



REVOLUTION

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1500 Unite at Convention

Fighting Workers Organization Founded

Close to 1500 workers from all over the U.S. packed Chicago's Pick Congress Hotel over the Labor Day weekend for the founding convention of the National United Workers Organization. It was one of the most significant mass meetings of workers in this country in generations. Participating were 1438 registered delegates and participants, and dozens more observers. There were working men and women from every major industry and area of the country. Pineapple workers and hotel workers traveled 5000 miles from Hawaii. Hundreds came by plane and car from the West Coast—agricultural workers from Salinas, steel workers from Seattle and Los Angeles, electronic workers from San Jose. In the weeks before Labor Day, West Coast workers had selected delegates and raised money to send them. Two chartered planes brought hundreds more from the East Coast—garment workers, hospital workers, auto workers. From the South came busloads of textile workers, electrical and petrochemical workers. Miners from West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio joined meatpackers from Milwaukee.

At the front of the hotel's Great Hall where the plenary sessions were held, a giant two story, multicolor banner rose behind the speaker's podium. It embodied the symbol of the NUWO—workers merging their many arms into one common fist. And indeed this banner symbolized the convention itself. People were aware and proud that in this convention workers of many different nationalities, white, Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Chicano, Chinese, Filipino, stood shoulder to shoulder and declared in a proclamation to the U.S. working class that "We have nothing in common with those who discriminate against one nationality to keep all of us down." A specially built sound booth provided simultaneous translation for scores of Chinese and Spanish speaking delegates.

Older workers, veteran fighters, gave the delegates the sense of the proud tradition of the working class that characterized the convention and the younger workers infused their spirit and enthusiasm into the proceedings. Through it all the sense of being one class with a common struggle against a common enemy prevailed among the delegates.

Important Political Advance

This convention marked an important political advance for the U.S. working class. Coming together from hundreds of scattered, mainly economic struggles against the capitalists, workers exchanged experience, discussed and struggled over what battles are most important in their industries and to the working class as a whole and began to develop concrete plans on how to take up and fight the key battles in the months ahead.

There were, of course, different levels of understanding. But for the majority the banner hanging from the balcony of the Great Hall, proclaiming "Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression," came alive. Workers fresh from hundreds of daily battles were in the hall and addressed the convention.

People had come to this convention because they were fighters and because they saw the need to get their battles organized more broadly and a lot better. As one of the main slogans used in building for the convention put it, people were "tired of being pushed around, driven down and sold out." They came out of struggle with a basic sense that the working class has nothing in common with the class of rich parasites. This weekend was for many workers the first time they had been involved in any systematic way (even if "in-

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Students tear down the fence erected by the university around the site of the 1970 Kent State murders. Some students are masked because of heavy repression brought down by the state and university officials. 3000 students from campuses all over the country, including many from KSU, massed on September 24 to oppose attempts to construct a gym on the site.

3000 Rally to Stop Gym

Spirit of Kent And Jackson Lives!

With the opening of the Fall semester at Kent State University, the flames of struggle there leapt in intensity and spread to campuses from coast to coast. The march and rally on September 24 was clearly one of the most significant student demonstrations in recent years. All summer, active Kent students and supporters in the May 4th Coalition had stalled off the school administration's attempt to bury under a new gymnasium much of the battlefield where four students were gunned down by National Guardsmen during an antiwar demonstration on May 4, 1970.

The day the freshmen arrived, a demonstration of several hundred took place, dramatically introducing the new students to the issue, putting the school's new President, Brage Golding, on notice that if he went ahead with the project "what goes up must come down," and calling for a national rally on September 24 to demand relocation of the gym. The KSU administration responded with a massive intimidation campaign to try and neutralize the widespread "Move the Gym" sentiment on campus and kill the demonstration. To spread confusion as well as terror, Golding supplemented his big stick with a limp carrot of double-talk about "compromise and concessions."

But on September 24 students from Kent and schools

all across the country rallied 3000 strong against the gym, proclaiming that they were carrying on the spirit of struggle of Kent and Jackson State. 2500 marched around the campus, reasserting the naming of four buildings after the martyrs of 1970. Finally, in defiance of court injunctions which have already led to over 300 arrests, about half the marchers smashed through the cyclone fence surrounding the construction site and, while the others cheered, marched onto the hill, claiming it as territory sacred to the people's struggle in the United States. The ruling class is out to bury this history, but the demonstration shows clearly their bulldozers are digging them into a pit they don't like at all.

Growth of the Struggle

The struggle at Kent has been going on through twists and turns since May 4, 1970 (see *Revolution*, June, August and Sept. 1977). From the start, the University and the whole ruling class have been out to sweep the battle of Kent under the rug. In the last two years they have stepped up their efforts, for instance cancelling the May 4th moratorium on classes, which had been held every year. When the announce-

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Plan Should Be Upheld

Reaction Erupts Over Chicago Busing

In September, conflict boiled in the city of Chicago over School Superintendent Joseph P. Hannon's voluntary busing plan. Reactionaries held meetings in the Marquette Park/Bogan Area, vowing that "the streets will run red with blood" if Black children are bused into their neighborhood, and they have held several boycotts from 80-90% effective and almost daily mass pickets at several schools. Despite this the parents of 800 children, most of them Black, have chosen to transfer their children.

This plan does not have the same features as the ones which came down in Boston, Detroit, Louisville, etc. The plan consists of busing grade school children from 15 severely overcrowded schools to undercrowded ones. On the surface, it would appear that this plan is the same kind of divide and conquer scheme that has mainly characterized busing plans so far. After all, there are great divisions among the people over it. But examination of the facts shows that there is nothing wrong with what the voluntary plan itself does, and it should be upheld. To a certain extent it raises the quality of education for those students who transfer, and overall to a small degree it achieves some integration. It does this without busing any children to worse schools, without cutting back on programs or shutting down schools. Overall the plan helps, and certainly does not hurt.

This does not rest on whether it is "voluntary" or "forced," but on what it actually does. The Bogan reactionaries say that the plan is voluntary for the transfer students, but forced for them—and that is true.

Uphold the Plan, Expose the Bourgeoisie

The bourgeoisie has their own reasons for coming up with the plan in the first place, and for mobilizing public opinion for it. These are most assuredly not based on advancing the interests of the working class and the masses of people. The Board came up with the plan in the face of threats by the federal government, through the state administration to cut off school funds because of "non-compliance" with federal desegregation guidelines. It was basically a stopgap measure to do something to show "intent to comply."

These are the same vampires that, through their school board, have institutionalized a situation where thousands of students are being held back from entering high school because they haven't even been trained well enough to read at fifth grade level, who have brought down one attack after another, cutting programs such as music, art, gym, bilingual education and summer school. These are the same ones who have enforced segregation in general and in education in particular by gerrymandering the school boundaries so that the schools even around the border areas between Black and white neighborhoods remain almost totally segregated. The most telling example is the use of busing by the Board to *preserve segregation*. 550 Black students are bused five miles from Raster Elementary School in West Englewood to Dyett Middle School, rather than let some of them go to McKay School, one mile away in Marquette Park! Generally the School Board spends at least \$100 less per year on each Black student than each white student.

Their stopgap action could only mean one of two things: either they feel they have the ability to continue to divide and rule in Chicago quite well without a massive busing plan and that implementing such a plan now would unleash social forces which they could not control; and/or they feel that they need more time to build up their ability to control the situation to their advantage when and if they need such a plan.

In fine form, the bourgeoisie, through their School Board, is already trying to use the plan to hold down struggles for quality education and integration and as an excuse to make cutbacks in the school system. At two of the severely overcrowded schools, all-Black Raster (which was built for 700 students and now has 2100) and primarily Latino and white Cameron, parents have been demanding new schools for a few years. Last year at Cameron, they held a three week boycott demanding immediate action. Now the Board is pointing to transferring as the answer... "Bus the kids out, forget about improving the school."

It is a typical trick on the part of the bourgeoisie to make a token gesture and then use it to beat down further advances and to paint themselves as saviors of the people. Their terms are "transfers or nothing." The terms of the masses of people should be, "Yes, we want the transfers, and a hell of a lot more."

Opposition to the plan by the reactionary Bogan Community Council on the Southwest side of Chicago has been vocal, militant and organized. And its pitch

and appeal is openly racist. These hatchet-faced hussies openly state that their neighborhood is white, they want it to stay that way, and that the "white people have a right to have their white neighborhoods." "Education, not integration" and "Niggers, go home," have been their rallying cries.

They have led demonstrations at School Board meetings all summer, they staged an 80% effective boycott on the Southwest Side the first day of school and have taken up active taunting and picketing of the bused children. This contributed to a sickle cell anemia attack to one small Black child, who in her delirium as she lay dying, repeated the taunts of the reactionary picketers. Violent incidents have occurred where Black motorists have been stoned and dragged out of their cars as well.

Whites attacking Blacks, dragging them out of their cars, and even firebombing their houses is not a new phenomenon that arose with busing. This has been going on periodically on the Southwest side for two years, led by the Nazis and other organized reactionary scum. The focus until busing was Black use of the city park of Marquette Park, and now it is keeping Black children out of the Southwest side schools.

The picketers are utterly shameless. One of them put it right out there. She said, "When we hear the word 'Black' we think of slums, bad schools, bad housing, crime... we don't want that and we're going to stop it."

No one wants to live in a slum. This, any fool can see. But what stands out about these statements, and what is behind the organizing, is the recognition that there is inequality, and the open determination to keep things that way.

Some of the Bogan people hold openly white chauvinist views, and preposterously believe that this inequality is the result of Black people, that Blacks themselves deteriorate the neighborhoods, that they should be paid inferior wages, etc. However, many people in that same area, where up to 1000 people have demonstrated against Talman Federal Savings and Loan for their redlining policy, know that the banks and real estate companies are behind the deterioration of the neighborhoods, Black and white. But they don't give a damn. It appears to them to be easier to terrorize Black people than to go up against the rich and powerful.

In Chicago, "the neighborhood changing" does not mean it becomes integrated. It means that the people who live there are literally driven out, by economic force, redlining and the like. The given neighborhood is either redeveloped for the middle class or left as it is to further deteriorate, and overwhelmingly for Black or other oppressed nationalities. For many working class whites, the runaround is from one neighborhood to another, either slightly worse or slightly better. And for Blacks and whites every move is more and more expensive. All the while the profits of the bankers and real estate interests swell. As long as this pattern goes on there will be no integration, and people will be driven around and uprooted.

The reactionaries organize those who are angry at this situation, but who do not see who is really to blame for the problem. For instance, one of the picketers said, "I have nothing against my kid sitting in a classroom next to a Black kid. In fact, I pay \$700 a year to send her to a Catholic school because the public schools are so lousy, and the Catholic schools are integrated. But it's not just the school. First, it's the school and then it's the whole neighborhood. They'll be moving in here next thing you know and the neighborhood will fall apart. Then we'll have to move out. I've had to do it before. I'm not going to let that happen again."

Both the chauvinist line and the vicious pragmatism lead absolutely nowhere. They are bulwarks for the bourgeoisie in carrying out their plunder and gutting of the neighborhoods, in maintaining national oppression and divisions among the people and in keeping all the people down. These people, ironically enough, are cutting off their own noses to spite their own faces. What they are doing will not in any respect beat back the attacks on their neighborhoods. Maintaining segregation has never meant strength to fight attacks. It has *always* meant divide and conquer.

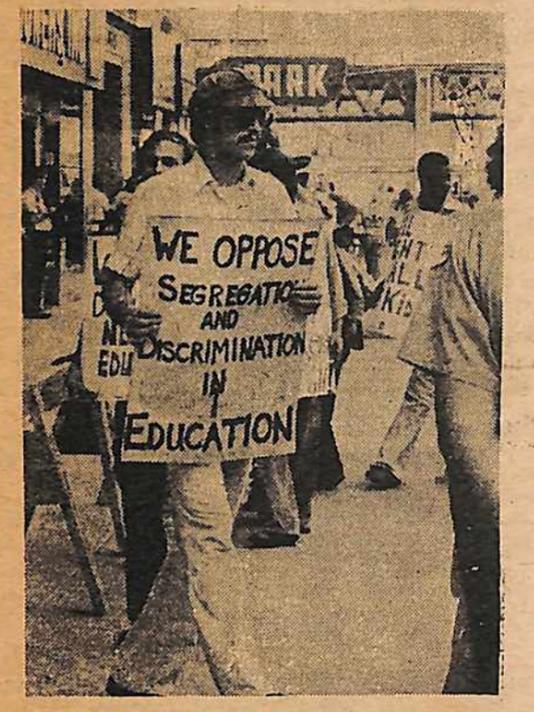
Determined Working Class Action Necessary

At this time, workers and others should unite to support the parents who have chosen to send their kids to a less crowded school and the children must be defended. The first day of school, a workers defense group, initiated by the steering committee of the organizing committee for the National United Workers Organization,



(Above) Reactionaries from the Bogan Community Council demonstrate against Chicago's voluntary transfer plan which will bus Black children from overcrowded schools into all-white schools. Denouncing the plan for "race mixing" and proclaiming their right to all-white schools and neighborhoods, these racists have been willing pawns of the capitalists.

(Below) Workers mobilized by the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization the same day at the School Board, putting forward the stand of the working class against racist attacks and segregation. The OC demo denounced the reactionary efforts to stir up race hatred and pit whites against Blacks.



went to the two hottest spots to ensure the children's safety. Leaflets have been distributed at plant gates and in working class communities which call for class unity against attacks and stand up for the working class in defense of the children's safety and right to transfer. At its founding convention, the National United Workers Organization took to the streets of Chicago to oppose racist attacks, discrimination, segregation and inequality and the whole efforts of the ruling class to pit working people of different nationalities against each other. They condemned racist violence and especially hit out at any low-life scum that would attack children. As we go to press, further plans are being laid.

By upholding the plan, exposing the duplicity of the bourgeoisie and their efforts to set the terms for the struggle of the masses for quality education and against segregation and discrimination, and by hitting out at the reactionary ideas and activities of the Bogan Community Council, working class organizations can put up a powerful pole around which people can be united in this battle. From this, consciousness and organization can be built up which will strengthen the masses in the battles to come. For while the plan helps and does not hurt, it is merely a drop in the bucket compared to what is needed in the way of quality education and smashing segregation in education.

Other Busing Plans

The RCP has clearly described the character of specific plans in Boston, Louisville and other cities which we have opposed as well as the divide and conquer aims of the bourgeoisie in promoting these kinds of plans. In general these plans have made a farce out of the struggle to end segregation, discrimination and inequality in education and have been assaults on the quality of education of children of all nationalities, and attempts to put people at each other's throats. This continues to be the overall character of court ordered busing plans.

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History and Lessons of the National Liaison Committee

Marxism, Nationalism And The Task of Party Building

The following are excerpts from an article that was written by a former leader of the Black Workers Congress (BWC) and the Revolutionary Workers Congress (RWC), the most significant of the organizations that survived a series of splits within the BWC, and the only one of the offshoots of the BWC to make any real attempt to actually apply Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought to concrete struggle and on this basis to link up with and help build the mass movement. In recent months, summing up the lessons, both positive and negative, of their past experience and reaching agreement with the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, many members of the RWC have, in accordance with the Constitution of the RCP, joined its ranks. (In the course of this the RWC itself dissolved.) The full text of this article will appear in the next issue (Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1977) of *The Communist*, theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the RCP. The author was a member of the National Liaison Committee, whose history is summarized below—Ed.

Introduction

The degeneration and disintegration in late 1973 and after of the Black Workers Congress and another organization with which it was closely allied, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) was the result of a retreat by these organizations away from Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought and into nationalism and other forms of bourgeois ideology which were closely linked to this nationalist outlook—though all of this was put forth in the guise of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought. This turn toward opportunism resulted in a split between the BWC and the PRRWO on the one hand and the Revolutionary Union (RU) on the other, and caused the breakup of the National Liaison Committee (NLC) which had been built by these three organizations and served for over a year in 1972-73 as a vehicle for building toward the single Party of the U.S. working class and carrying out joint mass work with that goal in mind (for a time, another organization involved in the NLC was I Wor Kuen, about which more shortly).

Over the past several years a good deal has been said and written about the National Liaison Committee, most of it inaccurate gossip and subjective summation by people and groups who were not involved in it and/or whose ideological and political line prevents them from making a scientific analysis. For this reason, and most of all because the real history of the NLC and the line struggles which led to its breakup hold valuable lessons for the revolutionary movement today, it is important to sum up the actual development of the Liaison Committee and the forces and struggles within it.

Background of NLC

In the summer of 1972, a major advance was made by Marxist-Leninist forces in the U.S., particularly towards the creation of a multinational revolutionary communist Party. This was represented by the formation of the National Liaison Committee (NLC) marked by the coming together of the Black Workers Congress (BWC) organized in 1970, the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) originally (1969-72) the Young Lords Party (YLP) and the Revolutionary Union (RU) formed in 1968.

The BWC and PRRWO had their roots in the left wing or radical elements of the struggle of the oppressed nationalities. The makeup of these organizations was primarily students, revolutionary intellectuals and youth turned political activists. There were some workers, including from basic industry, particularly in the case of the BWC which had developed in part out of the thrust of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, a Detroit-centered organization which had built political organization among Black workers in the late '60s. . . .

For a time I Wor Kuen (IWK), an Asian organization, was a part of the NLC—until it discovered it could no longer dodge ideological struggle and the carrying out of common work particularly among the industrial proletariat. IWK then fled like a vampire from a cross. . . .

So much for IWK. Back to the NLC. At its inception the NLC set for itself two basic tasks: common work and ideological struggle, that is, the linking up with the actual mass struggle of the American people especially the working class and the building of a new communist Party through forging a unified ideological and political line.

The NLC was formed based on the recognition that

in the U.S. there is only one working class, a single multinational proletariat, and this multinational proletariat, especially the industrial proletariat, is the main and leading force of the revolution. The NLC was united around the need to build the Party of the proletariat to act as its vanguard at the earliest time in accordance with placing ideological and political line in the forefront and on the basis of establishing deeper ties with the masses, especially the working class. Further principles of unity of the committee were upholding Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought and opposition to revisionism and Trotskyism.

The NLC started with this basic level of unity and in roughly a year, BWC and PRRWO had come to a higher level of unity with the RU, reaching essential agreement on party building, the trade union question, the united front as the basic strategy for revolution, the analysis of the Black national question, and the woman question.

A charge made by some opportunists is that the NLC was simply "negotiations at the top." The real fact of the matter was the Liaison Committee was far from this. There was the National Liaison Committee, which was composed of representatives from each organization; in addition, in each city where at least two of the organizations existed a local Liaison Committee was established.

While upholding the democratic centralism of the organizations in the NLC, joint work was carried out in the closest political and organizational unity, on a national and local scale. On the basis of discussion within and between the three organizations and within certain limits, the National Liaison Committee discussed priorities of mass work, nationally mapped out plans to unfold such work, struggled over the line and policy of work and later summed up the work.

Work on Local Level

On the local level a similar process was carried out. When comrades from the organizations which made up the NLC found themselves in the same work place, or the same general industries, or same area of mass work, work teams were set up. In one city commissions were established to give overall guidance to almost every major area of work. During the period of the NLC's existence, a city-wide hospital organization was built in New York; in Detroit the organizations jointly took up building of a rank and file committee around the '73 auto contract.

The NLC attempted to provide some leadership for the antiwar movement, and to particularly involve workers and oppressed nationalities in this effort. This took the form of the November 4th Coalition in several cities—named after the 1972 demonstrations held by the coalition right before the '72 election. The NLC through the November 4th Coalition gave crucial and timely leadership as a large section of the antiwar forces had fallen under the McGovern hoax of "vote for me and I will stop the war."

The NLC put forward the line that given the mounting military defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese people, U.S. imperialism would be forced, before long, to change course in Vietnam, no matter who sat in the White House. It called for demonstrations around the country on election eve, under the slogan "Victory Through Our Struggle, Not Through the Election." It called for the American people, through persisting in mass action, to continue struggling against U.S. aggression in Indochina. The demonstrations raised, among other demands, support for the Vietnamese peace proposal.

In New York more than 5000 people participated, one third to one half being minorities—Latin, Asian and Black, with 25% of the demonstration working class in composition.

This was followed with organizing an anti-imperialist contingent, drawn from people in many parts of the country, in the January 20 demonstration on inauguration day in Washington, D.C. A demonstration was held at the same time in San Francisco. On May Day '73 the November 4th Coalition in New York organized a demonstration and rally of 2000 people, 60% of whom were oppressed nationalities and a solid core of which was working class—it should be remembered that these events took place in the general period, though at the end, of the mass upsurge of oppressed nationalities and antiwar struggle.

Struggle Toward a Party

This was one aspect of the life of the NLC—the carrying out of common work—but the life of the NLC was also characterized by sharp but mainly productive ideological struggle as well as common study. The early

meetings of the NLC focused particularly on deepening and further clarifying the understanding of the need for a multinational communist Party. Today this struggle might seem superficial to some, but it must be kept in mind that both BWC and PRRWO had only recently broken with the line of a party for each nationality and began to grasp there was a single working class in the U.S. (IWK in essence remained wedded to these earlier positions even while stating formal agreement. This line manifested itself particularly in IWK's reluctance to do work among workers, especially the industrial proletariat, and their constant retreat to work exclusively in Chinatown—and not much of that, to be frank). . . .

Guardian Forums

But ideological struggle was not simply limited to the confines of the NLC. It was conducted throughout what was then the new communist movement. The forums sponsored by the *Guardian* newspaper in 1973 were a case in point.

These forums covered major questions, from party building to the national question, from the workers movement to the women question. While the *Guardian* had its intention of using these forums to set itself up as the rallying center of the new communist movement, overall these forums were positive. They focused the attention of many revolutionary minded people on Marxism-Leninism and how to apply it to some of the burning questions facing the revolutionary movement, and through the role of the RU, BWC and PRRWO a basically correct line was put forward and popularized through these forums in opposition to various opportunist lines.

This, too, was just one example of the fact that the purpose served by the unity of these three organizations was not, as some have slandered, to secretly go off and form the Party, but rather to take concrete steps toward building it through common work and ideological struggle and to be in a stronger position to unite all who could be united around a correct line to form the Party when more of a basis had been laid to take that step.

The three organizations joined in the NLC because they shared basic unity around some major questions—as opposed, for example, to the opportunist lines represented by the October League (OL) and the Communist League. Part of their contribution to laying the basis for the Party was to be to build this unity from a lower to a higher level within the NLC. This was a serious approach to political line and unity, as opposed to trying to opportunistically use the level of unity achieved as a kind of capital, by advertising it publicly. The point was not to proclaim "here's the center of the movement, here's the core of the Party" but to actually build political unity through work and struggle.

This approach was again clearly evidenced later by the RU Party proposal, which—taking into account both the unity and differences among the three groups—put forward that the development of things had reached the point where the leap to the Party was required and that differences could only be resolved in the context of moving toward the Party. The proposal called exactly for these three organizations to go out broadly to involve many others in the actual struggle over the Programme for the Party and to unite all who could be united in this process. (More on the RU's Party proposal later.)

Beyond these *Guardian* forums there was particularly sharp struggle throughout this period against the right opportunist lines of the October League and the *Guardian* on the one hand and the dogmatism of groups like the Communist League (CL) on the other.

It should also be stated frankly that throughout the existence of the NLC there were certain tendencies by PRRWO towards dogmatism and sectarianism and in the case of BWC a certain tendency during a large portion of the life of the NLC toward reluctance to involve

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Revolution

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Support Grows For Klan Foes

The battle between the Ku Klux Klan and their staunch defenders in the government on the one side, and on the other the masses of people who hate the Klan and every thing it represents is continuing in Georgia and Ohio. Both states were scenes of anti-Klan activity during the July 4 weekend when Buddy Cochran drove his car into a Klan rally in Plains, Georgia and when 300 demonstrators shut down a Klan rally in Columbus, Ohio.

A key part of this battle is now centering around the courts. Local chapters of the National United Workers Organization in Ohio and Georgia are deeply involved in the fight. Buddy Cochran is up on a number of charges for his righteous ride, and six people, so far, have been busted for taking part in the Columbus action. In Ohio, the battle has also continued by opposing the Klan as they hold still more rallies.

Ohio Struggle

The July 4 action in Columbus, where four people were arrested, won wide support from people throughout the state and elsewhere. During August the ruling class tried to cut into that support with a campaign of repression.

Two men from Cleveland, both members of the NUWO, were arrested for the July 4 demonstration

after they had been identified through the use of videotapes. Two of those arrested the day of the action, although on lesser charges, have already been convicted with sentencing in one case delayed by mass pressure and the other receiving a relatively light sentence.

Of the four cases outstanding from the Columbus action, all face the possibility of prison terms, including in Tom Welch's case, one of those busted in August, up to 12 to 16 years. In addition, to try to smother the struggle further, a grand jury may hand down even more indictments as the police work overtime to identify more people.

Defense Committees Against the Klan have been organized in Cincinnati, Cleveland and Columbus. In Cincinnati petitioning has been done at factories and there has been a number of fundraising events and press conferences. In Columbus, which will be the scene of the trial, there have been special efforts to build a mass defense around the cases. Public meetings of the Defense Committee have attracted people from all walks of life and in turn it has gone out actively in the communities.

Both the Cincinnati and Columbus committees along with local NUWO chapters in the state did work to mobilize people for a Labor Day demonstration called by an array of forces against a Klan rally planned for the steps of the statehouse. Not only was the demonstration a huge success, but it has also increased the strength of the Cincinnati and Columbus Defense Committees and aided in the organization of a similar committee in Cleveland.

The Ohio ruling class hoped that their campaign of repression would have taken the steam out of anti-Klan activity. Just in case the Labor Day rally might turn out to be another defeat for the Klan, they refused at first to give them a permit. But under pressure from liberal nerds in the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)—who by no means represent the feelings of the whole ACLU in Ohio—and a lot of squeaking about the Klan's "freedom of speech," the Columbus city government finally "gave in."

Once the permit had been issued, local NUWO chapters and Defense Committees held their own press conferences calling on people to join in the counter-demonstration. The press tried to use the press conferences to draw a picture of anti-Klan demonstrators as a mob bent on violence, hoping to drive a wedge



Buddy Cochran speaking at founding convention of the NUWO, which has taken up the defense of Buddy and other anti-Klan fighters.

between them and broader numbers of people.

The demonstration was electrifying. Over 800 people answered the call, nearly three times as many as turned out July 4. Although a heavier concentration of better prepared police prevented demonstrators from enjoying an instant replay of July 4, when the Imperial Lizard and lesser Kluds and Kleagles met the cement abruptly, the demonstration proved conclusively that the people were not scared off by the government's defense of the Klan. Far from it. The struggle is growing.

In the weeks ahead the Defense Committees Against the Klan and the local NUWO chapters will be stepping up their efforts. Ten more people were busted at the Labor Day demonstration when the cops went wild trying to make up for getting caught with their pants down July 4 (made easier in no small way by provocateurs from the "Progressive" "Labor" Party), and defense work will have to begin around most of them. Forums are planned to further expose the Klan and its history. In order to greet the opening of the trials with a show of the people's strength, a campaign is being taken into the factories and communities of Ohio to build for a statewide action on October 15. The cam-

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Free the Camp Pendleton 14!

The fight to free the Camp Pendleton 14, the Black soldiers jailed at the San Diego, California marine base for breaking up what they believed was a Ku Klux Klan meeting on the base (see *Revolution*, February 1977) is stepping up as the military brass goes all-out to rush through convictions against the men. Not surprisingly the Court of Military Appeals has refused to take the trials out of the hands of the military with their "Uniform Code of Military Justice" (UCMJ). This puts the role of judge, jury, prosecutor and defense—not to mention hangman—all in the hands of the military. It is this system that gives the military a 97% rate of conviction over enlisted men.

A series of actions has taken place in the San Diego area in support of the Camp Pendleton 14. When the Secretary of the Navy flew into town to "inspect the troops," check on the progress of the imperialists' new weapon, the cruise missile, and speak to business circles about the need for war preparations, 30 demonstrators appeared to confront him. On August 27, one hundred demonstrated in nearby Oceanside, chanting "Blacks Go to Jail, Klan Goes Free, That's What the Rich Call Democracy" and other slogans. This action was called by People United to Free the Pendleton 14, a coalition composed of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), the Revolutionary Student Brigade, the Organizing Committee for the NUWO, Enlisted People's Rights Organization, and other organizations in the San Diego area. Some of the military lawyers have also joined in building the struggle outside the courtroom. VVAW, in particular, has been very active in building the fight and taking the issue of the Pendleton 14 out broadly in San Diego and southern California generally.

Klan Steps up Activity

The fight around the Pendleton 14 is of particular significance right now in San Diego where there has been a dramatic stepup in open Klan activities. Recently Klan members wearing "white power" T-shirts instead of hoods tried to barge into a country and western bar in the area where a band with a Black woman singer and a Chicano instrumentalist were performing. When they were refused entry, the Klan hit back with a picket line of fifty reactionary scum. Later the Klan announced, courtesy of major feature articles in the daily press, their plans to stage a demonstration to clean up the site of a memorial to soldiers who fought in the predatory Mexican-American War of 1846-48. With San Die-



Pendleton 14, Black marines imprisoned by the Marine Corps for taking action against the Klan. They have been hit with heavy sentences, while brass protect and promote racists.

go located right on the Mexican border and where the bourgeoisie has been howling about "illegals" especially loud, the action has a clear purpose.

The Klan has declared that they consider San Diego to be their prime stomping ground in California. One reason for this is the presence of large numbers of military lifers and ex-lifers concentrated in and around San Diego's numerous military bases. The Klan's activities have received the tacit support of the military authorities. An example of this is the case of Kenneth James, a Black sailor from the 32nd St. Naval Base, who was beaten within an inch of his life by Klansmen as part of a Klan initiation rite. The response of the brass? James was charged with drug offenses and given a two year term, while the Klansmen were given a \$100 fine, restricted to the base for sixty days, and one perpetrator given a general discharge under honorable conditions! It was this type of cooperation with the Klan by the military that was directly responsible for the situation at Pendleton that led to the incident the men are being charged for.

Coalition Takes Action

While the Klan steps more out into the limelight and continues to use the military as a recruiting ground,

the brass is handing out convictions of the Pendleton 14 right and left, in an effort to make an example of them and try to derail the growing support for the 14 and stifle the soldiers themselves. One defendant, Eddie Page, has been sentenced to two years in Leavenworth. Another, Don Hunter, received a six month sentence, has been beaten up by his commanding officer and has had other mickey mouse charges brought against him. Hunter, and some of the other defendants, have also had their discharge dates held up for many months. But despite the heavy sentences and intense pressure, the defendants have stood firm in denouncing the Klan and the military, and played an active role in taking out the word of the fight and connecting their fight with other fights, of working people and oppressed nationalities.

Two of the soldiers face charges of attempted murder and their "trials" along with those of other defendants are scheduled to begin on Oct. 4 and Oct. 15. Actions have been called for by the coalition and participating organizations to protest the opening of the trials. On Oct. 4 a demonstration will be held in front of Camp Pendleton and the coalition has called for a march through downtown San Diego to the 11th Naval Headquarters on Oct. 15. The Pendleton brass are on notice the struggle is continuing. ■

Unions Cosponsor Fraud

Big Steel Layoffs Blamed on Imports

It seems like the steel mills today are pouring workers out onto the streets faster than they're pouring steel. Bethlehem Steel is laying off 7,500 workers at Johnstown, Pa. and Lackawanna, N.Y. Youngstown Sheet and Tube is laying off 5000—closing down two thirds of its operation in Campbell, Ohio. Steel workers call the company "ghost town." ARMCO Steel is cutting out 600 jobs in Middletown, Ohio. U.S. Steel is threatening huge layoffs in Chicago and Gary. Kaiser has laid off 2400 in California. And one steel company, Alan Wood in Conshohocken, Pa., has gone out of business despite the fact that its 3,000 workers accepted a 10% pay cut in a futile effort to save their jobs.

Along with unemployment, these steel companies are pouring out another kind of poison—their claim that it's imports of foreign steel that are responsible for these layoffs, and that the way steel workers and other workers should fight for jobs is to get the government to stop those foreign products from coming into our country. Billboard after billboard proclaims this message in steel towns across the country. Company officials proclaim it in Congressional hearings and press conferences. Newspaper and magazine ads carry it into every home. And union officials have formed joint committees with the companies to spread this poison even further and wider.

Companies' Argument

The argument of the companies goes like this: companies in Europe and Japan keep adding to their steel making capacity and they have to sell more and more steel to pay for this investment. Their main target is the American market, firstly because the amount of steel made in the U.S. has been below the demand for steel, and secondly because both within the European Common Market and between Europe and Japan there are agreements about getting too deep into each other's markets. Furthermore, because steel companies all over the world are faced with a slackening demand for steel (reflecting the overall stagnant economy in the capitalist nations) these foreign companies are selling their steel in the U.S. at below its price in the home market—in other words, "dumping" it. This "flood of foreign steel" not only is forcing U.S. steel companies to lay off, it also means that they can't expand because they still couldn't compete with foreign steel. Steel union head Lloyd McBride sums it up like this: every million tons of imported steel costs 6000 American jobs.

There's a two-fold solution to all this, so they say. Steel workers have to "understand" the bind the companies are in, and in the interests of their jobs increase their "productivity"—which means accept job combinations and eliminations, harassment and other forms of speed-up, and hold down their demands on the companies around wages. A sign hung up by Bethlehem Steel in Johnstown says it this way: "Smile—If We Work Together, We Can Make It." The Experimental Negotiating Agreement in which the steel union leadership signed away the right to strike in basic steel until 1980 is the supreme example of "company-labor cooperation" "in the face of the import threat."

But especially now, the steel companies are making demands on the government as well as on their employees. They want quotas limiting the amount of foreign steel sold in this country, and/or tariffs to raise the price of imports. Furthermore, in addition to these short-term measures, they demand what they say many European and Japanese steel companies already have, tax privileges and government support in financing and marketing.

What's Really Going On?

Actually, the crisis faced by American steel companies is part of a crisis deepening throughout the capitalist world. The throwing of tens of thousands of steel workers out of work, the closings of entire mills, and the whole antiquated way steel production is carried out in this country is a clear example of how the capitalist production relations choke the very forces of production.

In the U.S. and the Western world as a whole, steel production has never been able to climb back up to the levels it reached before the economic collapse of 1974—nor, in the U.S., even the level of ten years ago. The U.S. is operating at 74% of its steel capacity now as compared to 86% this time last year; the Europeans are operating at 60% and Japan just dropped its production targets by 20%. The reason is essentially that steel is dependent on capital expansion (new plants and equipment) for its markets, and because of declining profit-

ability for all industries, that capital expansion is just not happening. In the U.S., over 70% of all steel goes for capital goods.

This lack of demand for steel has led to an increasingly bitter competition between the various capitalist countries and between the various companies for an increasingly stagnant market. But within this overall situation the U.S. steel companies are in an especially bad position. In the last year, the steel industry's profit on sales was only 4.5%, as compared to about 10% for U.S. industry as a whole. Their rate of profit (their profit as a percentage of investment, a more basic measure of profitability) is even further behind the average for manufacturers in the U.S. Much of the reason for the relative unprofitability of U.S. steel mills is that they are so old and technologically outmoded. But the fact that they are so unprofitable has meant that the steel companies have not been able to generate enough profits to rebuild the mills, so that the U.S. steel industry is falling further and further behind their competitors.

The basic problem is that the U.S. steel industry almost entirely dates before World War 2 (only one new mill has been built since then) and much of it even goes back to the turn of the century, while the steel industry of Japan and Europe was rebuilt since the war. For instance, only 63% of U.S. made steel is fired by basic oxygen furnaces, a method far faster and cheaper than the old open-hearth method. By contrast, 80% of Japanese steel, 72% of West German steel, and 68% of French steel is made through the BOF process. In continuous casting—which enables steel to flow from the furnaces to the rolling mills without going through a costly cooling and reheating cycle—the U.S. is even further behind Japan and Europe. Japanese steel, in particular, is more efficient in other ways as well—it is able to use less raw materials per ton of raw steel, for instance, and the mills are built by the sea so that raw materials and steel can be shipped comparatively cheaply—which makes it even easier for them to export steel.

All this is why Europe and Japan are able to sell many kinds of steel cheaper than their U.S. rivals. Although capitalism is a cutthroat business, and certainly European and Japanese capitalists would not hesitate to resort to dumping (selling below cost in order to drive their competitors under) if necessary, there is little evidence that they need to at this point. As far as the charge that these capitalists are "ganging up" on the U.S. is concerned, the evidence is that competition is heating up in the steel industry worldwide, not just in the U.S.

U.S. steel companies rant and rave about how "unfair" this competition is, pointing to how the foreign steel producers get big breaks from their governments. Of course, they don't point to the big breaks the U.S. companies get, such as the tax write-offs that enabled Bethlehem, National, Republic and U.S. Steel to pay no corporate income taxes at all in 1970. And they do not point out the flaw in their arguments, that it's somehow "unfair" that foreign steel companies get government help and the way to make things "fair" is for the U.S. companies to get even more. Obviously, what's "fair" to them is that they make a killing, anything else isn't fair at all.

But what about jobs? If the U.S. steel companies got the import bans and the increased government aid they asked for, wouldn't that at least save steel workers' jobs?



"Ghost Town Sheet and Tube." That's what the 5000 workers to be laid off at the Youngstown mill call it. They are being thrown onto the street because capitalists can't make enough profit off them.

The answer to that is that no, not at all.

In what way are the foreign steel companies more efficient? When it really comes down to it, their efficiency rests on the fact that they require less labor per ton of steel—in other words, that they rely on steel-making processes that require less jobs. And when you really get down to it, for the American steel industry to become more competitive in the world, it would have to do exactly the same.

In order for U.S. steel workers to become "competitive" with their brother steel workers in Japan, for instance, they'd have to take a 50% pay cut. In this kind of "competition" in any workers' interest? And as far as making American steelmaking plants more competitive, *Business Week* gives a formula for making U.S. steel more efficient: get rid of the "too many small companies, too much duplication of facilities, too much marginal plant still in operation. A broad merger movement within the industry would pool resources and make it possible to close the least efficient facilities without putting companies through bankruptcy." In other words, cut steel jobs and increase the strength of the steel companies that those left working would have to face.

As the May 1977 *Revolution* article on garment imports put it, "The competition between the capitalists also drives them to force more labor out of each individual worker, while churning out a greater number of products with fewer workers through the use of more modern machinery and greater mechanization. Marx pointed out that the battles for profits are won less by recruiting than by discharging the army of labor."

In fact, overwhelmingly the loss of jobs in the American steel industry has not come about because of imports at all—it's come because of the way American steel has fought to keep up its profits and competitiveness. In the last 20 years 100,000 jobs were lost in the steel industry, while steel production went way up. Imports had nothing at all to do with this. In both good times and bad for steel profits, the number of steel jobs has moved down as the steel companies have moved to cut costs and boost profits. In no way has any "labor-company cooperation" saved any jobs.

After Alan Wood steel workers took a pay cut—"lending" the company 10% of their weekly paychecks—the company went down anyway and no one knows if and when they'll see their money. Inland Steel, the most profitable steel company in the U.S., for a while planned on using its profits to build a new and more efficient operation that would surely mean less jobs for steel workers at other companies losing out to Inland in the competitive shuffle. If the companies get more government aid, they will make a lot of jobs "outmoded." New technology which eliminates some back-breaking labor would be wonderful in a system run for the interests of the people and not for profits. But the capitalists will seek to use it so that some people will be thrown out on the street.

Imports and Steel Prices

The truth is that imports averaged about 15% of all steel sold in the U.S. between 1970-74, dipped below that mark for a couple of years, and may reach as much as 18% this year. But what hurts the U.S. steel companies even more than the loss of sales is the fact that relatively cheap foreign imports prevent U.S. companies from raising their steel prices.

Raising prices is one way to raise the profitability of their industry, temporarily. Even though steel prices have been up five times in the last eight months, steel companies would have pushed them up even further if they weren't afraid that they'd lose out even more to foreign steel if they did. When the government clamped an import quota on specialty steel last June, restricting the amount that could be imported into the U.S., the American companies raised the price of specialty steel 8% overnight. An editor of the steel industry house organ *Iron Age* told an interviewer—in what he thought was an off the record remark—that the imports hysteria is basically a gimmick and not the real source of the steel industries problems. This is also confirmed

Continued on page 6



Steel workers demonstrate at U.S. Steel headquarters in Chicago after the company threatened to close its South-works plant.

Wildcat Over In the Coalfields

The ten week old miners' wildcat against cutbacks in medical benefits ended in the first week of September. Although centered in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky, at its peak more than 85,000 miners walked out throughout the coalfields of Appalachia. Even though miners went back to work without winning their major demand—full restoration of medical benefits—the coal companies were dealt a powerful blow.

The cutbacks in medical benefits (benefits which for many years have been financed through company paid royalties on coal production) have resulted in miners having to pay up to \$500 on medical care. This is a serious attack. But why were so many men willing to sacrifice so much more than this \$500 in wages to win back these benefits? For one thing these cuts struck a raw nerve. Not only were the companies violating "sacred ground"—infringing on the benefits miners have fought so hard to win—but these cuts were stabbing into the hearts of coalfield families. Widows, pensioners, disabled miners, wives and children were being robbed by this cold-hearted move on the part of the coal operators. But much more importantly, miners saw these cuts as a major attack on their very ability to fight.

Coal Boom, But for Whom?

Coal companies are publicly reveling in the "swing to coal" but the fact is the energy crisis finds these huge corporations in a desperate struggle for maximum prof-



Risk to life and health is high in coalfields. Miners have fought hard for health and safety benefits, which coal bosses are now trying to dismantle. The 10 week strike of 85,000 put them on notice that these cuts and efforts to keep benefits tied to productivity will be a big issue in the December contract battle.

its. The companies are hungry for this coal boom, but for them it has to be on their terms. Their terms mean cashing in on the boom for them, and lowering the boom on miners. The problem has been that miners just won't sit still long enough to be crunched. The wildcat strikes of coal miners have been the major obstacle blocking the coal capitalists' plans for upping production and profits.

They've tried everything from injunctions and jailings to red-baiting and shootings and still the fight of the miners has held strong. And so these owners tried one more scheme—blackmail with the very lives of the miners' families as the ransom. "Stop fighting us, or watch your family suffer." This is the message miners got last July 1st.

Coming at any other time, the operators knew that they would be facing one hell of a strike. But this is contract year for most UMWA members and '77 has already been "the year of the wildcat" in the coalfields. The companies were banking on the weak financial position of miners and were looking to what promises to

be a bitter contract struggle. On that basis they figured they'd get some sporadic brief flare-ups of resistance and then the blackmail would sink in. Miners would go back to work with their tails between their legs.

In fact the question of a pre-contract strike is a big one and there was considerable controversy over whether to strike or not. But where the strike was centered, the overwhelming majority of the miners and their families saw that in spite of the hardships it meant, this attack had to be met head on.

The strike was very controversial but also one of the most united and tenacious struggles in recent years and was often violent. After having been carefully and systematically smashed by district and international officials, it refused to die, but instead spread and even forced many of these same officials to endorse, at least on the surface, this strike. In spite of the fact that the main demand of the strike was not met, it won important victories.

First of all, the BCOA was forced to meet with the union and was forced to back down on their earlier "ironclad" position. In the second week of September, they reached an agreement with the union which essentially amounted to a reallocation of the funds to maintain benefits. Although they had stated at the time of the cuts that unless production is "substantially increased" there would be further cuts in benefits and pensions and though production has not only not increased but has been substantially cut by the wildcats, the coal companies agreed that there would be no further cutbacks.

That the operators were scared sleepless by the anger of the miners was brought out by the fact that throughout the strike, the companies couldn't even resort to their trusty tool, the courts. During the strike, even when 85,000 miners were out, no federal injunctions were issued. This is real testimony to the strength of the strike and the tremendous struggles of '75 and '76 against the companies and the courts.

Also miners dealt a mighty blow to the companies' lapdogs in the union. Not only were Arnold Miller's paid "back to work" thugs run out of the coalfields by organized armed pickets, but for the first time in many years the district "machinery" of at least two UMWA districts (the two largest—17 and 29 in southern West Virginia) were forced to sanction and support an "illegal work stoppage."

Organization of Rank and File

On top of these substantial victories, some real gains were made in furthering the organization and unity of the rank and file. These steps forward must be consolidated and spread if the miners are to meet the organized attacks of the mine owners and their class. For even though gains were made in forcing districts to come out in support of the strike, these same officials tried to turn their own weakness into a strength. Unable to smash the wildcat, they tried to bridle it and ride it down. Because these district hacks are not as exposed as Miller and the IEB and because rank and file organization wasn't consolidated, these same scab officials who had to be dragged into supporting the strike in the first place, were able ultimately to control the course of the strike.

Because of this strike, broad unity has been gained that an important demand of the contract is that pensions and full medical benefits must be guaranteed. More miners now see that the whole system of tying benefits to production—tying miners' interests to the interests of the owners—is a trap which shackles their struggles and must be changed.

Even more importantly the attack on benefits and the strike against it shows more clearly that the fight over the right to strike is the key fight of this contract. The attack on benefits represented the opening volleys of this battle and the power of the strike showed miners' determination to fight. ■

Steel ...

by a study done by the "prestigious" stock brokers Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith.

The reason that the steel industry has to resort to all this hysteria is basically because what would be good for the U.S. steel industry, in practical terms, would be bad for other businesses. If the U.S. steel industry could drastically limit foreign imports and thus raise their prices substantially, this would in turn raise the price of other manufactured goods and ultimately all prices, making U.S. industry as a whole that much less competitive (which would lead to more losses in U.S. jobs). Even more worrisome to the capitalists, if the U.S. started putting up too many barriers against foreign steel imports, then other capitalist nations would have no choice but to limit their imports from the U.S. or face worse balance of payments problems. The history of protectionism shows that one import restriction inexorably leads to another, in what, in the past, became a rushing torrent of trade barriers which no one capitalist country could stop.

Such protectionism today would be disastrous for the U.S. ruling class, which since World War 2 has used its economic and political might and quite a few threats and blackmail to force other countries to accept "free trade" whether they liked it or not. While the U.S. steel industry is taking a beating in the world market (along with a few others, like shoes, textiles and electronics), overall the U.S. capitalists are still raking in vast profits from exporting goods and capital to other countries. In some cases, it's the steel companies themselves that are involved—for instance, U.S. Steel has mills in South Africa, and Bethlehem has facilities in many other countries. Beyond this, the U.S. is anxious to encourage lots of exports from numerous Third World countries, as well as Britain and Italy, so that these countries can meet the giant loan payments they owe to U.S. banks. All this argues for an overall "free trade" policy, and it is why there is powerful resistance from the bulk of the bourgeoisie to going too far in steel protectionism. Although at the same time the very seriousness of the situation for the steel and other industries is compelling the bourgeoisie as a whole to take some protectionist measures even though they are aware of the potential consequences.

This is behind the resistance by Carter and Congress to many of the steel companies' demands, despite the fact that these corporations are tied closely into the monopoly capitalist financiers who control the rest of

business (and, of course, the government as well), so that the health of the steel industry is of deep concern for the whole monopoly capitalist ruling class. The steel companies are using those politicians most tied to them to batter their way into Congress. On September 22, on the urging of the steel companies 50 Senators and Congressmen formed what they call the Steel Caucus to press for the companies' demands.

This propaganda around steel imports, which tries to show how the workers and employers have common interests, is very good *political* business.

Antagonistic Interests

This poisonous line, of the common interest of slave and slaveowner, must be taken on straight up and defeated or the workers will be utterly disarmed and completely at the tender mercy of the capitalists. A paper distributed to steel workers at the founding convention of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) concludes in discussing the efforts to pit U.S. workers against Japanese, "For workers here or in Japan it's a question of how to fight in the hardest and broadest way against these attacks. It's not as easy as wearing a Buy American pin or Buy Japanese pin if we lived over there. But it's the only way."

The crisis in the steel industry is a reflection of the overall crisis in the imperialist world and the increasingly tough position the U.S. imperialists find themselves in. While the employers try to use this crisis to pull the workers over to their side, in fact this crisis brings even more sharply to the surface the antagonistic contradiction between the workers and the capitalists.

The paper given out at the NUWO convention points out how U.S. coal is shipped in huge quantities to Europe and Japan, creating jobs in the U.S. coalfields, and that Japanese steel imports create jobs on U.S. docks. "What's more important, steel jobs or dock jobs? American jobs, or Japanese jobs? Mine or yours? It's a devil's choice. And really it doesn't matter because things are getting worse for workers everywhere. Our only real choice is to stand up and fight, support workers everywhere who are fighting, and aim our blows at the companies who are strangling us right here."

The fight against plant shutdowns and layoffs beginning to take shape in the mills cannot advance and grow without the rank and file severing itself politically from the steel owners' campaign against imports. At the same time the basis is growing for bringing out the antagonistic interests of the workers and the exploiters and for more and more steel workers to come to understand, in the course of fighting the enemy and through the work of communists, that revolution of the working class is necessary and alone will unleash the very productive forces the capitalist system is choking. ■

Carter Leaps In High Court to Rule On Bakke Case

This month the Supreme Court is scheduled to decide on the case of would-be medical student Allan Bakke. Bakke's suit against the University of California at Davis (UCD) charges that UCD passed him over, a "higher qualified" white, in favor of "less qualified" Blacks who were admitted under UCD's affirmative action program. Bakke contends that this is "reverse discrimination."

Bakke's suit, encouraged by a member of the UCD admissions committee, came at a time when affirmative action programs at medical schools were already dwindling under attack. Of the 40 schools with such programs at the beginning of the decade, by 1975 only 15 were left. And the loss of these types of programs was only one feature of a general offensive against the gains of the Civil Rights and Black liberation struggle.

Bakke's suit was upheld by the California Supreme Court in September of last year. Similar cases followed. In November 1976, the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that state and local governments could not pass over whites who scored higher on employment tests in order to hire Blacks for jobs they had been excluded from in the past. In January of this year the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Chicago suburb of Arlington Heights could bar a proposed apartment complex which would have housed some Black families. Though the court agreed that the ultimate effect was "racially discriminatory," they upheld the village's decision on the grounds that there was no proof the town was out to "intentionally discriminate."

Not only did the bourgeois legal system offer up these decisions that undermined the gains of the oppressed nationalities' struggles, the legal offensive was accompanied by high-volume propaganda about whites getting screwed over by "reverse discrimination," about how it was time for the minorities to "stop complaining" about "past" discrimination. (For more on the context of the Bakke suit as well as its implications for preferential hiring in industry see the January 1977 *Revolution*.)

A surprise move by the Justice Department in mid-September indicated that ruling class opinion is divided. The department filed a friend of the court brief against Bakke, in favor of affirmative action so long as the program does not rest on "rigid, exclusionary quotas." Such a definition would leave some schools untouched while others, like UCD, could have to alter their minority admissions formulas or drop their affirmative action programs.

The Justice Department action in no way means that the battle to defeat the Bakke suit through mass struggle has been won. Carter may simply be blowing smoke, hoping to make the Supreme Court take the blame for shafting affirmative action. As long as the case is still before the court the issue is in doubt and there's no mileage to be gained in relying on the Carter administration to do the driving.

Behind Carter's Move

If the Carter administration is serious about their friend of the court suit, and if the Bakke suit is turned down, it will leave some breathing room for affirmative action, but it will still be under attack. Carter and Co.'s move is only based on the President's views of what will serve the overall interests of the capitalists.

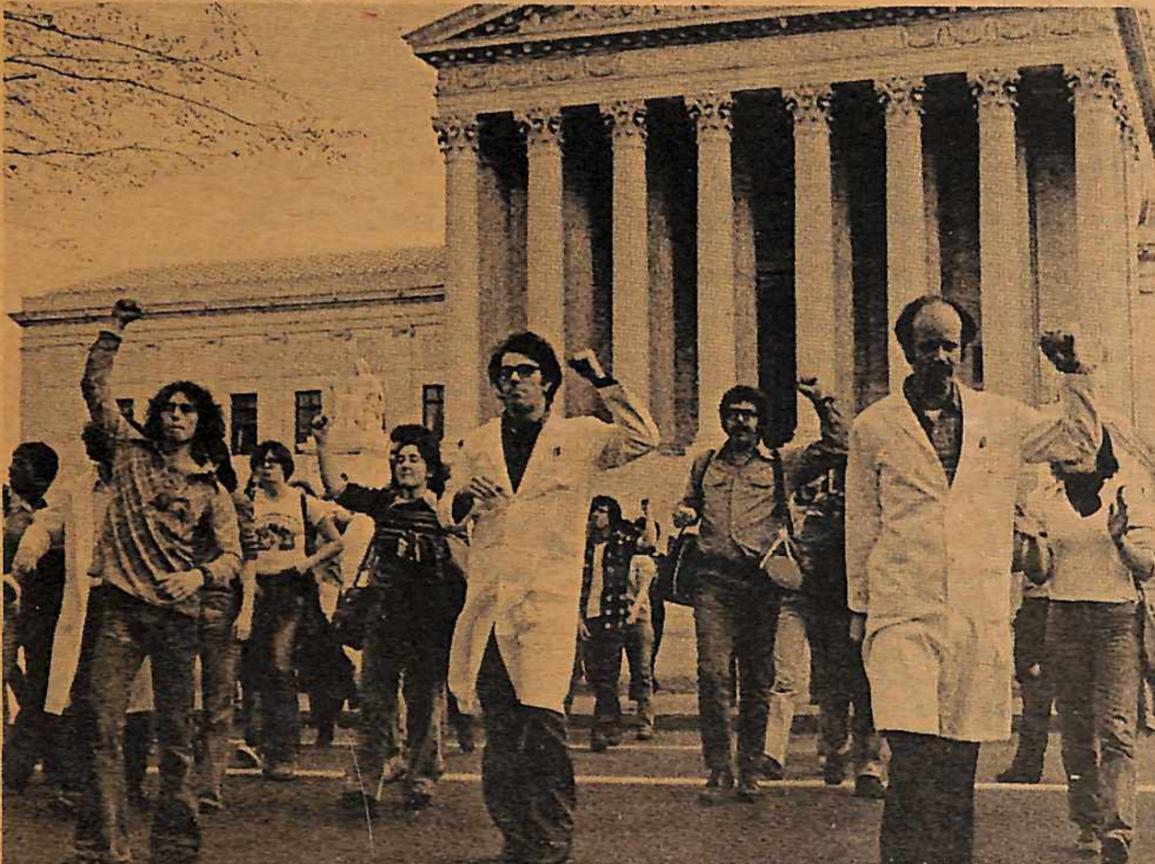
Ever since the height of the revolutionary national struggles in the U.S., the bourgeoisie has pursued a policy of attempting to increase and bolster the petty bourgeois strata among the oppressed nationalities. They figured that these forces could be used to bolster the lie to the masses that "you can make it if you try" as well as being a more pro-bourgeois—more moderate and less revolutionary—force within the oppressed nationalities. Additionally, with whatever means at their disposal, the capitalists would try and push these forces to the fore of the liberation struggle in order to sabotage it.

To this end the bourgeoisie followed a number of approaches within the context of concessions that to one degree or another have been wrested from the capitalists in the struggle. Among the programs were the various "war on poverty" agencies within which they tried to promote petty bourgeois poverty pimps; there were the minority small business loans; there was increased hiring of minorities into the federal, state and city government bureaucracies; and there were different affirmative action programs in universities.

Some of these avenues have already become dead-ends. As the government cuts back on social services for the masses, taking back victories won in the late '60s, it also cuts loose its corps of poverty officials to a great degree. As the economic crisis ruins petty bourgeois

small businessmen, white as well as minorities, the minority small business loan program has less and less of an impact. And recent hearings revealed that many loans to "minority businesses" have been fronts for large white-owned enterprises.

So stemming the decline in affirmative admissions is a continuation on a smaller scale of the ruling class strategy promoted in the '60s for dealing with struggles of oppressed nationalities. While bringing a small number into the relative comfort of the petty bourgeoisie they hope to continue and intensify the super-exploitation of the masses. Even though these upper strata have come under increasing attack in recent years, this policy still plays a role. In addition, capital-



Doctors, nurses and medical workers mobilized by the Medical Committee for Human Rights demonstrated against legal efforts to destroy affirmative action programs.

ist media and politicians will try to use this, as they have been doing ever since affirmative action entered the picture, to stir up national chauvinism. "Only so many openings," they'll say, "One given to a Black means one less for whites."

Carter hopes his qualified upholding of affirmative action in the Bakke case will help to pay his political debts to the coalition of Black bourgeois forces that helped him win the election and derail some of the heat he has been getting recently for turning his back on them.

Some Facts on Discrimination

The struggle around affirmative action has shined a light on the state of medical care in the U.S. Not only has it pointed out the continuing inequality and discrimination that faces minorities but it has also brought out how the real shortage of medical schools throughout the U.S. is undermining health care all across the board.

Affirmative action in hiring and college admissions is a victory arising out of the struggles of the oppressed minorities. (And, at this time, most of these programs also include women, who have also faced discrimination in higher education as they have in society overall.) While it cannot "erase" the effects of discrimination nor is it the crowning victory of the struggle against discrimination, it has played and should continue to play a role in breaking down barriers to equality erected by the ruling class.

Today, even with minority admissions programs, only 2% of the students at the University of California at Berkeley are Chicano, yet Chicanos make up some 15% of California's population. In the state's medical schools, only 15.7% of the first year students are from oppressed minorities, including 8.4% Chicano and 6.4% Black, even though a quarter of the state's population is minorities.

In the U.S. the overall doctor/population ratio is 1/700. For minorities the ratios are roughly: 1 Black doctor/3800 Black people; Native American, 1/20,000;

and Chicano, 1/30,333. The ratio among Blacks has remained around 1/4000 since the 1930's!

In 1974, when Bakke applied to UCD, there were 3000 applications for 100 first year placements. Without some kind of affirmative action—at UCD they reserve 16 slots for minorities—it is possible that minorities, already burdened by discrimination at all levels of their schooling and overall in society, might lose out altogether in so-called objective testing. (It should be noted that besides UCD, Bakke applied to 13 other medical schools in 1973-74 and was rejected by every one.)

For the children of the rich, getting in to medical school is not a major problem. Neither failing on the "objective" testing or losing out to affirmative action admissions keep them out, nor does the \$10-12,000 tuition become an obstacle. In 1974, Pasquale de Marco, whose education had been temporarily interrupted, sued Chicago Medical School when the school demanded he pay \$20,000 to finish his fourth year. In the trial it was learned that the family and friends of 77 of the 91 entering freshmen in 1973 had made a per student average of \$50,000 in "voluntary" donations to the school. Of course, when cuts are made it is not these students, but minorities and poorer white students who are the first to go.

Even with the general trend of deteriorating health care under capitalism, the effect of affirmative action

can make some difference in health care for the oppressed minorities, where the needs are most dramatic. Studies show the percentage of minority doctors that return to practice medicine in the poorer communities they came from is higher than the rate for doctors as a whole.

Increasing Discrimination

One of the arguments raised against affirmative action, and one that will be heard more if Bakke's medical school hopes are dashed by the Supreme Court, is that affirmative action has "gone too far," that the discrimination "of the past" has already been atoned for. Using California as an example, even with the increases in Chicano freshmen medical students' enrollment under affirmative action during the early '70s, the rate of increase would have to continue for 14 years before Chicanos would reach parity in the medical student population. It would take fully 38 years for the ratio of Chicano doctors to reach the overall U.S. doctor/population ratio!

Affirmative action has not gone far enough. And not only hasn't "past discrimination" been "atoned" for yet, the oppression of the masses of minority peoples is a daily fact of life and is increasing. Affirmative action or no, access of minorities to higher education is constantly undermined by cuts in special programs, scholarships and financial aid. This, of course, is on top of continuing oppression in society as a whole—recent figures on increasing relative Black unemployment bear out.

There is a severely limited number of slots in medical schools every year. There are literally dozens of applications for every place, as if the U.S. already had too many doctors. The American Medical Association (AMA) has used all its power and influence to keep things this way. It helps to create a doctor shortage and render their services more dear, enabling many doctors to earn incomes in excess of \$100,000 a year.

Out of this situation has grown a truly vicious com-

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Kent...

Continued from page 1

ment was made that a new gym was to be built on "the hill," the site of much of the struggle on May 4, 1970, the May 4th Coalition became the organizing center for resistance. The Coalition, composed of Kent students and alumni and supporters, led two occupations of the hill over the summer. During the course of the battle Coalition members learned a number of invaluable lessons through their practice and through debate between different views on why the issue was important and what tactics should be used.

Many people first came into the fight out of anger that the school was in fact planning to desecrate the graves of four innocent individuals, victims of a tragic assault. But the ruling class and its media have always been more than willing to portray what happened at Kent as a "tragedy"—why then were they so intent on burying its memory? People realized that for the rich, Kent was not some moral tragedy but a bitter reminder of the wave of struggle against the Vietnam War and invasion of Cambodia that rocked the country during Kent State. The murder during this upsurge of four students at KSU and two students at Jackson State, a Black college in Mississippi, had fueled the furnace of rebellion. It is this memory—and this *example*—that they were out to bury.

Similarly Coalition members and others active in the struggle learned that it was a dead end to rely on the law and the courts. While they were used effectively in the fight to stall off the administration's effort to get construction well underway before school started, when all was said and done, rulings came down against the Coalition. In addition, judges imposed injunctions and heavy fines to crush the struggle. Civil disobedience tactics to force mass arrest had a certain usefulness in building support and winning attention for the struggle but soaring bail, fines and legal expenses underlined that other tactics were needed. When Coalition members were arrested several days after one action because police had videotaped it, those fighting the gym took to wearing red bandanas, Jesse-James style, when actions were held in defiance of the injunctions or university ultimatums.

School Begins

This is where things stood as school began. A new president had been imported, whose experience the trustees hoped made him the man to crush resistance to the gym site. During the 1960s Golding had worked for the Aid for International Development (a notorious CIA front) in Brazil, helping the dictatorship there set up a police apparatus, infamous as one of the most savage in the world. In 1970 Goldin was dean of Wright State College in California, one of two deans in the state system who refused to shut his school down during the May strike. Later, at San Diego State, he took charge of wiping out ethnic studies and arming the campus cops.

Quickly recognizing the wide support the fight to move the gym had won, Golding's main approach was to try and convince the masses of students that it was too late to move the gym and too dangerous to try. He argued that "the time has come for the May 4th Coalition to bow its head and gracefully leave the stage." He even claimed that had he been president when the plans were made he would have argued against it (!), but now everything was settled, contracts were signed and it was just too bad.

To underline his point he rushed construction crews onto the site and began excavation. They were accompanied on the first day by mounted sheriff's deputies as scores of riot-equipped police stalked the area and positioned themselves on the roofs of campus buildings while helicopters hovered overhead. To make sure the students understood that continuing the fight would bring disaster, it was announced that anyone violating

IN MEMORIAM

In the early hours of Saturday, September 24, a young Chicago student, Patricia Lynn Baker, age 24, was killed in a tragic auto accident on the way to Kent State University to attend the demonstration there. Two other students were injured, one very seriously. Patricia Baker, like so many of the thousands of students who attended the demonstration, did not hesitate to travel hundreds of miles to join the struggle against the vicious criminals who gunned down four students on May 4, 1970 for protesting the Vietnam War and are now trying to wipe out the very site of that despicable act and heroic struggle. We extend our deepest sympathy to Patricia Baker's family, friends, and brothers and sisters in struggle.

the court injunction would be immediately suspended and that the September 24 demonstration would not be permitted. Further, arrest and grand jury warrants were sworn out against May 4th Coalition leaders. The administration helped spread all manner of rumors, including charges that the Coalition was "terrorist," and gave full backing to a handful of campus reactionaries who jumped out as "pro-gym" forces.

This blatant repression overshadowed the other part of Golding's act, the concerned humanist. He proposed, for instance, naming the gym after all the "victims" of May 4, 1970—including not only the four killed, but the National Guardsmen who shot them and Ohio Governor Rhodes who ordered them onto the campuses! These people, who have never been punished for their crimes, are supposed to be "victims" because of the "mental anguish" they have suffered the last seven years.

The Coalition worked effectively to blunt the administration's assault. While concentrating on organizing for the big demonstration on the 24th, it held several rallies and other actions, especially protesting the start of construction. Just as important, it jammed President Golding into a debate days before the demonstration, attended by over 600 students. Al Canfora, a Coalition leader who was wounded in 1970, trounced him. Golding refused to answer questions on why the gym couldn't be built on the 17 acre tract that KSU had bought for that purpose in 1968 or why the school couldn't use available state funds to cover the cost of changing the plans. Many more students came to see the truth of the Coalition's explanation of why the school was trying to bury the memory of May 4, 1970. Growing more isolated by the minute, Golding cut the debate short and left with his tail between his legs.

While using severe repression coupled with trying to stop the students at Kent State from taking further actions, the capitalist class made a concerted and frantic effort to persuade the public at large that the struggle was over. Right before the big demonstration, national press accounts reported on the small size of some actions, gleefully declaring for the umpteenth time that opposition to the gym was weak and losing support. The tired old lies of the 1960s of a "silent majority" were resurrected. This time the mythical majority allegedly consisted of students who thought it was time to "forgive and forget," who "just want to study" or who "thought the May 4th Coalition was giving the university a bad name." The ruling class especially hoped that these reports would prevent the sparks of the Kent State struggle from leaping to other campuses across the country. But events were to prove that the masses of Kent State students were not giving up and

that students at other schools were capable of seeing through this tissue of lies.

The movement the ruling class wanted to bulldoze under was proving to be more than a memory on campuses around the country. The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), members of which are active in the Coalition at Kent, organized, often with other concerned students, to bring people to Kent. Many RSB members were surprised by how readily students understood what is at stake at Kent State and wanted to join the struggle. 300 people at the University of Texas at Austin rallied to demand the gym be moved. 80 students at Purdue heard a leader from Kent speak and 21 signed up on the spot to go there on the 24th. At Amherst in Massachusetts, where the RSB chapter has only about five members, 85 students were mobilized to travel over 500 miles to the demonstration. Similar developments took place around the country.

The Demonstration

September 24 itself was a victory on a massive scale. The "forbidden" demonstration began with a rally of 3000. Heartened by the powerful show of outside support, a thousand Kent students defied the administration's intimidation campaign to take part. Among a number of speakers was well-known attorney William Kuntzler. Al Canfora traced the history of the battle at Kent and said that the demonstration was the highest level of this struggle in seven years, because of its size, because of its nationwide character and because the face of the ruling class enemy was more clearly exposed than ever. A member of the Revolutionary Student Brigade spoke on some of the political lessons of the struggle, pointing out how the battle today is against the same capitalist system it was on May 4, 1970, and that the spirit of Kent and Jackson State today means turning attacks like the gym into blows against that system. Large numbers at the rally expressed interest in the Brigade's call for a convention to be held October 22-24 at Kent State to build a national communist youth and student group.

When the rally ended, a march formed which went through the campus. It stopped at each of the four buildings students themselves had named for the four martyrs this Spring, when the administration refused. As a veteran of the Kent struggle spoke on one of the four persons, his or her name was neatly stencilled on the side of the building with the slogan "We Will Never Forgive or Forget," while the crowd stood silently, fists raised to honor the dead.

Then the march headed straight for the hill. The fence was smashed down like so much balsa wood and chicken wire, and half the demonstrators marched onto the hill. The school had not dared to call up the massive police presence of the week before, knowing full well that public opinion would never tolerate them shedding blood at Kent State again. However, they did have a couple dozen cops guarding the construction machinery. As the march surged towards them, the police forgot about guarding anything but their hides and hightailed out a back entrance. The demonstrators put up a big sign with the statement of the coalition, reiterated that no gym would be built on the hill and marched back out, laying waste to hundreds of yards of fence as they went.

This demonstration was a victory in many senses. In the teeth of all the administration's attacks and the commencement of construction, it showed that Kent students still opposed the gym being built on the hill and were not afraid to stand up and say so. The widespread support from other campuses proved that the bourgeoisie's whole offensive, far from burying the memory of the killings at Kent, was reviving interest in and knowledge of Kent, Jackson and the whole May storm of 1970. More, it showed that the spirit of Kent and Jackson, the revolutionary spirit of struggle against the crimes of the imperialist system is alive and growing today. ■



How the capitalists would like to bury the memory of the massive student movement that shook the country in the '60s and early '70s, just as they are trying to bury the site of the Kent State murders. But a new generation of students has stepped forward, cherishing this tradition and determined to carry it forward.

Youth Set Agenda For Convention

All stops are out in the campaign to form a young communist organization. Already organizers are confident that 750 or more youths and students will be attending the founding convention on October 22-24 at Kent State University in Ohio, a site whose militant tradition and whose current battles make it eminently fitting. At the recent student demonstration at Kent State the dedication of the founding convention was distributed. It reads:

"This convention is dedicated to the struggle at Kent State. To Alison Krause, William Schroeder, Sandy Scheur, Jeffrey Miller, four students who were shot down in cold blood for protesting the Vietnam War. This convention is dedicated to the victims of Orangeburg, Jackson State and Southern U. who also dared to stand up and were shot down as well. This convention is dedicated to the millions who in the course of the '60s sacrificed their sweat and blood and poured their muscles and brains and tapped their vision and determination, all of which wrote a glorious chapter in the history of the student movement and the American people. This convention is dedicated to the millions of young successors in the next decades who are sure to step forward and, together with the working class, strike unprecedented blows against the criminal capitalist class, blows that will certainly liberate our futures and seal their doom. To those who came before, to those who struggle today, and to the bright future we dedicate this convention."



Youth demonstrate for jobs in August on Wall Street at the Stock Exchange. Heaping abuse on the fatcats and money men, they made it plain that youth will fight for their future and are coming to see who it is that is pushing them down and standing in their way.

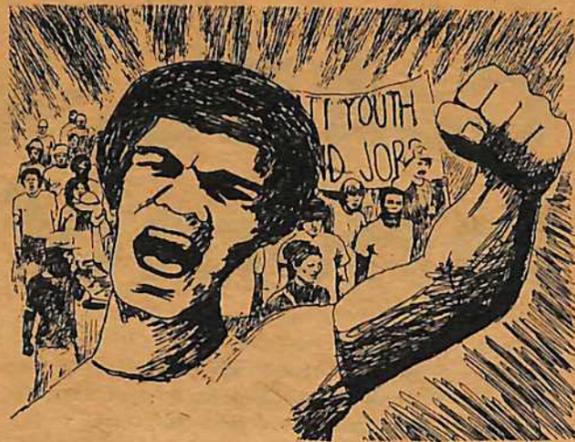
Agenda Set

The main points of the agenda for the proceedings have been set. The convention will begin with a welcoming speech from a leader of the Kent State struggle to prevent the desecration of the site of the 1970 murders. Following this a political report to the convention will be presented, focusing on the situation facing youth and the road ahead.

Solidarity messages from many of the major battles raging today have been prepared. Speeches are also scheduled by members of revolutionary organizations of the past, including a former member of the Young Communist League (the youth organization of the CP, USA in its revolutionary days) and a former member of the Black Panther Party when that organization was also in the forefront of the struggle.

Two sets of workshops are scheduled. The first are on major social questions facing revolutionary youth. They are: war and revolution; the international united front and the three worlds; national oppression; united front against imperialism; socialism; religion; the Soviet Union; Trotskyism; developments in Africa; imperialist crisis.

The second set of workshops focus on particular struggles that will be facing the young communist organization. They are: jobs for youth; the Bakke case; support for African liberation; Kent State; theoretical



COME TO THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF A NATIONAL COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION

October 22-23-24, Kent State University

Contact Revolutionary Student Brigade/Young Red
PO Box A3423, Chicago, IL 60690

struggle on campus; police repression; busing.

Saturday's activities will conclude with a speech by a representative of the Pan African Congress, a leading organization in the fight against the South African apartheid regime, and a cultural event that evening.

Sunday will begin with a panel discussion with members of past revolutionary organizations of youth. Following this, the day's first plenary session will discuss why a communist organization is needed for youth.

A representative of the Revolutionary Communist Party will address the convention prior to the second plenary session. The second session will have two points: to decide on the structure and name of the organization; and the program of struggle.

Monday a demonstration will be held, focusing on a few of the major campaigns the organization decides to take up.

The convention is being called by the Revolutionary Student Brigade, the *Young Red* (a national communist youth newsletter), numerous youth groups in different cities around the country, and the Revolutionary Communist Party.

While the purpose of the convention is to found a young communist organization of the RCP, the sponsors of the convention are encouraging all revolutionary minded youths to attend, even if they are unsure about communism, in hopes that after attending the convention they will join in.

To build for the convention, a speaking tour is being organized that will crisscross the country in the final few weeks, speaking in working class neighborhoods and college campuses. Al Canfora, a leader of the May 4th Coalition at Kent State, Ed Whitfield, a participant in the 1969 struggle at Cornell University when a number of Black students seized a building with shotguns, demanding a Black Studies Department, and a representative of the RSB will all speak. A slide show of the recent youth demonstration on Wall Street will also accompany the tour. The speaking tour will discuss the history of the mass upsurges of the 1960s, the Black liberation struggle and the antiwar movement, and why the crucial step in building the revolutionary struggle of youth called for now is the formation of the young communist organization.

Those interested in attending the convention should write: RSB, Box A3423, Chicago, IL 60690. ■

Workers Get Shafted On Minimum Wage Law

\$2.65 an hour. That's the new minimum wage decreed by the House of Representatives. If this law is approved by the Senate, which is very likely, it will take effect on January 1. As if this wasn't bad enough, the new law will also remove about four million workers from even this starvation minimum, leaving the employers free to pay whatever they can get away with.

For a long time now the AFL-CIO leadership has been all but promising its members that Congress was going to raise the minimum wage to \$3 an hour. Along with this,

according to the rosy picture painted by the union lobbyists, there was going to be an "escalator clause" tying the minimum wage to 53% of the average manufacturing wage, bringing the minimum higher as wages rose in the future.

In fact, Meany & Co. went along with Carter's cutbacks in unemployment benefits earlier this year, fully expecting that in turn the AFL-CIO minimum wage bill and other legislative measures would get the nod from Congress. During the vote on the question, Alexander Barkan, head of COPE, the AFL-CIO's lobbying arm which hands out the membership's money to politicians, paced up and down outside the House chambers.

Barkan was crushed by the results. "A lot of these guys just decided it was better for them politically to stick with business than to go with us," said the quotes from an unidentified "labor lobbyist" in the press the next day. The *Wall Street Journal* put it more bluntly: The AFL-CIO's high hopes were simply "brushed off."

What Congress is doing is a crime. According to the government's own cold statistics, no one can support a family on less than \$3 an hour--and that's paying 1977 prices, which are sure to rise. The tiny 35¢ "raise" coming out of the new minimum wage bill will mean that the minimum wage will actually fall further and further behind the cost of living. Behind these statistics are millions of workers and their families who can't keep body and soul together no matter how hard they work.

Out for Blood

What the AFL-CIO leadership has done is also a

crime. Their crime is not just their meekness and their measly demands, without regard to the needs of millions of workers. It's also that the AFL-CIO has worked so hard to convince the workers to rely on the bosses' politicians at exactly the moment when these politicians were getting ready to cut the working class even more deeply.

The fact is that the capitalists have no choice but to fight to hold down the minimum wage right now, both for the millions it will save them directly and for the effect it will have on all wages indirectly. This attack on the minimum wage--and it is an attack, bringing it even closer to sheer starvation--is a result of the same economic crisis that has led to all their attacks on the wages and working conditions of the working class and their other economic and political assaults.

Not all the lobbying in the world--and the AFL-CIO did plenty--could stop them.

The capitalists are out for blood. They cut the minimum wage. They declared that from now on only companies that do at least a half a million dollars a year in business have to pay minimum wage. They refused to require employers to pay the minimum wage to employees that make tips. They even came within a few votes in the House of passing a "subminimum wage" of \$2.25 an hour for workers under 19.

This whole thing is a big exposure of Congress, whose heart Meany & Co. appeal to, even while Congress is condemning millions to hardship and hunger to protect the profits of the employers. It's also a real exposure of the AFL-CIO leadership, who preach to the workers to beg Congress on their knees--to get kicked in the teeth while kneeling down. ■

Call Ducks U.S. Role In Horn of Africa

Do U.S. communists have the responsibility to expose the predatory moves and aggressive actions of their own imperialist ruling class? Should they denounce all its efforts to dominate and subjugate the peoples and countries of the world no matter how they disguise them? Not according to the *Call*, p.r. sheet for the CP (OL) (ML).

Last month *Revolution* published an article analyzing recent developments on the Horn of Africa. It described the maneuvers of the U.S. and the Soviet Union to dig their claws deeper into this region, their efforts to line up the countries on the Horn and the Arabian Peninsula and the shifting alliances that are taking place.

In a letter published in the September 12 issue of the *Call*, the CP (ML) levels a silly and opportunist attack on this article, an attack which exhibits the finest style of their polemics: lies and distortions. But their cowardly methods of polemics are getting boring through repetition and are not the heart of the matter. What is of more interest is what this letter reveals about the line of the CP (ML).

Headlined "Giving Support to Soviet Lies," this diatribe accuses the RCP of "covering for revisionism" and of being "an enemy of third world unity" as well as putting forward that "third world countries are only pawns with no choice but to line up with one or another superpower." Why? Because, they say, the RCP incorrectly claims that the "overall situation of the third world countries in the area is not one of growing unity and struggle against imperialism." They allege that "Each attempt by third world countries to unify in the face of direct Soviet aggression is labeled [by the RCP] as a victory for U.S. imperialism."

In order to validate the first charge, however, they find it necessary to never mention the very subject matter and title of the article: "Wars Flare on Horn of Africa," describing it instead as "an article on the situation in Africa." Presumably they see these wars simply as shining examples of growing third world unity! And unless you're willing to describe the fighting between Ethiopia and Somalia as a just war of national liberation on one side or the other, you have the duty to analyze the reactionary and, particularly, imperialist forces stirring it up.

If OL were merely ostriches or blinded by some sort of pollyanna view of the world, they could be dismissed as a group of harmless imbeciles. But that is not principally what their problem is. Like their brothers in the "Communist" Party, USA without the "ML" tacked on, they are attempting to make only one superpower out to be the enemy and to cover for the other. The whole thrust of the *Call* letter, as with the CP (ML) line in general, is to cover up for U.S. imperialism under the banner of anti-Soviet hegemonism.

Silence or Banal Generalities

You can search in vain through the pages of the *Call* for a concrete analysis of the maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists in this region. There is little but broad gen-

eralizations. What does this letter have to say on the subject? "Undoubtedly U.S. imperialism will continue to try to gain advantages." *Undoubtedly* indeed! What exactly are they doing? How is the U.S. trying to gain advantages? Not a word! Lenin heaped scorn on similar social chauvinists and Kautskyites of his day who "help their respective imperialist governments by concentrating attention principally on the insidiousness of their rival and enemy, while throwing a veil of vague general phrases and sentimental wishes around the equally imperialist conduct of 'their own' bourgeoisie."

The *Revolution* article points out that the struggle against Soviet efforts to expand its influence and domination is an essential aspect of recent developments in the area. In fact this is a main part of the article, analyzing the role of the Soviets in Ethiopia. And the article explicitly describes how the situation has grown more difficult for the Soviets and their new clients in the Ethiopian military junta. As examples of this the article pointed to moves by Somalia, which has been closely allied to the Soviets and dependent on Soviet arms, to take a more independent position in the face of Soviet support for Ethiopia. *Revolution* also mentions a meeting in March of the governments of Sudan, Somalia, North Yemen and the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen to discuss the problem of "security in the Red Sea area" and describes it as a public warning to what the declaration of this meeting hit as Soviet imperialism. In this regard the *Revolution* article also pointed to the failure and Somalia's "angry rejection" of a plan proposed during the Castro/Podgorny African safari in late March to rope Ethiopia, Somalia, South Yemen and Djibouti into an "East African Socialist Federation."

Yet according to the *Call's* yellow journalism, the RCP was "upset because in March of this year there was a meeting of these countries who are increasingly threatened by superpower interference and especially by aggression from the social imperialists."

But all these lies are only an attempt to camouflage the fact that the RCP really comes under attack for concretely analyzing how the U.S. imperialists, as well as the Soviets, are trying to lure the governments of the countries in the area into their own camp. But tell us, great internationalists, is the day gone when the imperialists try to work through the bourgeois governments of third world countries to advance their dreams of domination? Have the masses of people in the countries in the region already triumphed in their struggle to throw off the rule of comprador bourgeois elements and all reactionaries and established proletarian governments, opposing the moves of the imperialists at every turn?

There is no question that many of the ruling classes of the third world, even some that are overwhelmingly imperialist stooges, have contradictions with the imperialists, particularly the superpowers, and that they do take some actions to resist them. When and where they do they must be supported, and encouraged to do so to an even greater extent. But it is precisely because of the class nature of these governments that the imperialists are able to make inroads and stir up contradictions. And in situations of sharp conflict and war they step up their blackmail. This is the basis for the statement in the *Revolution* article (and this is what we actually said, *Call* distorters) that "the overall situation in the Horn of Africa increases the strong tendency of the ruling classes of those countries to line up with one or another superpower."

This in no way undercuts the fact that the third world, which has been the victim of colonial and neocolonial plunder, ravaged and held back, kept in chains by the imperialists, since World War 2 has been the storm center of the world revolution, and the struggles of peoples in these areas have been the main force striking at the imperialist system. This has most powerfully been the case in countries like those of Indochina and China where the masses under the leadership of the working class and its party have united all patriotic classes to achieve national liberation and embarked on the socialist revolution. Nor does it deny what was stated in an article in the July *Revolution* on the "three worlds" that "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 another 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."

But the RCP is soundly castigated by the great dialecticians of the CP (ML) for saying that the countries in the Horn of Africa have only made "some moves" to oppose the two superpowers. Do they view the

recent docking of U.S. naval ships in Sudanese ports as an example of anti-imperialist action?

CP (ML) Slips and Slides

The *Call* was particularly indignant because *Revolution* describes how U.S. imperialists are using the reactionary feudal and bureaucrat capitalist government of Saudi Arabia in an effort to lure countries in the region into its bloc through promises of large-scale economic aid. "Even the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen," they say, "a country which has firmly opposed imperialism and fought for national independence, is slandered with the accusation of being bought off by Saudi 'checkbooks.'" Of course, we said no such thing, instead describing what the U.S. and the Saudis were attempting to do. Do we see the CP (ML) charlatans standing up to defend the royal family of Saudi Arabia as great promoters of anti-imperialist solidarity, or are their "checkbooks" overwhelmingly in the service of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism?

Their self-righteous defense of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is especially interesting and revealing in view of the fact that it was only a few years ago that this same *Call* was denouncing the struggle of the people of neighboring Oman and those supporting it, foremost of which was the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), because of "the Soviet domination of these groups." (*Call*, October, 1974) They attacked Marxist-Leninists for spreading "the lie that China supports these organizations"—namely, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman. Now the RCP is attacked for showing how the U.S. is trying to bring the PDRY into its orbit. First an attack for backing Soviet agents, now an attack for slandering these same forces who have "firmly opposed imperialism and fought for national independence." How interesting!

The consistency comes down to one thing. It is the CP (ML) line on the responsibilities of the internationalist duties of U.S. communists in action. According to the CP (ML), when the Soviets seek to influence forces resisting U.S. imperialism, not only must the Soviets be denounced, but the forces resisting U.S. imperialism must be denounced as well. But when the U.S. imperialists try to do the same thing, it is inopportune to speak of it. According to the *Call*, exposure of U.S. machinations only gives "support to Soviet lies" and strengthens social-imperialism. After all, the main blow of U.S. Marxist-Leninists must be directed "internationally" at the Soviet Union!

The CP (ML), pitifully following in the tradition of phony revolutionaries like Kautsky, continues to repeat time-worn betrayals of Marxism-Leninism. For these social chauvinists U.S. communists have a special duty all right, to prettify the actions of U.S. imperialism under the banner of anti-hegemonism, and with platitudes, not Marxist analysis, about third world unity.

Bakke ...

Continued from page 7

petition between pre-med students as they try to insure their successful advance into medical school. Pre-med students, as many magazine and newspaper articles have pointed out in the last few years, ruin each other's lab experiments, steal classroom notes, steal important books out of the library to deny others the use of them, to name a few of the cutthroat tactics. Obviously, this detracts from quality medical education and, in the end, from decent medical care for the masses.

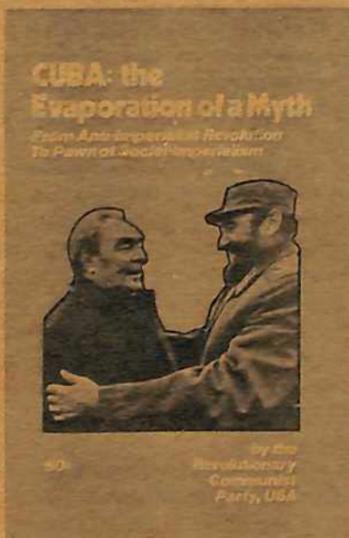
Continuing the Struggle

The Revolutionary Student Brigade on the West Coast, the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR), an organization of progressive doctors and other health professionals, along with other organizations, have been involved in the fight against the Bakke attack. This struggle is being pressed forward as the time of the Supreme Court decision comes closer, recognizing that it would be suicide to be lulled to sleep by Carter's actions.

Even if the court goes along with Carter's formula, the struggle also must be waged to insure that no programs are thrown in the dustbin under the excuse of eliminating "rigid, exclusionary quotas." Affirmative action must be defended and fought for. At the same time, cuts must be fought, bringing out the need for bigger enrollments in medical schools.

The gains of the Black liberation struggle and other minority struggles will continue to come under attack as capitalism's crisis becomes more deep and profound. But the victories of these powerful movements were paid for in blood. The people will not give up lightly and the struggle around the Bakke case is bound to be just one battle in a struggle to defend past victories and go forward.

(Much of the information for this article was taken from "The Bakke Case, The Gains of Minorities Under Attack," a pamphlet by MCHR. Copies of the pamphlet are available at 50¢ per copy plus 25¢ postage from MCHR, Greater-Boston Chapter, PO Box 382, Prudential Center, Boston, MA 02199.) ■



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Marcos Manuevers

Philippine Struggle Forges Ahead

Every few months the Philippines crops up briefly in the news in the U.S. The story seldom varies. President Ferdinand Marcos, it is reported, has just successfully dealt with the only remaining opposition to the dictatorial "state of martial law" he declared just under five years ago. In fact, in the last two months, as part of his phoney "relaxation" of martial law, Marcos has eased overnight curfews and a ban on foreign travel, released a few prisoners, mainly petty criminals rather than those held for political activity, and announced that local elections will be held by the end of 1978. How these will be carried out and who will be permitted to run are details he has not commented on.

At the end of April, Marcos reported that a negotiated truce and a plebiscite had ended the massive armed rebellion of the Muslim peoples in the southern islands of the country. Fighting, however, continued throughout the four month ceasefire, and by mid-September the truce had completely collapsed and the war has since intensified.

Last September he boasted that the capture of two leaders of the New People's Army (NPA), the revolutionary guerilla army led by the Communist Party of the Philippines, meant that "the NPA is dead." A couple of years ago the big "news" was the televised surrender of the leaders of the tiny revisionist "Philippine Communist Party" to Marcos personally and their pledges of fealty to his regime. Later this year more announcements of "victory" will probably be pumped out around show trials of Commander Dante and Victor Corpuz, the captured NPA leaders.

Growing of Struggle

If this sounds like a case of "methinks the dictator doth protest too much," it's not surprising. The fact is that Marcos faces a growing wave of mass struggle, led by the Communist Party of the Philippines, among all sections of the Filipino people—the workers and other urban poor, students, intellectuals and progressive clergy, and in the countryside the masses of peasants and oppressed minority nationalities. This struggle, taking such varied and illegal forms as strikes, demonstrations, protests, guerilla struggle and armed insurrection, puts the lie to all Marcos' carefully prepared propaganda on the stability of his government.

The repeated reports of "victories" over the people's struggle are not the only public relations sleight of hand Marcos has engaged in in recent years. He has also taken to posing as a leader of the underdeveloped countries of the Third World, disguising his dependence on and subservience to U.S. imperialism. This course has been forced on him by a number of factors. For one thing it represents an attempt to improve his position among the masses in the Philippines. He has used his "nationalist" act to try and win support from various wavering elements like the petty bourgeoisie, and at the same time to curry favor with other Third World leaders, particularly Colonel Khadafi of Libya, whose influence he had relied on to cool out the Muslim rebellion in the southern islands. His most recent move has been to try to patch things up with neighboring Malaysia by offering to "take steps" towards dropping the Philippines' claim to Sabah and recognizing Malaysia's claim to it, in hopes of getting Malaysia's help in suppressing rebel activity on the southern border and in Sabah.

Also contributing to the new Marcos image has been the decline of U.S. control and influence in much of Southeast Asia in recent years, highlighted by the victory of the Indochinese peoples over American imperialism, and the growing challenge to the U.S. ruling class in Asia and around the world by its rivals in the USSR.

Thus the situation in the Philippines reflects some of the most important general trends in the world today. The revolutionary struggle of the people is on the rise, although the imperialists go out of their way to deny and to hide it. At the same time the changing world situation is affecting the character of the struggle not only in hotbeds of superpower rivalry like southern Africa, but everywhere.

Martial Law

Marcos' declaration of martial law and banning of civil liberties and bourgeois democratic institutions in 1972 came primarily in response to the growing struggle of the Filipino people. In addition, some sections of the landlords and capitalists were taking advantage of the situation to challenge Marcos' position as the main man of the U.S. ruling class in the Philippines. The current dictatorship is only the latest in a series of different ways U.S. capital has dominated the Philip-

pinas since the turn of the century—first as an outright colony, then as a formally independent "democracy" whose rulers were loyal servants of the U.S., and now as a brutal dictatorship.

Like many other countries, the Philippines is a vital source of profits for big business. U.S. corporations have over \$3,000,000,000 invested in the exploitation of low-paid Filipino workers and the plunder of the country's natural resources, particularly agricultural produce. The National Council of Churches has documented that U.S.-based corporations comprise 80% of all foreign investment. Since the martial law declaration, the privileges accorded these pirates have been greatly expanded—tax incentives and the right to own land and public utilities.

Furthermore, the Philippines is a major forward outpost in Asia for the U.S. military. Clark Air Force Base is the largest outside the U.S. itself. Subic Bay is headquarters for the Seventh Fleet and there are 18 smaller bases.

The U.S. government responded to the imposition of Marcos' dictatorship with the form of approval that really counts—cash. The rate of U.S. military aid doubled, and this year the Carter administration approved a military assistance program for the Philippines of \$17 million and nearly \$20 million for 1978. In addition, the U.S. government has allocated \$76.8 million for 1977 and \$100 million for 1978 in economic aid.

Green Berets were sent in to train and lead Marcos' troops against the masses of people. CIA agents have helped Marcos' "security forces" in their efforts to wipe out all resistance against the Marcos regime, training them in torture techniques which Amnesty International says are "used freely and with extreme cruelty, often over long periods" on the more than 20,000 political prisoners in Philippine jails.

Communist Party of the Philippines

Playing a leading role in the struggle against Marcos and his U.S. backers is the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which was reestablished in 1969 by militants from the old Communist Party which had decayed and collapsed under revisionist and class collaboratorist leaders. The CPP played a key part in the struggle of the masses before martial law and since then has played an increasingly important role in directing the struggles of the masses against the Marcos dictatorship and its American sponsors.

By striving to grasp and apply the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, the CPP has been able to analyze the situation under martial law and come up with appropriate strategy, tactics and organizational forms to advance the revolutionary cause of the masses under new and difficult circumstances.

The CPP is engaged in building a National Democratic Front to unite all classes and social groups in the country to overthrow Marcos, "liberate the nation from imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism" and establish a coalition government which truly represents the masses of people. A preparatory commission for the front has been established, uniting leaders of many sections of the people.

The CPP is also leading the armed struggle to topple the regime. The New People's Army which was founded with a handful of combatants less than a decade ago now boasts over ten thousand full-time troops, armed primarily with captured weapons and active in every province in the country. These armed forces have not only engaged government troops and police in combat, but attacked U.S. armed forces in their military bases. In fact within a few days of one of Marcos' announcements that the NPA was crushed, 150 soldiers staged coordinated raids on five villages right by Clark Air Base, defeating government troops and seizing weapons.

Armed Struggle in the Countryside

The NPA is based among the peasantry in the villages of the Philippine countryside. The conditions of the peasantry are miserable. More than 50% of all farms are worked by share tenants and there are more landless laborers than share farmers. Poverty is so great that two out of every five children die of malnutrition before they are four. Marcos made big promises of "land reform" when he declared martial law, but his programs, even according to government figures, have benefited only 1% of the rural population. Most of these are landlords, for to be eligible, a farmer has not only to buy the land on time but take out loans for fertilizer and tools. Anyone failing to repay his debts on time forfeits everything.



Despite all-out repression from the Marcos regime, the armed struggle in the countryside has been linked with intense mass struggle in the urban areas.

It is no wonder that increasingly people are turning to the small armed groups which are the basic units of the NPA. These units stay in and around the villages, carrying out propaganda and helping the peasantry to better their lot by united effort, both in projects like digging wells and in forcing rent reductions from landlords and aid from government officials. To defend these gains revolutionary committees, defense units and people's militias are established among the villagers.

Although the NPA operates in small units and undertakes only small-scale military operations in most provinces, it is growing so rapidly in size and particularly influence among the masses that the government has already begun experimenting with a "strategic hamlet" program based on the infamous model developed in Vietnam by the U.S., where villages are razed and their inhabitants forced into barbed wire-ringed concentration camps in a vain effort to isolate them from revolutionary fighters. The cleared area then becomes a "free fire zone" for government forces.

The Struggle in the Cities

Under Marcos' original martial law order, strikes, pickets and other forms of collective mass action were banned. Then labor unions were "restructured" into government run "federations." The government rounded this out with a wage freeze, as a result of which real wages are now 55% less than they were in 1969! Minimum wage in the Philippines is \$1.05 a day.

When the regime hiked oil prices up 30%, Marcos made a show in April of granting a 10% wage hike to some workers and a living allowance to others. But with the cost of basic goods soaring 60-80%, this so-called wage hike is like sugar in the ocean and hasn't sweetened people's lives at all. Besides, Marcos has yet to make good on this promise too, as very few workers have even seen such a "raise." (For instance, workers at the large foreign-owned Engineering Equipment Industries in Rizal went on strike in late March to demand the additional wages guaranteed them under Marcos' new law. Their long strike, supported by workers in nearby factories who sent them food and other items, was met by Marcos with hundreds of strikers being imprisoned in military stockades.)

During the first few years of martial law, with many labor leaders jailed or underground, layoffs widespread and repression intense, the struggle was in a relative ebb as workers reestablished organization under the new conditions and tested new ways of fighting back, like holding "educational symposiums" which became anti-government rallies. But by 1975, things began heating up rapidly. In September of 1975 workers at a large distillery struck, seizing one factory building and mobilizing support from other workers, students and clergy. After three days and 400 arrests the owners and government caved in. Within three months more than 25 other strikes broke out.

This general development is both due to the inevitable resistance of the masses to oppression, and to the political and organizational steps taken by the CPP both before and during martial law. Since then there have been many strikes, especially in the Manila area, and the laws banning them have proved unenforceable. The workers movement has continued to grow, in 1976 holding the first mass May Day rally under martial law, with 6000 demanding the minimum wage be doubled, prices rolled back and civil liberties restored!

In an attempt to prevent a repeat of this in 1977,

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A new victory was won in the I-Hotel struggle when massive protests to eviction forced city to put the question of saving the hotel on the ballot in November. This campaign is being linked with the battle to stop demolitions.

Bulldozers, Ballot Proposition

New Twists In I-Hotel Struggle

The militant actions taken by the Workers Committee to Defend the International Hotel and Victory Building and other supporters of the I-Hotel immediately after the eviction in August have put the local ruling class in San Francisco on notice that the fight will continue—and it has won some new victories.

The tenants refused to fall for the city's relocation plan which would have scattered them all over the city. They chose to stay together and continue to be an organized force. Along with this strong stand and several militant demonstrations, city officials faced people's wrath at several Board of Supervisors meetings.

The city government stood naked on eviction night, showing that they stood against the demands of broad numbers of people and with the capitalists who had ordered them to use the police power of the state to evict. Ever since they have been trying to clean up their act. To get themselves off the hook, a few supervisors proposed putting the I-Hotel issue to a vote in the city-wide elections November 8. City officials and politicians have a big campaign going now trying to portray themselves and the government as defenders of the hotel. They point to the court appeal still going on over the question of the city's right to exercise eminent domain to take the hotel property, and to the stop work order against demolition issued by the City Public Works Department. The newspapers carry pictures of cops arresting bulldozer operators who have tried to violate the order. Of course at the same time they are going all out to try to make sure that ballot proposition "U" is defeated.

But as the Workers Committee leaflet pointed out: "If the government is such a great defender of the tenants' rights, why were the tenants evicted by force of arms? Why did it take people demonstrating at City Hall to force the government to issue the stop work order."

And now there is a 20 foot high gash in the side of the International Hotel that shows how serious city

hall is about stopping the demolition. On Monday, September 19 at 7 AM, a scab demolition contractor hired by the owner, Four Seas Corporation, brought in two huge tractors and tore a two story hole in the hotel. This was the second attempt to bulldoze. The first occurred on September 8, when supporters' actions forced the police to stop them before any damage was done. After the bulldozers had succeeded in hitting the building on the 19th, I-Hotel tenants were down there and so were Chinatown residents and supporters from all over. The sight of the wreckage and the memory of empty city hall promises made people furious. One 72 year old International Hotel tenant walked up to inspect the damage to his home. Cops and Four Seas security guards attacked him with their clubs. Outraged, people moved in tighter and forced the cops and goons to back off. Demolition scaffolding was ripped down. People began yelling right into the faces of the guards and cops,

treating them like the dogs they are.

Then the police attacked the picket line which had been set up, clubbing people down to the ground. Ten were arrested. A little while later the cops were buying drinks for the demolition contractor in a bar across the street from the Hall of Justice.

A lot of people have been asking the question, how could the city allow the bulldozers to do this when it's going to be voted on. The ballot proposition reads, "Shall the City of San Francisco buy the International Hotel, renovate it and turn it over to the Housing Authority for low rent housing?" It's clear that Four Seas Corporation and the city don't want that building standing on election day.

In fact, the ballot proposition does not guarantee that the city will buy the hotel. It would be a great political victory to win this election and it would be an even stronger basis to force the city to reopen the hotel. But while getting it on the ballot is itself a concession to the tremendous struggle that has been waged, the city is now using this as an attack, too. They intend to paralyze struggle now and try to win a vote in order to seal their authority to wipe out the building.

The local ruling class certainly has not reversed its decision to crush the I-Hotel struggle. The city, courts and cops have made their position known. In fact, the demolition contractor and Four Seas were charged with misdemeanors for violation of the city's "stop work" order. But the 10 people who were arrested for opposing the demolition attempt face trumped up felony charges. Their defense is being taken up as part of the campaign to stop the demolition and win the ballot proposition.

Make Use of Ballot Campaign as Part of Struggle

The campaign to "Vote Yes on U" is closely linked to the fight to stop the demolition. The capitalists would like nothing better than to have everyone's attentions and energies focused on an electoral campaign instead of relying on people to take the necessary actions to stop future demolition attempts. But the Yes on U campaign is an important platform from which to take the issue out even more broadly.

In this campaign it is key to bring out the fact that the Chinatown community is under attack. The I-Hotel still stands as the first line of defense against the further destruction of the community. The struggle to save the hotel for low rent housing is not based on sentimentality. It is actively taking a stand against the capitalists' drive for profits. The Chinatown tenants and small businessmen who are fighting rent hikes and eviction are taking a stand on the I-Hotel because they see themselves directly threatened by its demolition.

The Workers Committee's first organizing meeting for Yes on U drew a hundred people. A city-wide coalition which they will be part of is being formed to unite with even more forces. The work of the Bay Area chapter of the National United Workers Organization in the working class will be especially important. A banner now flies defiantly over Kearny Street in front of the boarded up International Hotel, demanding "Stop Demolition! City Hall Buy the Hotel! Yes on Proposition U!" ■

UWOC, NUWO Plan Joint Action

Employed Join Jobs Campaign

On Wednesday, September 21, a delegation of several dozen unemployed workers, joined by some workers still on the job, served notice on the U.S. Congress and President Carter that the working class intends to battle blow for blow against the ruling class' efforts to even further slash at unemployment benefits and force the unemployed into starvation-wage jobs, using them to drive down wages of the whole working class.

The Washington, D.C. action, when the delegation demonstrated at the hearing on Carter's "workfare" proposal, was but the opening salvo in the campaign initiated by the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) and supported by the National United Workers Organization (NUWO), which voted to join in the battle at its founding convention. The overall demands being raised in this campaign are "We Want Jobs—Union Jobs at Union Wages!" and "Stop All Attacks on the Unemployment Insurance System."

Plans call for a series of local and regional demonstrations on October 29, building up towards actions, including a demonstration of employed and unemployed workers, in Washington, D.C. in mid-January when Carter is scheduled to make the annual "State of the Union" address to Congress. Workers will be there to make sure that Carter and his buddies aren't able to sweep the situation of the unemployed under the rug and confront

what will undoubtedly be Carter's usual combination of lies and pious promises covering real attacks, with the demands of the working class around unemployment. In addition to the two overall slogans of the campaign, the following other demands are being raised: 1) No more cuts in benefits; unemployed workers must receive benefits as long as they are out of work. 2) Down with Carter's slave wage law and all rules and regulations which force the unemployed into low paying jobs. 3) All government jobs programs must be union jobs at union wages.

General Attack on Unemployment Insurance

There is no question that the whole system of unemployment insurance is under fierce attack by the ruling class. What began a few years ago with public statements by men like Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank and leading ruling class authority in economic matters, calling for slashing unemployment to 16 weeks and moves in several states to slash benefits and force workers to minimum wage jobs, has taken on the features of a full-blown campaign of the bourgeoisie. This year the ruling class shoved through a massive attack, cutting benefits from 65 weeks to 26 and 39 weeks.

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Attention

Ed. Note: There are only eleven issues to Vol. 2 of Revolution. This is because after the Vol. 2, No. 1 issue (October 15, 1976) we changed the dating system so the next issue, Vol. 2, No. 2, was dated "December 1976." Anyone who has paid for a full year's subscription will be sent 12 issues.

Bye, Bye, Bertie

"Bert, I'm proud of you," Jimmy Carter said on August 18. Within the next few weeks Bert Lance, Carter's director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), came under sharp criticism for his shady personal financial deals and his shoddy bank practices. On September 21, Lance, who was Carter's number one good buddy in Washington, was forced to resign under intense pressure. At the teary and dreary end, Carter accepted Lance's resignation with a heavy heart, etc., etc., and all that was missing from the President's press conference was that little cocker spaniel, Checkers.

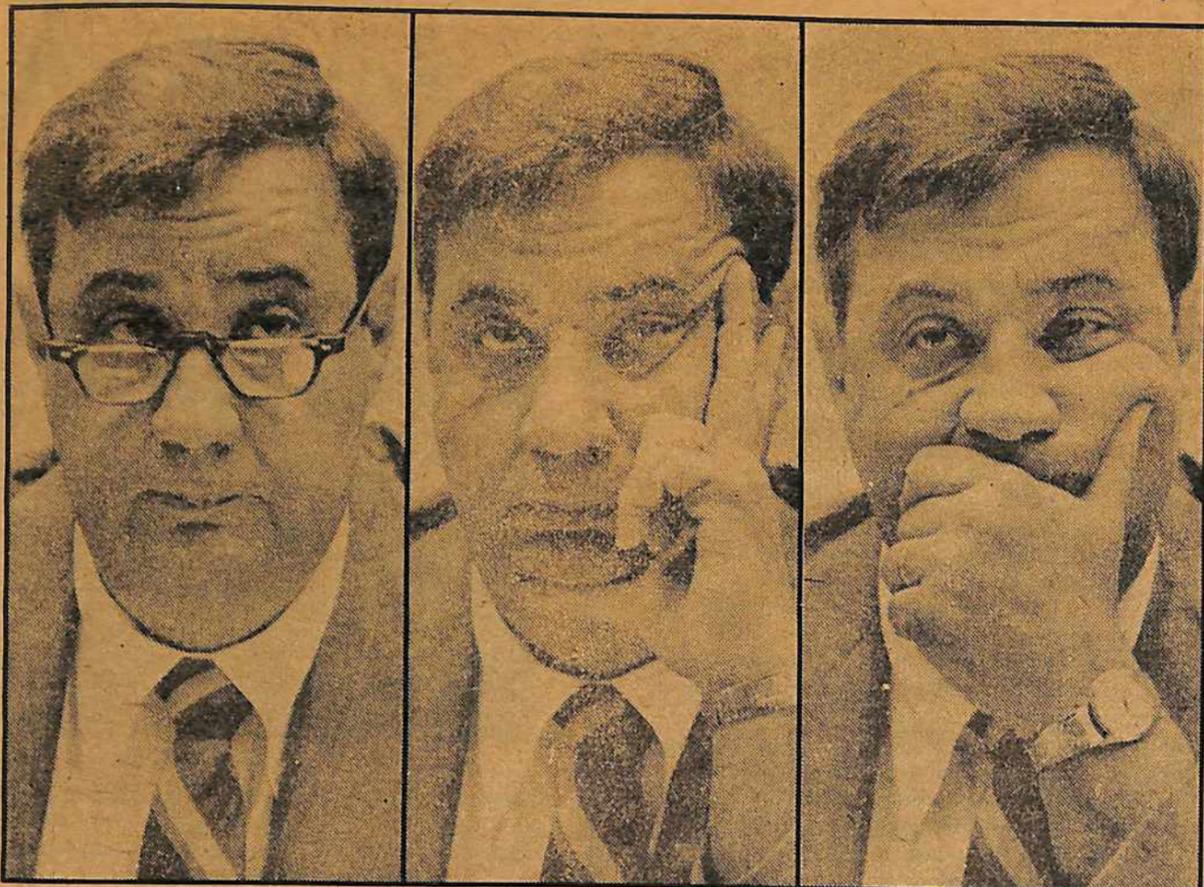
Lance's transgressions were relatively minor—it is still unclear whether or not charges of illegality will actually stick—and this scandal will probably die down fast. (For Lance personally, however, his financial deals are busting wide open and he may go skidding right out of the bourgeoisie, hardly a minor matter for any capitalist.)

But as a lightweight scandal (compared with heavy-duty muck like Watergate) it is an example on a small scale of the workings of bourgeois government. The setting for this little drama takes place in the much heralded "post-Watergate morality," a fairy tale land where politicians are honest and government is clean.

Lance's troubles began in late July when the Senate Government Affairs Committee began hearing of "serious allegations" about Lance's personal financial deals. Ol' Bert appears before the committee and snags them, with ranking Republican Senator Chuck Percy telling him, "I'm completely satisfied with your answers."

But in early August Lance was confronted with a report of a private memo from New York City's Manufacturer's Hanover Trust, a pillar of finance capital. The memo suggested that the Trust expected some favors from Lance's Georgia bank in return for its personal loan to Lance of \$2.65 million. If this was true it was highly illegal. Ol' Bert denied everything in spite of facts indicating otherwise, not only with Manufacturer's Hanover but also dealing with loans from the First National Bank of Chicago to the tune of a cool \$3.4 million.

A week or so after these ugly reports of wrongdoing surface, the comptroller of the currency releases a report which the President claims finds Lance innocent of any "prosecutable offense." Still, the report contains enough hints of shady banking to prompt the Government Affairs Committee into action once again.



Bert Lance at the Senate hearings: See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil.

The man in the spotlight on the Committee was Chuck Percy. Percy is tied in with the rock-ribbed Republican *Chicago Tribune*, which gave a lot of front page treatment to all the dirt coming out on Lance and was one of the major forces in focusing public attention on Lance. Both Percy and the *Tribune*, the politician and the media outlet, are tied in with—you bet!—the First National of Chicago.

Why did the First National sic their man Percy on Lance? We don't know for sure but there are a couple of possibilities.

Lance's big loans were used to buy into the National Bank of Georgia. The main way he was going to pay back these loans was with the dividends from his bank stock, which he had pledged as collateral for the loans. Lance made two big mistakes. First, he pawned off some of the same stock as collateral for two different loans. Secondly, he mismanaged the Georgia bank, which was forced to report a loss after the first six months of 1977 and cancel their dividends until possibly 1979. It was soon clear that Bert Lance was going to have trouble repaying a couple of big, big Northern banks.

To cover itself the First National took custody of the deeds to Lance's three Georgia homes. But further, it went on to ruin him politically. Lance, a pipsqueak country banker who tried to wheel and deal his way into the big leagues, had messed with the big boys.

Of course, it was also not a matter of the First National pulling the strings and their puppets dancing. Percy enthusiastically jumped in to try and build up his name and lend a little "presidential material" to his own portfolio. The *Tribune* gleefully used Lance to throw dirt on Carter, to dirty the Democrats and make the Republicans shine by comparison. For the *Tribune* this had its own particularity, too, as the *Tribune* had been one of Nixon's most faithful supporters.

Others in the bourgeoisie had their concerns, too. Bankers were anxious to make it seem as if Lance's shady dealings were totally abnormal. Many others in the business community were worried about such a shoddy banker running the OMB, a position in the government with more than a little importance.

Executive Committee of Whole Bourgeoisie

Aside from dissimilar group interests involved in the sinking of Bert Lance, there is an overall principle involved, too. The federal government, and state and local governments on a smaller scale, function as an executive committee of the bourgeoisie. First and foremost members of the "executive committee" must serve the interests of the capitalist class as a whole and only secondly can they serve themselves. Lance's greedy attempts to propel himself into the bourgeoisie at any cost and his vulnerability to blackmail cast doubt on whether he could bring himself to "serve the public" first.

The politicians and the press play an important role in struggles like this. When a weakness in one politician is exposed, quite often other thieves seek advantage for themselves—putting on the airs of white knights in shining armor to make points for themselves. Percy played this role quite well. Politicians on both sides try to influence public opinion, to attack and defend. The press brings the debate to the public and often can turn the volume up or down.

Another example of this was when Carter's aide, Jody Powell, thought he had some dirt on Percy he turned it over to the *Chicago Sun-Times*, a paper tied more to the Democratic Party. Powell's information turned out to be wholly false and so the slipup was embarrassing to the administration. If Powell had turned the information over to the *Tribune* you can be sure they would have checked up and down for days before reporting it.

Through this process, once things start hanging way out there, as they did in the Lance affair, and corruption is there for all to see, broad unity may develop among the politicians—like the unity of sharks at a feeding frenzy. This is because they all want to carefully position themselves on the side of "truth and righteousness." But even more it is because by keeping some openly corrupt fellow around, they endanger the whole "democratic" mask of the government—its "classless" and "fair" image before the people. Let people get the awful idea that *all* these fine gentlemen are a pack of thieves and, still more, they are fronting for a whole system of thievery, it's better to sacrifice some poor fool like Lance.

Carter was forced to ask Bert to jump ship because his own popularity was suffering (and the popularity of the President, as Nixon's case showed, is an important factor in his ability to remain the chief executive officer of the bourgeoisie) and some of the ugly realities of bourgeois rule were hanging out.

Goodbye, Bert Lance. You were only a little crooked and too big a dummy about it. You lacked the necessary talents for service at the higher levels of the U.S. government. ■

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Although they had hoped to just slip this by, UWOC got wind of this attack and built wide-scale opposition to it, leading to the most significant demonstration of the unemployed in recent years when 1000 descended on the White House in protest on March 5, 1977.

While the present assaults by the bourgeoisie are very much directed centrally by the federal government, they are coming down in different ways. Particularly sharp is Carter's "workfare" scheme which would scrap the entire welfare program and establish a new one whose central provision would be requiring recipients to take minimum wage jobs. This plan, which goes hand in hand with efforts to cut unemployment insurance to the bone, would have a dramatic effect in depressing the level of wages for all workers and, they hope, weaken the ability of the workers to fight. At the same time, bills are before numerous state legislatures that are also aimed at cutting down the number of weeks unemployment benefits can be received, tightening up on restrictions over who is eligible (throwing strikers off, for example).

Because the attacks are coming down on a number of fronts, the fight will also be waged in different arenas. While aiming the main spearhead of the attack at Carter and Congress, the campaign of UWOC and the NUWO will also hit at the various attempts to carry out on a state level what the bourgeoisie as a whole has planned for the whole country. In this way it will be possible to win concessions and combat particular attacks while not losing sight of the main goal of the campaign—dealing a powerful blow against the whole ruling class assault on the unemployment system and their slave wage schemes and building up the strength, unity and organization of the workers in the course of the battle.

Employed Enter Battle

The fact that the National United Workers Organization is entering into the battle together with UWOC is

of great significance. The enemy's attacks are consciously aimed at and directly affect the whole working class, but they work overtime to try to cover up this fact.

They tell the employed workers that the problem of unemployment and welfare is simply that people won't work and try to paint a ridiculous picture of people living high off the hog of unemployment or welfare payments. To the unemployed, especially to the long-term unemployed, the ruling class propaganda machine churns out the lie that employed workers have interests antagonistic to those of the unemployed and are hostile to their struggles.

The NUWO's participation will enable employed workers to join in the battle in an organized way, which will add great strength to the campaign. Besides directly organizing workers to take part in the actions, sign petitions, etc., an important role of the NUWO will be to expose the treachery of the top labor officials around this question and fighting to get the unions to take a fighting stand. Already the AFL-CIO has mouthed some opposition to the "workfare" provision of Carter's welfare "reform," although they silently went along with similar work for slave wage provisions in the unemployment bill passed last April, despite some organized opposition by UWOC and rank and file organizations of employed workers. This two-faced activity by the AFL-CIO underscores the necessity of rank and file employed workers taking matters into their own hands and fighting for the interests of the whole working class both within the union and in other arenas as well, and the fact that the AFL-CIO officialdom has had to acknowledge, if only in words, that Carter's "workfare" would drive down wages of workers generally provides an opening that can be made use of.

By uniting employed and unemployed workers fighting around a program that is in the interests of the whole working class, the campaign of UWOC and the NUWO can be a real blow to the ruling class' attacks and an important step in further building up the strength, organization, unity and consciousness of the working class. ■

NUWO ...

Continued from page 1

olved" meant mainly listening) in this kind of discussion around big social and political questions, and for the great majority the idea came out strongly that these are questions in which the working class has a stake and must take a stand.

Through the course of the weekend this understanding deepened as workers in the plenaries and in the 19 different industrial workshops and the workshops on key social questions of the unions, unemployment, discrimination, dealing with fascist groups, the threat of war, the crisis of the cities, women workers and the need to organize the unorganized saw how this applies in every aspect of the political and economic life of society. This understanding that in society as a whole there are two opposing class interests was made concrete around particular resolutions on the stand of the organization that were adopted by the convention. It was further deepened, and the understanding of what it means for the working class to concentrate its forces on key battles, was developed in the debate and decisions on plans for action, particularly campaigns to be taken up.

Along with this, a structure for the National United Workers Organization was decided on which will enable it to unite the broadest number of workers on the basis of their strength as a class to take up these key battles, as well as taking up the main battles in the industries.

There was sharp plenary discussion, for example, over the section in the convention's proclamation on the unions and particularly the part that characterized the labor movement which is talked about and promoted by the "lazy, overstuffed company-loving sellouts who head our unions" as a "disgrace and not even worthy of the name 'labor.'" Through the course of the discussion it became clear to everyone participating that far from abandoning or seeking to eliminate or replace the unions, as the hacks charge, the NUWO must fight to put them back in the hands of the rank and file and to rebuild them into fighting organizations. On the other hand, the debate brought out that the NUWO cannot fall into acting as "loyal opposition" within the unions, or to restrict the workers struggle to the current level of the union movement at any given point. The battles led by the NUWO will be fought against the class enemy both inside and outside the unions.

Angelo Rocco, a veteran worker from Massachusetts who had been a leader in the Lawrence textile strike of 1912, addressed the convention via a film clip, and summed up succinctly what kind of organization it must be: one that wages struggle against the capitalists around political as well as economic issues.

Throughout the two days delegates struggled out concretely how their interests come down directly opposed to those of the capitalists on every issue, whether economic ones like the bosses' calls for "productivity" and their demands that workers take a wage cut to "save their jobs," or broader social questions like war and discrimination.

Mobilizing for Broad Battles

On the basis of this political stand, that the working class has nothing in common with the bosses except a common battlefield and a protracted war, the convention voted to take up some major campaigns: 1) to fight for jobs and against attacks on the unemployment insurance system; 2) support for the miners' contract battle. These will be the principal national campaigns in the period ahead. In addition work will be undertaken around: 1) the defense of workers who are facing charges for taking action against fascist groups and organizations; 2) to support and build for African Liberation Day.

The unemployment campaign was put forward as a battle to unite the ranks of employed and unemployed workers against efforts by the capitalists and the Carter government to force the unemployed to accept minimum wage jobs and in many places replace higher paid union labor, to further attack the few benefits the unemployed have, to make them more desperate and—using their desperation—to undercut employed workers' wages and working conditions.

The capitalists are trying to pit workers against one another, to divide them and set them at each other's throats, fighting for the few crumbs they throw out. But the decision of the NUWO to take up this campaign, to circulate petitions, to struggle in the unions, to participate with the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee in regional demonstrations on October 29 and to aim for joint action in Washington, D.C. in January when Carter makes his State of the Union address, set the stage for fighting a unified battle. (See article p. 12.)

The common interests of the working class came out strongly and in a heartfelt way in the discussion and enthusiastic decision to build support for the miners. As the resolution presented to the convention by the Miners Right to Strike Committee said, "This contract fight is important to the whole working class. The miners have been on the front line in the fight against the owning class. The bosses know this and we as workers know this. They know the potential of the sparks and flames

Songs of the Struggle



"Which Side Are You On?" was the theme of a night of entertainment at the National United Workers Organization founding convention. The song, still sung today, was written by Florence Reece in the time of the struggle to build the United Mine Workers Union. Coal miner members of the NUWO and their families kicked off the program with this song. The music of the different nationalities and different regions of the country were represented, and there were poems and a dramatic reading. The program was highlighted with a set by Prairie Fire, who have released two singles and an album. The material was all produced by activists in the different struggles and to serve the overall fight. Many of the groups participated in events and plant gate rallies to build for the convention.

Of good artistic quality, and reflecting the aspirations of the people, the entertainment showed the growing potential of working class culture as a joy to the people and a true weapon in the fight against the enemy capitalist class.

of struggle in the coalfield that could spread to our class. The owners will be doing everything they can to drive us down and stop our fight . . . We can make this contract fight a dividing line between us and the rich class."

A steel worker stood up and told how the capitalists try to undercut support for the miners' right to strike by saying that strikes in the coalfields will mean unemployment for steel workers. But he described how coal miners and steel workers marched shoulder to shoulder in Johnstown, Pa. in a demonstration over the closing of the Bethlehem steel plant. A Black hospital worker from Alabama testified to what she and her fellow workers saw when coal miners were brought into the hospital, suffering from black lung and the numerous severe injuries the miners suffer every day. An electrical worker from Wisconsin angrily said that his father, an iron miner from Minnesota, had died at the age of 47 and that if his dad had had the medical coverage that coal miners have fought for and won and which the companies are now trying to take away, he might be alive today. He wholeheartedly endorsed the right of miners to strike, in order to defend their medical and other benefits. And an auto worker from Milwaukee told how he and his family had been forced to leave West Virginia in search of work, how he had traveled to Detroit to sweat and slave in the auto plants there and then been laid off, how he had moved to Milwaukee and was now being threatened with layoff by AMC. The miners' fight is our fight, he said, because this is what they do to all of us.

The convention decided on actions on another big and sharpening question, passing a strongly worded resolution against fascist groups, "whether it is the KKK, Nazis, or whoever—they are the tools of the rich who use them to divide our ranks. Wherever they raise their heads and spout their message of race hatred and terror we will stand against them." A tremendous standing ovation was given to Buddy Cochran, the worker who had smashed up the KKK rally with his car in Jimmy Carter's hometown last July 4. His speech to the convention hit at all the efforts of the capitalists to split the working class along national lines: "Now is the time for men and women of all races, colors, national-



Workers spoke from the floor to exchange their experience and understanding and to discuss the road forward.

ities, the people whose hands are calloused just like mine, yours, to stand up against these people . . . Now is the time to take the rich man's lynchmen like the KKK and the Nazis and other such crud, to put them exactly where they belong . . .!" The convention also heard from a member of the NUWO from Ohio who had been busted along with others for breaking up a Klan rally in Columbus on July 4. And a warm reception was given to a letter of solidarity from a Black marine jailed in California, one of the Camp Pendleton 14, who have been imprisoned for busting up what they thought to be a Klan meeting on this base where the Klan is flagrantly active. (See article page 4.)

Unity, Not Division

In the face of these attacks on minorities and the efforts to divide our class, the workers expressed the determination of the working class not to stand silent.

The NUWO decided to take up the defense of Buddy Cochran, the Ohio anti-Klan demonstrators and the Pendleton 14. As part of this campaign it will sponsor a speaking tour of several of the defendants in the period leading up to the trials.

Around the question of war the bourgeoisie pushes the line of the common interests between themselves and the working class more strongly than around almost anything else. The resolution on war and war preparations adopted by the convention states: "The NUWO stands in solidarity with the people of the world fighting for freedom. We believe that the working people throughout the world must stand united against our common enemy, the capitalist ruling class." Abdul Al-Kalimat, speaking from the Organizing Committee for a new ALSC, gave an example of this when he described the significance of the fact that the Organizing Committee for a national workers organization had brought over 300 workers to the African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D.C. last year to march with students, Blacks and other oppressed nationalities under the slogan "Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from the USA (United States of America) to the USA (Union of South Africa)." The convention voted that the NUWO would build for the ALD demonstration this coming year.

But the convention resolution went on to say, "We extend our hand in unity with our class brothers and sisters fighting the ruling exploiters in the Soviet Union and especially unite with those people who are living in countries occupied or dominated by the U.S. government . . ." There was opposition raised from the floor by someone who said the Soviet Union, because it is socialist, should not be attacked. One of the high points of the Sunday plenary came when a veteran worker and member of the RCP went to the mike to speak to this. He said that the belief that the Soviet Union was a country run by and for the working class died hard with him and many workers of his generation because for so long it had been the stronghold and beacon for the working class throughout the world. But he said that in order to understand the threat of war that is facing the working class, you have to face facts and see that the Soviet Union had degenerated into an imperialist—a capitalist—country. Power had been seized back from the working class by a new gang of ex-

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RCP Speech To NUWO Convention

At the closing session of the founding convention of the National United Workers Organization several statements of solidarity were given by representatives of other organizations. Among them was a speech by Vern Bown of the Revolutionary Communist Party, a warehouseman from Oakland, California, a veteran fighter for the working class and lifelong communist. Vern participated, as a member of the old Communist Party, USA, in many important battles. In 1937 he fought as a volunteer in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in defense of the Spanish Republic against the fascist forces of Generalissimo Franco supported by Hitler and Mussolini. He organized for the National Maritime Union before and during World War 2. He was indicted for sedition in Louisville, Kentucky for organizing workers to defend a Black family that moved into an all white area. When the CPUSA abandoned the working class and the cause of revolution in the mid-'50s, Vern stuck to his guns, left the CP, and continued to fight for the workers' interests. In the 1960s when many young people came forward out of the antiwar movement and the Black liberation struggle to take up the fight for revolution, Vern and other veteran fighters united with them. Later, Vern became a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party in 1975.

Fellow Workers, Brothers and Sisters,

The RCP sees this convention as an historic event. A giant step forward for the working people of this country in their constant battle against the fat parasites that we work for every day of our lives. A time that these same fatcats will look back on and curse. And millions of workers will remember and rejoice.

We all know that the attacks of the bosses have been coming down on us harder and harder; that's why we're here. Because we have come up against the hard fact that the attacks we face and the battles we must wage are still bigger than the organizations we have developed. That is why the National United Workers Organization that has been formed here this weekend is important. The working class must have an organization that unites its active fighters to mobilize and bring to bear its united strength in every battle we wage.

This is not the first time the working class in this country has fought their capitalist oppressors. That has been going on since the growth of the capitalist system and the working class along with it. The U.S. working class has a proud tradition of struggle and what is hap-

pening here is following in that tradition.

The freeing of the slaves during the Civil War gave impetus to the growth of industrialization and along with it the growth of the working class and gave a powerful boost to its struggle, including the fight for the eight hour day.

From the organizing of the National Labor Union shortly after the Civil War, the early battles in the coal fields and the frame-up and murder of the Molly Maguires, the first nationwide railroad strike in 1877 and hundreds of other battles, through the tremendous upheavals and organizing drives of the 1930s the working class has fought.

I lived through some of the history of the '30s and I remember the impact it had on me. The feeling of pride in the strength and power of workers when we were organized and fighting the bosses we hated.

I remember the terrible depression that started in 1929. The worst of many that had struck periodically before. This time with 17 million out of work.

I remember the 1934 longshore strike on the West coast and the hysterical screams of "communist" by the bosses' newspapers in their attempt to turn worker against worker. But the workers were not to be side-tracked so easily.

The mass organizing drives by the CIO in auto, steel, rubber, packinghouse and many other industries scared the hell out of the capitalists, organizing millions of workers to fight against the hated bosses in a way that had only been a dream before.

The working class fought on other fronts as well. During the first world war they put up powerful resistance to that imperialist bloodbath, and Eugene Debs, a great socialist leader of the American workers, went to prison for his leadership in that battle.

During the '30s the working class led the fight against the frame-up and attempted murder of nine young Black men in Scottsboro, Alabama, finally freeing them. And they sent over 2000 of their sons and daughters to Spain to join the Spanish people in their fight against fascism. And when we went we felt that we were not only helping the Spanish people but that we were linking up with the international working class in a battle against the same enemy we had been fighting at home, only a more brutal form of it.

But the capitalists never stopped scheming to take back what they had lost in the '30s. During the Second World War our rulers cleaned up the largest part of the

spoils and there was a period of relative prosperity. And, as the struggle ebbed, the capitalists took the offensive. Through red-baiting and vicious lies and attacks on communists in the unions they were able to promote their stooges into office and drive the communists and other militants out of many unions.

Where they were unable to do this, they split some unions and drove them out of the CIO. These attacks weakened the working class and its ability to fight for many years. Now, as this temporary and limited prosperity has been disappearing and the capitalist crisis deepens, we see a new generation of workers beginning to rise in struggle again, resisting the attacks of the capitalists and organizing to fight them.

This plunging of society into crisis, depression and the destruction of war has gone on generation after generation, and generation after generation of workers has fought back against it. And it will continue this way until the working class carries its struggle through and resolves the conflict by revolution. As communists, we believe there are only two classes in society which are capable of ruling society. The working class or the capitalist class. Workers have built and we produce everything in this society. Why shouldn't we run it? The capitalists run it for profit at the expense of the workers. The workers would run it for the benefit of the people, transform society to put an end to the division into rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, and establish the community of people who both work and administer society at the same time.

All my life I have been a worker and most of my working life I have been a communist. And I have never seen these two as being in any way separate, or contradictory. As I have always seen it, to be a communist you must be a fighter for the working class.

We recognize, of course, that the National United Workers Organization is not a communist organization and we don't expect it to be. Together all of us at this convention have formulated a program and a basis of unity. The basis of unity being that we have nothing in common with the owning class and we must battle them at every turn, on every question, and every step of the way.

So long as we hold to that, this will be a fighting organization, carrying forward the cause of the working class. This will be an organization where there is plenty of room for discussion and struggle over all the issues that come up and where we welcome all ideas that help advance the fight against our common enemy. And through the course of struggle and uniting with thousands and millions of workers in battle with the enemy we will come to even stronger unity around what the interests of the working class are and what the future of society is in the fullest sense.

We are proud to have helped to build this organization and to have participated in this convention, together with many other workers, and we will certainly continue to work, together with many more workers, to build this organization as a powerful force in the workers movement. It is in this spirit and with this determination that we greet this convention and the founding of the National United Workers Organization.

Thank you. ■

The RCP & The NUWO

In the months leading up to the founding convention and since, the NUWO has been red-baited by bourgeois flunkies, including phony "spokesmen" for the working class, from *Chicago Tribune* columnist Mike LaVelle to various self-styled "communist" groups, who have charged that the NUWO is nothing but an RCP front.

One of the resolutions discussed in a convention workshop dealt with the stand of the NUWO on anti-communism, and took a strong stand against it as a divisive weapon against the workers struggle.

But all this raises the question of just what the relation between the NUWO and the Revolutionary Communist Party is. The RCP, as the Party of the working class, actively seeks to unite with and lead the battles of the working class in all spheres of society. It carries out propaganda and agitation to expose the nature of the capitalist class and its rule and to build the struggle, consciousness and unity of the working class. The Party carries out these responsibilities in order to lead the working class in its historic mission of building a society free from the exploitation of man by man.

As part of this task, the RCP has worked actively to build the NUWO because we see that it can be a powerful weapon for the working class in its struggles. Workers came to this convention because they wanted to fight the attacks, the misery and oppression they face under this system.

In the course of building these struggles, a lot of questions will inevitably arise about the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class. As workers and communists, members of the RCP will carry on struggle and discussion with fellow workers over these questions that face our class. The RCP will continue to work actively to build the NUWO and all the struggles against the enemy. We are confident that as this struggle grows and the battle lines sharpen, millions of workers will see the necessity of getting rid of the capitalist system and unite in a powerful movement to carry out their historic mission. ■

Proclamation: From the National United Workers Organization to the Workers of America

Working people are tired of being pushed around, driven down and sold out. For too long we have been the victims of the companies' ruthless drive for profit. For too long we have taken the brunt of their decaying and corrupt system which offers no improvement except to the rich. For too long we have suffered the realization that the future they offer us holds no promise, only more of the same and worse.

Fellow workers. The working class and the employing class have nothing in common!

We are told we have union leaders at the top who speak for our interests. But the fact is the kind of labor movement they talk about and promote is a total disgrace, not even worthy of the name "labor." These lazy, overstuffed company-loving sellouts who head our unions are a disgrace to every hard working man and woman in this country. They are a dishonor to our parents and grandparents who built these unions through years of sacrifice and struggle.

They charge us with disrupting the union movement. It has already been disrupted—by them. We are not organizing to eliminate the unions and we will fight like hell against all attempts to bust them. We are organizing for the purpose of eliminating that form of "unionism" which finds more in common with the bosses than with the workers. We are organizing for the purpose of putting the unions back into the hands of the rank and file, for the purpose of organizing the unorganized into unions, for the purpose of rebuilding the unions into strong, fighting organizations.

We have nothing in common with the companies and the company men in our unions!

The owners and their politicians tell us that the work-

ing class can never unite. Yet this same employing class oppresses different nationalities, discriminates by race, color and sex and pushes every possible division in order to further its own enrichment. We are organizing for the purpose of uniting white, Black, Mexican, Chicano, Puerto Rican—workers of all nationalities—both men and women. We are organizing to defend foreign-born workers against deportation, to blame the rich and not each other for the problems we face. We are organizing to eliminate discrimination and all forms of oppression of different nationalities on the job and throughout society.

We have nothing in common with those who discriminate against one nationality to keep all of us down!

There can be no peace with the employing class that throws millions into the streets like useless machinery set out to rust. There can be no peace with our cities falling apart, monuments to the owning class' drive for profits, and another war for their empire gathering on the horizon. Between the working class and the employing class there can only be an organized and protracted struggle.

Today we are building on the proud tradition of our forefathers who waged a powerful and heroic struggle against these arrogant moneybrokers. Faced with a growing crisis and increasing attacks, we are organizing to revive the spirit and build on the struggle waged in the 1930s and carry it forward. Working people produce everything. We have the right, ability and responsibility to change society. We are determined that our children and theirs will have a brighter future. Through organization and struggle we will change these conditions and the rich be damned! ■

Klan...

Continued from page 4

campaign will include speaking appearances by anti-Klan fighter Buddy Cochran.

Buddy Cochran

Buddy Cochran is coming up for trial on October 17. The Buddy Cochran Defense Committee and the Atlanta chapter of the NUWO have been battling to bring Cochran's case before the masses, upholding his heroic action and setting in motion a campaign to free him.

The NUWO has sponsored a petition that has been signed by thousands of people in Atlanta and south Georgia, where the incident took place. May Sue Cochran, Buddy's wife, and NUWO members have spoken at Black churches, and many Blacks are outraged that driving over Klan members is a crime.

Already a number of legal victories have been won. The first judge in the case, who stated that people like Cochran would be "put in the electric chair," was forced to take himself off the case for his blatant display of partiality. Also, defense lawyers forced the state to reduce Cochran's bail, which the Defense Committee promptly raised, springing Cochran to speak in his own defense.

The current judge, when challenged by defense lawyers about the all-white, all-male grand jury that indicted Cochran, stated in open court, for the record, that the most intelligent, most qualified and experienced persons have traditionally been white males. He added that women after middle age don't serve because they're flighty because of menopause. While defense lawyers are preparing to try to get him pulled from the case, his racist antics have started to win support for Cochran from the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). A member of the executive board of the ACLU, outraged over the judge's statements, is going to bring a motion before the board urging the ACLU take up a campaign to get the judge tossed from the bench. The judge, by the way, was appointed to the bench by Jimmy Carter when he was Georgia's governor.

NUWO...

Continued from page 14

plotters. He pointed out that it was not enough to look at what somebody called themselves, but what they do. Throughout the world the Soviets operate as imperialists, contending with the U.S. imperialists for the domination and subjugation of the people of the world.

The resolution also calls for the NUWO to fight against "the treachery of the top AFL-CIO misleaders in promoting war... Just as they betray us and tell us our interests lie in submitting to the employers in the shops, so too they tell us that our interests lie with our rulers in another war." The response to a speech by Al Canfora, who as a student had been wounded at Kent State during the uprising against the Cambodia invasion in 1970, was a living example of the determination of the workers at this convention to take action to see that the working class can speak loudly in its own voice and act in its own interests around the issue of the imperialists' wars and not let the capitalists use so-called labor leaders to spew their reactionary garbage in its name. The chair for the discussion on war received shouts and cheers of approval when he said, "Imagine the difference it would have made if the working class had an organization like the NUWO during the war in Indochina."

The importance of workers taking a stand on crucial questions confronting the people and the potential power of workers uniting in this way was concretized on the second day of the convention. With Chicago tense, with violence threatened against Black children transferring into schools in Chicago's Southwest side, with newspapers blaring out the message of division between nationalities, the convention decided that a show of multinational unity in opposition to racist attacks, discrimination and segregation would be a big contribution to the struggle (see articles on pages 2 and 17). The demonstration was a very positive thing and strengthened people's understanding of what the NUWO is all about.

Learning from Shortcomings

While the discussion, debate and decisions of the convention were characterized by this sharp drawing of class lines and the deepening understanding of the contradictory interests of the working class and the capitalists, this was not accomplished to the full extent it could have been. In summing up the convention, there are some important lessons to be learned about how the plenaries and workshops could have accomplished their aims better by focusing discussion on one or two major questions of stand and plans for action. These then could have been gone into more deeply, allowing more time for each of these dis-

At its founding convention the National United Workers Organization took a stand against the Klan and other such reactionary scum. In particular, it was decided to focus in on Cochran's case, the Ohio cases and the Pendleton 14 (see accompanying article). Leading up to the opening of the different trials, Cochran, along with one of the Ohio defendants and a member of the Atlanta NUWO, is going on a speaking tour sponsored by the NUWO and the Revolutionary Student Brigade. The tour will be in Birmingham, October 2-3; Tallahassee, October 4; Gainesville, October 5; Tampa, October 6; Atlanta, October 7-8; and Cleveland, October 9-10. From Ohio Cochran is flying to New York City for a fundraising event sponsored by the New York/New Jersey NUWO.

On October 15, two days before his trial, Buddy Cochran will be back in Atlanta for a rally at the Georgia statehouse. Organizers are hoping to mobilize people from all over the South. (May Sue Cochran is going to Columbus to address the October 15 rally there.)

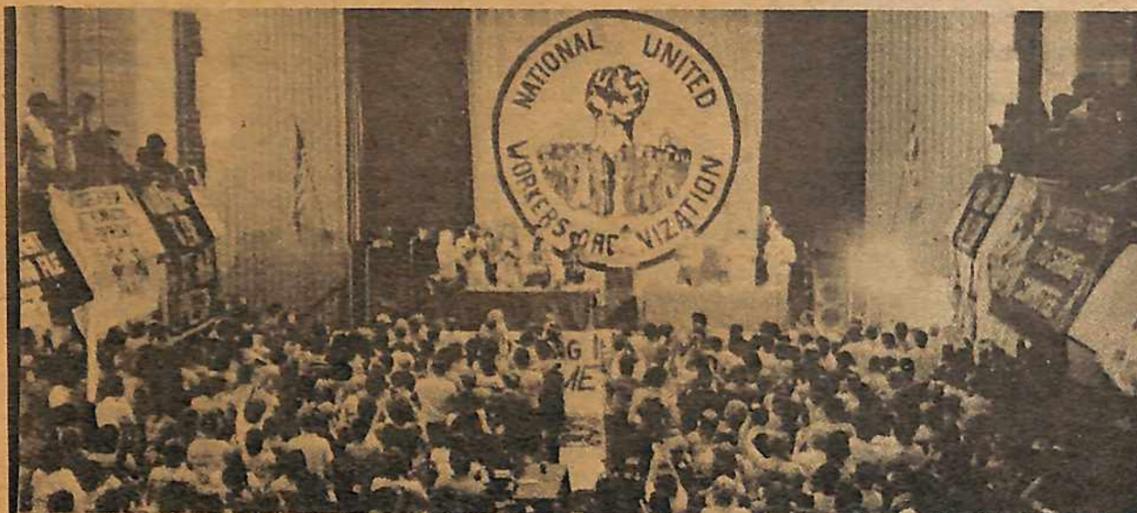
The Defense Committee and the NUWO have also been going out to different plants and communities in Atlanta and south Georgia. At a Scripto factory in Atlanta, where 350 workers, mostly Black, are losing their jobs and don't know where their next paycheck is

coming from, \$20 was collected for Cochran's defense. Meetings have been set up in a housing project where the Klan has dared to burn crosses and there has been a good response. Still, at many factories, and particularly among white workers, Cochran's action is still pretty controversial, showing that still more exposure about the Klan and who they serve is necessary.

Buddy Cochran has attracted attention from all around the country. A man in Kentucky sent some money to help out, a number of people in Maine have sent letters supporting Cochran, to name two examples. To thousands and thousands of people Buddy Cochran is a symbol of resistance to oppression.

The next major battle in both the Ohio and Georgia anti-Klan campaigns is on October 15 when the state-house demonstrations occur.

Why this battle is so important was summed up well by Buddy Cochran in an interview he gave *The Worker* at the NUWO founding convention: "[The Klan are] just the rich man's henchmen. They're just like the executioners or slavedrivers for the plantation owners. The plantation owners had somebody that kept the slaves in line, and that's exactly what the Klan are—they're the rich man's slavedrivers trying to undermine and separate the working people." ■



Workers from all over the country gathered in Chicago, a major industrial center and scene of momentous battles of the working class in the past, for the founding convention of the National United Workers Organization, an organization that will carry forward the working class' proud history of struggle.

ussions, and making sure that the different lines and views were stated sharply and brought out clearly.

For example, more time could have been devoted to speakers "for and against" to encourage those who had different opinions to put them forward. Because of some of these weaknesses, some of the important issues that confront the NUWO, such as the question of anti-communism, were not gone into deeply enough and the unity achieved was not as great as it might have been.

This came out particularly in the debate around the NUWO's stand on "illegals" and deportations. The convention correctly adopted a resolution supporting the rights of all workers, whether they are in this country "legally" or not, opposing deportations and Carter's so-called amnesty plan as a sham. But in the course of the discussion, one worker got up and said that he could not support the resolution because while he did not support Carter's plan, he felt that "illegals" were taking the jobs of U.S. workers. He was booed down by not a small number of people. The majority of people, however, became angry at the booing, and another worker got up and said, "Hey, I don't agree with what this brother is saying, but this is a damn serious question and a lot of workers in my plant feel the same way he does. Either we are going to deal seriously with this question or we're not."

But the reaction to the worker's opposing view reflected confusion about the relation between the NUWO as an organization of more class conscious workers and the masses of workers whom it must unite with and mobilize in battles against the capitalists. The NUWO has to take a principled stand on the interests of the working class. On the other hand it is not an in-group for those "in the know" and it has to unite with the broad masses workers and seriously take up the questions that are on their minds in mobilizing around key issues. Even within the NUWO, its unity in standing for the interests of the working class against its oppressor has to be constantly deepened in principled struggle over what these interests actually are around each new major question that comes up, each major attack from the bourgeoisie, each key battle to be taken up. Only in this way can the NUWO be built into a powerful, militant organization of the working class, uniting many in battle and consolidating its advances.

Solid Foundation for Advancing

But despite these weaknesses, the convention and the founding of the National United Workers Organization laid a solid basis for new advances in the struggle of the working class and was itself an important step forward.

But the convention not only made important advances in uniting a large number of workers around common stands and campaigns, it laid the basis for an organizational structure that will enable this to be translated into action, so that it can wage concentrated and coordinated battles on local and national levels. The NUWO

decided to establish chapters in as many areas as possible, as well as committees in shops and industries. National rank and file organizations in industries, such as Auto Workers United to Fight and the Miners Right to Strike Committee, will be affiliated with the NUWO.

The report adopted on structure by the convention states, "Overall, the NUWO must be rooted in the plants and industries and be a powerful force in organizing struggles around conditions within the shops and industries. The main strength in the classwide campaigns taken up by the organization will come as they are taken into the plants and industries and the workers there mobilized."

In taking up its campaigns, in drawing the battle lines with the capitalists, the working class in order to play its strongest role as a class has to have as its "base areas" the factories, mines and mills of this country, the places where its basic character as a class is determined, where workers laboring daily side by side are exploited as a class and where they have the basis to see that it is their common labor that makes society run. Every factory must be turned into a fortress of struggle for the working class. In these "base areas" the working class can solidify its strength to be able to carry its battles out throughout all of society.

Area Conferences Set Plans

Coming off the convention, delegates from each area will hold area-wide conferences to deepen the understanding and unity developed at the convention in the course of discussing the plans for action decided in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend and elect representatives to a National Steering Committee of the NUWO. Although as we go to press, most area-wide meetings have not yet been held, the National Office of the NUWO has proposed that they deal primarily with the campaign around unemployment as well as any local issues that are particularly sharp, and decide on what the organizational structure for the NUWO will be in the area.

The founding convention of the NUWO was not an end in itself, but a beginning. Now that it has been successfully founded, it is moving forward to develop in the thick of struggle as a powerful weapon of the working class. The Revolutionary Communist Party united with workers all over the country in building towards this founding convention because we recognize the powerful force the NUWO can be in developing the united struggle and class consciousness of the working class.

An important step has been taken. Many more lie ahead in building the movement of the working class towards its historic mission of breaking the chains of exploitation that enslave it and ending the oppression and misery that are the daily life of the masses of people. In this struggle the newly formed National United Workers Organization can and will play an important role. ■

Look Who's Into Yellow Journalism!

Photographs of hooded Klansmen and other racists demonstrating to lend sensationalism to the slander that workers are supporting segregation. Blatant distortion of the aims and actions of a mass organization of workers in the attempt to throw mud on the working class in the eyes of those fighting against the oppression of minority nationalities.

Is this a scandal sheet of the local capitalists? Is it the Hearst papers or the New York *Daily News*? No, it is the rag of a so-called Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), which claims to be the "vanguard of the working class."

This article (*Call*, September 26, 1977) purports to describe a demonstration by the workers at the founding convention of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO), Labor Day weekend in Chicago. The *Call* presents the demonstration as one in unity with the openly segregationist Bogan Community Council, the KKK, Nazis, etc..

In fact, of course, just the reverse is true. The whole thrust of the action was in opposition to these reactionaries and to the ruling class they serve, as symbolized by the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, whose headquarters was the target of the demonstration.

Banners and signs throughout the march declared opposition to segregation, discrimination and inequality and a main chant repeated throughout was "The Rich Are Behind These Racist Attacks, We Won't Take It—Unite and Fight Back!" Contrary to the *Call's* distortions, the main theme of the three speakers at the rally following the march was that the capitalist class is responsible for segregation, red-lining and the deteriorating conditions of the neighborhoods where the masses of people live. One speaker, a Black worker from Boston, while showing how the busing plan there was an attack on the working people of that city, Black and white, stressed that busing plans have to be judged case by case and that, in particular, the present transfer plan in Chicago is different than Boston and should be upheld. And each of the speakers denounced the Nazis and groups like the Bogan Community Council and called for the defense of Black children transferring into the schools in the Bogan area.

While at the NUWO convention the discussion around the demonstration was limited by time and there was a certain amount of unclarity about some of the issues related to the present voluntary busing plan in Chicago, it was clear in this discussion and at the demonstration itself that the spearhead of the action was directed against racist attacks on Black people

Busing ...

Continued from page 2

But we have also said that the issue is not busing in itself and stressed that the particularities of each busing plan have to be analyzed, because in some cases busing can and should be supported.

Any plan to massively bus Chicago school children to meet state guidelines—every school at least 45% Black and at least 10% white—would unleash fantastic conflict and chaos in the schools and in the city at large. Objectively it would pit different sections of the class against each other rather than against the bourgeoisie. Rather than upgrading the schools and eliminating inequality, and promoting integration as part of this, it would move some children to better schools by moving some other children to inferior schools. Inequality cannot be fought by taking gains away from one section of the class, but by fighting the bourgeoisie. Such a plan would have nothing in common with the interests of the working class in fighting to smash inequality and discrimination, upgrading all the schools, and promoting integration based on unity and common struggle.

The question for the working class will be how to turn the anger of the masses at the real enemy. Some of the battlelines will be around already existing sentiment and demands of people against gerrymandered school districts and for new and better schools built and redistricted so that they contribute to integration and against the attacks coming down on education.

Right now the focus in Chicago must be defending the right of people to take advantage of the transfer plan if they desire, and opposing racist attacks. And by taking a correct stand around the current voluntary busing plan, the forces of the working class in Chicago will be in a stronger position to respond to all forms of attacks and take up the fight for decent, equal and integrated education. ■

and the ruling class that is responsible for them. Nothing the bourgeoisie or so-called communists who parrot its lies can say can diminish the power of masses of workers of all nationalities standing up together in a powerful demonstration of unity against these attacks.

And following the demonstration, on the day schools opened in Chicago a few days later, what action did the NUWO take? Picketing and chanting in unity with the reactionaries in the Bogan area? From reading the *Call* one would certainly be led to think so. But, fortunately, reality is not dictated to by the CP (ML). In fact the steering committee of the organizing committee for the NUWO in the Chicago area initiated a Workers Defense Group which was joined by members of Youth In Action, Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Organizing Committee for a New African Liberation Support Committee to defend Black children from attacks by racist forces.

Flailing at the Truth

To try to associate the NUWO with slime like the KKK, Nazis, etc., is ridiculous shameless butchery of the truth. Two of the featured speakers at the opening session of the convention were Tom Welch and Buddy Cochran, both presently under indictment for breaking up Klan rallies in Columbus, Ohio and Plains, Georgia, respectively. Both received thunderous standing ovations. And throughout the demonstration were banners and signs condemning the Klan, as well as chants such as "Ku Klux Klan, Scum of the Land!" Further the convention voted that the NUWO will take up as a nationwide effort the defense of not only Cochran, Welch and others in Columbus, but also the Pendleton 14, Black marines persecuted for attempts to fight the Klan.

The fact is that the CP (ML), because of its bankrupt line, found itself isolated from and incapable of influencing workers who united to form the NUWO. So in pursuit of its opportunist ends it flails at the growing unity and organization of the working class, which was moved to a higher level by the formation of the NUWO.

Of course the CP (ML) tries to pretend that it is not attacking the NUWO and the workers who founded it, but is instead "educating people" about the RCP which "tried to use the crowd who gathered at the meeting to push their pro-segregationist, anti-busing line." But, once again, these attacks by the CP (ML) are like a moron throwing a boomerang—what they show you most about and who they actually injure is the attacker himself.

If the CP (ML) were really interested in educating people about the RCP's stand on segregation and busing in Chicago, in particular the present voluntary busing plan, the least it could have done was read the articles in the *Worker* for the Chicago/Gary area (September 10, 1977) which laid out this position at some length. But seeking truth from facts in that way would not serve the CP (ML)'s purposes and would not fit into the *Call's* format of slander and rumor-mongering, since those articles in the *Worker* not only took a clear cut stand against segregation and national oppression but showed concretely how they are attacks by the rul-

ing class on the working class as a whole. It upheld the present voluntary busing plan and called for the defense of Black people attacked by the capitalists and those who do their dirty work.

In its attempts to slur the RCP the CP (ML) not only sins against reality but reveals its fundamental contempt for the workers who united to form the NUWO—and really for the working class in general. Take the following statement in the *Call*, for example: "The NUWO was founded by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) this month to establish an alternative to the trade unions. But under the influence of the RCP, the National Workers Organization appears to be infected with the same white chauvinism that has served to corrupt the present trade unions and that has long been formented [sic] by the top international bureaucrats." Here the CP (ML) is striving to outdo itself—in this one statement it manages to incorporate three falsehoods in addition to the basic slander that the NUWO is "infected with the same white chauvinism..."

Deep Investigation

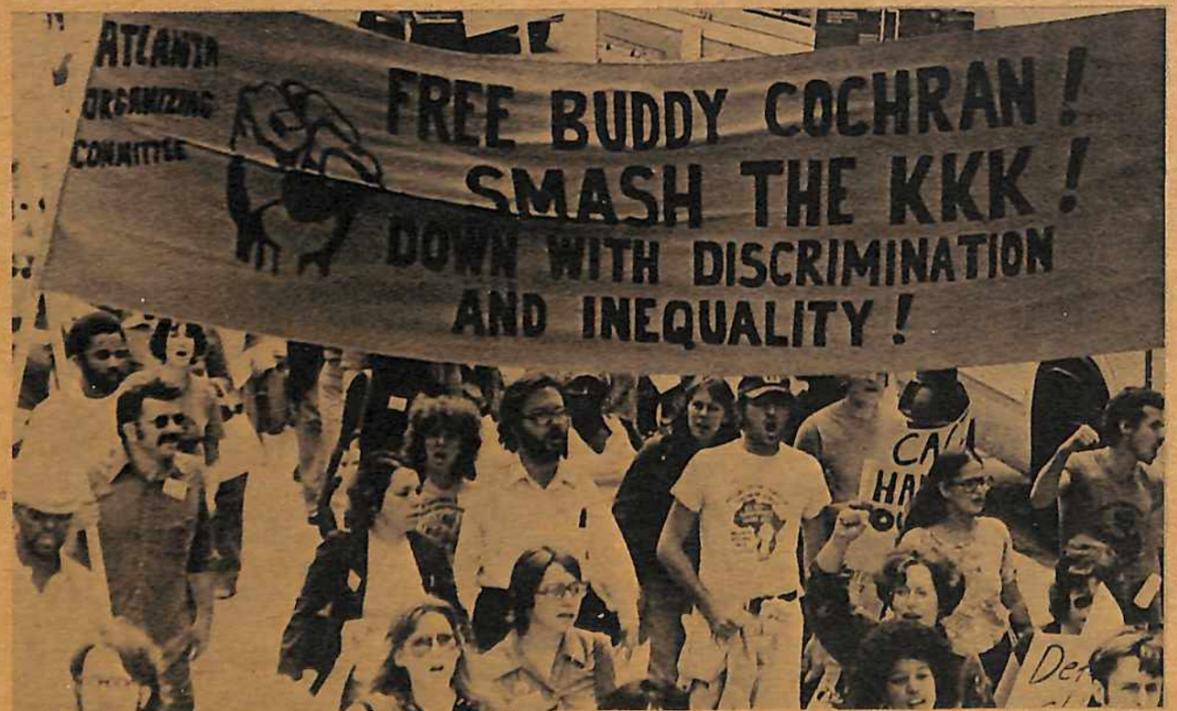
First, the name of the organization is not National Workers Organization but National United Workers Organization, which anyone at the convention would have no difficulty knowing. This raises serious questions about whether the CP (ML) made any effort to find out what actually went on at the convention—where among other things this name was formally adopted—and whether it pays any attention at all to Mao's simple advice, "No investigation, no right to speak."

Second, the NUWO was not founded by the RCP but by 1438 workers, delegates at the convention. The RCP certainly worked to build the NUWO and participated in the convention but the formation of the NUWO and the adoption of its basic stand and program of action at the convention were the product of the combined efforts and collective discussion of hundreds and hundreds of workers, among whom RCP members were a part.

Third, as the *Proclamation* adopted at the convention made clear, the NUWO was not formed as "an alternative to the trade unions." The NUWO is a fighting working class organization whose aim is to mobilize masses of workers, inside and outside the unions, to wage militant struggle on every front against the capitalists and their henchmen in union office and which has, as one of its purposes, "putting the unions back into the hands of the rank and file... organizing the unorganized into unions... [and] rebuilding the unions into strong, fighting organizations" (from the *NUWO Proclamation*). Further this proclamation, far from reflecting the "infection" of the NUWO with white chauvinism, also takes a firm stand against discrimination and national oppression and declares that the fight against this is a crucial battle for the working class.

From all this it is once again clear that the CP (ML), consistent with its ideological and political line, stands foursquare against the struggle of the working class, and attacks rather than supports the advances in this struggle, including the great advance represented by the formation of the NUWO. And as a basic component part of this, the CP (ML), while appropriating the name "communist" and calling itself the revolutionary leadership of the working class, must attack the actual vanguard of the working class, the Revolutionary Communist Party. To do all this, of course, the CP (ML) repeatedly resorts to the most disgraceful and debased distortion and to the method of torturing facts to fit its falsehood.

The CP (ML) will no doubt continue printing such trash in the *Call*. As Stalin said, paper will put up with whatever is written on it—but Stalin didn't and we won't either. ■



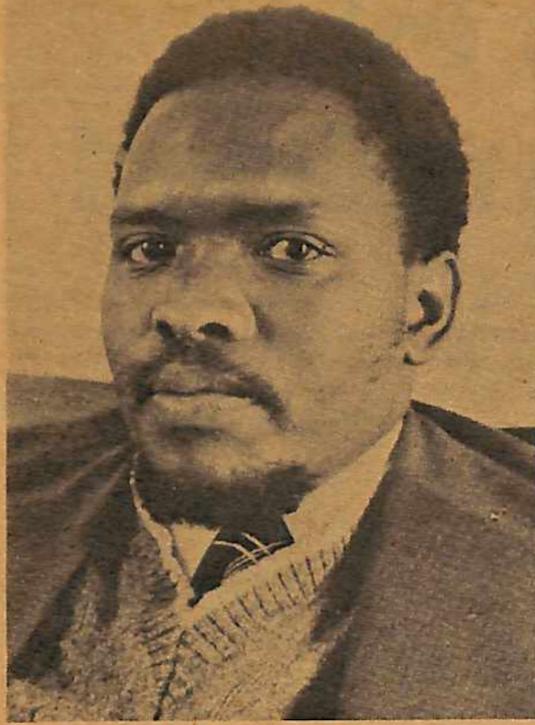
Workers at the NUWO convention took to the streets of Chicago to denounce racist threats on Black school children in the city's voluntary transfer plan, segregation and lousy education. Contrary to the slanders of the CP(ML) associating a workers' demonstration with fascists, the convention and the demonstration gave warning to the Klan and other scum that the working class will not stand for their efforts to stir up race hatred.

S. African Swine Murder Freedom Fighter

The murder of Steve Biko in a South African prison has unleashed new outrage and organized struggle against the bloody South African regime, both within that country and throughout the world.

Steve Biko was a founder of the South African Students Organization, and a leader of the Black consciousness movement who played an important role in giving direction to the Soweto rebellions. South African police announced that he died as the result of an 8-day hunger strike on September 12. South African Justice Minister Kruger told a snickering audience at the Congress of the ruling National Party that Biko's death "leaves me cold." According to press reports the crowd tittered with laughter when Kruger said that "it was his democratic right to starve himself to death if he wanted."

But their trumped up story is such a transparent attempt to cover up yet another murder of a leader of the Azanian people's liberation struggle that the authorities have had to change their tune in the face of mass protest. Now Kruger has announced an "investigation" of the death and promised that "heads



Steve Biko 1947-1977, freedom fighter murdered by South African racists. His death will be avenged.

will roll" if there is any evidence of police wrongdoing.

These murderers have little to fear from such an investigation, but the South African ruling class and their storm troopers have much to fear from the wrath of the Azanian people—which is why Kruger has changed his statements about the murder.

Steve Biko was the 20th political prisoner to be murdered in South African jails in the last 18 months. There have been close to 50 known and documented cases of prison murders in the last 15 years. The arrogant South African racists simply deny these murders, attributing the deaths to suicide, claims that victims leaped from windows, hanged themselves in their cells or died by slipping on a bar of soap, falling down stairs

or choking on food.

The murder of Joseph Mdluli in March of last year is an example of the South African reign of terror. The police arrested the 50 year old Mdluli in the middle of the night, charging him under the "terrorism act" with recruiting young Blacks for guerrilla training abroad. 24 hours later he was dead. According to police, Mdluli tried to escape through barred windows while under interrogation, was restrained, later became dizzy and was killed when he fell backwards, striking his neck on a chair.

That would have been the end of it, except that the family demanded a pathologist report. Reports from doctors and pathologists said that his body showed abrasions to both cheeks, a thigh, both shins, both ankles and a foot. There was serious bruising of the abdomen and left lower rib cage and three ribs were broken. Most serious injuries were to the head and neck. "Extensive deep bruising at three points on the left side of the skull, with hemorrhaging in the brain" were documented. The fatal injuries on the neck included large bruises in the area of the Adam's apple and further back, below the angle of the jaw, the bones in the thyroid cartilage were extremely fractured. In other words, Joseph Mdluli was strangled after undergoing extensive torture.

In an unprecedented event in South African "justice" four police officers were charged with his death: two white officers and two Black sergeants. Needless to say, they were all acquitted on the basis of identical testimony from 11 other policemen.

Said this same Justice Minister Kruger of the murder of Joseph Mdluli: "Charges were made up to put South Africa in a bad light."

In the wake of Steve Biko's death, massive demonstrations took place throughout the country. Over 1200 students were arrested at the black Fort Hare University as the Vorster regime moved to try to crush reaction to its bloody rule with further repression. But as the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania said at a New York demonstration on September 17, "The murder of Steve Biko will be avenged by the Azanian people and the national liberation struggle." ■

Smith Trying to Hold On

U.S., Britain Plot Vs. Zimbabwe People

As the liberation forces of the Zimbabwe Peoples Army led by the Patriotic Front dealt new defeats to the racist Smith regime and extended their control inside the country, Andy Young and British Foreign Secretary David Owen went to southern Africa in late August and early September. Like the king's men trying to put Humpty Dumpty back together, they made yet another attempt to forestall the inevitable victory of the Zimbabwean people.

Ostensibly the purpose of the Young-Owen mission was to win support for the U.S.-British "peace plan" from the Patriotic Front and the front-line African States and to get the racist regime of Ian Smith to accept their more "reasonable" plan for majority rule. The imperialists are desperately trying to see that a Zimbabwean government friendly to their interests and influence comes to power after the fall of white minority rule. They fear that Smith's intransigent refusal to accept even the principle of one man, one vote, or the inevitability of a government formed out of the Patriotic Front will result in disaster for them.

The U.S.-British scheme seems to be based on the principle that if you are in trouble, move boldly—in this case, just move in and take over. Their proposal calls for the white minority government of Smith to be replaced by an interim British administration, backed by a UN force. This British administration would set up a constitution agreeable "to all interested parties," and elections based on universal adult suffrage among the country's 6.8 million blacks and 268,000 whites. To make sure that they are firmly in the saddle, their plan calls for the disbanding of the liberation armies, which would be "retrained" by the UN and included in a new Zimbabwean army, along with the armed forces of the Smith regime.

This proposal has been rejected by the front-line African states and the Patriotic Front, which denounced the effort to dissolve the Zimbabwean troops, to make no distinction between liberation and oppressor armies.

Smith, who called the plan "crazy, mad and insane" but said he would consider it, is much more concerned with protecting the stake of the Rhodesian ruling class and keeping himself and his cohorts from being strung

up as the murdering criminals they are. He is demanding a settlement which "offers a reasonable chance for a secure future" for white Rhodesians. What the Smith regime means by this is keeping things fundamentally the way they are, with a black figurehead government effectively controlled by the white ruling class.

The specifics of this ridiculous dream include "qualified franchise" for the country's black majority, "to reduce the numerical preponderance of blacks." This boils down to demanding one third of the seats in any legislative bodies for whites—enough for veto power. In addition, Smith is demanding an "independent judiciary" and a "non-political civil service, army and police" as well as the guarantee of all property rights for white Rhodesians. To carry this off, he is hoping to line up "moderate black leaders" inside the country who will go along with this plan for continued white rule.

In farcical Rhodesian elections held on August 31, Smith got 90% of the vote (whites only, of course) to demonstrate that Rhodesians support his approach. But the 1500 whites who are leaving the country every month presents a much more accurate reflection of how the whites view the future of minority rule.

Smith Becomes "Respectable"

But the U.S. imperialists have not ruled out the possibility of trying to make Smith's plan work. In fact, the U.S. media has been stepping up articles and editorials designed to give legitimacy and respectability to the reactionary Rhodesian government and to argue that Smith's plan may be a reasonable route to black majority rule. In mid-August the *Chicago Tribune* published an editorial that came right out and said this, at the same time denouncing the Patriotic Front. And while this imperialist mouthpiece is well known for its undisguised trumpeting of reaction, even the supposedly more sophisticated *New York Times* has been running the same line. In a series of recent articles the *Times'* southern Africa correspondent has pumped hard for a "reassessment" of Ian Smith. "Journalists who cover Rhodesia," he wrote on August 29, "have come around

to the view that . . . the Prime Minister [Smith] has made a fundamental change of course . . . What puzzles those who have monitored the change is that it seems to have had negligible impact on the British-American approach. To judge by their statements and tactics the mediators continue to view him as an unreconstructed procrastinator seeking to block black emancipation by all available stratagems." And just before the Young-Owen visit to Rhodesia he reported: "After the mediators' visit here on Thursday, the choice for London and Washington may be to abandon the dispute altogether or accept that Mr. Smith is no longer the ogre he once seemed and encourage him to seek a settlement on his own."

Unfortunately for the imperialists and their Rhodesian clients, the choice is not up to them. The Rhodesian economy is in shambles, whites in the countryside have been forced to turn their farms into armed garrisons where they are virtual prisoners. Despite the fact that the U.S. press refuses to report the military success of the Zimbabwe Peoples Army, the Rhodesian army is suffering heavy losses. And internationally, white Rhodesia has been completely isolated, making open imperialist support very difficult. Smith's regime cannot hold out much longer against the liberation forces. ■

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Philippines...

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government troops raided workers communities, campuses and other urban areas two weeks before May 1, and arrested hundreds of persons suspected of planning for the upcoming demonstration. Despite this, May Day saw workers lead the biggest demonstration in the country since martial law was imposed. Carrying banners calling for the downfall of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and supporting the NPA, 20,000 demonstrators gathered throughout the Manila-Rizal area and held rallies in several parks and streets throughout the area. As government troops with clubs and water hoses repeatedly attacked demonstrators and bystanders and arrested more than a thousand by day's end, the people kept regrouping and fought back. Defiantly they chanted, "Babakik Kami!" ("We Will Return!"), and they pledged to mobilize more people in the demonstrations to come.

The workers share the slums of Manila and other cities with unemployed and marginally employed workers, peddlers, beggars and other desperately poor men, women and children, most of them from the rural areas. The lot of the urban poor is as bad or worse than in the rural neighborhoods. Staple foods such as rice cost as much as 100% more than what they did in 1972. Even more serious is the housing question. To "decongest and beautify" Manila for the tourist trade and as a financial center, the Marcos government has driven 350,000 families from tenements or squatter shantytowns they lived in. It was in fact the 193,000 squatters of the Tondo area, many of them dock workers, who first broke the government ban on demonstrations in February 1973 with their actions against scheduled demolitions of their homes. The struggle against evictions in Tondo has raged, with setbacks and victories, ever since, sparking similar resistance, sometimes armed, elsewhere in Manila, in Quezon City and throughout the country.

Broad United Front

An important factor in the struggles of the workers and the urban poor has been the support of students, intellectuals and the progressive clergy. The universities in particular are hotbeds of resistance to the regime. Although under martial law progressive and democratic teachers and administrators have been fired, admissions restricted and carefully screened, tuition increased and the curriculum dictated by the government to push Marcos' "New Society" politically and ideologically, great numbers of students have taken their stand with the masses of Filipino people.

Their struggle goes on on many fronts: in the schools for free speech and other rights—several campuses have highly illegal but regularly published newspapers, in society as a whole where students have been active in the various movements of the people and in the NPA, whose ranks have been swelled by revolutionary minded students determined to liberate their country.

One of the less anticipated headaches of the Marcos regime is the Catholic and Protestant clergy. As in some Latin American countries, many priests, nuns and missionaries came to understand that the poverty and misery of the people they were supposed to serve had less to do with the will of God than with the workings of class society and of Chase Manhattan, Del Monte, Firestone and other giant American corporations.

Using the limited protection afforded them by their robes, such men and women have actively spoken out and demonstrated against the regime, helped the masses organize and created a climate in which even many high church officials like bishops have made statements against martial law although a significant portion of the

church hierarchy still backs Marcos and counsels obedience to his regime. Many have been jailed and tortured and dozens of foreign-born religious figures deported or driven out by the government (a tactic also applied to foreign newsmen who criticize the government in their articles), but this has only stiffened the opposition among church people, some of whom have even taken up arms and joined the New People's Army.

Struggle of Minority Peoples

The most immediate threat to the Marcos regime has been the struggle of the oppressed minority peoples in the country. In Northern Luzon, the main island of the Philippines, a massive hydroelectric project planned for the area inhabited by the people of the Kalinga tribe has been held up for several years now because of the resistance of the supposedly "primitive" tribes people. These people fought first the Spanish, then the Americans to maintain their language, culture, identity and land for hundreds of years and they have no intention of being flooded or "developed" out now. Aided by NPA units they have waged a political and military battle that has thus far stopped the dam project.

The best known and most massive struggle against the Marcos government has been that of the Muslim people of Mindanao and the other southern islands. The government has been moving large numbers of Christian Filipinos, and foreign corporations like Firestone and Goodyear onto Muslim lands which it calls "virgin territory." As part of his martial law declaration, Marcos announced that all privately owned firearms were to be confiscated. Led by the forces of the Moro National Liberation Front, an insurrection swept Western Mindanao. Although the government held some cities, destroying one that they could not secure, Jolo City, in February 1974, large sections of the countryside remain under MNLF control. Time and again Marcos has announced that this or that concession or truce has ended the rebellion. A recent incident was his agreement in April to permit "regional autonomy" to the southern provinces, which was followed by a rigged plebiscite in which autonomy was promptly "voted down."

Although some leaders of the Muslim people and the MNLF have wavered repeatedly and gone along with some of the truces, including that one, even bourgeois foreign policy analysts in the U.S. say Marcos is still in a bind. Without real concessions which Marcos cannot grant without threatening his own income, big foreign investors with rubber, pineapple and timber operations, and the stability of his regime, the Muslim people will never lay down their arms and bring their rebellion to a complete end. Many of the MNLF fighters have also come in contact with Communist Party members in the Muslim forces or in NPA units with whom they have conducted joint actions against the army, and through this contact have come to see how their struggle is related to and part of the struggle of the whole Filipino people.

Marcos' New Disguise

The Muslim rebellion was perhaps the most significant factor in Ferdinand Marcos' sudden flowering into a "Third World leader." Not only had the rebels been given substantial military aid by Khadafi, but the rulers of several large Arab countries did not look kindly on the savage attempts of the Philippine Army to crush their co-religionists in the southern provinces. The threat of an oil boycott was very real to Marcos, because well over 80% of the country's fuel is imported from the Middle East.

Marcos wasted little time in hailing OPEC, announcing his support for the Palestinian struggle, condemning "imperialism" in general terms and so on. He also sent his wife and partner in crime, Imelda Marcos, on a visit

to Tripoli, Libya, where the terms of the truce and plebiscite mentioned above were negotiated.

But after subsequent talks between the 42-nation Islamic Conference and the Marcos regime collapsed in April, with the Islamic team's abrupt departure from Manila, Marcos turned to improve his image in Southeast Asia, particularly with Malaysia. At the August summit of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) held in Malaysia, Marcos proposed the dropping of the bitterly disputed claim of the Philippines to Sabah, which Marcos claims is still the training ground for rebel troops in the southern islands, and later he even referred to Sabah as part of Malaysia. He has portrayed this as a gesture of "unity" and "sacrifice" to the ASEAN, but his real interest is to obtain Malaysia's cooperation in tackling the Muslim rebellion along the Philippines' southern border.

It is difficult for someone as closely tied to U.S. imperialism as Marcos to proclaim his "independence and neutrality," so he has had to put on a little tinsel to look more convincing. This has taken several forms. One was full recognition of China, a practical necessity particularly since the U.S. has been weakened in Asia and it is hard put to demand even its remaining puppets pretend that the People's Republic of China is not the sole legitimate government of all the Chinese people. Marcos has also moved to develop somewhat "warmer" diplomatic relations with the New Czars of the Soviet Union, one result of which being public Soviet approval of his "New Society" and the well publicized "surrender" of the Soviet-line revisionists mentioned above.

Soviets Poke About

The Soviet social-imperialists, in attempts to shake U.S. control of the Philippines and get a foothold themselves, are using two ports of entry. While wooing Marcos with loans, "aid" and other such offers, the New Czars are trying at the same time to get a hold on the MNLF with promises of military hardware and expertise through third parties like Libya. According to a recent article by the Preparatory Commission, National Democratic Front, Mindanao region, the Soviets promise "peace" in Mindanao if Marcos grants them military bases. In addition, the Soviet Union hopes a ceasefire there will free the U.S.-Marcos troops to spend more time fighting the NPA and other CPP-led forces in the rest of the country.

Marcos has even taken to occasionally criticizing and acting tough toward the U.S. For instance, in current negotiations to renew the U.S. lease on Clark and its other bases, he has talked vaguely of refusing to renew and demanded that the billion dollars in economic and military aid the U.S. has offered to keep the bases be applied strictly to military aid to bolster his armed forces against the NPA, the MNLF and the masses.

This squabble over the contract for the bases serves to put a little light on the overall relationship between Marcos and the U.S. government. The U.S. pullback in Asia following its defeat in Indochina has given Marcos both the opportunity and the necessity to put on more "independent" trappings than previous Philippine governments. At the same time his government would not last out the year without aid and support from imperialism and particularly U.S. imperialism and much of Marcos' "independent" maneuverings have been aimed at making sure that aid and support continue to be forthcoming.

For example, to cool down world criticism of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship in light of Carter's "human rights" ballyhoo, and to keep them U.S. dollars coming in, he announced in June that the military commissions established under martial law were going to be "phased out" and civilian cases would be tried by civilian courts at some point so far undetermined. This coupled with the other recent "reforms" towards "ending" martial law are just part of his new "Fall look" especially designed to complement Carter's "human rights" farce.

For its part, the U.S. imperialists' retrenchment in Asia in favor of focussing on Europe hardly means it is going to cut loose so profitable a neocolony as the Philippines. At the present time the U.S. ruling class is still backing Marcos, believing that he will continue to serve their interests and that dumping him would risk social upheaval.

At the same time, the U.S. has kept itself in a position to dispose of Marcos should he ever prove too "independent" (like trying to switch to Soviet sponsorship) or more likely, incapable of crushing the tide of popular struggles. The U.S. maintains ties with a number of possible replacements, Filipino capitalists and high government officials in exile who have very good reason to hate martial law—Marcos confiscated their holdings and incorporated them into his personal economic empire!

No matter how they maneuver, now and in the future, Marcos and the U.S. imperialists alike continually run up against the specter of the people's struggle. They can pretend it does not exist but they cannot prevent it from growing. In the words of a poem now popular in the Philippines:

*Ours is an army that multiplies
In ambushes and open encounters
For the greed of the ruling class
Has plowed up the land and turned up
The violated, the hungry and the desperate.* ■



A massive insurrection of Muslims has swept Western Mindanao and the Southern Islands of the Philippines.

NLC ...

Continued from page 3

themselves in mass struggle, following a July '72 organizational conference of the BWC, which planned a three month program of cadre training and clarifying the political line of the BWC as virtually the sole task. This was followed by a series of internal struggles in the BWC, and very little real mass work was done.

A major aspect of the NLC right from its inception was Party building. The NLC came into existence based on the recognition that the formation of the NLC was a step towards bringing the Party into being. It was also understood by all organizations in the NLC that the next big step which the NLC would play a role in facilitating was the formation of the Party itself. The NLC was seen as the cornerstone of the new Party. This was roughly summed up in what became the unofficial slogan of the NLC: "the subordination of each organization in the Liaison Committee to what was coming into being" (the multinational communist Party)

The attitude of the NLC towards the question of Party building was summed up perhaps in the most straightforward and frank way by the RU representative at the YLP-PRRWO Congress shortly before the formation of the NLC: "Ideological struggle to resolve differences between these various groups is extremely important; but in order for this to be meaningful, it must go on in the context of actual struggle around common areas of work"

A Significant Break with Nationalist Ideology

As stated earlier, the NLC was indeed a big step forward; it represented a significant break, at least to a large degree, with some of the major ideological and political weaknesses of the movement of the late '60s and early '70s, which were rooted in the nationalism, and the tailing after the bourgeois nationalism, of the oppressed nationalities, and which held sway among a significant section of the new communist forces. These lines took many forms in the developing communist movement, such as each nationality working for revolution exclusively from its own "national tent" and exclusively among its own "national sector" of the proletariat. . . .

The communist forces which arose in this overall period were marked by both its positive factors—the great inspiration of the revolutionary national movements—and on the other hand its negative aspect—the revolutionary movement that had very little roots in the workers movement generally and among white workers in particular. Further, since these young communist forces had been cut off from the historical experience of class struggle as summed up by the leaders of the international communist movement, there was a strong basis for bourgeois ideology within the new communist movement, mainly taking the form in those times with regard to the national question of narrow nationalism and tailing after bourgeois nationalism of the oppressed nationalities.

Buildup of the Black Petty Bourgeoisie

Another thing influencing this development was the fact that in the face of the storm of Black rebellion the ruling class panicked, responding with the stick and the carrot as well. Under the guise of economic development and Black capitalism, the government pumped millions of dollars into Black enterprises. Black capital went from \$500 million in 1965 to \$1.6 billion in 1973. Poverty programs were set up in virtually every ghetto in the country, while some professional jobs opened to Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, etc. In addition, in several major cities which had become in the main Black, a number of Black faces replaced white faces as mayors, police chiefs and a whole host of bureaucrats. The essence of all this was to build up the petty bourgeois and bourgeois forces among the oppressed nationalities in an effort to put a brake on the struggle and divert it away from its revolutionary thrust, in a word—co-opt it.

This was coupled with somewhat of a tactical shift by the ruling class in the sphere of ideology and public opinion. While maintaining and even stepping up its chauvinist poison propaganda about the inferiority of the oppressed nationalities and pointing to them as the cause of their own oppression—and problems in society in general—the ruling class especially through its so-called liberal wing put tremendous effort into promoting and spreading bourgeois nationalism among the oppressed nationalities.

This took the form of pointing to white people and especially white workers as the real enemy of Black people and the source of their oppression. This bourgeois line was not walled off from the revolutionary movement, including the new communist forces, but in fact in some quarters it was picked up and promoted in more subtle forms and sometimes not so subtle forms.

Particularly with this backdrop, the NLC was an extremely positive development and was, as noted earlier, a testament to the ideological and political growth and developing influence of communists of all nationalities

in the mass movement.

In the case of BWC and PRRWO what characterized these groups then and for much of the period of the NLC was their general forward direction toward Marxism-Leninism, towards taking the stand of the working class and away from nationalism and bundism (adapting socialism to nationalism). This positive aspect of their development was not without its negative side, however, a tendency towards nationalism and bundism in new forms.

For example, the YLP resolution at the Congress of 1972 (in which YLP became PRRWO), while stressing the necessity of building a single multinational party, also stated that in the United States, before that Party can be built, Marxist-Leninist organizations have to develop among Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Asians, Native Americans (meaning separate organizations for each nationality) to analyze their work and experiences with the proletariat of their nationality to create a base for a multinational proletarian Party in the future.

It was exactly this bundist thinking that led PRRWO to push virtually as a "matter of principle" for the inclusion of IWK in the NLC, as there was clearly no ideological or political basis for IWK's inclusion—no Marxist-Leninist basis, that is—outside of the faint possibility they might in the course of the NLC reverse their course. All the other groups held at least basic unity around the fact that the multinational proletariat was the main and leading force and needed a single vanguard representing it as one class. For IWK it was quite another matter, however. At the YLP-PRRWO Congress, IWK called not for unity of the multinational proletariat but for a common front of the oppressed nationalities.

"The present stage in the American revolution calls for unity among Black, Brown and Asian people in the U.S." Further IWK upheld the reactionary line of "white skin privileges" and spoke almost entirely of basing themselves not among the industrial proletariat but on "community work."

BWC, which knew nothing of IWK at the time, went along with PRRWO's proposal to include IWK for the same bundist reason that had prompted PRRWO to make the proposal in the first place.

The RU struggled against IWK's inclusion, based on IWK's line and practice, but felt in the end that the general forward motion of such a committee was more important than making the issue of IWK a splitting matter.

This tendency towards nationalism was also present in the BWC which, for example, defined the scope of its task as being "to sink deep roots among the Black sector of the proletariat." (July 8 Conference Report, 1972) However, the principal aspect of both PRRWO and BWC and their motion at that time was away from this baggage.

During this period, the matter of building the unity of the proletariat became much more than a declaration of intent. The three organizations attempted to build multinational organizations in the workplace, took up the task of working to build the struggles of the unemployed of all nationalities through the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, and built multinational coalitions such as the November 4th Coalition. BWC, while still attempting to build all-Black forms of mass organizations, also undertook the building of a multinational coalition around police brutality against Black people in Atlanta.

Back to Nationalism

However towards the end of the existence of the NLC, and shortly before the discussion of the Party building proposal, the retreat back to nationalism began to manifest itself sharply. As opposed to moving forward in the direction of the need for the organizational unity of all proletarians and particularly the formation

of the single vanguard of the working class, BWC and PRRWO began a steady backtrack, that was later to take leaps and bounds backwards.

This drift first began to manifest itself in PRRWO and BWC's attempt to create more sophisticated justification for separate communist organizations based on nationality, for splitting the workers' cause, organization and movement along national lines.

Towards the end of the NLC period, PRRWO set for itself, as its central task, the building of national forms of mass organizations around the democratic rights of the Puerto Rican national minority based on three principles: 1) the right to speak their language, 2) to struggle for bilingual programs that really teach Puerto Rican people's history and culture, 3) the right to mobilize freely and agitate for the national liberation struggle of Puerto Rico.

These things should have been taken up by PRRWO but PRRWO should not have restricted its activity nor certainly its outlook, to taking up these questions, nor should these questions have been seen as the sole responsibility and province of Puerto Rican communists.

BWC for its part put forth its central task as "the raising of the proletarian banner in the Black liberation struggle and to build the leadership of Black workers in the struggle of the entire multinational working class and the anti-imperialist struggle of all the people in the U.S."

BWC began to rigidly stress that in order to build a lasting multinational proletarian Party, a Black communist organization must raise the proletarian banner in the Black nation and defeat bourgeois nationalism. The essence of this line was a retreat back to "sole representation" with the bottom line that the Black masses generally and the Black workers in particular could not be won right then to the line of a communist Party with a correct line and correct methods of work because it had white people in it. Hence a Black communist organization must first wipe out bourgeois nationalism—quite a feat!—in order to prepare the way. The "leading role of Black workers" line was also showing its head.

In general, however, these lines were just emerging in what became an overall backward turn and they still represented mainly seeds of differences which could possibly be resolved through struggle in the course of moving to the Party.

The Party Proposal

Some have claimed the Party proposal put forth by the RU in late 1973 was simply an opportunist maneuver of the RU to turn itself and its clique (meaning BWC and PRRWO) into the Party, it was an attempt to build a Party behind closed doors, they say.

The essence of the proposal was far different. At the heart of the proposal was the matter of ideological and political line, the Party programme. A draft or several drafts would be circulated publicly among all organizations, collectives and individuals with the objective of "uniting all who can be united" to form the Party. The adoption of the final programme and the selection of leadership of the Party were to be accomplished from the bottom up as opposed to top down, taking place at the founding congress. The members of all the organizations and other forces would be represented on a proportional basis (one delegate for so many members), guided by the principle all communists are equal regardless of nationality or the size of the group they had belonged to. The delegates would vote as individuals, not in blocs.

Further, in order to unite all who could be united, there would be teams set up—"flying squads"—with the task of contacting and struggling with independent collectives, organizations and individuals that were not marred by a consolidated opportunist line such as OL and CL—unless, of course, they repudiated this line. The flying squads were to go throughout the country.

It was proposed by the RU that the National Liaison Committee be expanded to include representatives from other forces that would be unifying around the building of the new Party. It was felt that if the three organizations took up this task, working together they could unite many forces.

Bundism Jumps Out in Opposition

BWC and PRRWO opposed this with bundism, claiming that these collectives and individual Marxist-Leninists would be mainly "white petty bourgeois." This completely overlooked the fact that there did exist at that time various Black and other oppressed nationality collectives as well as a number of people from the oppressed nationalities who were beginning to break with nationalism and turn towards Marxism. The RU further pointed out to BWC and PRRWO that while class origins are important the critical and decisive question is ideological and political line.

NLC Ends, Party Building Continues

Although BWC and PRRWO rejected the Party proposal and broke up the Liaison Committee, the RU and others did carry out the line of "uniting all who can be united" to form the Party, contacting many forces throughout the country, discussing the need to form the

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Of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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NLC...

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Party in the immediate period ahead, the importance of building such a Party, and on what ideological and political basis it could be built, etc. The RU conducted extensive polemics against all major opportunist trends, and held Party building forums, drawing in some places many hundreds of people.

Even after BWC and PRRWO broke off the Liaison Committee, and initiated public polemics, the RU's approach was that, while things were clearly on a downhill road for the BWC and PRRWO, the RU still called on these forces to unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism to build the Party.

The RU stated at that time (as expressed in "Marxism vs. Bundism," page 61, *Red Papers 6*): "We would like to remind the BWC and PRRWO of the high spirit of unity that marked the original formation of the liaison. This was based not on an absolute agreement on every political question, but on the commitment to subordinate the interest of our particular organizations to the overall and general interest of the proletariat and to 'what was coming into being'—the Party. This was not an organizational question of abolishing the democratic centralism of the separate organizations, but an ideological question of putting our priority on working together to build the mass movement and build toward the Party.

"For our part, the RU has always recognized that organizational unity and merger would have to be based on developing closer and closer political unity. But we have always felt sure that this would be achieved so long as we all upheld the spirit of serving the people with which the liaison was formed. It was in this same spirit that we made our party proposal to the liaison committee. And we are convinced that by reviving and upholding this original spirit, principled unity can be achieved through struggle and we can move forward together to 'what is coming into being'—the Party and revolution."

But because of their opportunist lines BWC and PRRWO were bent on creating a breakup of the Liaison Committee. They were not interested in reviving the original spirit of the Liaison Committee, instead they were intent on reviving nationalism in the guise of Marxism.

A Leap Forward

It is by no means surprising that all-out struggle would break out with the issuing of the Party building proposal by the RU in late 1973, for the formation of the Party required a leap.

The Party proposal in many ways represented the tip of the iceberg, so to speak. Why? Because in order to build a single unifying center—a Party—to develop a battle plan, a Party programme to guide the Party, in order to lead the class, to merge the national and class struggle, required a break with the petty bourgeois baggage of the past movement.

The whole of the communist movement was confronted with the necessity to make this leap—and in the case of BWC and PRRWO as for many others, it meant breaking with the most sacred of sacred possessions, the supreme sacred cow, narrow nationalism and the raising of the national question above every other—above and apart from the scientific class stand of the proletariat and the class struggle.

Further it was not as if the struggle just simply jumped out of the sky. As the objective conditions were changing, including the fact that the struggle of the whole class was beginning to grow, the mass movement had come up against the absence of a genuine vanguard to lead the struggle and build the united front under proletarian leadership to overthrow capital. The consciousness of the need to unite, along with the growing awareness that the whole system is rotten, was developing among all sections of the working class and masses.

What was required was to move the mass struggle to a higher level, showing the masses how to build unity, how to identify the enemy and how to fight him. This demanded an end to the scattered circles, activity working at cross purposes, and duplicating efforts. This situation called for uniting all who could be united around a correct line and programme to form a single general staff.

Thus, while BWC and PRRWO played a very progressive role at one stage in the development of the new communist forces, as the objective conditions made it impossible to continue on the old basis, BWC and PRRWO, like many others, were confronted with either moving forward on a qualitatively new basis or falling backward.

Unfortunately, BWC and PRRWO took the latter course, retreating into nationalism and then dogmatism combined with nationalism as their guiding ideology. For these reasons BWC and PRRWO were no longer able to contribute to building the Party and the revolutionary movement in general, but set themselves on an opposite course, resulting in further splits and degeneration on the part of these organizations. . . .

This dogmatist and nationalist line led BWC dead into the arms of one of the most notorious anti-communist outfits posing as Marxist-Leninists to discredit Marxism-Leninism—the Communist League, which for many years was a chief representative of dogmatism and sectarianism which existed within the U.S. communist forces at that time.

In late 1974 CL changed its name to Communist Labor Party (CLP) and became more openly rightist. However, in the time from its inception in 1968 to its name change in '74, it held a consistent and consolidated line that Party building must in principle be separated from the mass movement. And while it was formed at a time marked by the high tide of the Black liberation movement, CL stood aloof. This was not only because of its erroneous line on Party building but because the actual character of the Black people's struggle does not conform to CL's line: that the heart of the so-called "Negro National Colonial question" lies in the fight of the white and Black members of the "Negro Nation" in the Black Belt South for independence. CL also held the infamous line that the basic industrial proletariat was the social base for fascism in this country. . . .

In 1974 BWC and PRRWO joined with CL, in its National Continuities Committee, a supposed organizing committee to build a new party. In reality it was only CL and a very few forces directly under its wing and for a time BWC and PRRWO.

Scurrying from CL's Ridiculous Line

However as CL's founding party congress moved nearer and nearer, its line got so ridiculous, particularly at the point when CL began stating openly that capitalism had not been fully restored in the Soviet Union, that BWC's leadership, fearing its own political Watergate, quickly turned around and drew up a full polemic touching on all major questions, denouncing CL as thoroughgoing revisionists.

This move to attack CL and leave its NCC—which some BWC leaders had called the road of Lenin and Stalin to the party today—was propelled not by Marxist-Leninist conviction, but by the fact CL would give BWC and PRRWO no special place within its party.

Further the BWC leadership in particular felt that for their own personal interests more might be gained by cutting CL loose and charting an independent course. BWC then declared it had led the fight to expose CL's line. As BWC had got wind that CL's latest move to run its line on the Soviet Union would be bad publicity, BWC quickly ran to write a 123 page polemic against CL. A member of PRRWO happened to be in Detroit before BWC had a meeting with CL, and this PRRWO leader quickly summed up that affiliation with CL was bad for business and joined in with BWC in denouncing CL.

However, after the CL episode, BWC's only self-criticism was that it had not investigated more of CL's line than its position on party building. BWC still said that CL still deserved credit for raising the question of party building. . . .

OL Sniffs After Bourgeois Nationalism

A word must be said here regarding the role of the October League (OL)—now Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)—in this major struggle which represented a major watershed break with bourgeois ideology and a significant advance in basing the struggle on the stand of the proletariat and no other class. Rather than go against the tide of bourgeois nationalism, OL outdid BWC and PRRWO in tailing after bourgeois nationalism ideologically and tailing bourgeois nationalists and reformists among Black people, like Hosea Williams and

Maynard Jackson in Atlanta, Jesse Jackson and others around the country. OL sucked up to a whole array of nationalist forces, even some who left BWC because they feared it was going multinational. Virtually every nationalist slander that came out against RU found its way into the pages of the *Call*—the OL's main organ for rumor mongering. And BWC, while supposedly criticizing RU "rightism," had a kind word or comradely criticism for the OL.

Instead of dealing with the decisive questions of ideological and political line raised in the struggle between the RU and BWC/PRRWO, OL joined with BWC and PRRWO in reducing these important questions of line to a matter of bourgeois psychology—guilt, blame, etc. which lets the ruling class dead off the hook and sets the proletariat off the track.

As the RU pointed out at the time, the issues that were being debated were certainly not who is more "messed up," the communists of the oppressed nationalities or the white communists, as BWC and PRRWO, with OL chiming in, tried to pose the matter.

The question was one of ideological and political line. And it was no accident that the OL would line up where it did. For the OL leadership had itself resurrected the "Black Belt is Key" line in recent years (and had through flips from "left" to openly rightist lines rigidly held to party building as the central task all along).

Earlier in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and right after it split in 1969, it was some of these same OL leaders who tried to forge the "leading" Marxist-Leninist circle by linking up with forces putting forward the strategy of "white skin privilege," in something called the Revolutionary Youth Movement-2 (RYM2).

At each point the role of those who head the OL (CP-ML) has been to unite all who can be united against whatever represents the road forward.

So much for OL-CP (ML). Back to BWC and PRRWO. Because these groups never scientifically summed up the line that led them to link up with CL in the first place, they continued in their dogmatism and nationalism, taking on the worst Trotskyite features, turning inward, splitting and dividing and further dividing, while many honest rank and file members of BWC and PRRWO got demoralized and took a "rain check" on trying to make revolution.

RWC Development

On the other hand, one of the groups which emerged out of the splits within the BWC, the Revolutionary Workers Congress, did, on the basis of taking part in mass struggle and applying Marxism-Leninism to sum up previous experience, begin to get back on the right track. In particular, over the last year, it played an important role in the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC). Recently many members of the RWC came to see more clearly the essence of the errors that shipwrecked the BWC and to recognize that while there was the problem of knowledge and ignorance back then, the main problem was the consolidation of an opportunist line on BWC and PRRWO's part, in opposition to the proletarian line which was put forth by the RU.

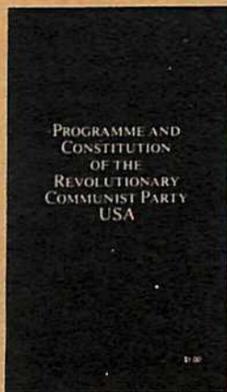
On this basis the RU went on to play the major role in the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Party of the U.S. working class, armed with a correct line. . . .

Ideological and Political Line

In closing, one argument that sometimes comes up is that yes, BWC and PRRWO fell into nationalism but it was caused by RU's "white chauvinism." This is bourgeois logic pure and simple, not Marxist dialectics, and liquidates the all important question of ideology.

The heart of the matter is that bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, etc. are deviations in the direction of bourgeois ideology—none of them is proletarian ideology and there is no basis for opposing one form of bourgeois ideology with another; bourgeois ideology can only be opposed with proletarian ideology. And, most fundamentally, the fact is that the RU's line was not "chauvinism" but proletarian internationalism—it was the bourgeois nationalism of BWC and PRRWO (and others) that led these groups to brand this internationalism "chauvinism." This, as has been said, was clearly shown in the direction that was taken by BWC and PRRWO on the one hand and the RU (and the RCP) on the other.

For many of us, it is clear how this struggle contributed to the development of a true vanguard of the working class, the Revolutionary Communist Party. And this understanding will help contribute to the continuing task of building the Party, in close connection with carrying out what is stated in the Party *Programme* on its central task: "The central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party today, as the Party of the U.S. working class, is to build the struggle, class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and develop its leadership of a broad united front against the U.S. imperialists, in the context of the worldwide united front against imperialism aimed at the rulers of the two superpowers. As this is developed, together with the development of a revolutionary situation, the question of mobilizing the masses for the armed insurrection will then come to the fore as the immediate question." ■



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