backed terrorism and criminal violence against the Palestine people.

phasized to the U.S. imperialists that they had other fish to fry in the Middle East and that they could not put all of their eggs in the basket of protecting Zionist expansionism. The U.S. could no longer pursue a policy of trying to keep the Arab states in line simply by the threat of unleashing Zionist military action.

While continuing to provide Israel with the most modern arms, the new wrinkle on the U.S. imperialists' strategy is *the promise* to trade Israeli return of the Golan Heights and the Sinai Peninsula for Arab recognition of the Zionist state. This was the basic outline of the plan put forward by Nixon and Kissinger. But the main obstacle to any such imperialist imposed settlement has always been and remains the struggle of the Palestinian people. Thus a condition was added by the U.S. for the leaders of Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. They had to crush or "tame" the Palestinian liberation movement and bring it under their control. This was a principal goal of the U.S.-supported Syrian intervention in the war in Lebanon last year.

U.S. Hints at Mini-State

So far, however, the U.S. imperialists have been trying to get as much mileage as possible out of demagoguery and empty promises to the Arab states while they continue to arm the Israelis to the teeth. In fact, it would not be surprising to see them use Begin's "hard line" position as an excuse for further delays and maintenance of the no war-no peace situation, while they continue to talk about the "earliest possible" settlement.

In this context, Carter added a new line to the Kissinger-Nixon promises to the Arabs. After his meeting with Syria's President Assad in Geneva in May, he announced that "there must be a resolution of the Palestinian problem and a homeland of the Palestinians." This has been taken by some to mean that the U.S. is prepared to support a Palestinian mini-state either in the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza strip under the domination of Syria and Jordan, or some form of Palestinian "homeland" within the boundaries of Jordan. But while the Soviets are actively promoting a West Bank mini-state, the U.S. has yet to clarify what it has in mind. Carter has even been talking about the possibility of Israeli military demarcation lines extending to the territory of sovereign Arab states!

While Carter's pronouncements may very likely be nothing more than so much rhetoric intended to keep the pot boiling, it is clear that any U.S. version of a mini-state for the Palestinians would be a nonviable and indefensible creation that would be a further attempt to choke off the struggle of the Palestinian people to liberate Palestine. The Palestinians are fighting for an independent, democratic, secular state in Palestine for Palestinians and Jews alike on the basis of equality, not some "magnified refugee camp without sovereignty," recently denounced by a spokesman for the Palestinian movement. Irregardless of whatever stages of development the Palestinian struggle may go through, any proposal being floated by the U.S. imperialists can be nothing more than an effort to sabotage the Palestinian struggle.

But the election of the butcher Begin as the Israeli

premier with his often stated and adamant rejection of any form of Palestinian state on any part of the occupied territory is also an uncomfortable thorn in the side of the U.S. imperialists and it reflects the difficulties they are having in making their clients accept even sham concessions to the Palestinians. The Zionists have been complaining bitterly over Carter's remarks about a Palestinian "homeland." Begin has also made clear his opposition to Israeli abandonment of all of Golan and the Sinai, claiming that Israel must have "defensible borders."

For their part the Soviets are trying to pressure the Israelis to accede to and the Palestinians to accept something similar to a mini-state, in hopes that such a creation would force the Palestinians into reliance on Soviet support and open up new room for the social-imperialists' maneuvers in the Middle East. Any similarity between U.S. and Soviet proposals is purely superficial, hiding their sharp contention. The fierce rivalry between the superpowers in the Mideast is a big obstacle to either being able to impose an imperialist "solution" in the Middle East.

Pressure on Israel

Begin and the Likud government may have difficulty maintaining their absolutist position in the face of U.S. pressures to take a more pliable attitude towards negotiations. Israel is propped up by the infusion of over \$2 billion a year in direct U.S. government aid, giving the U.S. a big say-so in Israeli affairs. On the other hand, the imperialist interests of the U.S. require it to maintain a strong Zionist outpost in the Middle East, a point the Israelis are counting on.

In addition the Israeli economy is in severe crisis, if not in shambles. Strikes and growing popular discontent over inflation and other economic problems have intensified in the past year. (In fact, this partially explains the Labor Party's loss of seats in the parliamentary elections. The Likud actually gained very few, but Labor's loss to other splinter parties cost it the election.) Continued war-level mobilization will only fuel the crisis and is itself a pressure for the Zionists to try to reach some settlement with the Arab states. Another factor is that Israel suffered severe losses in the 1973 war and it is clear that any further military clashes with the Arab states will cost dearly. All this feeds discontent among the masses of Israeli people.

The governments of Egypt and Syria for their part face their own internal pressures to get back the Sinai and the Golan Heights and to at least make a pretense

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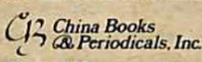


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Garment Sellout Sparks Buffalo Wildcat

On Tuesday, May 31, the national contract of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) expired. On Wednesday workers at M. Wile in Buffalo came to work and sat at their machines. They confronted the union officials demanding to know whether or not there had been a settlement and were told a "tentative agreement" on the national contract had been reached. Over the opposition of both the company and the union hacks about half of Wile's 1,000 garment workers walked out of the plant, floor by floor, and by 11:00 the company was forced to shut down completely.

On Thursday the workers were still out behind the rallying cry of "No Contract—No Work!" About 50 workers milled about outside the plant and then went over to the union hall. They had some pretty tough questions for the hacks. How could they claim to have rejected the contract and then try to cool the workers out and order them back to work?

Anger Boiling Over

It was no surprise that all the anger and hatred for the company erupted in this walkout, which was the sharpest resistance to the national sellout and an inspiration to garment workers all over the East Coast who heard about it. Especially over the last year, Wile's workers, like garment workers all over, have been slapped with one abuse after another—rate cuts because of "suit changeovers" and "changes" in operations. Stepped up harassment and firings. Increased layoffs and workers being sent home early while others worked overtime. In the face of this union leaders did nothing to stop it. For months workers had been asking about the contract developments and all they had gotten was the officials' usual song and dance of "We

Israel ...

Continued from page 12

of continued support of the Palestinian struggle.

The situation has changed in the Middle East and the indefinite prolongation of the condition of no war-no peace long promoted by the imperialists to facilitate their maneuvers imposes growing problems for the imperialists, the Zionists and the governments of the front-line Arab states alike. So the U.S. is pressing ahead with its "step-by-step" negotiating with individual Arab states and Israel, while the Soviets continue to favor a Geneva conference.

But both these imperialists' plans for a "settlement" face rough sledding from the conflicting interests of the Zionist and Arab governments with occupied lands, as well as the competition between the two superpowers. Above all there is the continued resistance and struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their stolen land and the growing struggle of the masses of Arab people, recently demonstrated in Egypt, against their repressive regimes. The Palestinian liberation movement has suffered heavy blows, in Jordan in 1970 at the hands of U.S. backed King Hussein and again last year in Lebanon from Syrian troops. But setbacks have failed to crush, tame or bring the Palestinian struggle under control, as the U.S. imperialists, the Soviets, the Zionists and the Arab rulers have hoped.

In fact, as the Palestinian forces in Lebanon and other Arab states came under intensified attacks, the Palestinian struggle inside the occupied territory accelerated, particularly in the West Bank. On June 5th, the 10th anniversary of the Israeli seizure of the West Bank, Palestinian workers struck in protest of Zionist occupation and Palestinian merchants in Ramallah, Nablus and Hebron, the three largest cities in the West Bank, closed their stores.

The Palestinian liberation movement is rebuilding its forces and struggling to sum up the lessons of the Lebanon war and the Syrian attack. And support for the Palestinian struggle has developed more deeply among the masses of Arab people. These developments, and not the Israeli election results, will fundamentally shape the future of the Middle East. ■

don't know anything." And now they had the nerve to say "Work without a contract," a contract even they had rejected!

The then only rumored settlement was seen by Wile workers as an insult which increased their determination to resist the sellout. It called for \$1.10 over 3½ years—even worse than the \$1.00 over 3 years of the last contract. Pensions would go up to only \$5.75 per month per year of service with a criminal minimum of \$115 per month by the end of the contract. There were no provisions against rate cuts or layoffs. The 10 cent and 15 cent ceiling on the cost of living was ridiculous. Medical benefits weren't even touched.

On Friday, M. Wile brought the Buffalo police into the plant to intimidate people, under the excuse of "stopping a possible riot." The cops and security men stood by the machines of the leaders of the walkout. Workers angrily protested this gestapo tactic, and gave the cops a dose of some righteous anger. The cops were brought in to spread company talk about how there would be violence against workers who didn't walk out by "those militant Black women who are causing all the trouble." Most workers didn't go for this. In fact, the walkout on Wednesday and Thursday had included white, Black and Spanish-speaking workers.

But with no real organization of the wildcat and the lack of a clear idea of how to go forward and turn these attacks around, most people did return to work on Friday, although 150 left by noon. To stem the struggle the hacks kept saying "You'll be able to vote the beginning of next week." For many workers this wasn't much of a great consolation; most felt there was nothing but garbage to vote on anyway, and such a lousy offer had no business even being brought to a vote.

Garment Workers United

Garment Workers United (GWU), a rank and file group at the Wile Plant which had distributed thousands of special "Fight For A Good Contract" broadsheets to garment workers throughout Upstate New York, summed up the situation Friday in a leaflet which brought out how the walkout was a big step forward and called for a meeting that night. 30 workers came to sum up what had happened and to figure out how to recapture the momentum of the wildcat. There was lots of struggle, with some workers saying that wildcatting was "illegal," and others saying that it should be illegal to work without a contract. Summing up that the main feeling of Wile workers was that they didn't want to work without a contract, and that the rumored settlement was a turkey, but feeling many workers were afraid not to work, they decided to set up a picket line Monday morning at the main plant, and appeal to their fellow workers to shut it down.

At this meeting, and at another one Sunday night, the workers still had some confusion about what to do Monday morning. Some viewed the action as a "protest," while others saw it as a militant picket to seal the plant shut. When Monday morning arrived a significant demonstration involving almost 100 workers was held, but the workers were not able to shut the plant down.

There was much struggle between workers, mainly those on the GWU picket line trying to win others to see the importance of drawing the line between the rank and file, and the company and its flunkies in the union leadership. While clusters of workers struggled over these issues and about how to fight for both good local and national contracts, chants of "No contract, no work" and "Now's the time to join the line" rang out. In summing this action up the next day GWU said, "Even though we were not able to unite our fel-



The miserable conditions that exist nationwide in the garment industry spurred a brief wildcat at the M. Wile Co. in Buffalo against the latest East Coast garment contract. Chanting "No Contract, No Work!" the workers walked out and told the hacks where they could stick their sellout contract.

low workers to stay out and not work without a contract, many of us joined in to take a stand, organized a picket line and spoke to other workers in an organized way about what we face and how to fight. We built on this Monday by us rank and file workers taking matters into our own hands, saying we will not wait for those sellout union leaders, who go along with the company to confuse us and tell us we can't do anything and go as far as to tell us to 'work without a contract.' "

Fighting for a "No" Vote

At a meeting Monday night GWU summed up that the emphasis had to shift to fighting for a big "no" vote on the contract and for a good local contract. While the actions so far had been a big inspiration and step forward, the workers were just beginning to get organized and figure out how to unify their ranks, and as a result hadn't been able to shut the plant down against all the attacks by the union officials and the company. The workers demanded a special union meeting to deal with the contract, demanded people receive copies of the tentative offer translated into the different languages the workers spoke, and organized to get a big no vote.

When the struggle was at a high pitch the hacks tried to cool it out with "You can vote on the national contract" and kept the people in the dark about how the contract was being voted on nationally.

On Wednesday when workers went to the union hall to vote, they stormed the place, battling the hacks on the fact that no union meeting was held so the rank and file could discuss the contract and say what to fight for in it. Then the hacks come up with the nonsense that the offer is good and that those who vote it down means they are communist. Some workers responded with statements like "You have lied to us, kept us in the dark, told us to work without a contract, and now tell us to vote yes to this scummy offer—no way," and "If a no vote is communist, a lot of us are communist." Then more let them have it with, "Since you say it is illegal to have rank and file observers at the vote, we are telling you straight out, if you come out after 'counting' the votes with a yes vote, we will come after you because we know you tampered with the vote." After the lousy contract was overwhelmingly rejected the hacks posted on the wall signs that the local vote meant nothing since it was voted up nationally, presenting the local vote as just a drop in the bucket.

But despite all these attempts at confusion and drowning the sparks of struggle, the workers took a strong and important stand in rejecting it. As GWU summed it up, "This NO VOTE is a real victory...We took a strong stand against the company's and the union leaders' attempts to keep us down and shove a lousy contract down our throats. We understood that a strong NO VOTE not only strengthened this national contract fight by setting an example for garment workers around the country of what we can do, but will also strengthen our ability to fight the bosses every day as well as in future contract fights."

The wildcat and the no vote on the contract were steps forward both for Wile workers in Buffalo and garment workers overall. Although not yet strong enough to really push this battle through to shutting the plant down, and thereby winning an even bigger victory, the struggle has laid a good basis for the future, and was a real spark to garment workers throughout the country. ■

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West Coast, Hawaii Celebrate ALD

Although African Liberation Day 1977 was centered in Washington, D.C. it was celebrated in cities around the country. Among these events were a series of actions and forums on the West Coast and in Hawaii built around the line of the march on the White House, of uniting to "Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from the USA to the USA!" Hundreds who could not make it to D.C. took part to show their solidarity with the freedom struggle in Southern Africa.

As elsewhere in the country, mobilization for ALD included not only agitation but action. One of the most important demonstrations took place May 24 at the elite Lewis and Clark College in Portland, Oregon. Over 200 students from Lewis and Clark and Portland State, along with a number of workers from the area, stopped a scheduled speech by the acting South African ambassador, Jeremy Sheaver, cold. Members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade and other active students helped defeat the line that the school's "esteemed guest" Sheaver had a right to peddle his racist trash under the signboard of "free speech." Not only did the action spark controversy and mobilize new forces against the *apartheid* system, it was a concrete blow against the U.S. ruling class' efforts to prettify South Africa's rulers as "reasonable men."

ALD demonstrations were held in a number of cities including Portland, Los Angeles and Oakland, California. The Oakland march, sponsored by the Committee for African Liberation, drew over 200 people from around the Bay Area. One of the targets of the march

was the Oakland City Council, which has \$16,600,000 of city workers' retirement money invested in companies with big stakes in South Africa. It is small wonder that the Oakland cops did their best to stop the demonstration, denying it street permits for downtown Oakland and taking pictures and making harassing jay-walking busts when the demonstrators marched anyway.

The successful rally was followed three days later by a demonstration that packed the chambers at the city council meeting demanding the investments be withdrawn and charges against those arrested at the rally be dropped. The mayor made a stab at defending *apartheid*, saying on his vacation to South Africa he learned "the people there don't have it as bad as you think—they're better off working for 53 cents an hour than living out in the country with no jobs." The crowd erupted in anger and the mayor quickly eased out of the room.

Another form ALD activities took was educational forums, with the *Worker* for the Los Angeles area sponsoring one a few days after the demonstration there and one held in Hawaii on the 28th. People at the Hawaii forum heard a speaker from Azania lay out the conditions in his homeland and how the masses are rising against them. The gathering voiced its solidarity with the struggling peoples of Africa and with the demonstrations that were taking place on the mainland, like the Washington march where a telegram of support from Hawaii was read to loud applause. ■

The KKK, skulking in the dark of night five days before the march, spray painted the assembly point in Kalorama Park with racist slogans and smashed the window of the ALD Coalition office with a note threatening the march with the Klan's "wrath," declaring, "Our white brothers throughout D.C. will stand together to keep you out of Kalorama."

The Coalition responded rapidly. A leaflet was printed with the Klan's threat and the Coalition's answer, declaring the march would go on and ending in the call, "Black-Latin-White—Unite to Roll Over the Klan!" A delegation of Black and white workers, including a former active member of ROAR, the reactionary and racist group in Boston, painted over the filth in Kalorama with the march slogans and went to the Senate building office of West Virginia Senator Byrd, a former open Klan member, to put those who rule this country on notice that the Coalition members knew who was behind and benefited from the Klan's actions—the rich bankers and capitalists. This bold defiance of the night-riders' threats won wide support from people in the D.C. area.

Nazis Beaten

Although the Klan got together a few marchers, they stayed several blocks away as the marchers assembled in Kalorama Park the morning of May 28. Their white supremacist blood brothers in the Nazi Party were either stupider or more in need of martyrs—a handful of them actually showed up at the assembly point in helmets and full regalia. Within a minute of their arrival they were running, badly beaten, for the safety of police lines. White, Black, Latin, Asian, worker, student, vet, male, female—everyone had swarmed toward them to try and get a shot in!

Like the fighting spirit of the crowd, its numbers swelled as buses, vans and cars from the Midwest, the South, and the length of the Eastern Seaboard unloaded and demonstrators lined up. The rear of the march was guarded by a contingent of Vietnam veterans who marched carrying small flags attached to large sturdy staffs, in case the Klan got any ideas about carrying out their threats. Soon the marchers swung out of the park and into the streets of D.C., where they met an enthusiastic reception in the poor neighborhoods which make up much of the city. More people joined the march as it passed.

The demonstration rallied opposite the White House, pointing at the rulers of this country for their continued efforts to keep control of southern Africa. Speakers focused on the current situation in southern Africa, the reactionary role of the U.S. and USSR, and how to support the people's struggles, both directly and by building the struggle of the U.S. working class and people against the ruling class here.

Among the best received speeches were those of David Sibeko, a representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania who represented the iron determination of his people to win their freedom by any means necessary, and Fred Walters, a 62 year old white worker from Mississippi. Walters, the head of the Gulf Coast Pulpwood Workers Union, brought the house down when he described how desperately the rich strive to keep Black and white from uniting and then pointed out their failure, looking out over the multinational crowd and declaring, "Just look around here!"

The closing speaker, Abdul Alkalimat from the ALD Coalition, talked about the importance of the holiday and then emphasized that ALD was not something that was over for another year, but a solid foundation on which to further develop solidarity with southern Africa, as the struggle there blazes to new intensity.

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ALD...

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If people were to take part in the demonstration, they had to understand its character. Popularizing the ALD theme and other slogans like "Victory to the People of Southern Africa!" and "U.S. Out of Southern Africa, Superpowers Hands Off!" was only one part of this task.

The key, however, was to use the period leading up to ALD to build concrete support for the liberation struggles in three ways: first, to educate the American people as to the situation in southern Africa and the U.S. government's role in preserving it, which was done through educational conferences on campuses, slide-shows, meetings and leaflet campaigns in communities and at plants; second, collecting material aid for the liberation fighters, particularly clothing, shoes and medical supplies; and third, holding demonstrations that hit at the *apartheid* system itself, like campus pickets and building seizures against investments in South Africa and demonstrations against banks peddling the South African Kruggerand gold coin.

Active Struggle Key

All three of these tasks were interconnected. For example, when Coalition members in Georgia helped arrange for Atlanta Hawks stars Lou Hudson and Walt Bellamy to give their basketball sneakers to a representative of the Azanian guerillas, it did more than just spur further donations—it served as a good beginning point in explaining ALD and southern Africa.

Of the three tasks, the most important was demonstrations and especially the ALD march itself. Struggle itself provided solid education not only for those who took part in the actions and had their understanding deepened but for those who saw the actions or heard about them in the media. And demonstrations which hit and expose the U.S. ruling class and hinder its freedom to maneuver and covertly support the white settler governments are the most valuable form of aid the masses here in the homeland of the imperialists oppressors of the people of southern Africa can provide.

Those engaged in building the campaign learned a great deal in the course of the work. One of the main things was how sharply broad sections of the Black masses felt the similarity of the oppression they face with that of Azanian blacks under *apartheid*. This is not to say that the ALD campaign was not controversial. On the one hand, even among backward elements in various sections of society there is little disagreement that *apartheid* is a bad, even criminal system which should be done away with. On the other hand, the Carter-Young "human rights" pitch, claiming that negotiations and U.S. pressure will bring about "gradual change" and "majority rule," has won support among

a good number of people and confused many others. For this reason, a lot of the ALD work focused on exposing Andy Young as front man for this country's capitalists and showing how he and Carter are serving their interests at the expense of the South African and American masses.

Broad Response

This kind of intense political work resulted in an even greater than expected degree of support for and participation in the march on the White House. For instance, in Chester, Pennsylvania, a predominantly Black factory town near Philadelphia, the African Liberation Day Coalition became a real force in the community, holding street rallies and slideshows that drew up to 200 people at a given time. In Boston, organizers' phones were practically ringing off the wall in the last few days before the demonstration with calls from people who had seen leaflets or posters. The number of busses from New England had to be increased from one to four!

In Washington, there were particular problems in building the demonstration. Since many D.C. residents automatically think of ALD as taking place in Malcolm X Park, much of the agitation and postering the Coalition did had the effect of mobilizing for the AAPRP demonstration. One of the things that helped break down this confusion was the entrance onto the scene of the Ku Klux Klan.



Vietnam vets turn over old uniforms to David Sibeko of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania. Stating that they had worn such uniforms fighting for the profits of the rich and that they were now giving them as concrete aid in the fight against them, the VVAW members asked Sibeko to accept the clothing for the African freedom fighters.



Long Live Soweto! The uprising of the masses of Azanian people last year shook the foundations of the racist, white minority rule in South Africa and beamed out as a clarion call, rallying tremendous international support for the liberation struggles of the people of southern Africa. In the past year the struggle of the Azanian people has deepened and spread. The role of the U.S. imperialists in propping up South Africa has been further exposed, despite all the empty talk of Andy Young and the Carter administration about their support for majority rule. The U.S. delegation walked out on a UN meeting commemorating the Soweto uprising one year ago in which 600 blacks were murdered by South African gestapo police. But in the face of intensified repression which has jailed tens of thousands, the June 16 anniversary of Soweto brought new militant demonstrations as thousands of Azanians stood up to the regime's violence in the name of freedom and self-determination. The youth in the picture above express their hatred for police who confronted them in the Rockville section of Soweto as they left a memorial service for the 600 people killed last year.

ALD...

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The entire march and rally stood out in sharp contrast to the other ALD events in Washington that day. Uniting with Workers Viewpoint and the section of ALSC they dominated had never really been a question. The very existence of the Coalition demo was such a clear criticism of their sectarian line of making ALSC's main purpose a recruiting and training ground for the advanced, that they were forced to call their own march in order to appear to have any concern for the struggle at all. Their effort drew only a couple hundred people, many of whom drifted away as they found out WVO was more concerned about denouncing the other demonstrations than the U.S. ruling class.

Carmichael's Rally

Carmichael was another kettle of fish. Continued attempts to form a united AAPRP/ALDC demonstration were unsuccessful, but the effort was not wasted. The issue of a united demonstration was made an open question by the Coalition, not only in the meetings of its local chapters but among the masses at large.

Wherever Carmichael spoke, he was confronted by Coalition members demanding his reasons for refusing to unite. An open letter challenging him to unite and to debate the issues was posted throughout Washington and a petition circulated, particularly among Black intellectuals and activists. All this work put the burden of blame for the existence of two separate rallies on Carmichael's hands. And in this situation, when the separate ALDC demonstration finally took place its stand and goals became even clearer.

Without the perspective of, in the words of the ALDC newsletter, "uniting all those who can be united to stand in solidarity with the African people, attack our own rulers for messing over Africa and us, and also stand against the Soviet Union," the AAPRP wound up sponsoring a big cultural festival and party in Malcolm X Park. A long series of speeches were generally ignored by most of those present.

The real impact and strength of the march on the White House was underlined by the fact that after ALD, All-African People's Revolutionary Party spokesmen tried to pull a one hundred and eighty degree switch and blame the Coalition for the lack of a united demonstration! What this amounts to is an unsolicited testimony to the effectiveness and importance of the White House demonstration, which was built based on a scientific analysis of the situation in Africa and on the spirit of internationalism—of supporting every struggle of the masses worldwide against oppression, of the mutual support inherent in every battle against the common imperialist enemy, of the special task of the working class and masses in an imperialist country to expose and weaken its own ruling class. Because Carmichael spurned all efforts to build a united demonstration, the two ALDs stood in sharp contrast, and the weaknesses of the AAPRP action, built on vague and idealist narrow nationalism, were evident even to its organizers.

New Unity

This bears out the analysis put forward in the excerpts from the report of the RCP's Central Committee printed in last month's *Revolution*. There will continue to be "more upsurges of struggle of the oppressed nationalities against their national oppression," but these

will develop in new ways, reflecting the new spiral which is beginning in the development of the class struggle. Furthermore, it shows that, particularly if communists play their role correctly "this fight will not, as in the past, be separate from, but linked in a revolutionary alliance with the overall working class movement."

That this development is already beginning was in evidence on May 28. For many who took part in or saw the demonstration, the most impressive thing about it was the unity of different nationalities, drawn together in struggle. And this unity itself was a powerful additional force drawing more people of all nationalities into the demonstration.

This spirit was reflected in every contingent. It began with the leading, large and fiery contingent of youth and students—the Soweto Brigade—who marched in formation wearing bright red T-shirts silkscreened with the ALD emblem and whose faces mirrored the same strong spirit seen in those of Azanian youth. This unity, strength and determination was especially evident in the contingent of over 350 workers. Their life experience as wage slaves to the capitalist class gave them a strong basis to really understand the role of imperialism in using and promoting national oppression and national divisions to preserve the profits and power of a few at the expense of the many. The presence of significant contingents of students from other countries lent international solidarity to the march.

ALSC

One other thing the ALD march made clear is the need for a fighting organization that can build support for the African liberation struggle in this critical period, and provide a rallying point for the motion among the masses around this question. After the rally dozens of activists who had worked on the ALD campaign stayed in the area another day to lay some plans. It was agreed that at the present time it is incorrect to let the sectarians of WVO destroy what is left of the African Liberation Support Committee and drag in the dirt its proud reputation as a front-line force in the fight for African freedom and against imperialism and national oppression. Representatives of several of the remaining ALSC chapters and others formed an organizing committee to rebuild ALSC, beginning by establishing solid chapters in several major cities.

The organizing committee also adopted the ALD slogan "Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from the USA to the USA," as its central theme.

The ALSC will focus its chief efforts on winning support for African liberation, and, as African Liberation Day 1977 proved, the slogan lays out the correct approach for building genuine solidarity with the heroic southern African people and for delivering the most powerful blows to the imperialists who attack and bleed us from USA to USA. ■

Desperate Crime of Rhodesian Racists

Mozambique, ZIPA Beat Back Invasion

On May 29, troops of the racist Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith invaded Mozambique in an effort to smash Zimbabwean guerilla bases. This outrageous aggressive move failed to achieve its stated goal and revealed the rapid weakening of white minority rule over Zimbabwe.

Rhodesian forces penetrated 60 miles into Mozambique and captured the town of Mapai. It was a repeat on a more massive and far-reaching scale of Rhodesia's invasion of Mozambique last August when they massacred over 500 Zimbabwe refugees in the UN camp at Nyazonia. Despite the proclamation of the Rhodesian government that they would hold Mapai until all the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) forces were driven from the border region, they were forced to withdraw a few days later. The Rhodesian Defense Minister admitted that in the heavy armored attack accompanied by air support the Rhodesian troops were able to capture or kill only 32 freedom fighters. ZIPA retaliated on May 31 with a heavy attack on the Rhodesian base camp at Villa Salazar.

The invasion of Mozambique brought a wave of international condemnation that further isolated the Smith regime, although the U.S. and British imperialists contented themselves with some mild hand-wringing and admonitions to the Rhodesian government that such actions would only worsen its plight. Zambia declared that a state of war exists between that country and Rhodesia, joining Mozambique which made a similar declaration last year.

It is a very bleak picture that confronts the leaders of the white settler state of Rhodesia as they struggle desperately to hang on to a rule that has virtually en-

slaved the 4½ million Zimbabweans. And it grows bleaker by the day as the liberation forces grow stronger and thousands of new recruits come into the training camps. There are only 250,000 white settlers in Zimbabwe and many see that Rhodesia is doomed, pouring out of the country at a rate of almost 1000 per month with the pace of the exodus quickening. Immediately after the Mozambique invasion the Smith regime announced that all white men under 38 years of age would be required to do a minimum of six months a year in military service and those under 50 a minimum of 70 days.

Despite continuing shipments of much needed oil and petroleum products to Rhodesia by Mobil, Standard Oil, Texaco, Shell and other U.S. and European petroleum companies, and continued aid from South Africa, the Rhodesian economy is slipping towards collapse. According to *The New York Times*, the direct costs to the Rhodesian government in carrying out the war are almost one million dollars a day.

The *Times* reports that there is increasing talk among Rhodesians that the government will have to cede the rural areas to the guerillas and attempt to draw its defense perimeters around the urban areas. The government is already paying almost \$8 million a year in subsidies to white farmers who are unable to work their farms because of guerilla attacks and military call-ups. The Rhodesian Foreign Minister recently urged the whites to prepare to "fight to the last cartridge." But this bluster can't hide the fact that the Rhodesian reactionary regime is on its last legs and its days are numbered. ■

Harry Bridges Retires

The Rotting of A Union Leader

After more than 40 years as president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Harry Bridges announced his retirement at the ILWU 22nd biannual convention in April.

Bridges' career spans a long historical arc from the great depression of the '30s, the massive upsurge of the workers movement, the leadership of the once revolutionary Communist Party of that movement, the formation of the powerful industrial unions, the winning of unemployment insurance—some of the proudest battles of our class—to the betrayal by the Communist Party, the attacks on and splintering of the workers movement and another major crisis developing in the capitalist system today.

Looking back over the long years of Bridges' leadership of the union, West Coast longshoremen and warehousemen generally see it as a period of economic gains. Many attribute much of this to Bridges' past leadership. At the same time there is a great deal of bitterness and anger over the disintegration of the ILWU from a militant, fighting union run by the rank and file to a far weaker, divided organization, no longer democratic but run from the top down like other bureaucratic unions, a union on the skids. Many workers say Bridges was in office too long, spent too many years talking to the bosses, that he's mellowed, that he gave up the fight years ago. There is a feeling that this is what always happens—a guy starts out good, fighting for the workers, then he gets old and soft and capitulates to the bosses or is bought off.

But do the leaders of the struggles of our class inevitably turn sour? Do our organizations after starting out united and strong have to crumble? Is our struggle always going to lead us back to the same place? Summing up the role of Harry Bridges can provide some insight into these questions. It is particularly instructive because of the role of the now revisionist Communist Party and Bridges' relationship to it during these years.

The CP was central to the workers movement in the '30s and was key on the West Coast docks. Whether Bridges was a member or not is almost irrelevant. He worked closely with the CP, and its line and policies largely guided the struggle. What revisionism means and what waging the day-to-day struggle while abandoning the revolutionary goal leads to is clear in the history of Bridges and the ILWU. Bridges' role also sheds light on the nature of social democracy, for in many ways he became a classic social democrat, talking about the class struggle and sometimes socialism, while working to keep the struggle of the working class within the limits of the capitalist system and acceptable to the capitalists. Bridges started out as a fighter for the working class, but he became a traitor to it.

Organizing the Docks

When Bridges came to San Francisco from Australia in 1920 longshoremen had been waging fierce struggle for more than 30 years. Hiring was conducted by the "shape-up" system where workers would mass on a pier and be selected for work by the bosses. They faced vicious speedup as the bosses would sometimes cut gang sizes daily, keeping the fastest workers to do the work of the men that were laid off. The work was—and remains—heavy and dangerous. Longshoremen were killed and injured frequently. Even last month two men were killed working the ships. Of course, under this setup the pay was barely enough to live on.

Longshoremen organized a West Coast district of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and in 1934 launched the historic strike which sparked the tremendous San Francisco General Strike after two workers were gunned down by the cops. The strike forced the employers to recognize their union. They won the hiring hall, a six hour day (although they continued to work 9 hours, 3 overtime) and improvements in their working conditions. They continued to fight after the contract was signed. Almost daily they would shut down ships over contract violations. Wildcats and dockside meetings kept the workers united and strong and the employers running scared. The shipowners hit back again and again, trying to break the union. They forced a strike in 1936, attempting to halt the work stoppages and smash the hiring hall. The bosses were soundly defeated. For years the strength and militancy of the workers hounded them and won many gains.

In 1937 the West Coast longshoremen left the ILA, an AFL union, and became the ILWU, a division of the newly formed CIO. Throughout this whole period

the ILWU was a symbol of militant working class struggle.

Communists in Forefront

Bridges and the Communist Party were in the forefront of the struggle. The Party summed up, raised the demands of the workers and pointed the way forward. The capitalists were outraged and not a little terrified. "The communists are taking over the docks!" they screamed. They tried to deport Bridges, at that time an Australian citizen, on the grounds that he was a communist. From the late '30s to 1955 they tried time and again to throw him out of the country.

Under the influence of the CP the struggle of the longshoremen was not confined only to economic battles. In the late '30s they demonstrated their opposition to Japan's invasion of China by refusing to load scrap iron bound for its imperialist war machine. Thousands participated in May Day and Labor Day marches and demonstrations.

When the Soviet Union was invaded in 1941 the nature of World War 2 changed, with the fascists attacking the Soviet Union. Bridges and the CP led longshoremen in rallying to the support of the workers' state. Many longshoremen labored long hours loading Victory ships bound for Russia. Bridges spoke openly and often of the need to do away with capitalism and for the rule of the working class. The union also fought racial discrimination and actively brought in many Black workers, not only as members but into the leadership as well. The organization of Hawaii's docks, pineapple and sugar industries was accomplished with work to break down national divisions among the several nationalities of workers in the islands. Constantly under vicious assault by the capitalists, the union time and again demonstrated the strength of the working class organized to fight. The leadership relied on the masses of union members and other workers and mobilized them for struggle.

But even when it was generally providing revolutionary leadership for the class struggle in the '30s and '40s, the CP in practice often tended to limit the goals of the workers movement to the attainment of trade union objectives. As the *Programme* of the RCP pointed out in summing up some of the CP's weaknesses, "The unions which had been so hard won became ends in themselves, not 'schools for revolution.' And in the unions the CP was more interested in influencing a few top leaders than building the struggle of the rank and file." (p. 68) These weaknesses grew and flowered into full blown opportunism when in the mid 1950s revisionism took full control and the Party abandoned the fight for revolution altogether.

The CP's errors and weaknesses made it a lot easier for the bourgeoisie to build up its own lackeys in the trade unions and came at a time when the bourgeoisie was launching a big assault on the working class. Once again from the *Programme*: "With its position temporarily strengthened after World War 2, and the working class disarmed by the disintegration of the CP, the bourgeoisie was able to solidify the position of its labor lieutenants at the head of the union 'internationals,' use these top officials as a main arm of its attack on

the working class, and use the union apparatus to quell workers' struggles and enforce labor discipline." (p. 104)

The capitalists' hatchmen like Walter Reuther led the attack on the workers and the move to throw communists out of the unions. When the ILWU refused to bow down before the Taft-Hartley Act and its anti-communist provisions, it was booted out of the CIO along with several other unions in 1948. Unlike other top union officials like Joe Curran of the Maritime Union and Mike Quill of the Transport Workers, who were once in or close to the old Party, Bridges never came out and denounced socialism and purged communists from the union as these scum did at the bidding of the capitalists. But Bridges followed the CP down into the swamp of betrayal of the working class. Although his own personal history diverges from that of the CP in the post-war decades, his own betrayal was deeply linked with the CP's betrayal of the working class.

Even after joining the enemy's camp, Bridges tried to keep up his progressive front. He continued to talk about socialism and praised the (now capitalist) Soviet Union. He tried to dress up his act by taking some progressive stands. But he became an open exponent of the endurance of capitalism, running the line that you have got to live with capitalism, that all workers can do today is try to get a few reforms out of it. Longshoremen, however, like other workers throughout the country, did not give up the struggle against the capitalists. They had no choice but to continue fighting.

Bourgeoisie Chips Away at Past Gains

It's a fact that as long as the bourgeoisie has state power it will continue to attack and attempt to corrupt every gain won by the working class. And it will eventually succeed in setting back the workers movement as long as the fight for concessions is not conducted as a by-product of the fight to overthrow capitalism. "This does not mean that the basis of the trade unions and other mass organizations of the working class must be 'fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat.' But it does mean that the Party of the proletariat must bring to the workers, through all their struggles, the understanding of the antagonistic contradiction between themselves as a class and the bourgeoisie, and consistently guide the struggle toward its final aim." (*Programme* of the RCP, pp. 104-105)

The revisionist CP totally abandoned this task. Bridges, in the name of "you can't stop progress" and "the docks belong to the employers and we can't stop them from doing what they want," began to work hand-in-hand with the bosses to undermine and sabotage the strength of the ILWU and the many gains they had won through bitter battles. Longshoremen had won tough work rules, requirements on gang sizes, tonnage limits, safety provisions and other measures that were strictly enforced and backed up with work stoppages and job actions.

In 1961 Bridges negotiated the Mechanization and Modernization agreement with the ship owners which in effect traded the rights and ability of the longshoremen to fight to protect their working conditions for \$13 million. Many workers could see that this agreement meant that in one fell swoop the gains of years of struggle would be tossed out.

Bridges' bargaining chip to win ratification of the contract was that the agreement gave a \$13,000 cash bonus to each longshoreman and guaranteed pay, whether there was work or not. Longshoremen were not opposed to mechanization as such. It would be good to make the job a little easier. But there was tremendous opposition to the agreement because it would wipe out work rules and lead to the eventual loss of huge numbers of jobs on the waterfront and a weakened union. All this has become true. A worker who takes

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Longshoremen show what they think of Nixon's wage freeze and "New Economic Policy" during the '71 longshore strike. Bridges did nothing when the Pay Board cut out a big chunk of their negotiated pay raise.

Bridges...

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an unauthorized job action can be de-registered, black-balled from employment on the docks, and a non-sanctioned work stoppage can cause the whole port to lose the guaranteed pay for a month. Jobs are being lost at an increasingly rapid rate due the mechanization and the whole guarantee pay fund is in serious jeopardy. The contract was the most unpopular ever passed. 3,695 voted against ratification and 6,882 for.

Alliance With the Bourgeoisie

At this point many of the men who had fought at Bridges' side for years began to call him a sellout. They could see the changes on the job as workloads increased. There was speedup. On the job resistance was put down and within the union the widely hailed and once genuine democracy gave way to top down control. Bridges himself, once reviled by San Francisco's bosses and their politicians as a dangerous menace, began to be hailed in the capitalist press as "a great labor statesman," "a tough negotiator, but one who knew the limits to which he can push the employers." He and the union hierarchy became very cozy with city politicians. He became a strong supporter of millionaire big time reactionary Mayor Alioto, and was appointed to the powerful, prestigious and policy making Port Commission in 1970 by his friend the Mayor.

Bridges once said that "When the newspapers start to say good things about me, that's the time to get the recall machinery in motion." When in 1963 a rank and filer quoted that statement in a meeting adding, "Brothers, the time has come!" he was censured by the executive board. When the censure was reported to the next union meeting it was booed down by the membership.

His alliance with the bourgeoisie became even more

apparent in the 1971 contract when he collaborated directly with the employers to derail rank and file organization and struggle. The workers' demands included important provisions for reestablishing equal work for all longshoremen, something the bosses had been whitening away at ever since the Mechanization and Modernization agreement was signed. They waged a battle to defend the right to strike in the face of government threats to outlaw strikes in transportation. And while the capitalists sliced away jobs on the docks, Bridges coupled his "this is progress" line with efforts to push the longshoremen's struggle into dead-end and phony directions. Instead of uniting workers to fight for jobs and the other attacks of the capitalists, he fanned dead-end jurisdictional disputes with the Teamsters over who would handle cargo in an effort to pit the Teamsters and longshoremen against one another in the fight for jobs and let the bosses off the hook. He promoted reliance on the bourgeoisie and legislative action by the government as the way to protect jobs and joined the CP in pushing the nonsense that detente with the Soviet Union would mean jobs for U.S. workers.

Bridges has worked diligently to crush any proletarian fighting spirit or outlook in the union. While he did, for example, publicly oppose the Vietnam war he never made any move to mobilize the rank and file to take any action, even a symbolic work stoppage against war shipments, or participate in anti-war activities in any but a token way, arguing that the membership was too backward. He has embroiled the union in inner-union squabbling and opportunist jockeying for official position.

The comments of the bourgeoisie on Bridges' retirement make clear that they fully recognize and appreciate his overall political role in tying the workers to their system.

The revisionist CP is still active in the union, primarily acting as a sort of "left wing" of the leadership, doing a lot of barking and red-baiting for the dogs in top leadership. They try to keep up their "revolutionary" image and provide a left cover for Bridges' more outright and open class collaboration. The pages of *The*

Dispatcher, the union's newspaper, are filled with revisionist trash about the Soviet "paradise" and "revolutionary" Cuba. The official union position is pretty solidly pro-Soviet, including rabidly anti-China. The obituary it ran on Mao Tsetung was an insulting slur.

Bridges' retirement will probably not mean any change in the policy and direction of the union. The leadership emerging now has been carefully groomed and though younger, it will carry out the old line: refusal to mobilize the rank and file to fight in their interests, active efforts to diffuse or smash any moves that come from the ranks, red-baiting of communists and revolutionary minded workers and continued collaboration with the capitalists while attempting to cloak themselves in the mantle of the progressive and militant history of the union.

But the workers are not content to let all this stop their fight for a better life. In the warehouse industry there is a section of the Bay Area United Workers Organization actively leading the day-to-day struggle as well as mobilizing for important classwide campaigns such as the battle to stop evictions at the International Hotel. And in the face of efforts of the top leadership to do the employer's dirty work and force the transfer of 500 longshoremen in San Francisco's Local 10, the traditional heart of the ILWU, to other ports, the rank and file has so far successfully turned them back.

The working class has much to be proud of in the militant history of the ILWU. There have been major setbacks and defeats in the face of attacks by the bourgeoisie and the misleadership and betrayal of the old Communist Party, as well as the traitorous, sellout activity of Bridges. But there are also important lessons to be learned from this history in building the class struggle today. One thing stands out clearly: in the course of leading the day-to-day struggle of the workers the Party must also expose and attack the system, and constantly arm the masses of workers with an understanding of the nature of the capitalist enemy and the need to overthrow it, and in this process leaders will come forward who will not betray the working class. ■

Angola's Rulers Exposed In Coup Attempt

On May 27, Luanda, the capital of Angola, was torn by gun and mortar fire as a number of leaders of the MPLA, the ruling political group in the country, staged an unsuccessful military coup against their "comrades" in the government. Over two hundred people died in the fighting, including several members of the MPLA's central committee. This incident, in essence a falling out among thieves, just underlines the difficult situation facing the Angolan people since their struggle against Portuguese colonialism was transformed on the eve of victory two years ago into a bloody civil war, instigated and fueled by the imperialist rulers of the U.S. and the USSR.

The superpowers backed and armed against each other the country's liberation organizations, hoping to control resource-rich Angola through the victors. Although the MPLA, backed by the USSR to the tune of over 15,000 Cubans, won military victory over a year ago, it has not been successful in consolidating its dictatorship over the Angolan masses.

The coup attempt itself was the continuation by military means of infighting which has been going on inside the MPLA for some time over who would control the group. It was led by Nito Alves, a former minister in the MPLA government, and Jose Van Dunem, a top political commissar in the armed forces. Alves, a central committee member, had been out to replace MPLA head Agostinho Neto or at least isolate him from those grouped around him. The issues around which he made his bid inside the MPLA's highest circles reveal a great deal about the real character of this group which bills itself as revolutionary and a "people's government."

His major point was aimed at winning support from the single force that more directly than any other determines what is happening in Angola today—he accused the other MPLA leaders of being "anti-Soviet" and "anti-Cuban." Though it is absurd, considering that even today Neto and company require well over 12,000 Cuban troops to maintain their shaky hold on the country and constantly hail the Soviets and their Cuban sidekicks as the "best friends" of the Angolan people, this charge shows where the real power lies.

Soviet bloc advisors help run all the key ministries and the military and are giving "political education" to MPLA cadre. Although the Soviets occasionally egged Alves and his crew on as one method of tightening even further their influences, the same kind of divide-and-rule tactics they used to help fuel the civil war, they withheld their support from the coup attempt which carried the threat of a new civil war and the upsetting of their entire Angolan appellation.

Playing on Contradictions

The Alves group also directed their efforts to building a base of support among the Angolan masses. To do this they had to criticize many of the policies and actions of the MPLA leadership which have fueled anger and unrest among the masses—inflation raging unchecked, a massive productivity drive, the suppression of independent organizations among the workers, reliance on Cuban, Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops and economic and administrative "experts" in every sector of society.

In part Alves put the question in racial terms—much of the MPLA's top leadership is *mestizo* (of mixed African and Portuguese ancestry) and was educated in Europe. Alves himself is from the Mbunda tribe and without higher education and bitterly resentful of the dominance of the educated *mestizos* in the MPLA and Angolan society as a whole, so in his demagogic appeals among the masses, he blamed the distance of the MPLA from the masses not on the *class* character of the policies pushed by the aspiring bourgeois leadership, but on their ethnic background, playing up the national and tribal divisions that had helped lead to the civil war in the first place.

Coupled with this, Alves also tried to identify himself with the resistance of the masses, especially in Luanda, to the attacks of the government. In particular, he tried to revive as a personal power base the neighborhood committees in the city. These were originally set up by the workers and urban poor in the early days after the military officers' revolt in Portugal to defend the neighborhoods and fight to make sure that independence was won.

Even though the MPLA played a significant role in these committees, it feared their independence and moved, even while the civil war was raging, to weaken them and bring them under its control. Over the last year or so they have been complex battlegrounds, with the masses sometimes using them as bases of struggle, Alves attempting to drive out genuine revolutionary elements, isolate the most active leaders and win others to his banner and the other MPLA leaders trying to undercut the committees and purge Alves' men.

Alves' campaign to undercut his rivals and establish an independent power base was naturally opposed by Neto and his supporters who had no intention of being pushed out of the place in the sun they had sacrificed the interests of the Angolan people to gain. They used their commanding positions in the MPLA to beat back the challenge from Alves and his allies, among whom were the deputy army chief of staff, the minister of trade, and several top military and provincial

officials.

Finally in late May of this year, the Neto group moved to remove the thorn from their side, expelling Alves and his chief lieutenant, Van Dunem, from the organization entirely. The coup attempt which followed was an act of desperation, an all or nothing gamble to reverse the situation before he was totally isolated and it was too late to act. The first attack was on the main prison in Luanda to free Alves supporters who had been jailed there. Then his forces, including some military units, seized the city's radio station and began broadcasting calls for a mass demonstration to "defend the revolution." Few people responded, although there was support in some of Luanda's poorer neighborhoods where committees he controlled had been working. Alves' forces upped the ante and began broadcasting a call for armed struggle to overthrow the government. In the fighting that followed in Luanda and in at least one other city, Malange, more than two hundred people died, but there was no uprising among the masses and the government forces were soon victorious.

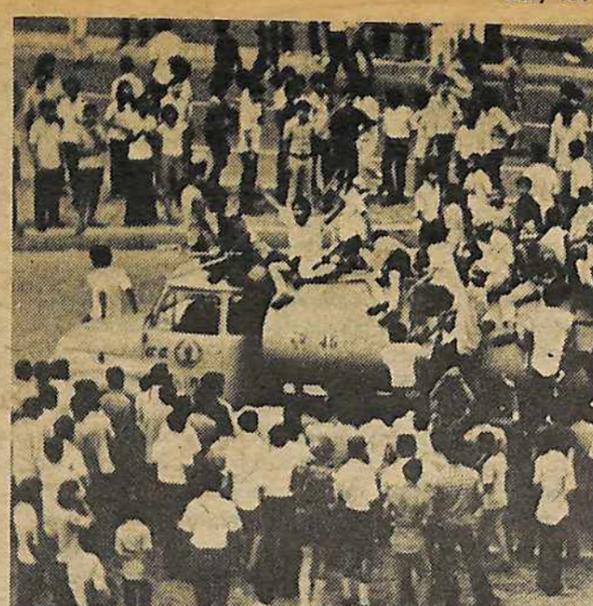
While Alves failed to mobilize the people to back his coup, the MPLA leadership didn't even try. Regular government troops from units picked for their loyalty did all the fighting as people watched curiously.

Stepped-Up Repression

The failure of the coup has been followed by a big roundup of dissidents, which includes not only those who actually followed Alves as well as others in anti-Neto factions of the MPLA, but also many honest rank and file members of the MPLA and the neighborhood committees who have grown dissatisfied with the current leadership of their group and country. The MPLA leadership is using the coup to shore itself up. Neto said of those arrested, "We don't want to waste time on trials, we want to get this over with as soon as possible." But Alves himself and Van Dunem and many of their men are reported to have escaped capture and to be underground somewhere near Luanda.

If Alves uses his long experience as one of the MPLA's toughest and ablest military commanders to wage a guerrilla war against the government, it will be one more serious headache for the MPLA. There are already two forces engaged in active armed rebellion inside Angola, both under leadership as dubious as that of Alves: UNITA, which controls much of the southern half of the country, and FLEC, which is active in Cabinda, traditionally a MPLA stronghold. Both have a recent history of ties to enemies of the Angolan people, the racist South African government in UNITA's case and big oil monopolies in FLEC's.

What the continued military success of these groups against Cuban/MPLA annihilation campaigns, like the mass unrest and sporadic strikes in Luanda, does show is that large sections of the Angolan masses feel that the MPLA does not represent their interests and will fight to overthrow it. They have spent almost 500 years fighting foreign domination and robbery and despite the current setbacks they will not give up this struggle until final victory. ■



USA
The people of all countries, though facing different conditions and steps in their struggle, have a common goal—overthrowing imperialism, ending the rule of all exploiting classes and building socialist society and advancing to communism.

France

Thailand

3 Worlds...

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In today's world this means the working class in all countries must actively build and give leadership to the struggle against superpower domination. It means even supporting certain moves of reactionary governments that objectively oppose or weaken the superpowers, while opposing moves that aid or strengthen one or the other—or both—of the superpowers. But this does not and must not *replace* its struggle against its own ruling class.

As the *Programme* of the RCP says, "The working class of all countries faces the task of building the broadest united front, on a world scale, aimed at the ruling classes of these two superpowers, while at the same time uniting all who can be united within each country to continue the battle for socialist revolution. The working class and its Party has to learn how to correctly combine these tasks, so that it neither narrows the international united front nor loses sight of the goal of socialism." (p. 72)

In light of this, it is important to examine more deeply the class forces at work within these groups of countries.

Third World

The countries of the Third World, predominately Asia, Africa and Latin America, are those countries that have been victims of colonial or neocolonial plunder by imperialist powers, and where, because of this, the goal of the struggle is first to unite all patriotic classes under the leadership of the working class to achieve national liberation and "new democracy," bringing down feudal and imperialist oppression—and then, as the second stage, move on to socialist revolution. These countries have been ravished and held back by the imperialists who have held them in chains as a source of cheap raw materials and labor and a giant source of profit. But more than this, these countries have been the scene of powerful, and often armed, struggle against imperialism.

Since World War 2, these nations have been the storm center of the world revolution and the struggles of the peoples in these areas have been the main force striking at the imperialist system. This has given powerful support and impetus to the struggles of the workers and other progressive forces inside the imperialist countries themselves. The powerful victories of the Vietnamese and the Indochinese peoples profoundly changed the world, greatly weakening U.S. imperialism which had been the king of the imperialist heap since World War 2.

In addition to these popular revolutionary struggles, particularly with the relative decline of U.S. imperialism and the rise of Soviet social imperialism contending through the world with the U.S., many governments of Third World countries, even reactionary governments, have to one degree or other taken advantage of this situation to push for more independence. Such actions, while not striking the same powerful blows as mass revolutionary movements, have further weakened the imperialists.

Concessions won by raw materials producers' associations, particularly in oil, have hit at the imperialists' "scissors policy" through which they rip off superprofits by buying raw materials cheap from the underdeveloped countries, and selling them manufactured goods at a high price. And the broad demand raised by many of these countries for what they call a "new economic order" to change all this should also be supported. While there can be no genuine new economic order in the world until imperialism is overthrown by proletarian revolution, the struggles conducted under this signboard hit at reactionary imperialist policies, win concessions and can help further isolate the imperialists.

As long as imperialism exists, such gains will tend to

be reversed: And recently, aided by the reactionary class nature and capitulation of many Third World governments, the imperialists have succeeded, for example, in cutting into many of the earlier gains in the pricing structure. Some sections of the imperialists, like the oil companies, have even tried to take advantage of Third World struggles to strengthen their own position—by raising their own prices at the same time. But even for these imperialists this simply amounts to trying to make the best of a bad situation, and overall these moves by Third World governments have weakened the imperialists, affecting their trade balances and in other ways.

Support All Moves Against Imperialism

These are all reasons that even such limited moves against imperialism should be supported. It is to lend such support to all these struggles that China has made a point of stating that she is a developing socialist country belonging to the Third World. This does not mean that the basic distinction between China and countries ruled by exploiting classes should be blurred. China is socialist and this is qualitatively different from the great majority of these Third World countries. But China does share with them the same recent legacy of being colonized and thus does face the common problem of overcoming enforced backwardness. China's revolutionary path, first establishing independence and new democracy and then in a second stage moving on to socialism, stands as a model for the peoples of these countries, that only such a revolutionary process, led by the proletariat, can lead to fundamental changes and victories against imperialism.

The workers of the imperialist countries must also support all resistance from the Third World to imperialist domination. Most fundamentally this means giving support to the revolutionary struggles of the workers and peasants there against imperialism and local reactionaries. But even governments of the Third World which are completely reactionary in relation to their own people and which are dependent on imperialism also have contradictions to one degree or another with imperialism, exactly because they are dependent. These are like contradictions between big dogs and little dogs, each fighting for a bigger share of exploitation of the people. Though such forces cannot and will not fight for complete and fundamental independence from imperialism, to the extent their contradictions with big imperialist powers weaken these powers, they must be supported.

Building such support, while exposing the class basis for the actions of such governments, is especially important for the working class in the United States, where, for example, the government is constantly spreading poison about "rich and greedy Arabs" causing crisis and every sort of economic problem, so as to shift the blame away from themselves and whip up public support for new attacks on peoples and countries all over the world.

But for the U.S. proletariat to support, for instance, the Shah of Iran to the extent that, as a member of OPEC, Iran struggles against imperialist plunder, does not mean putting such support above support for the revolutionary struggles of the Iranian people to defeat imperialism and overthrow the Shah. It certainly does not mean extending support to U.S. arms shipments to the Shah. And it most definitely does not mean that the masses of Iranian people should stop their struggle to overthrow the Shah and smash the domination of Iran by the U.S. imperialists, the ultimate masters behind the Shah; nor does it mean that the U.S. working class can lessen in any way its support of the Iranian people in this struggle.

Conflicts between bourgeois Third World governments and the imperialists, though significant, do not change the fact that these governments cannot and will not fight for complete independence from imperialism, and that the backbone of the struggle for national independence is the workers and peasants of those countries. Resolving the contradictions between the

imperialists and these countries can only mean a new democratic revolution led by the working class in solid alliance with the peasants. In such a struggle, other classes, including professionals and even small factory owners and other bourgeois elements (the national bourgeoisie) can and must be united with against the imperialist enemy.

Working Class Must Lead

Even when the national bourgeoisie, not the working class, has leadership of the independence struggle, "the proletariat unites with them insofar as they continue to oppose imperialism. But only the working class and its Party can lead the struggle forward to thoroughly defeat imperialism, achieve socialism and eliminate all exploitation." (*Programme* of the RCP, p. 74)

This truth was underscored by the tragic events in Indonesia of 1965. The Communist Party of Indonesia has summed up in a self-criticism the grave error of tailing behind the national bourgeoisie, led by Sukarno, and not struggling for leadership or preparing the masses politically or militarily to wage the revolutionary struggle for liberation. As a result, the Party and the masses were unprepared when a reactionary coup took place and hundreds of thousands of revolutionary masses were butchered. This lesson definitely remains true today.

Although the sharp contention between the two superpowers has been one of the factors allowing bourgeois governments in the Third World more room to increase their independence, it also exerts tremendous pressures on these countries. The imperialists capitalize on the economic backwardness they themselves have imposed on these countries, and offer the bait of aid with strings attached, saying that only through such "aid" and not through self-reliance can these countries achieve relatively rapid economic development. And the bourgeoisies of these countries tend to be vulnerable to such bait, because while some may oppose imperialism, they are not strong enough to stand up to the imperialists themselves while they fear and are not able to fully mobilize the masses of people in their country. And, of course, they themselves are exploiters, and even in strengthening their own hand against the superpowers they strengthen exploiting class rule—this is why support for their actions can only be given insofar as the main aspect of them is to weaken the imperialists. As the final goal, their rule must be replaced by the rule of the working class and they must, as a class, be eliminated.

The superpowers often practice military subversion and blackmail against these countries and then, gangster style, offer up their "protection" as salvation from the other superpower's military power—and bourgeois forces in these countries, due to their nature, are vulnerable to this. Such tricks on the part of both superpowers stand out sharply today in southern Africa.

These kinds of pressures will become sharper all the time as superpower contention sharpens toward war. Each superpower will struggle all the more desperately to grab complete control for itself of strategic resources, such as oil, and strategic locations near shipping lanes, etc.—again southern Africa is a sharp case in point.

Under such heavy pressure, the class forces in these countries will tend even more sharply to split into two. Landlords and sections of the bourgeoisie will tend to cave in to pressure and line up with one superpower or another. The proletariat and masses of peasants, with correct leadership from a Marxist-Leninist party representing the working class, will resolutely oppose imperialism and must rally others to their banner. The situation may be complicated by the fact that one wing of the big bourgeoisie and landlords that is fronting for one group of imperialists may for a period, under certain circumstances, objectively be on the same side as the revolutionary forces—opposed to the country's main imperialist enemy at the time. Such was the case in China when Chiang Kai-shek, a lackey of U.S. imperialism, was at least partly fighting Japan.

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ese imperialism, which was the Chinese people's main oppressor for a certain stage in the struggle. But history has shown that such unity is very transitory and unstable and that the interests of such hatchmen of imperialists and those of the masses in the Third World are fundamentally opposed.

In this complex and changing situation in the Third World it is important in the U.S. to arm the workers with a clear understanding of the class basis of events, while aiming the spearhead of struggle at imperialism and, in our country particularly, at the U.S. rulers. It is crucial to carry out the policy spelled out in our Party's *Programme*: "The working class, while supporting the resistance of the governments to imperialist, especially superpower, domination, gives its fundamental support to the masses of people and assists in every way possible their struggle to win complete independence from imperialism and overthrow all exploiters. 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." (p. 76)

Second World

Fundamentally different from the Third World countries are the countries of the Second World which are *capitalist and imperialist* countries. As pointed out earlier, the ruling classes of these countries are part of, though not the heart of, the target of the worldwide united front against imperialism.

But because they are *lesser* capitalist and imperialist powers, particularly militarily, than the U.S. and the USSR, these countries are to varying degrees bullied and dominated by the superpowers. Since World War 2, Western Europe and Japan have been dominated by the U.S. The U.S. dollar became the international monetary standard and U.S. companies set up shop and grabbed huge shares of the market in these countries. U.S. economic domination was towering, accounting for 70% of total Western production in the period just following World War 2. But especially with the long and draining defeat of the U.S. in Indochina, changes began to take place. European and Japanese imperialists took advantage of the U.S. decline to assert themselves and show some economic independence. By 1970 U.S. production only amounted to 49% of the Western total.

At the same time, the Soviets capitalized on the U.S. defeats to step in. As one measure of this, Soviet trade with Western Europe doubled in the years 1973-75, a rate of increase higher than that of the U.S. Politically the Soviets make use of revisionist parties in these countries, and they have moved dramatically to strengthen their military forces in the Warsaw Pact.

The U.S. has not gone to sleep in the face of this situation and, especially since the Indochina defeats, has turned more to Europe, concentrating still more investment there and moving to tighten up the NATO military alliance under its domination. The U.S. controls or penetrates entire economic sectors—one third of oil refining, 25% of the auto market, 70% of electronics and computers.

Today Europe, with its vast productive forces, is the focus for the contention between the U.S. and

USSR. In this situation, to the extent that these Second World countries resist superpower contention for domination, they aid the worldwide struggle. Such resistance weakens the superpowers' hold, weakens alliances and thus helps delay the outbreak of war, and creates more unstable political and economic conditions, which are favorable to the growth of revolutionary struggle.

Of course the class basis of the conflict between the Second World countries and the superpowers is nothing but competing drives for profits, competition for exploitation of the workers of the imperialist countries, and competition in sucking the wealth from the countries of the Third World. While aspects of this conflict assist the worldwide struggle under today's conditions, it is clear that these Second World imperialists must also be fought by the peoples of the world, and only socialist revolution in these countries can resolve the contradictions between these capitalists and all those they exploit and oppress.

Not a Fight for Independence

For these Second World imperialist countries the struggle for national independence is not a stage in the struggle as it is in the colonial or semi-colonial countries of the Third World. But an aspect of what characterizes these countries as part of the Second World is the possibility, in the course of a world war, that some or even all of them could be militarily occupied by one or another superpower. Should this occur, clearly the main target of the revolutionary struggle would shift from what it is today—the monopoly capitalists of the country—to the new imperialist ruling class holding power in each country. But even this would not mean, as in the underdeveloped countries, that an entire stage, analogous to "new democracy," would have to be passed through before advancing to socialist revolution. And more than this, it would be dead wrong today in these countries to take the possibility of military occupation to mean that it is *only through the fight for independence* that the proletariat will be able to advance to socialism.

Such a line would in fact be letting the Second World imperialists off the hook. It would mean communists abandoning the goal of winning the workers in these countries—and specifically winning them away from the revisionist parties which hold considerable sway in the working class in a number of these countries—on the basis of their *class* interests and instead relying on or competing with the bourgeoisie of these countries to "win" the workers on the basis of "national interest." This is a sure road to revisionism and to defeat.

Lenin put it clearly that in the imperialist countries national ideology is a tool "now being utilized in a totally different and imperialist epoch by the sophists of the bourgeoisie, and by the traitors to socialism who are following in their wake, so as to split the workers, and divert them from their class aims and from the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie." (Lenin, "Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 160)

And while not organizing under the national flag in these countries, still less can communists support imperialist military alliances, specifically NATO in the West European countries or the Warsaw Pact in Eastern Europe in the name of "preserving national independence." The existence of NATO, and the strengthening under U.S. domination it is undergoing today, is clear testimony to the fact that, while these West European countries do, to an extent, have contradictions with the superpowers, "they do not oppose both superpowers, but are basically in the camp of U.S. imperialism (although it is not inconceivable that some

could try to switch their eggs to Moscow's basket if they thought it opportune, just as Italy changed sides in the middle of World War 1)." ("War and Revolution" pamphlet, p. 31, and *Revolution*, August 15, 1976)

In the course of a war between the U.S. and USSR it is very unlikely that any significant number of lesser imperialist countries would fail to line up in one or another superpower war bloc. This underscores the reactionary nature of these imperialist countries, and the fact that the main task of the proletariat of these countries is to overthrow their own bourgeoisies. And for the U.S. proletariat, while we support the Second World countries in their conflicts with the superpowers, our fundamental internationalist duty is to support the workers of these countries in their revolutionary struggle aimed today mainly at their own ruling classes.

Tool of Class Analysis

In this complicated world situation, to create clarity out of confusion, to advance its revolutionary interests, it is crucial for the proletariat to use the tool of class analysis, both on a world scale and within each country. This is precisely the method by which the Marxist-Leninists in each country can correctly combine their tasks in the broad world context with what is overall their main task—waging the revolutionary struggle in their own country, mobilizing and relying on the masses and carrying forward this fight through whatever necessary stages to the final goal of socialism and communism.

Can the proletariat internationally fail to take into account the three worlds analysis? No, it cannot. Can the proletariat see the three worlds analysis as a substitution for, rather than a part of, the general line of worldwide united front against imperialism? No, it cannot. It must work to build the international united front against imperialism, aimed now at the ruling classes of the two superpowers, to isolate and weaken the main international enemies to the greatest degree, throw obstacles in the path of superpower war alliances, and create the most favorable conditions for revolution, even in the event of war. Can the three worlds analysis decide and govern the revolutionary strategy in every country? No, it cannot. Such a strategy can only be arrived at and carried out country by country by using the method of concrete analysis—class analysis—of concrete conditions in each country, in the context of the international situation. And such a strategy cannot be developed by simply formulating an alignment of countries on a world scale, nor can the main enemy in any situation simply be determined by such a method.

In a complex world situation, Marxist-Leninists in every country, in short, must think. The Chinese put it well in "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement." While this statement was made in a different context, in the course of a polemic against the Soviet revisionists, the method it advocates applies today. Winning revolutionary victory requires, as they put it, that "... a party that can use its brains to think for itself and acquire an accurate knowledge of the trends of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and knows how to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country." (p. 56, FLP)

Using this method, the Marxist-Leninists in each country will be able to fully carry out their proletarian internationalist duties, including their greatest contribution to the worldwide struggle—leading the masses in their country in overthrowing their own exploiters and swelling the ranks of the worldwide march toward socialism and communism. ■

Rulings...

Continued from page 7

ed this Ohio law, suing to collect his benefits.

The highest court in the land held that Ohio's law was constitutional and rejected the worker's suit, saying that although the unemployment insurance laws are supposed to protect workers "involuntarily unemployed," this does not mean that the state must give benefits to everybody who is! The law denying benefits, the court said, gives "rough justice" to struck bosses. Making the employer pay into the unemployment fund for the workers he laid off would be "penalizing" the company when it is "not at fault."

Like the New York decision, this ruling had a greater effect than just saving the big monopolies millions of dollars. It is an open attempt to pit worker against worker and isolate and weaken workers who go out on strike. The steel companies own many coal mines, the auto giants own key parts plants, and so on. The right of states to pass and enforce such "starve 'em into submission" laws has been affirmed at the precise time that rank and file contact and organization on an industry-wide level are starting to expand.

All these decisions are naturally cloaked in a bunch of rhetoric about "justice" and the government's "neu-

trality" between labor and "management." But if anyone is waiting for the courts to apply the same standards of "justice" and rule, say, that using cops, who are paid out of workers' taxes, to herd scabs across picket lines constitutes "unconstitutional government interference" and "penalizes" strikers, they're in for one hell of a long wait. The courts exist to dispense the "justice" of the capitalists they serve. The "free" in the "free collective bargaining" they talk about is like the "free" in "free enterprise." What it means is freedom for the bosses to pit the might of all the wealth they have stolen against handcuffed and divided workers, freedom for the workers to take whatever the boss offers or starve.

In short, the only right upheld by either decision is the right of the owning class to bleed the workers for its profits, as the courts' use of "fairness" to the employers as their key standard in both cases shows. These attacks stem directly from the crisis situation the ruling class finds itself in and although aimed specifically at employed workers, are closely tied to other recent attacks on the unemployment laws, like Carter's bill to cut benefits and force the unemployed to take any job offered, even if the wages are only a fraction of what they used to get or need. The new decisions are part and parcel of an overall attempt to force down the wages and living standards of the entire working class, divide the workers, and to prevent or crush resistance to such attacks; they must be understood and fought as such. ■

PROGRAMME AND
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I-Hotel...

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exercise eminent domain, buy the International Hotel, and assume full responsibility of ownership and financing so that International Hotel can be maintained as low rent housing and much needed community centers."

This statement was initiated by the Workers' Committee before the court came down with its ruling on May 27 that the city could not exercise eminent domain to take over the hotel because it intended to sell it back to a private party, the I-Hotel tenants. The court decision itself was an exposure of the so-called plan put forward by Mayor Moscone to "resolve" the I-Hotel struggle, a plan which the Workers' Committee had denounced from the beginning as an eviction plan. Moscone said the city should take over the hotel then sell it to the tenants—for \$1.3 million!

Although some were taken in a bit initially by the mayor's "good intentions," the Workers' Committee made it clear that any plan that demanded that the tenants cough up over a million dollars in order to keep their homes was a phony deal that was only intended as another way to move them out. Their demand was that the city take responsibility, including financial responsibility, to maintain the hotel as low-rent housing and community centers. The court ruling, including its legal grounds, was a clear exposure of City Hall's intentions.

Together with the newspaper ad, the demonstration on the 12th exerted tremendous political pressure on the local bourgeoisie. Not only would they have to mobilize massive force to try to carry off an eviction, the tenants had even more massive support and thousands of people saw clearly the terms of the battle, despite the capitalists' efforts to slander and red-bait.

Authorities Backed Down Again

Once again, as they had been so many times in the past, the capitalists were forced to back down. On Wednesday, June 15, the Court of Appeals issued another stay of the eviction order. Their excuse this time was to consider an appeal of the eminent domain decision brought by the Housing Authority. But it was clear why they had to back off. And although it was only a one to thirty day stay that could be withdrawn any time, it was another victorious round for the tenants in the blow for blow battle that has been waged for so many months.

The newspaper ad was itself a campaign to mobilize support. When the Workers' Committee took it out to the Chinatown-Manilatown community asking small businessmen to endorse it and contribute to the cost of publication, the response was great. Dozens contributed and put the poster heralding the demands in their store windows. The small merchants in the community are being squeezed by the capitalists too. Store fronts on Stockton Street, a main commercial street in Chinatown, are now renting for \$4000 a month and they see the International Hotel as the first line of defense for Chinatown. Tenants from other hotels donated towards the ad and there were contributions from garment workers in the sweatshops of Chinatown.

The Bay Area United Workers Organization took it up among the rank and file in their unions. Hundreds of dollars were raised through in-plant and plant gate collections. At two of the biggest department stores workers donated \$212 towards the ad. At the Post Office \$132 was collected. At other plants people met with the same kind of enthusiastic response. And the rank and file pressed their officials to endorse the statement.

The fact that the I-Hotel had become such a broad social issue and the pressure from the ranks that they take some concrete supportive action jammed several top union leaders into calling a benefit dinner that raised close to \$1000 for the ad. The dinner was sponsored by the president of the Department Store Employees Union Local 1100, the ILWU, and the Joint Council of Teamsters No. 7. These officials, along with the president of the San Francisco Labor Council and numerous other union leaders were moved to put their names on the ad, a statement quite a bit sharper than these illustrious folk would have been expected to endorse otherwise.

Union Leaders Brought into Motion

A press conference to show that labor backed up the I-Hotel was spearheaded by a retired vice-president of the ILWU in cooperation with the IHTA and the Workers' Committee. It brought together union officials from six different unions, most of them stating that the only solution was for the city to buy and keep the hotel as the tenants demanded. Off the momentum of the dinner and the press conference, several official representatives from the unions spoke at the June 12 rally. It was the first time that union officials, many of them part of the city "establishment" had publicly done so, and one of the first times in many years that

the trade unions had taken a formal stand on such a social issue.

The United Workers Organization and the Workers' Committee immediately initiated a call for a day of labor solidarity with the International Hotel for Saturday, June 18, and got endorsement for it from over a dozen unions.

In just two and a half short weeks since the court decision against eminent domain a tremendous amount of activity and controversy has again been generated. People are uniting with the tenants' demands and it is clear that they have become a mass question. And Mayor Moscone's statement that the city will not buy the hotel because it would not be "fiscally responsible" helped sharpen up the issue even further—property rights vs. the rights of people to decent housing and to live with dignity.

Staying on the offensive has been the key factor in the whole struggle. Every time the capitalists have tried to take a move against the tenants they have been hit right back. These actions have helped to make conditions more favorable for the struggle. For instance, in January, the first time the sheriffs were supposed to evict, Moscone pulled a disappearing act, hightailing it out of town to a post-inaugural party in Washington, D.C. This time he tried to sneak off to a mayor's con-

ference in Tucson. But supporters of the Workers' Committee were right there to send him off at the airport. Banners and signs followed him through the terminal. People yelled, "Why can't the city buy the hotel?" "Why are there 5500 people on a waiting list for low rent housing?" "Why hasn't any low rent housing been built in Chinatown?" Passengers in the terminal were expressing their support for the hotel struggle, saying "I hope you win!"

The San Francisco Progress was also forced to print a Workers' Committee statement rebutting an editorial attacking the International Hotel fight. The editor was confronted by a delegation of elderly Chinese residents of Chinatown-Manilatown who let him know that his editorial was a pile of garbage and why the struggle is so important to the community.

This has truly been a blow for blow battle. People have not given the capitalists an inch, they have taken the offensive and relied on the vast reserve of support that exists among the masses of workers and other people of the Bay Area. The tenants, and all the people whose fight this is, have not yet won. The threat of eviction still hangs over their heads. As the Workers' Committee support ad in the papers put it, "This has been a long and bitter battle. The lines are drawn. We will fight it all the way until victory." ■



Active support for the I-Hotel has been built among broad sections of people of the Bay Area. The United Workers Organization has taken the campaign out to thousands of rank and file workers.

Latrobe...

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Committee united with the local union in holding a meeting attended by 45 workers around how to build the strike and the national workers organization.

After putting out leaflets and collecting money at plant gates in the Pittsburgh area the Organizing Committee sponsored a big fundraising dinner on May 21. Over 200 workers showed up from 20 different locals urging the strikers to stay strong and after music and speeches of support they contributed over \$1000 to the strike. Later a bucket brigade went out to Latrobe Steel in Latrobe and collected \$2000 for the strike.

A few days earlier Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF) and Organizing Committee members in the Los Angeles area linked up with the Local 1984 officials attending the UAW convention in L.A. AWUF and the local officials put out a joint leaflet to the convention and to some of the auto plants in the area about the strike. Rank and file pressure started within the UAW to endorse the strike.

All of this work had two effects. First it made thousands of other workers aware of the strike, brought out how the issues of union busting and others related to the whole class and concretely began to involve hundreds in the strike in one way or another. Many steel workers, for example, throughout Pittsburgh began to look to the Latrobe strike as their own battle.

This in turn began to broaden the overall outlook of many of the strikers. At first many thought their problem stemmed from Thomas Okanak, the back-buster new president of the company. But as money came in from plant gate collections, other workers came down to the line to offer support and through the benefit dinner they began to see, as the OC summed up with them, that it is a whole class of vermin like Okanak and it's something everyone is up against. Many strikers saw that they were not just out on strike for themselves, but out in a battle that affected workers all over. This greatly strengthened the strike.

As the strike continued strong week after week the NLRB, which had originally said the strike was illegal, was forced to reverse itself and declare it legal. And despite the fact that the UAW International still refused to authorize the strike, continuing to deny the Latrobe workers strike benefits, the company soon began to cave in. It offered this agreement which the workers voted to accept:

—The point system on absenteeism was thrown out. A new absentee policy will be negotiated but it will be from a position of strength by the workers

—The 48 work rules that were used as a code of conduct have been thrown out.

—Grievances can now be written on company time.

—All fines, amounting to \$500,000, against the local have been dropped, all criminal charges against the strikers have been dropped, all workers are rehired, but part of the agreement means 21 members will be suspended for six weeks and 13 others suspended for two weeks.

—Other gains such as being able to arbitrate multiple grievances instead of one at a time at great expense to the union.

Classwide Battles

Throughout the strike the reputation of the Organizing Committee grew in the Pittsburgh area and quite a few workers began to join. Especially at Latrobe workers began to see in practice what a powerful force the national workers organization will be once it is formed in building classwide and industrywide campaigns around key battles. Here in their own experience was this idea becoming a material force as the strike began to be taken up on a classwide basis with other workers in the area and throughout other parts of the country coming to support it.

Of course this growing class consciousness was not an even development among the Latrobe workers. After the benefit dinner, for example, between 40 and 50 strikers met to sum up and talk about the national workers organization, and one guy kept raising the question "Are you guys here to just build the national workers organization or are you here to build our struggle?" In response to this the OC members brought out that they were there to build the struggle and in the course of it to build for a national workers organization because it will be a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class in all its battles.

Other Latrobe workers also struggled with the brother who raised this question, saying, "You can't just see it in terms of just your job. Workers all over are involved and this is what this organization (the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization) is all about." In other words there are some workers at Latrobe who began to see the struggle in broader class terms, while there are others who saw it basically in terms of carrying the strike through to get their jobs back.

Especially those who see it as a class fight have come forward, now consider themselves to be organizers for the national workers organization and talk about the Organizing Committee being "our organization." These workers, some of their wives and others met with the national speaking tour when it visited the Pittsburgh area and are planning a picnic in Latrobe, building for the Labor Day founding convention in Chicago. ■

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interested and want to learn about it—it's another thing where you are fighting in very sharp, direct quarters with the enemy and the question of us communists being involved becomes a part of that struggle.

The enemy says to the masses, "this struggle involves these communists, that's who you're following, whether consciously or unconsciously, that's what you're working towards." Even a lot of the advanced people say "You know, I think a lot of you guys' ideas are good but why do you have to bring that issue (communism) up in the thing here—it just makes it more difficult for us." The only way you can combat that is by arming the people: a) with an understanding that the enemy is the enemy and has its nature, has its necessity and is going to do what it's going to do regardless of whether we're there or not. It's going to try to step up its robbery of the people and so on; and b) that there are much bigger things involved, laws and forces shaping people's lives independent of their will, there are much bigger things involved than simply these day to day battles, although they are extremely important and have to be waged very sharply

Unless we arm the masses with a materialist understanding and raise their sights toward the long-term, general interests of our class, the question is going to arise in the midst of these battles, "what the hell do we need you kind of guys around for?" I'm trying to emphasize the two aspects: on the one hand we have to fight toe to toe, tactic for tactic, to be prepared to hit the capitalists and their agents back and try to anticipate their moves; on the other hand, if that's all we do, (this is one of Lenin's points in *What Is to Be Done?*) after a while people say, "listen we can wage this struggle without you." People can learn these tactical things, people can learn how to retreat and this and that, in the narrow limited sense of how to wage that economic struggle.

If that's all that we are bringing to them, then our initial links with them and their initial sense that, "hey, these people are really adding something," is going to get turned around, exactly when the stakes get raised for having us around. And they do get raised the sharper the struggle gets. Unless we're consciously carrying out all of the objectives there is not going to be a basis for people to see how the immediate struggle fits into something bigger, or for that matter why you have to have communists around at all

In order to carry out our work correctly and avoid these errors we have to deepen our own understanding of the way the laws operate. As Marx said in *Capital*, the capitalists are only capital personified. That, I think, is an extremely important point related to the way these laws operate behind the backs of people, independent of their will. With that statement Marx was emphasizing that these laws operate independently, in the overall sense, of the will of the capitalists themselves. In other words these laws assert themselves and the capitalists are only active as the personal agents of the social relations of the system.

That doesn't mean you can get vulgar and say they don't have any will at all, or that there is no superstructure—obviously that would be ridiculous. But in an overall, fundamental sense what I'm trying to get at, and what is important for the masses to grasp as well as the Party, is that the capitalists are going to be driven to intensify exploitation. This operating fraternity is more and more breaking down and they are going to be more and more driven to push the masses down even more. This is the reason that these attacks are stepping up, and I think that it is important to arm the masses with this understanding not in a superficial sloganeering way—like simply repeating "there are more crises, more attacks"—but to go deeper than that and expose the reason that these crises develop the way they do, make real this thing about the inevitability of such crises, make real the thing about laws that operate and how they operate, and how by grasping them we can change things, make revolution.

In fact the capitalists still try from time to time to make the very contradictions of capitalism appear to be its great strength. For example in a *Business Week* special article they quote one of their own ranks saying "there can never be a capital shortage." He is one of these pure, "free market" kinds of economists, who says something like, "we live in an economy where consumers have to state their preferences and the market is actually a great clearing house and if people don't have the money to spend on something and it won't get produced, that's tough."

It's like the main founder of their school of political economy, Adam Smith, talked about "the invisible hand" and this is what he meant: the market acts as a way of equitably settling all these conflicting interests and the exchange of commodities. I think that we have to turn that around or, like Marx and Engels did with Hegel, stand it on its feet.

In fact there is an "invisible hand" but it is not one that equitably resolves all this in some kind of abstract interest of everybody, but in fact it is an invisible hand which operates in an anarchistic way. Only by remov-

ing the capitalists, by removing the social relations that they're the personification of, can we eliminate this invisible hand which keeps smacking people, and move society and mankind forward. I think that that concept of the invisible hand is a good one, but I think we have to stand it on its feet and explain it to people scientifically. That's really the point of this.

The question came up, for example, among the Auto Workers United to Fight, when they had their conference recently, there was recently a bit on TV that showed the big four auto companies—the 3½ or whatever, the Big 3 and the little tyke—and it showed that sales of the Big 3 were all up X% (GM the most and what have you), but American Motors was off X%. American Motors workers have actually won some things in their contracts in the past that other workers are striving for right now, such as the right to strike over all grievances, literal voluntary overtime after 40 hours, not phoney voluntary overtime, and a steward ratio of one steward for every 35 workers which is overall a good thing. What is happening is that American Motors is saying these things have to be taken away because they are losing out in the competition and they've already closed down a line, laid off a thousand workers in Milwaukee, and they're pushing a line that they're going to go out of business if the workers don't give up a lot of things. Of course the other auto companies are pushing a line that they have to compete and that they're going to fall behind if the workers don't give up a lot of things.

So potentially these guys are educating the workers, but only potentially. They are not in fact educating them directly. But they're providing us with a lot of raw material to educate the workers—that in fact there is an antagonistic relationship, that their interests even in the short run can only advance at the expense of ours, by taking it out of us. But more than that we have to show, and this is the important thing—this is the point that Marx made in lots of different places—that with these social relations whichever way we turn and however the fortunes of the capitalists go the position of the masses of workers worsens in the long run. In other words the more the capitalists accumulate at one pole there is the increase in the suffering and poverty and degradation at the other.

That's a real thing, that's not something that was just true in the 19th century and not now. What do they do when they accumulate? Do they parcel it back out and build new homes for the workers? New schools and hospitals suddenly spring up directly in relation to the profit of the capitalists? This is not what happens at all. What happens is more machinery, the shifting of that capital that can't be profitably invested in the home market to other markets, and where it is invested in the home market it is not to raise the standard of living of the workers, although some concessions are granted in periods where that is possible, but much more so to introduce new machinery, speedup, etc. And there is the long-term tendency of capital in the form of machinery (constant capital) to replace capital in the form of wages and workers hired and paid with those wages (variable capital).

What was talked about with the active auto workers, particularly at American Motors, was, "look, they're running the line that we have to save the company to save our jobs and we have to tell the workers the cold and hard facts that there isn't any way in the world that we can guarantee that American Motors isn't going to go broke. We can do anything we want, in fact work for \$1 an hour and we still can't guarantee that American Motors won't go broke. We have to explain to our fellow workers in a living way that there are laws that are much bigger than American Motors or even the auto industry. We have to take the stand that if they are going to go broke we'd rather have them go broke with us making \$7 an hour than with us making \$4 an hour—and with us in a stronger position to continue the fight against them as a class." There is a lot of perceptual knowledge in that case because a lot of the workers who worked at American Motors worked for Nash in the '50s and they took \$1 an hour wage cut to "save" the company, and it went broke anyway and they had to transfer to Milwaukee.

Again what you have is these blind laws operating, this invisible hand scooped these people up and threw them down in Milwaukee. No matter how much they tried to save the company So again potentially the workers are being educated, but we've got to raise that to a rational, scientific understanding in the course of building struggle or else it gets turned into its opposite and people become further confused and demoralized

So the point that needs to be stressed most, overall, is that while we have to keep in mind that there are qualitative changes within the quantitative steps towards the revolutionary change we can never forget the big quantity to quality change that we aiming towards—in other words, never forget the revolutionary goal. If we do it will affect the smaller battles because they are also dialectically related—whether we understand it or not, whether anyone wants it to be true or not—it is true that what you can achieve in changing the conditions of the masses for example is related to the big question of how society is going to be organized. There is no way to get around that So while we

have to take up these particulars, look at the question of quality within the quantitative buildup, we have to keep in mind always the general, sweeping goal and the big qualitative change that we are talking about.

Mood of the Masses

Now part of this question of the objective situation we are dealing with, and one of the big questions, is the mood of the masses

In summing up the July 4th Battle of the Bicentennial we pointed out, for example, that twenty years ago we could not have had such a demonstration and a few years ago it couldn't have had the kind of class character that it did. I think that is a very important thing that has to do with the objective situation and the mood of the masses, viewing it dialectically. And that is linked to the question of bourgeoisification of the working class and the concessions that the workers were able to win due to the position of our rulers since the last world war

Can we afford to be afraid to say that there has been a lot of bourgeoisification of the working class in this country over the past period? Do we have to kind of slink around and avoid saying that? . . . I don't think so. As a matter of fact we can't carry out our role as the Party of the working class unless we are willing to be ruthlessly scientific about that. That doesn't mean, and Marx and Engels never meant when they talked about the bourgeoisification of the British workers for a period in the second half of the 19th century, "forget about these guys, Jesus, when we wrote about the working class we never had these guys in mind." That wasn't the point at all

Their point, and the point we have to pay attention to, is what is the objective situation? What has been the position of the rulers of the country we're in? What freedom has that given them in the face of the struggle of the workers? What consciousness do the workers have? You can't hardly talk to an older worker without them telling you that even today things are better than they were in the '30s for example, even if they say things are headed toward another great depression. And that's objectively true. That doesn't mean that we have to bow down before that and say "OK, when things get worse we'll talk to you," or anything like that. But it means that we have to understand what is going on.

On the other hand we have to understand it *dialectically*—which we pointed out in the polemics against the BWC and other Bundist-dogmatists. On the one hand there has been the bourgeoisification; on the other hand there has been a decline of U.S. imperialism and an undercutting of the ability of the imperialists to bourgeoisify. Which one of them is the aspect that we have to grab hold of, not just because it is the one we like better, which one is the one we have to grab hold of because in the real world it's the one that is the principal aspect—the aspect that is determining the nature and development of the contradiction—at this time, and the one that's rising and developing? It's the decline and it's the undercutting of that bourgeoisification, not the fact of bourgeoisification.

But the question of principal aspect has to be dealt with dialectically, too. Just because you grab hold of the principal aspect, and recognize that it is what's rising and developing, doesn't mean that you can obliterate the other aspect or fail to take into account the fact that a lot of the questions of the need to rise up and struggle and to take matters into our own hands, a lot of this thinking is new to a lot of workers, or for many it's like dusting off old thoughts which people maybe thought didn't have to be thought again Grasping a correct understanding of this question is not going to lead us in the direction of tailing behind the spontaneous tendencies of the masses but is going to in fact give us a firmer basis and greater understanding of the need to link up with, yes, but to *lead* the masses of workers, not tail behind them. And to struggle in a way that fellow workers struggle about where the future is going and how do you really sum up the history of where things have been, why are we having the problems we are having now and what's the answer to them? Is it to make the "good old U.S. number one again" or is it to change the whole social relations? What is the only real way forward? . . .

Economic and Political Struggle

And I think that one thing that needs to be deepened (and we discussed it on the standing bodies, but it needs to be deepened throughout the whole Party) is *why* is the center of gravity the center of gravity? Why are we concentrating our forces there? And what are we trying to accomplish by concentrating our forces there? I spoke to that in a fair amount in that article that I wrote (in the May 15, 1976 *Revolution*) and I don't want to repeat all that, but I think the point is the economic struggle is now the center of gravity because that is where in fact the workers, as workers, are waging their battles and in the embryonic way they are beginning to develop a sense of themselves as workers by fighting against an opposing group of employers, the way the *Programme* puts it. That's not the same thing as class consciousness and we shouldn't think

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that it is, or that the workers will achieve the class consciousness simply in these struggles, no matter how well we do our work there. No matter how correctly we carry out agitation and exposure and propaganda around those struggles, they will not achieve class consciousness if we simply limit our forces to that.

So what needs to happen—and I think we began to do it with July 4th and a lot of the line struggle that went on around building it—is that we need to learn on the one hand how to concentrate our work where the workers are, recognizing in fact that they are waging their main battles in the economic struggles and that it is there that presently they do begin to have that social character of a class engaged in struggle with the opposing class. We must concentrate our work there—but at that same time we must learn to play the piano, be able to work in the best way among all strata, and in every major struggle against the enemy. We must concentrate our work in the working class itself in those economic battles but at the same time be able, as the *Programme* says, to develop the working class movement in the fight against all oppression, be able to focus in on major questions confronting the whole class and other sections of the people, the major battles, and develop them, using the single spark method, into campaigns of the whole class

Actually facing where the class is, summing up more deeply what the mood is, the contradictory moods and ideas that exist, and being able to apply the materialist and dialectical method will lead to less tailing, not to more tailing, and more to relying on the masses of people—in the correct, political, scientific sense—rather than, to less relying on the masses of people. Because if we try to rely on moralistic, religious faith we're going to get burned out and people are going to get demoralized, because it can't answer real questions and solve real problems.

On the other hand in examining the mood of the masses and the development of the struggle, one thing to keep in mind as a very important point is the question of uneven development, which doesn't only apply to contradictions between imperialist countries, but applies to things in general. Things do not develop in a straight line and we have to arm the workers with this understanding, and it's linked to the single spark method, too. In other words, even on the level of the economic struggle, for example, viewing it from the point of view of the workers as a whole, the workers push forward in the mine fields and then they're pushed back and then somewhere else they push forward—in the rubber industry—and then they're pushed back in certain ways.

It doesn't go down that the whole working class advances as one wave together simultaneously like that, nor does any section of the working class advance consistently forward without going backwards and forwards. That's the whole key to the single spark method, we have to be able at any given time to see where the advances are coming and to be able to turn those into advances for the whole class both in terms of winning as much as can be won and in terms of *all* the objectives, in terms of raising the general level of consciousness and in terms of training and finding in the course of these battles those who can become conscious forces and conscious leaders. To do this we have to arm our own ranks and we have to arm the masses with the understanding that things go forward here and then back and forward and then back—but the overall direction is forward.

There isn't going to be a July 4th demonstration every week or every month or even every year. There was a certain sentiment, not only among our own ranks, but among the workers, kind of like "well, Jesus, what do we do now? That was a great thing, I wish we could have another one of those things. Now I've got to confront the problem in my shop where 98% of the people didn't go and 75% aren't that interested in what happened there, or 50% or whatever it is." And I've heard it raised among some of the Party members, like "I wish we had the July 4th every month so we could do political work," instead of understanding that we have to find the ways in every battle to do Marxist work.

Yes, there are political struggles like that (July 4th) and I think that another thing we cannot fail to do is to distinguish between economic and political struggle, because there is economic struggle and there is political struggle. The point of that is not to say that one is "better" than the other. But I think that there are things which by definition do involve broader strata, which do involve struggle with the bourgeoisie in a more broad way about their basic policies and get more towards the question of how the society is run. The point however is that we have to wage political as well as the economic struggle, and that in every struggle we wage, among whatever strata, while concentrating in the economic struggles of the workers at this time, we have to do it in a strictly Marxist way. . . .

There are other points that I could make but I'm sure in the course of the discussion they'll come out so I just want to end on this one point here. That's

this question about keeping to the high road. I think that in talking about the late Comrade Gert Alexander this was something that characterized her whole life and her role in the movement and I think it's something that has to characterize any group that seeks to play the role that we have to play.

Persevering on the High Road

In analyzing the question of the collapse of the Second International and why all these groups (or almost all of them) ended up in cowardly betrayal and fell in line with their own rulers, Lenin showed how the roots of this lay in the long-standing policy of class collaboration and compared it to an abscess which is building up. And, again, the qualitative leap came when the war broke out and that burst the abscess and there was no way at that point that you could eliminate the infection, you had to sever yourself from those that were infected in that way and for whom the abscess had burst. I think that we have to understand the similarities and differences with our own situation.

The similarity is in the objective development of things. Lenin showed how in the period really since the 1870s, with the development of this system into its highest stage, there was again a period of relatively peaceful development—development of monopolies, the grabbing of colonies, etc. It was a period in which the struggle between classes was not eliminated, in fact it was sometimes sharp—but nevertheless, it was another one of those nonrevolutionary situations as opposed to a ripened situation, and one that was a protracted nonrevolutionary situation, characterized by the growing strength of the monopolies and of the ruling classes in those countries.

So the similarity lies in the question of the relatively protracted period of a nonrevolutionary situation and a growing strength, relatively, of the ruling classes. However what is different between that period and this is that at that time the groups that belonged to the Second International, the Social-Democrats, in most cases—not in the case of Russia, but in the more "democratic" countries especially—had established themselves as leaders of large unions, had won positions in Parliament and so on. This became—not inevitably, but in dialectical relation with their outlook—it became the basis of their class collaboration. Lenin never said that it was inevitable that they developed class collaborationist policies because they had people in parliament and led the unions. But he pointed out that unless they waged a struggle and rooted themselves among the masses of workers and rooted themselves in the science of the working class and understood that this peaceful development could only be temporary—even if it lasted for several decades—that they were bound to degenerate.

The difference though, between that situation and ours today is that it has not been the case with the development of the struggle in the imperialist countries over the last period that the newly emerged Marxist-Leninist forces—those who stand, or claim to stand, on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought—are in the position where they have a large base in the working class, have developed leadership over a large section of it in the form of trade unions, have positions in parliament, what have you. (Of course revisionist parties in several countries are in this position, but their "abscess" has long since burst, and for some time there has been no question of unity between them and genuine Marxist-Leninist forces as there was with the Social-Democrats before WW1.)

In the main, these new Marxist-Leninist forces have grown out of a basically nonproletarian movement and have been confronted with the question of how to establish a base in the proletariat. And they have been confronted with it in a situation which increasingly, in the past few years, has been marked not only by the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, but by the real emergence and pushing out of that country together with the decline of this country—the two growing hand in hand—the growing contention, and the prospect looming on the horizon clearer and clearer in the immediate period ahead (by that I mean something more like ten years than thirty) of that leading to world war.

In the face of this the overall problem is how do you make that break, how do you make that leap, coming from the kind of movement that characterized not only this country but most of the same kind of countries in the '60s, the general question is how do you make that leap to actually link up and establish a base in the working class while continuing on the road towards the final goal. That has been an overall and difficult problem that some of these groups wreck their ships on the rocks of.

Now a particular form that this is taking is saying, "we don't have time for that, we don't have time to dig roots, to link up with the mass workers struggles, to do the patient day to day work and so on because the world is going to go up in smoke and the tanks are going to roll this way and China is going to be attacked before we can develop any base, the parties loyal to the Soviet social-imperialists have too strong a hold on the working class and therefore we don't have time for that so we have to find some other way."

It's the panicking in the face of this and the giving up on persevering in the correct kind of work because you look at the situation and you see what's

looming and say, "we don't have time." Of course, what marks this line as opportunist is not recognition of the growing danger of world war, or concern for defending China—which is a real and serious task of the international proletariat in the event of an attack on China. The opportunism lies in giving up a scientific analysis of capitalism and giving up on the working class as the revolutionary class in society. By the way, this opportunist line actually strengthens the revisionists, allowing them to pose as the standard bearers of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie in their countries and against the U.S. imperialists.

The point of sticking to the high road is linked to the question of understanding, yes, the question of quality within quantity, but also and most basically the question of the big change, and as Lenin said, the possibility of an immediate or very quick change from a nonrevolutionary to a revolutionary situation. And even if, with the outbreak of such a world war, there is not yet a revolutionary situation and you don't have such wide and deep roots, if you continue to carry out the kind of policies that the Bolsheviks carried out and that we're talking about carrying out—making every possible link with every struggle, carrying out the three objectives—then, when the situation changes, not only can the objective change dramatically and the mood of the masses change dramatically, but the position of the subjective forces can change dramatically. (That's the point of Lenin's statement about how the Bolsheviks were laughed at before the 1905 revolution—were called a small sect, with several hundred this and several thousand that, etc.)

For example, the Bolsheviks grew by ten times in six months when the situation ripened fully in the period of 1917 (they also grew tremendously in the period of 1905 as Lenin pointed out). And it was because they had carried out that kind of revolutionary line that they were able to bring those who came forward into their ranks and to place those who had been trained during the other period at the head of the working class and to bring with them the millions and even hundreds of millions of working people. They seized the time exactly because they had stuck to this policy and hadn't said, "oh well, we don't have time, things are just shaping up too fast." It wasn't even until after 1912 that the Bolsheviks really got back on their feet. They suffered a tremendous defeat in 1905. From 1908 to 1912 there were desertions in every which way, among intellectuals, demoralization even among the workers who had been in the Party and so on. I think the key to understand all this is that conditions can not only change dramatically in terms of the objective situation but along with that, if we've laid the basis for it, the subjective forces can change tremendously and can seize the opportunity when it is ripe. And if they don't they will throw away the opportunity when it is ripe.

So the point that I want to conclude on is that there are objective laws of development and we do in a sense have to uphold what objectively will make us relatively small for a period of time—as compared to bourgeois parties, social democratic groupings that may arise, whatever—while trying to be as large as we can on the correct basis at any given time. And the way we do that, like I said, is by linking up with every battle and striving to fulfill the three objectives. Or to put it another way, while being relatively small, for a period ahead, (we can't predict for how long) how do we wage big battles together with the masses? How do we, while being relatively small, unite with millions, not around our full *Programme* but around whatever are the main questions confronting the masses and the things that can be turned into campaigns? How do we apply that principle of uniting all who can be united, marshal and concentrate our forces, infuse the strength, discipline and revolutionary outlook of the working class and, wage big battles, both in terms of what they represent politically and in terms of the masses who are drawn into them? How do we recognize that we are going to be relatively small but at the same time consistently strengthen our own ranks both in the sense that we add to them, bring forth out of these battles new people, bring them closer and bring them into the Party, and also that we become stronger in the sense that ideologically, politically and organizationally the numbers that we do have are strengthened? So those are the key questions.

That's what's meant by sticking to the high road. And I think that's a tough road to take, but it's the only one, as I tried to point out, that will in fact lead us to resolving this thing in the only way that it can be resolved. It's the only way that another group won't have to come behind and say, "well, we have to sum up their negative experiences and learn not to fall into the pitfalls that they fell into." I don't think we were joking when we said this is the second time the Party of the working class has been formed in this country and it's going to be the last time. And I think it's true what it says in the paper about this being the spiral that can lead to the development of a revolutionary situation in this country. It's going to raise at least the prospect in many countries and very possibly in this country the prospect of the ripening of that situation. And whether that comes sooner or whether that comes later it's a question of waging big battles and strengthening our own ranks, making every possible link and carrying out the three objectives and persevering in that road until we achieve victory. ■