



REVOLUTION

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Thousands demonstrated against the Bakke decision October 8 in national actions called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision. (Above) RSB contingent in the 3000 strong Oakland, California march.

The Bakke Battle see p.7

Zenith Cans 5600, Blames Imports

The news hit the Zenith plants, every electrical and electronics shops in the area, the whole city of Chicago like a bombshell. 5600 workers at Zenith, the largest maker of T.V. sets in the country, would be getting pink slips within the next year, 2100 in the Chicago area alone. The company was shipping out a large part of its color television operations to starvation wage havens like Taiwan and Mexico.

Like any other industrial workers, Zenith workers are exploited, the products of their labor appropriated by their bosses and receiving in turn just enough in wages—more or less—to keep them and their families going. In recent years, conditions have been getting far worse. New machinery coupled with a big cut in the workforce has meant intense speedup. And sporadic temporary layoffs have been so bad one woman said, "I've worked there 5 years, but I've only worked 3."

But Zenith squeezed one special little bit extra out

of its workers—it used them not only to make but to sell T.V. sets. In their infamous "We say, Bunk" ads, Zenith boasted of the productivity and reliability of its American wage slaves, using them as illustrations of their slogan, "At Zenith, the quality goes in before the name goes on."

It's hardly surprising that shock and outrage were the main response to Chairman of the Board John J. Nevin's layoff announcement. He did his best to put it in "This hurts me more than it does you" terms, talking about how long and hard Zenith had fought to keep the jobs in the U.S. but the pressure of "unfair" foreign competition had left them no choice.

The Wrong Path

The workers weren't too moved. They wanted their jobs. They wanted action. The leaders of their main union, an "independent" (meaning company-founded) outfit called the Independent Radionic Workers, called a march and rally in the Loop, Chicago's downtown area. Over 1000 showed up, fighting mad.

But while they were marching, they were also being taken for a ride. Far from fighting the layoffs, the union hacks continued to act as company jukeboxes—drop in a quarter and they'd sing Zenith's tune: the company has done its best for us, and we have to go along with them trying to force the government to stop Japanese imports. By their very lack of solutions, they implied that nothing could be done to save any of the jobs. For the crowd, which repeatedly chanted "We want jobs," this didn't sound too good.

But the union and its reactionary rally have not been the only response to the firings. The workers interests lie in a completely different line on *how* to fight and *who* to fight. Workers from Zenith and other shops who are members of the electrical section of the Chicago branch of the National United Workers Organization have argued that the target of the workers' anger should indeed be Zenith, which has grown fat off their labor and is now

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Killer Cops Walk Free, Houston Masses Fight Back

On May 2, Joe Campos Torres, a Chicano Vietnam vet, was arrested in a bar in Houston's East End. The six arresting officers beat him unmercifully. When they arrived at the city jail the police on duty there didn't accept Torres as a prisoner, saying that the arresting officers had to first take him to the county hospital for treatment.

Instead of the hospital, Torres wound up in a secluded area near Buffalo Bayou. The six pigs beat him again. Then, one of these badge-bearing bastards, Terry Denson, said, "Let's see if the wetback can swim." The semi-conscious Torres was dumped into the water where he drowned.

On October 1, two of the police officers received their sentences in the murder of Joe Torres. (The others had either turned state's evidence and were not prosecuted or were hit with lesser charges.) Acquitted of murder, convicted of negligent homicide—a misdemeanor—Terry Denson and Stephen Orlando were sentenced to *one year's probation* and, in a vicious endorsement of police murder and in utter contempt for the very lives of the oppressed, given a *one dollar fine*.

On October 15, some 400 people of all nationalities marched and drove three and a half miles from Moody Park, in the center of a Chicano community, past the police station, past the federal building, to a rally at city hall. Outraged, angry, determined, militant, the people demanded "Justice for Joe Torres! Jail his murderers for LIFE!"

A Major Struggle in Houston

The struggle to bring the murderers of Joe Torres to justice has been the most significant battle against police brutality and national oppression to shake Houston in several years. The fury of the people at this and a series of equally barbaric police killings was organized into powerful action. Shortly after the court rulings were met with an angry outpouring, the federal government, under fire from the masses, came out with indictments against four of the killer cops for "civil rights" violations—an important, but by no means final, victory.

Even before the vicious killing of Torres, the Houston police had already earned a reputation for brutality and senseless murder. Last year, Milton Glover, a Black vet, was walking through his neighborhood when two policemen called him to their squad car. When Glover reached for a Bible he always carried in his pocket the cops shot him dead, blasting through their own windshield. Earlier this year a derelict was caught in a tire store. Later claiming the wino had attacked him with a pair of child's blunt-tipped scissors, the policeman began emptying his .45 automatic into the man. Finishing one magazine, the cop paused to insert another, and then fired some more, putting a total of 13 shots into his "attacker."

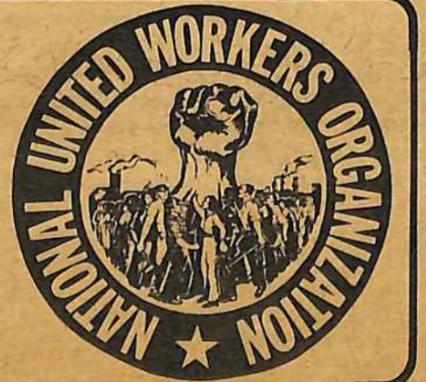
Shortly after this incident, a "black sheep" million-

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Workers Take On Carter In Jobs Fight

See Centerfold



Meeting Held in Youngstown

Workers in Motion Vs Steel Shutdowns

A movement to fight for every job is beginning to take shape in the steel industry. The closing of Youngstown Sheet and Tube's Campbell Works near Youngstown, Ohio, which threw 5000 out of work, was the biggest non-military shutdown this country has seen since the end of the last world war, 32 years ago. "Youngstown has become a cry of despair for our International officials," declared a steel worker at an October 14 meeting in Youngstown to plan out the fight against this plant closing. "But for the rank and file it has to be a battle cry."

In the steel industry today, the question of how to fight for jobs is being asked against the stark background of 20,000 workers laid off permanently in the last few months, with many thousands more on short work weeks or temporary layoff. The question of how to fight for jobs, and who to fight, is on everyone's mind.

International Pushes Surrender

As the steel worker said, "despair" just about sums up what the International bigshots are pushing in this situation. On the same day that rank and file workers were meeting to get organized to fight in Youngstown, their union president, USWA head loyal Lloyd McBride, was telling a union district convention in Chicago that steel workers have been left only two choices by the crisis in the steel industry: either go along with what the government says, that the problem is that American steel companies aren't "competitive," and take a pay cut, or pressure the government to "limit the tide of foreign imports." Either way, according to McBride, the only way out for steel workers is to fight for the interests of the steel companies in order to protect their own.

This same line was put out even more starkly by Chicago's Jesse Jackson, who told steel workers who demanded that he take a stand against the companies, "I'd rather be the tail of something than the head of nothing"—in other words, that the workers have no hope of uniting themselves against the companies, so all they can do is follow behind the companies and hope for the best. This kind of thinking has a certain hold on many workers who are faced with sudden and devastating layoffs in basic steel, where there hasn't been a national strike in a generation.

The companies' logic—"If the steel that's being imported were made in this country instead there'd be more jobs here"—seems reasonable on the surface of it. Even to many steel workers who see that the steel companies are trying to get away with blackmail with

their threats to shut down if they don't get what they want, still in the face of the situation in this industry the idea of putting up a fight against the companies instead of giving in seems almost impossible.

But for large and growing numbers of steel workers, the situation itself is leaving them with no choice but to fight, and many are coming to see that there is a road forward in fighting for their own interests against the companies.

Fight in Youngstown

In Youngstown, after the company announced the plant closing, the *Steelworker* newspaper and steel workers from other cities, including members of the National United Workers Organization, began to link up with Youngstown workers who were mad as hell about the closing and all that the company had done. Workers in this town had some real experience which helped in bringing out more clearly how cooperating with the company had yielded nothing but a kick in the ass.

The open hearth workers had set production records twice in July, and the company had rewarded them with special jackets with the word "Pro" written across them, to show that these were really good, really "professional" steel workers. When rumors began to circulate about layoffs, their foremen and others in management had assured them that they were all much too hard-working to have to fear losing their jobs.

Then in September, without warning, these men were among the first of the 5000 laid off. The open hearth workers marched to the banks of the Mahoning River near the plant and together threw in their hard hats, work shoes and their new jackets. Even the river itself became a symbol of bitterness to these men, because the company had always claimed that if they had to spend the money to stop polluting the river they'd have to close down. Now the river is almost unbelievably filthy and the plant was shutting down anyway.

As they watched their jackets float downstream, one of the open hearth workers said angrily, "We were betrayed and lied to. They praised us, then they kicked us out... We don't want jackets, we want jobs."

Youngstown Workers Meet

These words were recounted at the October 14 meeting held by the *Steelworker* and the newly formed Youngstown Fight for Every Job Committee, when about 40 workers gathered to figure out how to take on the mill shutdown. Most were from Youngstown's

Campbell works, but there were also some steel workers from other mills owned by the Youngstown company in different cities, and some other steel workers, bringing other experiences.

For instance, there was the example brought by a steel worker from Johnstown, Pennsylvania, where Bethlehem Steel first threatened to close down the mill and then decided to lay off thousands of workers in the town's main source of employment. Workers there, along with the *Steelworker*, had organized community protest meetings of hundreds of workers. Despite an intimidation campaign against them, they'd pulled off a march of 100 that first hit the company headquarters to demand that the mill stay open, and then went up against the union local headquarters to demand that their union stand with them in this fight, which is still continuing.

Then there was Al Stanford, the ex-president of steel Local 3059 in Alliance, Ohio. He told how the International had put his local in receivership because it was "too militant" in fighting the company, and how a steel workers' march outside International headquarters in Pittsburgh had forced the International to free them.

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Workers leave Youngstown Sheet and Tube Campbell Works, now all but an empty hulk, a testimonial to the anarchy and crisis of the capitalist system.

Georgia, Ohio

Klanbuster Trials Beginning

Trial time has come for the Klanbusters who were arrested for their part in stopping KKK rallies in Ohio and Georgia over July 4th weekend. The fight to free them has been stepped up and has continued to expose the Klan and everything it stands for.

125 people demonstrated on October 15 in Columbus, Ohio, capping a series of rallies in cities across the state. These actions, cosponsored by the National United Workers Organization and the Stop the Klan Defense Committee, made it clear that people are sticking by the six arrested fighters who will go on trial in early November.

In building these actions it became clear that while there was mass sentiment for those who stood up to the Klan, it was not spontaneously a hot social issue among the masses, especially with the Klan out of sight, nursing its wounds. Just leafletting was not enough to mobilize support. The Defense Committee sought ways of sharpening up the battle. Religious and social organizations in the Black community were contacted. "Damn the Klan" pins were placed in small businesses and sold by the hundreds. One of the best moves was when two workers, one white and one Black, dressed up in phoney Klan robes to present the Columbus City Prosecutor with an honorary KKK membership. This dramatized the Kops, Kourt, Klan collaboration the defendants face. To top it off, at first the prosecu-

ter actually accepted his award!

The NUWO has been working to build this fight in the shops, fighting, for instance, to pass resolutions of support in the UAW locals of two of the defendants. Plant gate collections and mobilizing to pack the courtroom during the trials are among the other activities in the works.

Cochran Trial

Buddy Cochran, the auto mechanic who ran his car through the Klan rally in Plains, Georgia, in July, spoke in several cities in Ohio to build the struggle here. This was the tail end of a tour that also took him and one of the Ohio defendants to Atlanta, Birmingham, Tampa, Tallahassee and Gainesville, building support throughout the South, both among the audiences and among many who saw or read about the speeches in media coverage.

With the trial slated to begin October 17, a multi-national team of members of the Buddy Cochran Defense Committee and the NUWO spent a few days in Americus, Georgia, leafletting and agitating in neighborhoods, shopping centers and housing projects and spoke to several church congregations. They raised the slogans: Free Buddy Cochran, Put the Klan on Trial, and Fight Discrimination and Inequality. Their work aroused both hostility and support, with many people seeing the trial

as a very important event in the area. Which way it goes will have an important effect on which forces grow stronger afterwards—the Sumpter County officials and the Klan or the people they want to stay on top of.

In the pre-trial proceedings that started the 17th, it was clear a railroad was underway. The judge went through some wierd contortions to impanel jurors who said they had already decided Buddy was guilty. The judge told them they didn't even understand the legal charge, aggravated assault, so they couldn't really think Buddy was guilty of it, so it was OK if they served. He denied defense motions that Buddy be allowed to serve as his own lawyer and that the trial be moved to another locality.

The fact that the questions of discrimination and inequality are inextricably linked to the whole trial came out sharply when a defense attorney asked the prosecutor to address Blacks in the jury pool as "Mr." and "Mrs." as he did with the whites, instead of by their first names. The judge immediately clapped a contempt of court citation on the attorney for being "smart alecky"!

More Harassment

More harassment of defense attorneys came from the former mayor of Americus, who filed a civil suit against Buddy and subpoenaed his lawyers. He announced what amounted to a witch hunt, saying that he wanted to ask who's paying the lawyers, what they're doing in Americus, and who's behind Buddy and the campaign to free him.

As we go to press the trial itself is starting with Buddy's plea of not guilty by reason of temporarily diminished capacity. Whatever Buddy's state of mind last July and whatever the result of this Georgia railroad Buddy's actions and those of a growing number of people like him in stomping on these reactionary snakes whenever they slither into public make perfect sense and deserve all the support they are winning. ■

60th Anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution

Learning From October: The High Road to Revolution

Editor's Note: This article on the October Revolution of 1917 is written on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of that great victory of the world's proletariat, and concentrates on some of the many lessons of that revolution. While these victories have since been overturned by Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their ilk of new Soviet bourgeois, none of this in the slightest negates the tremendous value of the lessons of this struggle. Full of relevance for the present struggle for revolution in our country, the work of the Bolsheviks in this whole period is an inspiring example of sticking to the high, hard road of revolutionary struggle—of mobilizing the masses to fight in the class interests of the proletariat, of keeping the goal of revolution in mind in every struggle, of never sacrificing long-term interests for illusory short-term gains even in the face of the greatest difficulty and savage repression, of making every possible preparation for the revolution in the daily battles and seizing the time when the opportunity ripens.

Sixty years ago this month* saw a tremendous upsurge of the masses that ushered in a new era in human history—the October Revolution of 1917 which swept away capitalist rule in Russia and sent waves of fear spreading among exploiters everywhere as it made the possibility of socialist revolution come alive to workers around the world.

But a year earlier the face of Russia was entirely different. Ruled by a Czar and a putrid aristocracy with a rapidly developing bourgeoisie whose exploitation of the Russian workers was enforced by the repressive apparatus of the Czar, and embroiled in World War 1 (as the chief supplier of cannon fodder for the Anglo-French cause) Russia, although itself an imperialist power, was a backward and battered country—but one seething with revolution. Twelve years earlier, in 1905, the workers and peasants had made an attempt to seize power—a dress rehearsal, as Lenin put it, for the showdown that was to come later. This revolution had failed, drowned in blood and stifled by the still low level

*Because of the old Russian calendar of the time, the anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution actually falls in November by today's calendar.



of organization, understanding and consciousness among the Russian working class and masses of working people.

But 1917 was different. Conditions grew to be intolerable, the war dragged on and the capitalists raked in huge profits. Famine and catastrophe stalked, and the peasants, more than ever, demanded the land upon which they labored.

These were the conditions for the revolution of February 1917, the great uprising of the workers, soldiers and peasants that swept away the Czar with a single stroke. Although the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, had upheld the revolutionary interests of the working class, its numbers were relatively small—about 40,000 at the outbreak of the February revolution. The Bolsheviks had twice been driven into complete illegality—the first time after the collapse of the 1905 Revolution

and the setting in of the brutal repression (the "Stolypin reaction"). But despite desertions from their ranks, and the growth of opportunist currents including the "liquidationists" who called for dismantling the illegal apparatus of the Party, the Bolsheviks held firm and their great leader, Lenin, took on the task of safeguarding the political and organizational independence of the Bolshevik Party. This included making the final rupture with the Mensheviks, who put forward a bourgeois line masquerading as socialist and with whom the Bolsheviks had previously been allied in the same party.

In 1912, following the massacre of striking workers in the Lena gold fields, the working class of Russia (which had grown rapidly in size and was highly concentrated in large plants) began to reawaken after the years of savage repression. By combining legal with illegal work the Bolsheviks were able to use the two years before the outbreak of World War 1 to greatly extend their influence, leading many struggles of the workers, utilizing the Duma (a restricted parliament set up by the Czar) as a forum for attacking and exposing the government, and using the weapon of their daily press, *Pravda*, to, as Stalin put it, train a whole generation of workers in Marxism and the political line of the Bolsheviks.

But in August 1914 the war that social democrats (the communists) worldwide had predicted broke out in full fury, eventually embroiling virtually all of the advanced capitalist countries in war and dragging their colonial subjects into the holocaust.

World War 1 was the greatest test yet to face revolutionary Marxists throughout the world. A wave of "defencism," of uniting with one's own imperialist government under the slogan of "defend the fatherland," swept over all of the belligerent countries. Not only were large sections of the masses in these countries swept into the chauvinist hysteria accompanying the world war, but the majority of the socialists of that time deserted the cause of revolution with an unparalleled speed—either in the form of directly supporting the predatory moves of their ruling classes or, like Kautsky (the foremost "socialist" of the time), in the form of "neutrality" and pacifism which also abandoned the fight to end the war by revolutionary means, the conquest of power by the proletariat.

Lenin branded these traitors "social chauvinists" (socialists in words, national chauvinists in deeds) and answered Kautsky's "defense" of them this way: "Kautsky has concealed the plain truth that the great and strong parties were frightened by the prospect of their organizations being dissolved, their funds sequestered and their leaders arrested by the government. This means that Kautsky justifies betrayal of socialism by pleading the unpleasant 'practical consequences' that follow from revolutionary tactics. Is this not a prostitution of Marxism?"

"We would have been arrested," one of the Social Democratic deputies who voted for war credits on August 4th is alleged to have declared at a workers meeting in Berlin. The workers shouted in reply: "Well, what would have been bad about that?" ("Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 255)

Lenin went on to point out that exactly such an arrest of a member of parliament for taking a revolutionary position could be key in instilling revolutionary

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Message to The Communist Party of China On October 1, 1977

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China:

Greetings on the 28th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. It was on this day, twenty-eight years ago, that Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese people and great teacher of the international proletariat, proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China, which marked a tremendous victory for the Chinese people and the proletariat and oppressed people throughout the world. The founding of the People's Republic of China, signalling the victory of the new democratic revolution and the emergence of China into the socialist stage, was the product of long years of difficult and tortuous struggle by the hundreds of millions of Chinese people and the product of the correct leadership provided by Mao Tsetung through all the twists and turns in that struggle. It represented the triumph of the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, over imperialism and domestic reactionaries, and also the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist line of Mao Tsetung over opportunist lines within the Chinese Communist Party.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China the Chinese people, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line, have won path-breaking new victories in socialist revolution and have made great progress in socialist construction. Under the guidance of Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line the People's Republic of China has stood as a beacon light and source of powerful support for the working class and oppressed people in every country. And this has been all the more true since Mao Tse-

tung, summing up the positive and negative experience of the Soviet Union, the situation in China and the lessons of the world revolution in general, developed the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and led the working class and masses of people in China in waging the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which brought new leaps forward in socialist revolution and socialist construction and provided the form for arousing the broad masses to prevent capitalist restoration, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, further the victory of socialism over capitalism and continue the advance toward the ultimate historic goal of communism.

Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. His contributions to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are immortal. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought continues to illuminate the path for the international proletariat through all twists and turns in the revolutionary struggle to achieve its historic mission of abolishing classes and the exploitation of man by man.

We are sure that the Chinese Party and people, through continuing to carry out Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line, can continue to conquer every difficulty and win still greater victories. On the occasion of the twenty-eighth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China we wish the Chinese people continued success in socialist revolution and socialist construction and we express our firmest solidarity with them.

Central Committee,
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Some Comrades' Experience

The Fight To Grasp Theory

Editor's Note: *The following is an article from some comrades on their efforts in the theoretical struggle. As the article "Theoretical Struggle Crucial Part of the Working Class Movement" (Revolution, January 1977) points out, in an overall sense studying theory with particular problems of the class struggle in mind is the main way in which Party members and others will most deepen their grasp of theory and use it as a weapon against the bourgeoisie. This means different Party units, different areas, even different individuals will be focusing on different questions at any given time. In large part for this reason, the Party gives emphasis to self study as its main method.*

Still, as the same article points out, it is necessary in the Party today to lay stress on getting a grounding in the basics of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—to take up the study of theory "in its own right." In particular right now this means the study of Marxist political economy, focused on the book, Political Economy—Marxist Study Courses, has been organized with some basic guidance.

This is a report from a group of comrades about how they took initiative in carrying out this task.

For the past several months, the staff of the Worker for the Chicago/Gary area has been studying political economy, particularly the series of pamphlets entitled *Political Economy—Marxist Study Courses* republished as a book (Banner Press, 1976). Studying this subject is very important because it is the foundation of the Marxist analysis of capitalism and capitalist society. Not only does it explain such problems as the deepening economic crisis, the capitalists' attacks, and so on, but understanding political economy also enables us to better understand the political struggles facing our class. Such things as the inevitability of war and crisis can only be fully understood if we grasp the root cause of them—the parasitic and decaying capitalist system.

Furthermore, we can only conduct Marxist agitation and propaganda among our fellow workers, especially but not exclusively in the course of key battles, if we understand things in a Marxist way—if we study some Marxism! More than this, it is only by studying Marxism and studying it deeply that we can ever begin to grasp the science, its principles and method, and arm others with this revolutionary weapon.

In the January 1977 issue of *Revolution*, an article entitled "Theoretical Struggle Crucial Part of Working Class Movement" points out that "the working class can emancipate itself and all mankind only by grasping and applying the science of Marxism, which provides the only correct method for understanding the development of things and the laws governing them—in both nature and society—and which represents the outlook and interests of the workers as a class in overthrowing and sweeping away capitalism and class society as a whole."

Studying theory and grasping it is certainly not an easy thing—it is a real struggle, a struggle to master the dialectical and materialist method. In capitalist society, the ideas and ways of thinking of the capitalists are constantly being thrust upon us every day, in a thousand open as well as insidious ways. At work from the boss, on the television and radio, in the newspapers, in culture, etc., the ruling class has its line—its take on what's going on in society and why. Spontaneously—without consciously and constantly taking up the proletarian view and method of Marxism—it is impossible to thoroughly break from this bourgeois line.

For us, it was a hard first step to grasp the importance of deeply studying Marxism—precisely because of the influence of bourgeois ideology. We had questions about our ability to understand political economy—we are not economists or scholars. And it is true that to really grasp political economy, like all Marxism, meant we not only had to study, but to make a break with old ways of thinking and analyzing things. Most importantly, we had to break with the empiricist tendency to uphold only direct experience as important in acquiring knowledge.

Combat Narrow View of Theory

In discussing the *Revolution* article, and the three forms of the theoretical struggle [taking up theory in its own right, with particular problems in mind, and to combat bourgeois theory—Ed.], it came out that some viewed study as simply a way to solve particular problems. For example, to deal with the problems of conducting agitation and propaganda among our fellow workers, study *What Is To Be Done?*; to correct mistakes in organizing and leading work, check out Mao Tsetung's essays on methods of leadership, etc. Of

course this is an important task of Marxist theory, studying the historical experience of the working class struggle to solve particular problems. But by itself, it cannot train us in the science of revolution, train us to analyze particular concrete conditions, to view the world in the dialectical materialist way.

As the article points out, what we must understand is that Marxism is a guide to action "in a sweeping, all-encompassing sense—a guide for the working class to grasp the laws governing the development of all things, in nature and society, and to carry forward the world historic task of wiping out capitalism and achieving communism. . . ."

In other words, while it is important to understand the lessons of the working class movement historically and particular principles that have been summed up, we must get a grasp of the science of Marxism which provides the only correct method for understanding the direction of things and the laws governing them. If we only studied for particular problems we would never understand Marxist philosophy, dialectical materialism, fully.

In our work, we had often run into the problem that we lacked this solid Marxist foundation. More than once we had trouble conducting agitation and propaganda around a particular question or struggle because we didn't understand it well enough to explain it in a popular way that would bring light into it. Not that we didn't have "the facts" around a plant closing, say, the number of workers affected, the excuses given by the factory owners, the amount of money invested and the amount of profit, where production would be relocated, etc. But we ran into problems in trying to correctly analyze the essence of things, why they were happening, how it fit into the necessity for that capitalist, how it fit in with the deepening crisis, etc. and what it means for the working class struggle not only immediately but in an overall way.

In the *Revolution* article, it is pointed out that, "the thing that enables us to grasp the essence of things, and their interconnections, to grasp objective truth, correctly reflect in our minds the objective world, is Mao stresses, *precisely theory*. 'Perception only solves the problem of phenomena,' he points out, 'theory alone can solve the problem of essence.'"

As the Central Committee Report states (excerpted in the July 1977 *Revolution*), we must "never forget the revolutionary goal. If we do it will affect the smaller battles because they are dialectically related—whether you understand it or not, whether anyone wants it to be true or not—it is true that what you achieve in changing the conditions of the masses for example is related to the big question of how society is going to be organized. There is no way to get around that. . . ."

Marxist political economy is precisely a sharp exposure of the capitalist system, how it is based on producing wealth for a handful by exploiting the working class. Political economy teaches us that crisis is inevitable, that the capitalist system holds only further impoverishment and misery for the masses, that unemployment and war are part and parcel of the profit system of the moneybags. There is no way it can overcome these contradictions. Studying and grasping political economy teaches us that capitalism cannot be made to "work," and in the sharpest way shows that it must be done

away with.

This is crucial to understand for all our work, in order to correctly analyze the concrete conditions to not only arrive at a correct understanding for a particular battle, but also to show how these smaller contradictions and smaller battles are linked to the bigger picture of revolution and socialism and the abolition of class society.

As the *Revolution* article states, the move from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge (from practice to theory) represents a qualitative leap. As Mao says, "Fully to reflect a thing in its totality, to reflect its essence, to reflect its inherent laws, it is necessary through the exercise of thought to reconstruct the rich data of sense perception, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside, in order to form a system of concepts and theories—it is necessary to make a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge." Who would think that doing something like he's talking about is going to be easy?

Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win

In fact, many people on the staff, after reading the first chapter of *Political Economy* became discouraged. In the main, this was because the first chapter deals with some very fundamental questions of political economy—the commodity, value, the two-fold character of labor, etc. There was struggle among the staff around the importance of these things to further study, as well as the difficulty of understanding these terms, for example, and whether it would be possible to go on with the book if the very first chapter posed such problems.

Indeed, no one is born a Marxist, nor with a grasp of dialectical materialism. In opposition, the bourgeoisie promotes every kind of other philosophy to justify their own system and to confuse and misdirect the workers and the masses generally. And, too, each of us by ourselves has only limited experience to start from. While direct experience is important to draw broader understanding of the world, class society, nature, etc. we have to go beyond just our own lives, our own direct experience. All this poses some problems in mastering Marxism.

Every day we are told that we are too stupid to accomplish even the most fundamental jobs at work, much less train ourselves in philosophy. For all these reasons, many active workers and communists are hesitant about studying Marxism. All our staff had at one time or another studied different Marxist works. And all of us had attempted before to study this collection of pamphlets.

But especially after the *Revolution* article on the importance of the theoretical struggle, grasping the importance of study and mastering Marxism, we resolved not to be intimidated, to persevere through initial difficulties and make a breakthrough. We developed a particular method to aid us in this, such as drawing up our own study guides for our reading, as well as discussing chapters among ourselves. But the primary thing in overcoming these initial roadblocks was grasping that "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement," and seeing this study in that light.

In the course of continuing with the study, we found that subsequent chapters became easier to understand, as our own grasp deepened. In a way, we went through a process of practice, theory, practice on a higher level in the theoretical struggle. In other words, through the course of dealing with the problem of study, we gained a better understanding not only of the subject but also how to study it. This has enabled us to make relatively steady progress with the book. Even the points we had difficulty with in the first chapter have become clearer as we have gone ahead. And along with this, we feel we have laid the basis for further study of political economy and other Marxist subjects. The success of our study

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Kent Gym Battle Still Rages

After 6 months of intense struggle, the movement to stop a gym being built on the site of the May 4, 1970, shooting of four students at Kent State University is continuing to grow on campuses around the country.

As we go to press, students from over 30 campuses and youths from several cities are preparing for a key demonstration, to take place at the Kent, Ohio, campus on October 22.

This demonstration was called at a march and rally of 3,000 students at KSU on September 24 (see October *Revolution*) which was an angry and powerful answer to the University's moves to begin construction. They weren't about to let the battlefield where the National Guard turned its guns on anti-war protestors be paved over. After the fence surrounding the site was torn down for the second time this semester, 1500 students marched onto the site in defiance of a court injunction and of the police, who were supposed to enforce it but who chose to withdraw post-haste instead.

Even as the demonstrators headed back to their campuses, they were talking about building for the action on October 22, and even composing leaflets in their cars. Campus newspapers around the country ran stories and pictures about the demonstration. A National Armband Day was organized for October 12 by the May 4 coalition at Kent State, where over 2000 were distributed, and the Revolutionary Student Brigade at over two dozen other campuses in support of the demand, Move the Gym! Many of thousands who wore the armbands also came to the rallies, candlelight marches and other activities which were held at Iowa State, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the University of Connecticut at Storrs and many of the other schools.

The Struggle at Kent

The September 24th demonstration also had a powerful effect at Kent itself. The University halted construction while waiting for things to cool down and erected a massive 15 foot super fence around the site. Hoping that this \$30,000 investment would protect their projected monument to murder, war and injustice, they finally resumed construction over a week later.

What petrified the Board of Trustees encouraged the Kent students, a majority of whom favor moving the gym, but had begun figuring everything was over when the trees were cut down and excavation began in the week before the demonstration. Of course, with construction proceeding and the administration and the

school newspaper pushing "It's all over," plenty of questions still remain as to whether or not this battle can be won.

In this situation, it is not surprising the struggle within the May 4 Coalition at Kent over how to move the battle ahead was intensified. Nor is it surprising that people popped up to argue that the militancy of the Coalition's actions, especially tearing down the hated fences, had "turned the students off," and that the Coalition should return to a strategy of encouraging passive, non-violent mass arrests where people occupy the hill with the aim of surrendering to the police in the largest possible numbers. What is a little more surprising is that a group purporting to be Marxist-Leninist would unite with this, but that's precisely what the Communist Youth Organization (CYO), the youth wing of the CP-(ML) (formerly the October League), did.

CYO's Opportunism

To try and turn the struggle at Kent to their own organizational advantage, the CYO formed a caucus within the Coalition. Among their partners in this dubious enterprise were people whom they themselves had previously denounced in their press as "reformists" and who had actually quit the Coalition.

The best example of the CYO's opportunist unity with these elements came over the question of what kind of demonstration the October action should be and when it should take place. Momentum was already building around the country for the 22nd, but both the CYO, and the RSB along with a number of revolutionary youth organizations, had already called national youth conventions that weekend in Boston and Kent respectively.

The CYO began attacking the Brigade and demanding the date be changed to prevent the RSB from using the demonstration to "build itself up." This slanderous demand was practically word for word what the administration had been peddling. Alas, a Brigade member took the wind out of both their sails by announcing that the RSB had already moved the date of its convention back (see box) so as not to interfere with mobilizing to build the struggle and resistance around Kent and to keep the battle focused on the question of preventing construction not on the right to hold the communist youth convention which the administration was denying.

Now the CYO, exposed but unwilling to reschedule its convention, latched on to the argument of their caucus partners that the demonstration should be put back a week. The reason? To have a passive mass arrest, a week of non-violent workshops on how to get arrested were needed!

Build Militant Action

The RSB and many others in the Coalition fought against this nonsense, pointing out that it would be a step backward and an admission of defeat. Though earlier activities involving mass arrests had played a mainly positive role in getting the struggle moving at that time, the masses of students had been turned on by the militant actions, which had shown that by uniting and fighting back students could stand up to the gym, the administration, the whole system, when court battles had failed. Many had seen that the bourgeois state and the legal system were not a friend which was working to turn the site into a national monument to preserve it but an enemy and one that could be successfully resisted.

Brigade members and others argued that mass tactics which express the people's anger and determination are the real road to victory. They highlight the questions facing the struggle: whether the lessons of Kent State 1970 and the whole anti-war movement will be remembered or buried; whether the gym will be built on the site or elsewhere; whether or not the American people will see thousands of young people carrying on the spirit of Kent and Jackson State, the spirit of resistance to the crimes of the rich.

Not only was the coalition won to this line, but few people expressed any concern about the scheduling conflict with the CYO convention. In practice the CYO had turned out only a miniscule handful of cadre to the September 24 action, a performance which would more than likely be repeated even if the October demonstration date were changed.

Active Sabotage

With their schemes shattered, the CYO turned to actively trying to sabotage the demonstration and the

New Date For Communist Youth Convention

The founding convention of the revolutionary communist youth organization of the RCP, USA has been moved back to the weekend of November 19-20 in order not to interfere with the development of the struggle at Kent State. The convention will be held at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. For more information write:

RSB or Young Red
P.O. Box A-3423
Chicago, IL 60690

whole struggle. To cover their rightist unity with Gandhi-style pacifism, they tried to erect a left cover by arguing the Coalition should "broaden" its focus to take up issues like defense of political prisoners and tuition increases and should hold a demonstration around the Bakke decision. People answered by pointing out that to reduce the gym to one issue among many at this crucial juncture would be to consign the struggle to defeat and that the Coalition all along linked the struggle at Kent to other battles against imperialism. In particular it has emphasized the objective ties between Kent State and Jackson State and the whole battle against national oppression. For that matter, the previous demonstrations had heard speeches relating the

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S. Africa Rulers Step Up Repression

New waves of rebellion spread across South Africa October 20 in the wake of the latest moves by the Vorster regime to crush black resistance to apartheid and white minority rule. On October 19 the racist government outlawed 18 black and multi-racial organizations, banned two leading black newspapers and jailed dozens of black leaders.

In the black concentration camps called townships around Johannesburg, Pretoria and other cities, thousands of blacks demonstrated, attacking government buildings and fighting pitched battles with the South African gestapo. Hundreds were arrested and at least one young black student was killed by police as of the time we go to press. In addition, many were arrested as white students from South African universities marched in protest of these repressive measures.

Despite recent efforts of the U.S. to prettify the bloody and vicious rule of South Africa's white minority, these latest actions are only a continuation of the reign of terror by which they have kept the black majority in bondage and have tried to douse the flames of revolutionary struggle.

Only a week before this crackdown the *Chicago Tribune* said that despite "vestiges of apartheid and petty discrimination" great progress was being made towards "racial harmony." This may be the most outrageous, blatant and twisted example of the U.S. ruling class' campaign to prop up South Africa, but it is not much different from other garbage they have been running.

As part of this campaign and as part of efforts to make inroads with black African nations, the U.S. has also been trying to play up people they call "moderate black leaders" and to encourage the South African government to make a show of treating them with some respect as spokesmen for the black majority. Now Vorster turns around and throws many of these same people into prison under the no trial-no charges Preventive Detention Security laws.

The anguished cries and denunciations from the U.S. capitalists and their media and even from others in the South African ruling class indicate that they recognize the arrests and banning have damaged their filthy campaign and have revealed the weakness and desperation of the Vorster regime. ■

Fake Welcome, Real Struggle Await Shah's U.S. Visit

The Shah of Iran, the fascist butcher and flunkey for the U.S. ruling class who rules in Iran, is coming to the U.S. sometime in mid-November to pay his respects to Jimmy Carter, two weeks before Carter himself is scheduled to visit Iran. Thousands of Iranian students and progressive Americans have swelled local conferences against this visit now being held all across the U.S. The Iranian Student Association (ISA), which is organizing these conferences, expects a large and militant national demonstration against the Shah and his visit when the Shah actually arrives in Washington, D.C.

Now the ISA has exposed and denounced a disgusting, underhanded maneuver by the Iranian Embassy and the SAVAK (Iranian secret police) agents who operate in the U.S. with the knowledge and cooperation of the American government. These agents have gone to Iranian students and some Americans at many college campuses around the country, offering a free round trip ticket to Washington and \$200-\$600 (depending on what it takes) to anyone willing to take part in a friendly demonstration to show "support" for the Shah.

This SAVAK maneuver reveals how little support the Shah really has and how utterly reactionary and corrupt his regime really is. This is all the more reason to build the actions against the Shah and the American imperialists' crimes in Iran into powerful and mass expressions of outrage. ■

Carter Plan in Shambles

Energy Fight Divides Bourgeoisie

Wearing a white hat and firing silver bullets, President Carter went on the airwaves to denounce the oil companies for "the biggest ripoff in history." The oil companies demanded to do away with all regulation on the price of natural gas amounts to picking the pockets of the American people for \$50 billion more than the mere \$100 billion that Carter's own "fair and generous" proposal would put into the coffers of the oil companies.

Meanwhile, back on Capitol Hill, the oil companies proceeded with the most massive campaign of vote buying in recent years and succeeded in getting the Senate to pass a bill for deregulation. At the same time the oil companies put out their side of the story through paid advertisements and paid politicians: "We question the doomsday forecasts that oil and gas are about to run out," says Mobil Oil; but they go on to threaten disaster unless "the maze of government imposed price controls, leasing delays, overly severe environmental restrictions and other unrealistic impediments" that stand in the way of their maximum profits are eliminated.

But Carter's antics to the contrary, there are no good guys in this drama, only the workings out of the laws of the capitalist system in the form of a bitter bloodletting struggle between competing capitalists and their political representatives. The fight among thieves over Carter's energy war is the sharpest such conflict which like other squabbles over steel imports and trade restrictions in the garment and electronics industries reflect the deepening crisis into which capitalism is sinking. This is the most serious fight over U.S. economic policy in a long time. In this showdown the stakes are very high, not simply the \$50 billion Carter cites, but the very survival of different capitalists, all faced with the maxim "expand or die." Indeed, people have been assassinated for far less. (For more on this whole question please see "Gas Blackmail and What's Behind It," *Revolution*, April 1977.)

The lineup in Congress was as clear as a bell. On the one hand, the representatives from the industrial states where capitalists depend heavily on natural gas and every increase in prices means a loss in the rate of profit

were almost unanimous for Carter's proposals. On the other hand, the senators and congressmen from the gas producing states were careful not to bite the hand that feeds them and the senators from other non-industrial states (where politicians have a lower price tag) were easy pickings for the oil companies.

As is usual when thieves fall out, each side has revealed much truth about the other and, most importantly, about the workings of their system of robbery. Who could argue with the charges that the oil companies are holding out the threat of disaster as a massive extortion attempt to obtain extremely large profits? But the "case" of the oil companies (while unlikely to generate any popular support!) is just as reasonable and logical within the framework of the capitalist system. Unless finance capital is convinced that money invested in oil and gas will return as much or more on the dollar than capital invested in other fields, there will be a continued grinding slowdown in new development of oil and natural gas—which is exactly what the situation has been for a number of years in the U.S. where known deposits haven't been exploited and so forth.

"Plan" in Havoc

Carter is caught in quite a predicament. The capitalist class as a whole needs a "national energy policy." Becoming increasingly dependent on foreign oil, for example, is dangerous business for the bourgeoisie. Not only does it wreck havoc with their balance of payments situation, it leaves them vulnerable to oil boycotts, price hikes and the like, not to mention the military implications. All the capitalists agree upon the need to wage an "energy war" on the American people through massive price increases, enforced "conservation," etc. But when it comes time to draw up exactly what this "national energy policy" should be, the contradictory interests of capital pull at it with the force of an exploding star! Besides the basic contradiction in this battle between oil and gas capital and capitalist oil and gas users, a hundred and one other capitalist interests get in the

jointly with other groups.

On the initiative of the Revolutionary Communist Party and together with activists who came forward through the work of the OC, an organization was formed specifically to take up the Joe Torres fight and the overall question of police terror—People United to Fight Police Brutality. Such a form was necessary in these circumstances to bring forward the many people from different strata of society who were outraged at the police murders and wanted to organize the fight. People United provided a form for fighters from the Chicano community, who were the largest number of activists coming forward, while at the same time uniting with those of other nationalities who saw the importance of taking up this fight. From the beginning the People United to Fight Police Brutality was united that mass struggle is the only way to fight police repression—a stand that quickly made it a target of the local authorities and those like LULAC who, wittingly or unwittingly, were playing right along with them.

Part of the bourgeoisie's scheme to vindicate the murderers involved moving the trial to Huntsville, a small city 70 miles away where the main state pen is located and employs 30% of the town's workforce! In addition, almost no Chicanos and few Blacks live in the town. With the bourgeoisie actively pushing the myth that justice would be accomplished through their mockery of a trial, and with a great many people believing that the case was so outrageous that even a whitewash could not be accomplished without sending the pigs to jail for at least a while, the struggle temporarily ebbed.

People United took its campaign to Huntsville, holding a number of actions. While the actions were small, they served to help expose the maneuvers behind the change of venue to Huntsville. The actions were covered in the press, which helped them be a focus for the latent anger of the masses.

Not only did the actions in Huntsville aid in building public opinion in Houston, they served to spark a lot of interest in the town itself. Soon after the trial began the courtroom was packed every day, mostly with people there in opposition to the cops. The activities of the People United to Fight Police Brutality during this period of relative lull in the fight helped to spur some other groups into further action.

During this period the OC continued to take up the

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way: the auto industries opposing attempts to cut back gasoline consumption, capitalists with billions invested in supertankers resisting attempts to cut back on oil imports, and so on.

The whole episode makes a mockery of capitalist attempts to "plan" the economy. Such things as Carter's "reasonable and generous proposal," which are based on trying to reconcile the interests of the various capitals, might have had a chance if things were going reasonably well for the capitalist class as a whole. But with crisis deepening and each capitalist and bloc of finance forced to think intensely in terms of their own survival (and hence less and less of the common good of their class) such a proposal was bound to end up on the rocks. Any "national energy plan" that is finally adopted will have far less sweep than the one originally proposed. It will be nothing but a Christmas truce between the various capitalist interests, based on their relative strength, bound to break out into warfare again as soon as the presents are opened, and each of the capitalists finds theirs lacking.

For the workers, none of the alternatives posed by the capitalists are any solution at all. All of the proposals call on the masses to sacrifice and sacrifice some more. Each of them will lead to deeper crisis and further suffering, but none of them can pump new life into the capitalist system whose internal contradictions are coming more to the surface through the fight over the national energy policy. ■

Gas Co. Gougers Cut Off Supply To Texas Town

The entire city of Crystal City, Texas is being held for an \$800,000 ransom. The entire citizenry's natural gas has been cut off to force them to come up with the money. But, unlike your run-of-the-mill extortion cases, the FBI has not been called in (at least not against the extortionists). The difference is that the thieves trying to rob the people of Crystal City are none other than a ruthless band of monopoly capitalists, namely the Lo-Vaca Gathering Company, a subsidiary of Coastal States Gas Corporation.

The Lo-Vaca outfit does not engage in interstate commerce, therefore its rates are totally unregulated. In the past two years the price for Lo-Vaca's gas has been jacked up by 550%, from 36 cents to \$2 per thousand cubic feet of gas.

Crystal City's residents are primarily Chicanos and Mexicans and some two-thirds of the city is below the official poverty line. The people simply could not pay for the 550% increase so the city government, controlled by a faction of the La Raza Unida Party, continued to charge customers only 36 cents per thousand cubic feet and fought Lo-Vaca's rate hikes in the courts. On September 23, after the court battles had been lost and \$800,000 in unpaid bills had been run up, Lo-Vaca shut the gas off to the entire town, stationing armed guards at their facilities.

The people are being forced to turn to butane or electricity—or to gathering wood—in order to cook. But winter is looming and it will not be possible for the vast majority to switch to other means of heating their homes. Even though Crystal City is in southern Texas, Blue Northerners (arctic air masses) can still turn things bitter cold.

While the people search out other means to cook their food and worry about how they will keep their children warm this winter, they are growing very angry. As the city's police chief said, "Just mention Lo-Vaca and some people get very radical." The people's rage is heightened in that Crystal City lies amidst natural gas fields, pumping out millions of cubic feet of gas yearly.

Crystal City is not alone—in two ways. Some twenty other south Texas towns are withholding payments to Lo-Vaca, although they are charging the citizens, putting the money into escrow accounts. Lo-Vaca is very worried that the resistance to its robbery will spread.

But further, price hikes and energy blackmail are what's in store for all the American people. As the big capitalists who control the nation's—and much of the world's—energy sources find their rate of profit squeezed they are demanding that all natural gas be deregulated, so that they can begin jacking up rates like Lo-Vaca. Crystal City is a concrete example of what the bourgeoisie means when President Carter talks about "the moral equivalent of war." ■

Torres...

Continued from page 1

aire was shot to death by vice squad detectives in one of Houston's ritziest hotels while apparently in the midst of a sex party with two girlfriends. One of the women stated that he had begged for his life while the police riddled him with bullets. Soon after that a young Black man was chased to his home by 20 to 40 squad cars and two helicopters for exceeding the speed limit. At his home he was beaten by police in front of his parents, who were pushed around and called "niggers."

These cases laid the basis for the explosion which occurred when Joe Torres was murdered. The circumstances of the killing concentrated the essential character of the Houston Police Department (HPD) and its every day way of dealing with people.

When the facts of the case leaked out a few days after the murder, the masses in Houston, especially in the Chicano community, were ablaze with anger. This was the last straw. The bourgeoisie, moving to head off what they saw as the inevitable outburst from masses, had the police chief immediately suspend five of the six policemen involved, leaving on the force the one who participated in the murder but broke the story.

The initial outrage over the news of the murder came out in a demonstration of 180 people four days after the killing. Upwards to two hundred people attended a public meeting. Several Chicano organizations, especially La Raza Unida Party, took up the fight.

But from jump there were some forces who tried to cool out the struggle, telling the masses to put their hopes on the bourgeoisie's "justice" system. Chief among these forces was the League of United Latin Americans (LULAC), composed of chiefly upper petty-bourgeois elements in the Chicano community with tight links to the bourgeoisie. At the aforementioned public meeting, which LULAC sponsored, the masses stood up and denounced the police bitterly yet LULAC called for no action.

The Organizing Committee for a national workers organization (OC), immediately took up the fight, sponsoring a car caravan to get out the word of the struggle, gathering thousands of signatures on petitions from workers in Houston plants and participating in actions



Thousands of progressive doctors and other professionals have taken a stand against Bakke. (Above) MCHR demonstration at Supreme Court.

Actions Coast to Coast

Bakke Case Under Heavy Fire

As the case of Allan Bakke, would-be medical student, is being considered by the U.S. high court, struggle against the Bakke decision (handed down by the California Supreme Court) is growing from coast to coast. If the Bakke decision is upheld the affirmative action programs won in the struggles of national minorities in the late '60s will be in serious jeopardy. (See *Revolution*, October 1977 and January 1977)

On October 8 demonstrations involving thousands were held in numerous cities. The actions, called by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD), were a new high point in the battle to halt the attacks on affirmative action. The Revolutionary Student Brigade endorsed and participated in NCOBD actions as well as holding independent actions, particularly on the West Coast.

The largest actions took place in Washington, DC, where 1500 people marched; Seattle, 1500 people; Los Angeles, 600; Sacramento, 600; and Oakland, 3000. The NCOBD actions were sponsored and endorsed in some places by as many as 100 different organizations and individuals. Among the groups are a number of professionals' organizations, of lawyers, doctors, medical technicians, and others.

The largest of the demonstrations, in Oakland, was characterized by its multi-national character and by wide involvement of the masses. (This was pretty much true for all of the West Coast actions, where the anti-Bakke movement has had broad participation. An example of this is that a number of groups mobilized from Black churches joined in the Oakland march.) The Brigade mobilized a contingent under the banner of the October 8 Coalition of students from area campuses.

A week later the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition (ABDC) held an action in the Bay Area. Over 2500 people turned out, mobilized in large part by MECHA, a Chicano student group.

"Armband Day"

On the day the U.S. Supreme Court opened its hearings on the Bakke case, the RSB in California distributed 5000 armbands declaring: "Minorities and Whites, Unite to Defeat the Bakke Decision!" In a day of struggle, the RSB organized rallies, demonstrations, forums and debates in an effort to build the battle to "Bury Bakke."

At the University of California in Berkeley, over 2500 students wore armbands. A rally was held where speakers from the Chicano Studies program and the RSB spoke to the demand to smash the Bakke case and pointed to the class interests behind the attacks on minority admissions and all students.

The morning of the Berkeley rally, the campus daily paper—claiming to represent the sentiments of the majority of students—editorialized in favor of Bakke. So, after the rally, students took to the streets to march on the newspaper's offices. Once there, they confronted the editor-in-chief and put some of his papers to the torch. That evening 800 students attended a debate between pro and anti-Bakke forces.

At San Jose State, 450 students joined a rally organized by the RSB and the Committee to Defeat the Bakke Decision. Afterwards, some 300 people marched on the administration building to confront the school's president, John Bunzel, a big supporter of the Bakke

decision. At first Bunzel refused to meet with the protesters but when 100 of them staged a sit-in, he finally showed up in hopes of fast-talking the students. His eloquent defense of Bakke fell on deaf ears and he fled the building. This was the largest demonstration on that campus since the anti-war movement.

At Los Angeles Community College, the RSB distributed armbands as well as holding a meeting of 150 to protest the Bakke decision.

The RSB on the West Coast is continuing to build struggle against the Bakke case and, after the October 22 demonstration in Kent, the RSB in the Midwest, South and East is making plans for building a big scale national campaign around the Bakke decision. While the RSB will continue to endorse and build for regional actions called by the NCOBD—although a handful of sectarian forces have thus far prevented the RSB from joining the NCOBD—it is also necessary for the Brigade to play an independent role and bring out a fuller analysis of what's behind the Bakke decision.

Different Lines

The need for this is pointed to by the different lines running through the struggle on what the source of national oppression is. The tone of the NCOBD action in Oakland was that racism and national oppression was a "societal problem," making it seem as if it was due to vague and general problems flowing out of society as a whole. But, as the RSB has been saying, while racist ideas and bourgeois ideology in general are picked up by the masses to one degree or another, the source of national oppression is the capitalist system itself, which cannot do without the oppression of whole peoples. And unless the bullseye is firmly hung on the bourgeoisie the struggle is in danger of becoming weakened or misdirected.

Coming off Carter's decision to support affirmative action in principle but attack the use of quotas, many

Ban The Krugerrand!

The National Steering Committee of the Organizing Committee for a new African Liberation Support Committee held a national meeting on October 15 and 16 in Philadelphia to map out plans for the coming year. The main issue that was discussed was the final planning for a Fall campaign against the sale of the South African gold coin, the Krugerrand. Following the example of the early history of ALSC, and especially the recently successful May 28, 1977 African Liberation Day Coalition March on the White House, the plans for the anti-Krugerrand campaign are based on building a broad coalition united around two points of political unity: 1) Ban the Krugerrand—Stop the Sale of the South African Gold Coin; 2) Victory to the Peoples of Southern Africa.

The anti-Krugerrand campaign will reach a peak on December 3, with regional demonstrations being planned for Oakland, California; Chicago, Illinois; Atlanta, Georgia; and a large East Coast city to be announced. There were 17 chapters attending this meeting, with several existing chapters not in attendance and several other cities sending word that efforts are under way to form new chapters. Overall the meeting was characterized by lively discussion, debate, and in the end a militant unity was reaffirmed around the main theme of this year's work: Fight imperialism and national oppression from USA (United States of America) to USA (Union of South Africa). ■

of the pro-Bakke forces have been hitting at quotas in order to knock down affirmative action altogether. These reactionaries are saying that "affirmative action is fine" but quotas, under any circumstances, are not. They point out that quotas have been used in the past to exclude religious and national minorities from education and other things. This is true, of course, but quotas have also been used to include religious and national minorities. They say that quotas place a "stigma," but this is just muddling the issue to take the "stigma" of discrimination off the bourgeoisie.

The effect of this anti-quota hullabaloo, translated into court rulings or administrative decisions, would be not only to back Bakke but to throw out many of the current affirmative action programs now in effect—a completely reactionary program which must be defeated.

Quotas

The main argument of the reactionaries is that quotas run counter to the "equal protection clause" for individuals in the 14th amendment of the U.S. Constitution, denying the fact that the real question involved is the social question of inequality and national oppression. Their "fair and just" solution to this dilemma is to restrict affirmative action to merely a show of good intent, such as "aggressive recruiting programs," rather than to measuring them by concrete results.

Yet, to leave the success of affirmative action to the "good intentions" of the oppressors, the bourgeoisie, is to leave it dead. The success of affirmative action programs, in almost all cases, requires a concrete, quantifiable goal, for example demanding the percentage of minorities admitted be at least equal to their representation in the population. In this way, quotas can be a weapon to force the bourgeois educational apparatus to accept minorities into higher education. Still it would be wrong to advocate a "quota system" everywhere and always as a cure-all for inequality and national oppression.

And the bourgeoisie, while overall stepping up its attacks on affirmative action—including quotas—and increasing national oppression generally has also worked to turn such things around against the people. They have often allotted "slots" in such a way as to keep oppressed nationalities out of programs and have often used them to get minorities fighting among themselves over who gets a larger share of the pie: Here is your minority allotment—fight over it. The bourgeoisie, and the American Medical Association (AMA) in particular have also restricted the number of medical school places available to keep the price for their services dear—with the net effect being high priced and restricted medical care for the masses, minority nationalities in particular.

The struggle to defeat the Bakke decision, whose heart is the fight against national oppression and inequality, is very important and protracted. Some recent maneuvers of the Supreme Court have indicated that even this particular case may be sent to other courts. Even if a victory is won, there will be continued attempts to block affirmative action or render it meaningless. But a line is being drawn and a movement is growing, focused on the Bakke case, which is saying loudly and militantly that the attack on affirmative action, the attacks on minorities must be battled and defeated. ■



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Capitalists are stockpiling coal in a desperate attempt to get a club over rank and file miners in contract struggle.

Contract Negotiations Begin

Coalfields Simmer As Showdown Nears

The coal miners' contract battle is drawing closer. December 6, the expiration date, appears more and more as showdown time. Miners are going into this contract with broad unity around the demand for the right to strike. Over the last ten years momentum has developed behind the wildcat strike movement as miners have come to see these strikes as one of their main weapons against company attacks. The last two years have seen major month-long wildcats around stopping injunctions and the right to strike itself, and this year the number of strikes almost doubled over the previous year. Key to the upcoming contract battle is the miners' ability to continue meeting the companies' attacks and strengthening their organization and ability to fight.

The Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) is making it crystal clear that they themselves see the contract as a showdown, and their number one demand is "labor stability"—smashing the wildcat strikes. They have launched a massive propaganda offensive in newspaper articles, daily editorials and paid TV advertisements. They've even put their propaganda to music with a jingle, "Keep West Virginia Working," which was played at a West Virginia University football game.

This is a different course of action than they took in the '74 contract where the BCOA remained quiet and primarily relied on UMWA President Arnold Miller to put over the sellout contract.

Struggle Builds up to Contract

The attacks launched by the companies this past year have been closely and consciously connected to the upcoming contract battle. They wanted to put the miners in as weak a position as possible come December 6. Their most vicious thrust was the cuts in health and welfare benefits. They were intended to blackmail miners into submission, since these benefits are now tied by contract to productivity. They went even further, threatening pension cuts unless the wildcats stopped. The miners responded with a powerful two month wildcat which, although it did not restore the cuts, did force the BCOA to reallocate money into the depleted benefit funds, a move which they earlier said was impossible and illegal. And the strike scared them out of cutting pensions in October, a major concession.

More recently the arbitration review board, the final step in the grievance procedure, came out with a decision saying, "the picketing of any mine is grounds for firing." The practice of miners up to now, in order to avoid firing, is for miners from one mine to pull out other mines. In the same decision is a provision that declares, "distributing leaflets that cause, promote or prolong a strike" is also grounds for firing. This decision is aimed at attempts to organize and strengthen the wildcat strike movement, specifically the activities of the Miners Right to Strike Committee.

And in the same week the International Executive Board (IEB) of the United Mine Workers Union refused to take Bruce Miller's firing to the arbitration review board on the grounds that his case "didn't have merit." Bruce Miller is a member of the Miners Right to Strike Committee and a widely known and respected leader of

the rank and file. He was jailed for his role in the '76 Black Lung strike and was fired during this year's benefits wildcat. The IEB wants to make it clear to the rank and file that this is the kind of backing from the International you can expect if you fight the companies.

Tension is building among miners. The end of the benefits strike was not the end of anger or activity. In fact, there was even talk of calling Miller's bluff on October 22 over his talk of pulling the miners out after 60 days if the companies did not restore the benefit cuts. Considering the tremendous sacrifice that the 10 week strike meant for thousands of miners and the fact that they are all expecting a long time without pay this winter because of a contract strike, the very existence of this discussion about another strike now is a tremendous tribute to the miners' fighting spirit. And strikes have continued to break out at individual mines since the benefits wildcat as the companies have tried to pull in all the slack they can.

The eyes of many miners are on negotiations in Washington. While most frankly expect the worst, a bold attempt to sell them out, they are anxiously watching developments, pouring over every scrap of information that leaks out, trying to figure their chances for breaking through and winning their demands.

There is a great deal of debate. "Can the rank and file make a difference?" And there is also deep concern over whether the union could be broken in the midst of the great turmoil and sharp intra-union warfare.

On October 6 contract negotiations opened in Wash-

New Pamphlet

The Tasks of Party Branches, The Task of Revolution

Contains two important articles reprinted from *Revolution*:

Party's Basic Organization Rooted in Making Revolution (August 1977)

The Tasks of Party Branches, The Task of Revolution (September 1977)

These articles deal with the tasks and principles guiding the Party's basic unit of organization—its branches. They spell out and expand on important points from the Party's *Constitution*. To grasp the content of these articles is to grasp basic principles of the Party's line.

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ington. The coal companies, puffed up with arrogance and trying to mask their desperation, shoved tradition aside. This time negotiations started with the operators presenting their demands while Arnold Miller meekly listened. In their opening statement the BCOA made their goals clear: "This year is a threshold year for labor relations in coal. We are this year going to negotiate an agreement upon which the future of national bargaining depends. This agreement must help to restore stability and improve productivity in coal . . . The principal cause of this instability has been the tendency of UMWA members for one reason or another to go on wildcat strikes rather than to use the grievance procedure and settle disputes under the terms of the National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement."

Their intent to smash the wildcats, and threat to end national bargaining and crush the union couldn't be much more blatant. Their detailed demands for productivity increases remove any doubt as to whether they are out to break the backs of coal miners: wiping out "any vestige of featherbedding or work practices which inhibit productivity" and a demand for strict absenteeism control. The companies are preparing a blanket assault on all the gains miners have won, from job postings to crucial safety rights.

There is no question that the strength of the rank and file has cut deeply into productivity. The operators have been forced to give ground for years in the coalfields. By their figures productivity in underground tons per man day has dropped from 16 tons in 1969 to nine in 1976. The upsurge of struggle in the unionized Eastern coalfields has seriously affected profits, both by the strikes in and of themselves and by wringing real concessions from the companies. The operators find it harder and harder to dog the men, to work them to exhaustion like they used to. Safety rights have cut into production and so have new job rights which are often related to safety, like adding helpers on various machines.

Capitalists Preach Common Interest

The capitalists preach common interests. They keep saying that they have solutions based on "common will, good faith and common sense to meet the challenge of labor peace." (BCOA report) In advertisements the energy companies claim "Working together is the only way," but their common interest and working together come down to one thing: tightening their belts around the workers' necks.

This is the real significance of the BCOA statement. They propose that if coal could achieve a production level of 1.2 billion tons by 1985 all the dreams of coal miners down through the years could be fulfilled. They claim to uphold a continuation for miners of "the lifestyle the American Nation has come to expect"! (And that they do—for what the working class has come to expect from the employers is a kick in the teeth.) But to get all these wonderful things all the miners have to do is give up their struggle, knuckle down, hand over hard won gains, ignore their personal safety, let job rights slip away. What's good for us is good for you, they say. What's good for the companies? Profits, labor stability and productivity—the constant refrain of the BCOA.

The importance of this battle extends far beyond the coalfields. The upsurge of the coal miners has had an effect on workers across the country. The goal of the capitalists in breaking the miners is not just to stabilize and boost coal profits, but to have the harnessing of miners serve as a pacesetter in dealing with union workers across the country.

In this confrontation the mine owners attempt to act as if they hold all the cards. To listen to them you would think that union miners have no choice but to retreat. But the picture they paint only reinforces the fact that miners have no choice but to fight.

The unionized sector of total coal production has shrunk from about 90% after World War 2 to about 50% today. It dropped 4.1% in the last year alone. The growth of Western and nonunion coal represents a very real danger to miners. The limp UMWA organizing drives washed out completely in the booming Western fields and have only barely established a presence in the nonunion eastern Kentucky companies. The importance of unionization was especially underscored this month by the savage attempt to crush the UMWA recognition strike at the Blue Diamond mines in Stearns, Ky. where massed state police in riot gear moved on 100 striking miners. The miners, in their fifteenth month of a strike, had gathered to stop scabs. They put up a sharp struggle with clubs and sticks. Virtually all the miners were arrested.

In addition, Carter administration officials have been saying behind the scenes that the President is willing to take whatever steps are necessary to break a contract strike, including use of the Taft-Hartley injunction, "to get the coal where it is needed." The open use of force is also being talked about by Governor Rockefeller of West Virginia. Recently he came out with his emergency strike plan, which includes lists of the numbers of tanks, national guardsmen, riot equipment, etc., available should a state coal strike become an "emergency."

But the lessons of past struggles show that the owners do not hold all the cards. Their best laid plans have been repeatedly blown away by the massive struggle of

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Torres...

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issue of the Torres case in the factories, as well as taking up other activities, including organizing for the founding convention of the National United Workers Organization.

Verdicts Hit Like a Bombshell

The October 3 verdict and the sentencing the next day hit like a bombshell. Joe Torres' life was worth one dollar! A year's probation!

People United held a car caravan through the Chicano community and all over Houston, calling for a mass meeting on October 11 and a big demonstration on October 15. Nearly a hundred people (mostly from the Chicano community) took part in the convoy of 35 cars, passing out 10,000 leaflets. The response was tremendous. When cars passed Hughes Tool, where 3000 steel workers are on strike, the workers cheered the caravan and gave the fist. People United's phone began ringing off the wall with people expressing their support and asking about the meeting.

The reaction of the masses to the verdict and sentencing frightened the hell out of the ruling class in Houston. The same day as the People United caravan, 150 people turned out for a march to the main pigsty called by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (which had previously not been actively involved in the Torres case). For the first time in the Torres struggle dozens of riot-equipped police were present to menace the demonstrators. The police began openly harassing People United members and others in the battle. The police chief stat-

ed that he was no longer going to maintain a "hands off" attitude towards the struggle.

Bourgeoisie's Dual Tactics

As always when backed into a corner, the bourgeoisie resorted to dual tactics. While increasing harassment and threatening to unleash their dogs on the people, they promoted to the hilt the forces in the Chicano community who had acted as a roadblock to the struggle all along. LULAC, State Representative Ben Reyes (a two-bit demagogic politician), some Chicano judges and some priests put out a leaflet addressed to "friends of Joe Torres." A classic piece of reactionary propaganda, the leaflet called on people to "remain calm and patient" and to "believe in the judicial process"! In a thinly veiled attack on People United, it called on the people to "have faith in your leadership [sic]. Do not be led by people whom you do not know to be part of your community." Its program for action was for people to report "rumors" to the LULAC hotline and write a letter to U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell, requesting an investigation.

65,000 copies of this trash were printed although how many were distributed is another matter (eight year old children were among the few seen distributing it!). Still the message got out in a giant way, courtesy of the Houston media, which picked up on the circular's attack on People United.

In the face of the open threats of the authorities and the treachery of the so-called leaders, 200 turned out for the mass meeting called by People United, enthusiastically uniting with People United's call for a single demonstration of all who could be united around the issue.

Workers Stand Strong In Bitter Strike

The strike at Essex corporation in Elwood, Indiana has been going strong for six months. The 220 strikers, mostly women, have fought injunctions, scabs, state troopers, beatings and shootings. In the last few weeks the struggle has gotten even sharper.

The starting wage at Essex is \$2.76. The company offered 62 cents over three years and refused to budge one cent in repeated bargaining sessions. The only change in the company's bargaining position from one session to the next has been to demand that more of the strikers be fired. The strikers have stood their ground, refusing to be divided and rejected this offer five straight times. The last three times the International rep from the UAW has tried to get people to accept it, but they have rebelled and voted it down two to one.

Support for the struggle has grown over the last few months. Collections have been taken at many plants, and workers from the area have turned out for the picket lines. The strikers together with the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) and supporters have done mass leafletting at auto plants in the area and in Indianapolis to build support for the strike. A car caravan was planned for Sunday, October 16, cosponsored by the union, the NUWO and the Essex Strike Support Committee to make a strong show of their support from other workers and further build this support.

On Tuesday, October 11, one of the leading strikers, Georgia Ellis, was beaten by a company thug. The next day another striker was hit by a car driven by the acting plant manager and was seriously injured. Naturally nothing was done—no charges were filed on anybody. The company was clearly stepping up their attack to beat down the strike and scare people away from the demonstration. Their efforts came to nothing. Over 300 people came out to the caravan and the rally that followed.

At the rally the International rep was forced to promise that he wouldn't recommend another contract that didn't allow every striker to go back together. Speakers from the NUWO and the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee also spoke. One of the NUWO speakers pointed out that the reason the strike had gained such support was that not only did this struggle typify many current battles going on, but that the strikers had fought it with mass militant actions and had defied the International's attempts to sell them out.

The strike is at a crucial juncture with the company mounting a real offensive to smash it. The strikers and their supporters though are ready to push forward and spark the battle to even greater sections of the working class. ■



20,000 rally in the center of Bonn to denounce the proposed ban on Marxist-Leninist organization by the West German monopoly capitalists.

W. German Gov't Attacks Marxist-Leninists

On October 8, twenty thousand workers, students and others turned out in Bonn, West Germany, to protest attacks by the German ruling class on the revolutionary movement there. The government is launching a wave of repression against Marxist-Leninists. They are trying to make illegal four organizations, three of which united to sponsor the October 8 demonstration. The Central Committee of the RCP, USA sent a telegram to the joint rally of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) [not to be confused with the Soviet-line revisionist party which calls itself the German Communist Party], the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist) (KPD[ML]), and the Communist League of West Germany (KBW). The message supported their struggle and proclaimed that despite all obstacles "Marxism-Leninism will triumph and the working class and masses of people will persevere in the fight for revolution."

This attack is being conducted in the name of "fighting terrorism," although all the groups the government is trying to ban oppose the strategy of terrorism as counterproductive to advancing the cause of the proletariat. The ruling class in this "anti-terrorist" campaign, while hitting hardest at the groups it is trying to ban, is casting the net even wider. Many critics of the government, including prominent liberals, cultural figures and professionals, have been accused by officials and the media of being "terrorist sympathizers." The West German bourgeoisie will undoubtedly use the recent kidnap/hijacking/jailhouse execution case to try and whip up more public support for its attacks on its opponents and on German Marxist-Leninists. ■

With the masses demanding unity in the face of a possible police attack, SCEF, La Raza Unida Party (one of whose main leaders had earlier affixed his signature to the reactionary circular) and some other groups agreed to participate and build for the march. The National United Workers Organization built for the march in the plants where there was widespread support, and brought a small but significant contingent of workers from several Houston plants.

The march was a big success. A powerful demonstration of 400 people who clearly represented the feelings of hundreds of thousands more was something the bourgeoisie did not feel free to attack. The efforts to scare people away and isolate the demonstration politically had failed. In fact, the reactionary leaflet and the media campaign that accompanied it were roundly rejected by the masses. The march through Houston's streets made clear that the masses would not allow the Houston police to get away free with Joe Torres' murder, and people were not about to sit back and "have faith" that the federal courts would set everything straight.

The action of the masses has led to the partial victory of getting the federal indictments against the killer cops. Already the LULAC crowd is going on the air waves to say, see, we told you, "the wheels of justice grind slowly but surely." But after so much bitter experience with the "wheels of justice" which crushed Joe Torres to death and vindicated his killers, the masses of people in Houston demanding real justice will not be fooled so easily. Seven years ago the last time the federal courts in Houston indicted a killer cop, he was acquitted after a year's delay. The bourgeoisie and their police would like to repeat this but the people aren't going to let it happen. ■

Youth Rebel Against E. German Rulers and Soviets

It was quite a celebration the government gave itself in East Berlin on October 7. To drag the young people into the "National Day" festivities, the government had rock bands set up in the vast Alexanderplatz plaza. Over 5000 people were there, many with knapsacks and sleeping bags, showing they had come from out of town.

At one point, the police stopped the group that was playing, without halting a Soviet military band on the opposite end of the plaza. Angry youths began swirling around, screaming at the cops and chanting "Biermann, Biermann!", the name of a popular singer who had been exiled by the East German government.

As more regular cops and "state security" personnel poured into the Alexanderplatz, the chants changed to "Down with the bulls" (the German equivalent of "pigs") and "Russen raus!"—"Russians out!" aimed at the tens of thousands of Russian troops stationed in East Germany and the ugly power of the Soviet Union in their country.

The police charged with dogs, clubs and water hoses. Many fled, but up to 2000 youths stood their ground, using bottles, stones, chunks of pavement and heavy sticks to take on the "bulls."

The battle raged for three hours. By its end over 200 youths had been injured and 700 arrested but there were reports that at least two cops had paid with their lives! This upsurge of mass rebellion against the East German government and their big brothers in the Kremlin, turned the holiday into a headache for East Germany's rulers and a festival for the people. ■

National Campaign Building

Northwest Jobless Hit Benefit Cuts

In Seattle on September 26, about 100 workers from Seattle, Tacoma and Vancouver crowded into the Rainier Valley Unemployment Office and ripped into Joe Garcia, head of Washington State's Department of Employment Security (DES). People came to the meeting in response to a call put out by the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC):

"Fellow Workers,
"If you've been cut off your benefits—we want you there! If you're getting the runaround every time you step inside the door to the unemployment office—we want you there! If you are tired of looking at job banks that only have \$2.30/hour jobs listed—we ask you to join us—we are calling on workers to come to this meeting and make the 'policy makers' answer to the unemployed for the policy that is putting thousands of us into the streets and into \$2.30/hour jobs."

Washington state was forced to set up the meeting on a challenge from UWOC. This public meeting is part of a strong battle shaping up in Washington state and across the country against the attempts of the capitalists and government to cut unemployment insurance to the bone and drive the whole working class down.

The battle in Washington state is part of the national fight being waged by UWOC in unity with the National United Workers Organization to beat back the attack on the unemployment system and attempts to use the unemployed to drive down wages of the whole class, and fight for union jobs at union wages.

State of Washington Attacks

On the heels of the federal government's slashing of the federal extensions, the Washington state legislature passed a vicious law to take benefits away from any worker who quits or gets fired from a job. In addition the law takes out "previous earnings" as criteria for the kind of job the DES says you have to accept or be cut off benefits. The whole law is a sharp attack that will cut off approximately 89,000 workers the first year.

To cover this attack and to take the steam out of the young but growing opposition by workers, the state officials launched a campaign of lies to show their concern for the unemployed and how much they were doing to help the "genuinely" unemployed find work. They planned an opening ceremony at the new Rainier Unemployment Office, a multinational neighborhood in the Seattle area, with the highest concentration of Blacks and an unemployment rate of 35%. The major state and city officials attended—the governor was the special star attraction. As part of the national campaign to fight the assault on our benefits, 25 angry unemployed from the local UWOC chapter confronted the governor: "If you're so concerned for the unemployed why did you sign a bill that will cut off 89,000 work-

ers?" The best she could answer was to claim the law only cut off "those who won't work." The angry confrontation that followed stopped the ceremony cold, and received widespread news coverage.

The next action was in conjunction with UWOC demonstrations nationally around September 22 to kick off the national campaign. Local target—a public meeting with Joe Garcia, head of the DES for the state. He'd been traveling the state from one unemployment office to another to "find out the problems of the unemployed." He appeared on local TV programs justifying the new changes in the unemployment compensation laws, saying that the people who won't work are being cut off so that the "genuinely" unemployed can receive their benefits and get help in finding work.

Garcia is just the man the capitalists need to promote their lies. A minority, Vietnam vet, a man who "knows what it's like to be poor." Using this cultivated public image and building off momentum from the confrontation with the governor, UWOC sent a delegation to

Garcia in the state capital. Ten workers went armed with a public letter challenging the state and national policy on unemployment and demanding a public meeting at the Rainier unemployment office the following Monday. At first he refused—he didn't "have the time." But he changed his tune and reluctantly agreed to the meeting when the delegation pointed out that the letter had already gone out to the press and to thousands of unemployed workers and that UWOC would report back to the unemployed that he was "too busy" to meet with them.

Unemployed Denounce Officials

Garcia and the rest of the state officials hoped to make it a "nice orderly meeting" where they would answer the UWOC letter point by point and then deal with specific individual problems. But these dreams turned to dust as they ran smack up against the anger of unemployed workers. A UWOC member broke into Garcia's prepared statement, "We know what this new law does through our own experiences of being cut off. What we are here for is to demand you justify these laws and policies coming out of your department that are cutting workers off benefits and forcing them into low-paying jobs or onto the streets with nothing!" From here on out the battle lines were drawn as worker after worker spoke to the new state law, the harassment and the national policy.

A young Black worker told how this new law denies him his benefits because he "voluntarily quit" his job, after two months of having to walk 20 miles a day to and from work. "I'm a vet, I've done my time. I got

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Angry unemployed rake Washington State unemployment officials at meeting UWOC forced with the head of the state Department of Employment Services. Angry workers made clear in no uncertain terms that government attacks on unemployed will meet stiff resistance.

Congress Attack on Wages

Hacks Turn Defeat Into "Victory"

Last month in *Revolution* we said that the House of Representatives' new minimum wage bill represented not only a kick in the teeth to the working class, but also a kind of embarrassment for the AFL-CIO leadership as well, since they'd promised their membership that their great "influence" in Congress was going to get a \$3 minimum wage. This was one of the AFL-CIO's main goals this year. Yet in the last few weeks, after a few changes in the bill by a joint Senate-House committee, the AFL-CIO is now hailing it as a victory.

Two things have happened since last month. One is that after it became widely agreed that the House action made the AFL-CIO's much publicized clout look very puny indeed, the Senate threw in a few concessions to make Meany and Co. look better. More importantly, after expressing disappointment about how their friends in Congress had made them liars or at least fools in the eyes of their membership, Meany and Co. went back to doing what they always do—calling the defeats of the workers a victory in order to cover up their own treason.

What are the facts of the matter? The AFL-CIO ask-

ed for a \$3 minimum wage right now, along with an indexing provision raising it every year to keep it equal to 53% of the average manufacturing wage. Both the House and Senate rejected this indexing provision. Compare the version passed by the House, labeled a defeat by the labor federation, to the so-called "victory" represented by the final version of the bill:

	House version	Final version
1978	\$2.65	\$2.65
1979	\$2.85	\$2.90
1980	\$3.05	\$3.10
1981	—	\$3.35

In other words, for the AFL-CIO the difference between victory and defeat is 5 cents an hour more over three years and the promise of 30 cents more in 1981!

In fact, the minimum wage of today—\$2.30—is lower than it was ten years ago in terms of what it can buy. The minimum wage would have to be \$2.92 right now to buy what the 1967 minimum of \$1.60 could buy.

With continued inflation, Congress' plan will almost certainly mean that the minimum wage will continue to fall further and further behind, dragging down not only the three million workers who now make the minimum and the many millions of low-paid workers whose wages are directly affected by the minimum, but also the wages of the whole working class.

Now these top labor fakers are holding out the hope that the Thompson bill recently passed by the House would cut the AFL-CIO's losses in membership (which has been shrinking steadily) by facilitating elections for union recognition. Getting this bill into law is one of the AFL-CIO's main goals for next year, along with the Humphrey-Hawkins so-called "full employment" bill, which, as President Carter recently pointed out when he announced he'd support a new version of the bill, won't even promise any particular drop in unemployment, and which, in reality, provides a framework for more attacks on the working class in the form of wage-cutting work programs. Insofar as the AFL-CIO admits any disappointment at all with how their lobbying around the minimum wage bill worked out, the lesson they draw is the need for the unions to spend even more money to lobby even harder in Congress.

The capitalists need these labor fakers to help disguise the system's nature and to mislead the workers down blind alleys. And of course, for these hacks, doing the bosses' bidding is the essence of their job. That's why the capitalists continue to toss the AFL-CIO leadership a few crumbs now and then, and why these so-called labor leaders jump for joy as though every crumb were a feast for the workers. In this case, the new minimum wage is less than crumbs. It sentences a whole section of the working class to an existence at the bottom physical limits of survival, at best. ■

We Want Jobs—Union Jobs at Union Wages!

Stop the Attacks on Unemployment Insurance!

The demand for "Jobs—Union Jobs at Union Wages— or Income" to cover all periods of unemployment is the most pressing demand facing millions of unemployed and is a big question and a major battle facing the entire working class. Millions still walk the street unemployed from the last big round of layoffs or, out of desperation, have been forced to return to work at a fraction of the wages they made before. Hopes and illusions of any real recovery for workers are being objectively dashed by the news of more layoffs and entire plants closing by Zenith, U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, Goodyear,....

The bourgeoisie themselves have begun to talk of another impending "downturn" in the economy. They are desperately trying to strip away as much unemployment insurance as they can get away with, while implementing government programs to mobilize the unemployed as a wage cutting, union busting force.

The Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) initiated a major campaign to fight this attack by pasting this proclamation to President Carter on the White House fence on September 21. The National United Workers Organization (NUWO) has begun taking up this battle, having adopted it as its current major campaign at its founding convention. A national petition and leaflets are being taken into shops, union halls, unemployment centers and communities across the country to build the campaign, expose the class interests behind this attack, and unite employed and unemployed in struggle.

On October 21, Carter can expect to meet a demonstration expressing the wrath and determination of workers, employed and unemployed, in Detroit when he shows his face for a "Congress of the Poor." On October 29, workers will be hitting the streets in Seattle, San Francisco, Chicago and New York City to raise their demands "We Want Jobs—Union Jobs at Union Wages" and "Stop the Attacks on Unemployment Insurance," to spark more struggle in every city against the government's policy and build for a national demonstration in January at the time of Carter's "State of the Union" address. ■



UWOC delegation after posting proclamation on White House gate. Regional demonstrations planned for coming weeks and a major January action will hit government attempts to dismantle unemployment benefits

To President Carter:

Last year during your campaign for the presidency, you travelled across the country promising jobs and a bright future for the working class people of America. You tried to take our anger and disgust with the way we have to live; you played with our righteous desire to have a decent, secure life for ourselves and our families, and you attempted to pin our hopes on the system and to vote for you.

But actions speak louder than words, Mr. Carter, and the actions you have taken since becoming President are ones that make the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Back in April you pushed for a new law which cut unemployment benefits back from 65 to 39 weeks. This is a law which forces the unemployed to take any job that pays above minimum wage. You tried to cover over this attack with promises of a jobs program. But your program has turned out to be nothing but a sham. And now you've come out with your workfare program which you've labelled "better jobs and income." As far as we're concerned, this program should be labelled "slave wage jobs and better income for the bosses," because that's exactly what it will accomplish.

You can fool some of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time. Many are seeing through your slick talking actions that serve the interests of big business and push down the wages, conditions, and standard of living of the working man.

Mr. Carter, today we're a delegation representing the feelings and aspirations of thousands more. We are determined to return to the factories, unemployment centers and communities across the nation to mobilize mass, militant action against your vicious programs and against the rich owners you work for. In January, when you deliver the State of the Union address, we will return, much stronger, to demonstrate for the things we need to live a decent life. ■

Northwest...

Continued from page 10

out with a family and I finally get a job. My car goes out and I'm not making enough money to get it fixed so I'm forced to quit. And your new law says I don't get any benefits 'cause I 'voluntarily quit'?" Garcia's silence was his answer to this example of this law being the vicious attack that it is.

Workers didn't just show up to take on this new Washington state law. A member of the Portland, Oregon/Vancouver, Washington chapter of UWOC demanded Garcia explain why his department sent out cards asking if workers were U.S. citizens. A laid-off Alcoa worker said, "Me and some of my friends got those cards. I didn't send it back in... now I haven't seen a check in weeks!" Why? Because the state cut off those who didn't return these cards. Another part of the widespread systematic harassment.

A 63 year old man receiving his federal extensions told how, after 44 years of working (27 in the same factory), the bosses succeeded in busting the union. He refused to take a dollar an hour wage cut and refused losing his seniority to the scabs so he quit. "You harassed me off my benefits, told me I had to report five new places where I looked every week or get cut. Then I do it—hitting 13 places in one week—I still get cut! You say your appeals are fair? Everything I said was twisted to a lie and confused up so I wouldn't get my benefits. This ain't just me. I've talked to others being cut for the same reasons." Garcia tried to answer this saying it was a mistake. But the Carter Bill, that forces people into low paying jobs outside their trade when they start drawing their federal extensions, was no mistake and this kind of harassment that is coming off that bill is no mistake either. The whole room responded saying there are hundreds of these "mistakes" daily that systematically harass people off benefits.

UWOC's program stood sharply against the capitalists, "Stop All Attacks on Our Unemployment Benefits— Restore All Our Benefits—Union Jobs at Union Wages!"

Employed workers joined the unemployed in denouncing the government's policy as an attack on the whole working class. As Garcia told how he was working with the unions in trying to get union jobs at union wages, a painter from the building trades put the lie to this. He stood and read a letter from his own union local sent to the International. The letter told how the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) job program replaced union workers with nonunion lower paying programs. The list of examples included city and county jobs that before CETA went to union contracts. A steel worker, a member of the Seattle/Tacoma National United Workers Organization, spoke to how important it is that the employed join in this fight against these attacks, saying it's the united fight of all workers that is key in the face of these attacks. "We're being hit with massive layoffs in the steel industry, unemployed for months, guys off for over a year. This stinkin' law would force us off benefits into minimum wage jobs."

In the face of this solid unity the government tried desperately to divide people. One worker, a member of the delegation that hand delivered the letter to Garcia's office, spoke up about how following that earlier meeting with Garcia, Joe bent over backwards to get him a job. He sent a representative out to his home to interview him personally and drive him down to the unemployment center. And after he got work, the office had state workers transporting him to and from the job. This was an obvious attempt to buy one guy off so they could use him as an example of "how the state can take care of these 'individual problems' if given a chance." But this worker didn't go along with their program. He came to the meeting and said, "What about the other 89,000 guys without jobs?"

UWOC made it clear that there were people there with problems and it would follow up on these "problem cases," but that these attacks were no "mistakes" or "problems with individuals" but part and parcel of the whole policy of government and business to cut benefits and force people into low paying jobs.

Cheap Attempt to Divide the Workers

Their cheapest shot was to try to divide people by race and nationality. The new operations manager of the Rainier Valley Unemployment Office, a Black woman, tried to brand workers at the meeting as "whites bringing their troubles into the Black community." One Black UWOC member, an older worker with years of experience fighting the system, shot back, "You don't know nothing about the community." UWOC demanded that the meeting be at the Rainier Valley office because the area served by that office, which includes most of Seattle's Blacks and minorities, has been hit hardest by unemployment. Workers there made it clear—Black, white, Chicano, all nationalities, were sticking together to fight these attacks.

These two past actions in Seattle have been important steps in building up the overall campaign of UWOC and the National United Workers Organization in the state of Washington. The heart of the target of the campaign is Carter and Congress, as the main political representatives of the bourgeoisie who have a national policy of attacking the unemployed and are coordinating this attack on the national level. At the same time, part of the ruling class' game plan is to disguise the fact that a concerted assault on the unemployed and the whole working class is underway by carrying it out through various state laws and a hundred different forms of harassment. For this reason, taking up the fight on a local and state level is a key component of the overall campaign while helping the workers involved to see more clearly what the overall policy of the class enemy is and the class interests that dictate it.

The Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee is following up on the recent advances in the Seattle fight—contacting the many workers who came forward in the meetings, making sure that the state comes through on the commitments they made around some of the individual cases brought up at the meeting, etc. Even though these victories are small and scattered examples, they are still important and UWOC will be popularizing them, thus helping to strengthen the overall fight. ■



Lenin at the Smolny, headquarters of the St. Petersburg Soviet and the Bolshevik Party, during the October Revolution.

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sentiments among the masses.

The Bolsheviks were among a small minority of the social democrats of the time who demanded an absolute rupture with the traitors to socialism and a resolute struggle against the imperialist governments in each of the predatory countries. And alone among the revolutionaries of the day, the Bolsheviks raised the slogan, "turn the imperialist war into a civil war" and called for socialists of each country to work for the defeat of their own bourgeoisie.

Needless to say, such a policy was not popular with the Czar, the imperialist bourgeoisie, or with the cowards and traitors to socialism who still commanded the allegiance of the majority of Russia's working people. The Bolshevik representatives to the Duma were arrested and charged with treason. Workers who were sympathetic to Bolshevism were drafted into the army and shipped to the front lines. The Party's press was completely shut down. And although some Party organizations were able to weather the storm (including the Russian bureau of the Central Committee, the day-to-day leadership of the Party), the Party suffered a severe blow with many of its organizations and links between them destroyed.

But despite the initial setbacks, the courageous and revolutionary stand taken by the Bolsheviks laid the basis for future advances. The Bolsheviks had safeguarded the interests of the working class in the midst of the imperialist war and helped insure that the advanced section of the Russian working class would not be swamped by the wave of patriotic frenzy that accompanied the beginning of the war.

The members of the Bolshevik Party, tempered by long years of revolutionary struggle and the twists and turns of the movement, found a hundred and one ways to continue to conduct agitation and propaganda among the workers and, especially as the war dragged on, to build up revolutionary consciousness and organization among the country's soldiers as well.

While the Mensheviks called for the workers to participate in the "War Industries Committees" which were controlled by the bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks fought for a boycott of these committees. This policy was so successful that when a group of workers was finally elected to pick their representatives to this imperialist tool, the workers' representatives voted to demand peace and the overthrow of the Czar.

In short, the Bolsheviks persevered in the "high, hard road" of revolutionary struggle in the face of extreme difficulties. This did not mean that they simply went into the trenches and waved red flags and the masses instantaneously rose in rebellion against their masters. It was a matter of sticking firm to revolutionary principles while finding the ways to unite with, organize and lead the growing discontent with the misery the war was bringing down on the masses of people. The book, *History of the Civil War in the Soviet Union, Vol. 1* (an excellent account of the Bolsheviks' work in the period leading up to the October Revolution, and well worthy of study) gives this account of some of their work among the troops:

"Outlawed by the Czarist government, the Bolsheviks carried on their work in the army with supreme self-sacrifice. When a soldier spasmodically gripped his rifle, not knowing on whom to vent his rage, the Bolsheviks would skillfully turn his indignation against the government and the bourgeoisie. When the soldiers, driven to fury, tried to find an outlet for their feelings in aimless acts of violence against the 'aliens'—the national minorities—the Bolsheviks would carry on internationalist propaganda in opposition to the reactionary policy of the tsarist government and the nationalists. By working persistently, the Bolsheviks transformed the spontaneous expressions of despair into an organized movement against the government. Persecuted by the secret police, liable to court-martial merely for being members

of the Party, the Bolsheviks unswervingly discharged their duty as fighters." (p. 45)

The Bolsheviks utilized their strength, the allegiance of the advanced workers in the industrial centers, to spread their revolutionary sentiment among the troops stationed in the vicinity, as well as making use of Bolsheviks and advanced workers sent to the front ("a remarkably short sighted policy," says the *History of the Civil War* with a remarkable understatement!) to spread revolutionary sentiment there and encourage broad scale fraternization with the "enemy" troops.

The Bolsheviks' policy was based on the materialist analysis that the war would greatly increase the sufferings of the masses in every way and lead to a change in their sentiment. This went directly against the openly defencist traitors and the "centrists" like Kautsky who looked only at the surface of things in the belligerent countries (the widespread chauvinism, the lack of immediate revolutionary action, etc.) to declare that the idea of turning the imperialist war into a civil war was a "farcical dream." At the same time, Lenin and the Bolsheviks never promised that their efforts would be immediately successful. As Lenin put it in his slashing exposure of the cowards and traitors to socialism, *The Collapse of the Second International*:

"Will it lead to revolution? This is something we do not know, and nobody can know. The answer can be provided only by experience gained during the development of revolutionary sentiment and the transition to revolutionary action by the advanced class, the proletariat. There can be no talk in this connection about 'illusions' or their repudiation, since no socialist has ever guaranteed that this war (and not the next one), that today's revolutionary situation (and not tomorrow's) will produce a revolution." (*Collected Works, Vol. 21, p. 216*)

By persevering in a revolutionary line and practice, the Bolsheviks put themselves in a position to take full advantage of the dramatic turn of events that took place in February 1917.

In a period of a few days in February 1917, the Czarist government was toppled, the Soviets (councils of representatives of workers, peasants and soldiers that had sprung forward as a form for revolutionary struggle during the 1905 revolution) grew again as representatives of the masses, and on the other hand a Provisional Government of the Russian bourgeoisie declared itself the ruling body of Russia. The situation had taken a qualitative leap.

The situation had developed in which, as Lenin stressed on several occasions, "Every revolution means a sharp turn in the lives of a vast number of people. Unless the time is ripe for such a turn, no real revolution can take place. And just as any turn in the life of an individual teaches him a great deal and brings rich experience and great emotional stress, so a revolution teaches an entire people very rich and valuable lessons in a short space of time.

"During a revolution, millions and tens of millions of people learn in a week more than they do in a year of ordinary, somnolent life. For at the sharp turn in the life of an entire people it becomes particularly clear what aims the various classes of the people are pursuing, what strength they possess, and what methods they use." ("Lessons of the Revolution," July 1917, *Collected Works, Vol. 25, p. 229*)

A Qualitative Leap

The long period of the quantitative buildup for revolution—the period of amassing forces and establishing and deepening political ties with the masses, training the advanced, forging and steeling the Party, leading day-to-day struggles of the workers and gaining experience in all of this—had given way through the war and crisis to a qualitatively different situation, a rapidly maturing revolutionary situation.

Of course the long period of preparation for revolution was itself not a simple continuum, but marked by periods both of lull in the class struggle and upsurges of the masses. But still, relative to what was to come, that entire period from the collapse of the 1905 revolution

to February 1917 must be seen as preparatory to the revolutionary crisis that culminated in the historic October Revolution.

All of a sudden the events of February 1917 thrust the Bolshevik Party into the center stage of the political arena in Russia. The February revolution had done away with the rule of the Czar and the hated aristocracy, but it had not settled the question of power. The capitalists, through the provisional Government and the Cadet Party (the main party of the Russian bourgeoisie, to whose banners all the dregs of Czarism also fled after February) sought to continue Russia's participation in the imperialist war, thwart the peasants' demand for land by trying to put it off until the constituent assembly (whose convening they constantly postponed), and prepare to first tame and eventually crush the soviets. The workers and peasants were ecstatic with the first victories of the revolution, toppling the Czar, and most did not see through the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, the parties that controlled the soviets initially and tied the masses to a policy of compromise (i.e. tailing) the bourgeoisie and the Provisional Government.

At the same time, the very conditions that had led the masses to topple the Czar were intensifying. The bourgeoisie prepared another offensive at the front. The profiteering of the capitalists increased tenfold. Famine grew closer. The promises of the Cadets and compromisers grew thinner and thinner as troops put down the peasants' quest for land.

The Bolshevik Party

In this situation, a situation qualitatively different than before, the Bolsheviks boldly stepped to the forefront and their influence was greatly and increasingly magnified. Where before the masses involved in political life were numbered in the thousands in one city, now millions of people were in motion and organized into organizations of class struggle—the soviets. All of the attention of the Bolsheviks became centered on winning the majority of the people to see the need for crushing the Provisional Government and the Cadet Party, and advancing to socialism, which required winning the masses away from the compromising parties.

In the course of the months after April (the month of Lenin's famous "April Theses" which laid out Lenin's basic assessment of the situation and raised the slogan "All Power to the Soviets") the revolution took many important steps with intensifying speed. The tactics of the Bolsheviks were diverse and varied, calling certain demonstrations at key junctures of the struggle, joining other spontaneous upsurges of the masses, leading the strike movement among the workers and linking them up with Bolshevik slogans, while guarding against a premature uprising. The Bolsheviks participated in the Soviets constantly, trying to win them away from the leadership of the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary traitors, and all the while greatly expanded their press, reaching workers, soldiers and peasants by the millions. After the suppression of a major Bolshevik-led demonstration in early July, Lenin was forced to go once again into hiding after being ordered to stand trial. The Party's papers were again suppressed. Yet a month later and the Bolsheviks were on the front ranks beating back the "Kornilov revolt," a counterrevolutionary attempt of the military high command, backed by the bourgeoisie, to put an end to the soviets and the revolutionary upsurge and, for that matter, the Provisional Government in the process.

As Lenin put it: "Events in the Russian Revolution, particularly since May 6, and even more since July 3, have been developing with such incredible, storm- or hurricane-like velocity, that it can by no means be the task of the Party to speed them up. All efforts, in fact, must be directed toward keeping up with events and doing on time our work of explaining to the workers, and to the working people in general, as much as we can, the changes in the situation and in the course of the class struggle. This is still the main task of our Party; we must explain to the people that the situation is extremely critical, that every action may end in an explosion, and that therefore a premature uprising may cause the greatest harm. At the same time, the critical situation is inevitably leading the working class—perhaps with a catastrophic speed—to a situation in which, due to changes in events beyond its control, it will find itself compelled to wage a determined battle with the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie and to gain power." ("Draft Resolution on Present Political Situation," *Collected Works, Vol. 25, p. 318*)

The Bolsheviks entered onto this stage as a political Party with the allegiance of the advanced section of the Russian working class. Without the stable core of advanced workers who had become tried and tested Bolsheviks, there is no way that the Party would have been able to "keep up with events," no way that it would have been able to step to the front of the working class and the masses of people generally and through the course of the events developing with "hurricane-like velocity" lead the masses in breaking with the compromisers and to the all-out assault on the bourgeoisie.

Lenin had summed up from the experience of the 1905 revolution precisely this point: the need for the advanced section of the working class, led by its Party,

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to step forward to the forefront at the decisive moment when the objective situation had developed in such a way that unrest among the masses was "magnified a thousand fold." "The task," Lenin wrote, "is to keep the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat tense and train its best elements, not only in a general way, but concretely, so that when popular ferment reaches the highest pitch, they will put themselves at the head of the revolutionary army." ("Lecture on the 1905 Revolution," *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 246)

Throughout the course of the class struggle leading to the 1917 upheavals, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party always geared their entire work with the final goal of revolution and socialism in mind. Had this not been done, had the Bolsheviks lost sight of the revolutionary purpose in participating in the numerous forms of battle that the circumstances at different periods required (leading the day-to-day economic struggles of the workers, participating in elections, joining legal organizations when revolutionary organization was driven underground, etc.) they would have inevitably fallen prey to the opportunism that dominated virtually every other party of the Second International, that of seeing the movement as everything and the final goal as nothing. It was this opportunism of not basing the work of the socialist parties during the relatively peaceful periods on the goal of revolution, of conducting struggles simply for the apparent advantage of the moment, that built up and burst like a boil with the outbreak of the First World War, which on the one hand provided the basis for a rapid development of revolutionary ferment among the masses as the misery engendered by the war increased, but which at the same time made legal, open revolutionary work impossible.

Objective and Subjective

That a period of intense political turmoil accompanied by a rapid growth in the revolutionary mood of the masses developed is not principally a result of the conscious work of the Bolsheviks. This was primarily a result of the objective situation: Russia's position as the "weak link" in the imperialist system, whole nations enslaved by the Czarist empire (57% of the population), a peasantry held in semi-feudal conditions, thirsting for land and haunted by famine, the ruling classes divided among the bourgeoisie that controlled the country economically while the Czar and the feu-



Bolshevik street rally, St. Petersburg, 1917.

dal aristocracy still held the political reigns of power. With this type of objective situation strained to the limit by the imperialist war there is no question but that tremendous revolutionary ferment and a *revolutionary mood* would have developed among the masses to a large extent regardless of the activities of the revolutionary Party (the subjective forces). (Whether or not bourgeois revolution would have taken place without the activities of the Bolsheviks is a matter of conjecture. Certainly events would have taken a far different form.)

The point is that there are numerous examples in history when a period of revolutionary upsurge among the masses has developed, when the ruling classes have been wracked by political crisis, and when the masses of people have been dragged into political activity often by the actions of the upper classes themselves, *yet there has been no revolution*. As Lenin stressed, for a fully developed revolutionary situation to exist (that is, a situation where the proletariat can actually seize power), three basic conditions must be present: the ruling class must be unable to rule in the old way; the masses of people must be unable to live in the old way; and *there must be a Party with roots among the masses capable of organizing and leading the armed onslaught against the bourgeoisie*.

Of course there were many political parties in Russia, several of which called themselves "socialist" and "revolutionary." But these were opportunist parties, parties that were not oriented ideologically, politically or organizationally toward the conquest of power by the proletariat, the forcible smashing of the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian state. Indeed, in the early months of the February-October period the opportunist parties held a commanding majority in the democratically elected Workers and Soldiers Soviets (as well as the Peasants Soviets, in which they remained the dominant force even through the October Revolution, when a section of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, the main party of the peasantry, united with the Bolsheviks for a short time immediately following the seizure of power.)

In this situation the Mensheviks ridiculed the Bolsheviks as a group of fanatics, and declared that the working class and masses of people had no choice but to compromise with the capitalists and their Cadet Party, to support the Provisional Government and wait for a Constituent Assembly. The *History of the Civil War in the USSR* describes this scene at the First All Russia Congress of Soviets held in early June, when the Bolsheviks numbered only 105 of 1000 delegates:

"Tsereteli, the Menshevik leader, made the emphatic assertion: 'There is no political party in Russia at this juncture which would say: 'hand over the power to us, we will take your place. . .'

" 'There is no such party in Russia!' Tsereteli loudly proclaimed amid the tense silence of the audience.

"And suddenly, like a thunderbolt, a voice resounded in reply:

" 'There is such a Party!'

"It was the voice of Lenin, hurling this challenge at the Mensheviks in the name of the Bolshevik Party." (p. 224)

Fate of Revolution Hangs on Party

Indeed the fate of the Russian Revolution, the ability of the workers to seize power and establish the first workers state (other than the short-lived Paris Commune) all depended on the fact that there was such a Party. A Party which had established its leadership of the advanced section of the working class, had a correct Marxist revolutionary line, which was politically and organizationally capable of putting itself at the forefront of the revolutionary masses and steering things forward in the midst of revolutionary upheaval.

The entire period of February to October 1917 was

one of a rapidly maturing revolutionary situation.

Through the rapidly developing events, the Bolsheviks led the masses of working people in seeing the nature of the class forces involved, why only the seizure of power by the working class allied with the poor peasants could solve the immediate questions that were facing the Russian working people: land, bread and peace.

The Bolsheviks were able to enable the masses to see through their own intense experience in political life that either the working class would make a revolution or the bourgeoisie and the dregs of Czarism would consolidate power on the basis of drowning the struggling masses in blood.

The camp of revolution and counter-revolution were both amassing forces. The compromising parties of "revolutionary democracy" stood completely exposed; their pitiful leaders and "socialist" ministers were thoroughly enmeshed by the bourgeoisie. The question could only be settled by force of arms. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party were able to sum up at the decisive moment that the revolutionary crisis had matured, that the majority of the working people would support transferring power to the Soviets and that everything depended on the outcome of the military struggle. Having the clear leadership of the working class and capable of fulfilling the demands of the peasantry for land, who were going over to revolutionary action, the Bolsheviks threw all their efforts into organizing the insurrection—forming detachments of red guards in the factories, carrying on struggle within the army to win the troops to accept only the authority of the Soviets—all in a few short weeks. This accomplished, the Russian working class led by the Bolsheviks was able to defeat the armed forces of reaction in the key cities and wipe the capitalist government off the Russian landscape with a single stroke, although this was but a preliminary to several years of armed struggle with the forces of reaction.

Without such a Party there is no crisis so deep that the bourgeoisie will not be able to crush or derail the movement of the masses and stabilize its rule on one basis or another. The tragic events in Chile in 1973 are but the most recent striking evidence that without such a Party having established its revolutionary authority among the masses there can be no revolution.

It is sixty years since Lenin and the Bolshevik Party led the Russian workers and peasants in smashing the Provisional Government, arresting its ministers, sending its president Kerensky into hiding and transferring all power to the Soviets. Sixty years since the working class embarked on building a socialist state on the ruins of the Czarist empire and built what was to be for four decades a source of inspiration and a beacon to the working class and oppressed the world over. Today, all the gains of this revolution have been reversed by the new Soviet bourgeoisie which, led by Khrushchev, seized power in 1956. Still, the experience of the Bolshevik Revolution and the Party of Lenin remains the most important single experience to be studied by communists in the advanced capitalist countries in regard to the question of the struggle for revolution in such a country.

Today there is no revolutionary situation in the United States, nor one immediately on the horizon—that is a situation whose features can be sharply determined. But all the laws of development of society tell us that such a revolutionary situation will develop. By conducting revolutionary work in today's non-revolutionary situation, by conducting all work with the final goal in mind, by keeping the consciousness of the advanced workers tense and training them concretely in the course of struggle, the basis will be laid today for the situation of tomorrow—when the Party and the advanced section of the working class will put itself at the head of the revolutionary army of the oppressed masses and topple the rule of capital. ■



V. I. Lenin, great leader of the Russian revolution and the world proletariat.

Zenith...

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tossing them aside as casually as a worn out machine. To go along with Zenith's bull about "Japanese competition" is to embrace a deadly enemy—the real task is to build a struggle and a movement to save the jobs and stop the runaway.

This question of what the Zenith layoffs meant was by this time of concern to far more than the Zenith workers. Steel layoffs, too, have been big in the news and Chicago has a lot of steel manufacturing. Furthermore Zenith is only the latest development, although a big one, in a general trend in the electrical/electronics industry in the area. Where IBEW Local 1031, the largest of several in the industry had 50,000 members during the early 1950s and 30,000 ten years ago, now it weighs in at 15,000.

With a social question of this magnitude, it's not surprising that politicians, media mouthpieces and labor fakers all over the city were throwing in their two cents worth, usually openly on Zenith's behalf. One TV station explained that these jobs were being sacrificed to save the remaining "American jobs"—probably if Zenith ever closes down U.S. operations entirely, these clowns will call it a move to preserve the jobs of American TV salesmen. Chicago's Mayor Bilandic summed up this line when he *thanked* Zenith's management for holding off so long before throwing 2,100 of his constituents out into the street!

Cutthroat Competition

But the picture Zenith's Nevin and his friends paint of him, Old Glory in one hand, sword in the other, sadly surrendering one line of defense to Japanese invaders as he grimly backsteps toward a new line, is straight out of Grimm's Fairy Tales.

Actually Zenith is just another gangster fighting to defend its own turf and irresistibly driven to slice off a chunk of someone else's. The television industry has in recent years been in the throes of the most intense competition. Research and development to improve products, and thus their salability, and the machinery required for speeding up production are extremely expensive. Thus even when the profits of a given company go up, its rate of profit (how many dollars the capitalist makes on each hundred dollars invested) is more than likely falling.

To compound the problem, TV companies are operating in a "soft market." Over 98% of all American homes were estimated in 1975 to have at least black and white TVs and over 70% color sets. Even if these figures are a little high, the fact is the market is increasingly saturated. This means falling sales and production running at less than capacity, causing further expense.

With more than a dozen U.S. and Japanese companies competing for an increasingly saturated market, the bloodletting is fierce. Last year TV prices' average drop was 7-8% at a time when Nevin was testifying to a Congressional Committee that his company would rather have implemented "needed and justified" *increases* at least that large!

As for his cries, and those of his lookalikes at RCA, Admiral and so on, about how stopping foreign competition would solve everything, it is basically bull, although it contains an element of truth. Japanese manufacturers, with more modern plants and advanced technology have been able to hurt U.S. firms in both the low priced and quality ends of the field. And of course they try to sell in the U.S., the largest single market in the world, because they are driven by the same laws as all other capitalists, expand or die.

National boundaries can't constrain the operation of this law—capital is drawn to the highest profit like safety pins to a magnet. Zenith has made all its radios and most of its black and white TVs abroad for some time, even while its "We have faith in American workers" commercials were all over the TV and magazines, because it could get out production cheaper in Taiwan where unions are illegal, laws protecting labor non-existent and pay levels disgusting.

On the other hand Japanese firms chasing profits in the U.S. have found it sometimes pays to set up production facilities here. Sony, the largest Japanese firm in the American market, makes half the color sets it sells here in a plant in San Diego and recently built a \$21,000,000 non-union videotape plant in the "right to work" state of Alabama. Ironically, Zenith is marketing the videotape equipment this plant makes—and under its own name! Now some Japanese firms are being forced to follow the lead of U.S. firms like Admiral which has been in Taiwan for years now and transfer more production to the Third World, such as in South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. No doubt the Japanese workers who lose their jobs will be told it's the fault of "unfair competition" from America.

With rivalry this intense, even the kind of government limitations on Japanese television imports Zenith wants would only have a temporary effect. One result would be intensified competition to move into the vacuum. Zenith, which has 22% of the market, would

be taking on RCA, which has 20%, and smaller but hungrier rivals. In fact, this announcement of Zenith's layoff plans came several months after the government negotiated a plan with Japanese manufacturers which is cutting those imports by 50%, a move Zenith hailed!

Competition in Exploitation

Competition for markets in the final analysis is competition in exploitation. Those corporations which squeeze the most work out of their workers for the least pay are best able to survive. This criminal throat-slitting will continue to go on, at the expense of the workers of all these countries, until the capitalist system itself is overthrown.

Even if Zenith got everything it's whining for—an easing of competition, a chance to jack prices up, more profits—it still wouldn't mean "more American jobs." The company has relentlessly cut its workforce in recent years; when it tripled its profits to \$34,000,000 in 1975 the corporate report did not connect this windfall with the fact there were also 5000 fewer workers than one year before.

And the results of the kind of international trade war Zenith wants to start certainly wouldn't mean more jobs for anyone. One consultant estimates that 100,000 jobs in Illinois alone depend on exports. How many of these workers would lose their jobs if tariffs and other import barriers started going up around the world? How many Japanese workers would lose theirs?

The result of an international trade war pitting nation against nation and imperialist bloc against imperialist bloc could only be worldwide economic crisis and the drawing closer of a real war as the best route to "expand or die" becomes the military one.

Even if it gets nothing that it has been demanding of the government, which must keep the interests of the entire capitalist class in mind, the anti-Japan, pro-"American jobs" act has been a real lifesaver for Zenith. With the help of their trusty sidekicks in leadership of the International Radionics Workers, they have managed to spread a good deal of confusion. Anger was diverted against the Japanese or diffused by the feeling that nothing could be done.

And in thus serving themselves, Zenith has performed a service for the whole ruling class. They have presented a big argument for class collaboration, for the view that the interests of the workers and the capitalists are the same. And they have with these layoffs

provided an example that other capitalists, and especially those in the electrical/electronics industry in the Chicago area, will use as a club to try and beat wages down and step production up.

The National United Workers Organization in Chicago has taken up the challenge. Precisely because the imports-cause-layoffs song and dance is not only a hot issue at Zenith but a big social question in the area, and throughout the country for that matter, it provides a good opportunity to put the lie to the whole line of class collaboration which Zenith, the unions and the politicians are pushing. With all the flag waving and fatalism stripped away, the facts show crystal clear, as the NUWO's founding proclamation puts it, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

Since the demonstration, where many workers started to see the union hacks had no intention of fighting and got rowdy with them, the officials have not even tried to mobilize the masses for fear things might get out of hand. If pressed to do something, they talk about taking people to Washington to plead with the government on Zenith's behalf. On the other hand, the electrical section of the NUWO along with members of Wildfire, a longstanding rank and file group at the company, and other Zenith workers has begun to wage a big battle around this. They have raised the slogan "Fight the Layoffs, Stop the Runaway." Mass leafletting, after work agitational and educational rallies at the plant gates and meetings have been held to spread the word and plan the fight. Steelworkers from U.S. Steel's Southworks and Gary plants have helped leaflet, explaining how the same anti-import line is being used against them.

It's a difficult battle—there is no guarantee that even a powerful united effort can save the threatened jobs and stop the runaway. But many workers are seeing that they really have no choice but to fight. This fight cannot be waged under the banner of fighting imports, or of "Buy American" or any similar scheme which proclaims that the workers and those who rob them have interests in common. It can be waged only under the banner of irreconcilability towards the employing class. This is the only way that anything can be won in the immediate struggle, and, in the long run, it is the only way that the workers can move toward ending such attacks forever by ending the criminal system which spawns them. ■

Thousands Greet Freed Fighter in Puerto Rico



Andrés Figueroa Cordero raises the Puerto Rican flag at the San Juan airport.

Andrés Figueroa Cordero, one of five Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned in the U.S. for over a generation, was released last month and allowed to return home to Puerto Rico.

A crowd of 2000 supporters came out to greet this symbol of Puerto Rican independence when he arrived at the San Juan airport October 7. Speaking from a wheelchair, with a Puerto Rican flag draped around his shoulders, Figueroa called on "every Puerto Rican" to "fight to the end against Yankee imperialism." "The only way Puerto Rico will become independent is through the bullet," he declared. Two days later 6000 people rallied to honor him in his hometown of Aguada.

Figueroa has been held in various U.S. prisons since 1954, when he and Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irving Flores Rodriguez were sentenced to life in jail for standing up in the visitors gallery of the U.S. House of Representatives and spraying the House floor with gunfire amid shouts of "Free Puerto Rico!" The House, at that time, was debating a bill to continue the U.S.'s control over this colony under the guise of making it a "commonwealth" of the U.S. A fifth member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, Oscar Collazo, was convicted after an attempt to assassinate President Truman in 1950.

All five prisoners have refused to ask for a pardon, saying that they have done nothing wrong and that they will never ask the U.S. imperialists to forgive them. Several times it has been hinted that if they would only crawl on their knees before the government and apologize, they would be freed. The government has used the fact that they have not asked for such a pardon as an excuse to keep them as the longest-term political pris-

oners in the U.S.

President Carter announced that Figueroa's release was on "humanitarian grounds," because Figueroa is dying of cancer. These words are especially cynical and hypocritical in light of the fact that Figueroa has had cancer for at least five years, since his first operation in 1972. Although Figueroa's lawyers have repeatedly filed for his release on medical grounds, the government denied that Figueroa was seriously ill or in need of special medical treatment right up until it was announced that he had only a few more weeks to live. Obviously, Carter's much publicized concern for the "human rights" of political prisoners only applies to those in the USSR.

The truth is that Carter found himself jammed up because of the contradiction between all his "human rights" propaganda and the increasingly loud demands for the freedom of Figueroa and the rest of the five, a demand which has grown so strong in Puerto Rico that even leading bourgeois politicians and the Catholic Church have been forced to join in. But it is an example of the real barbarism that lies behind Carter's smiling talk that he refused to order Figueroa released until he was faced with the inevitability of a huge outcry that would have followed Figueroa's death in prison. Carter stressed that he was not pardoning Figueroa, nor would he release the four other prisoners.

This makes Figueroa's call for his country's liberation from the chains of U.S. domination all the more powerful and necessary. The fight to free the remaining four Nationalist prisoners is an important part of carrying out the struggle to free Puerto Rico. ■

Victim Of Police Attack On Trial

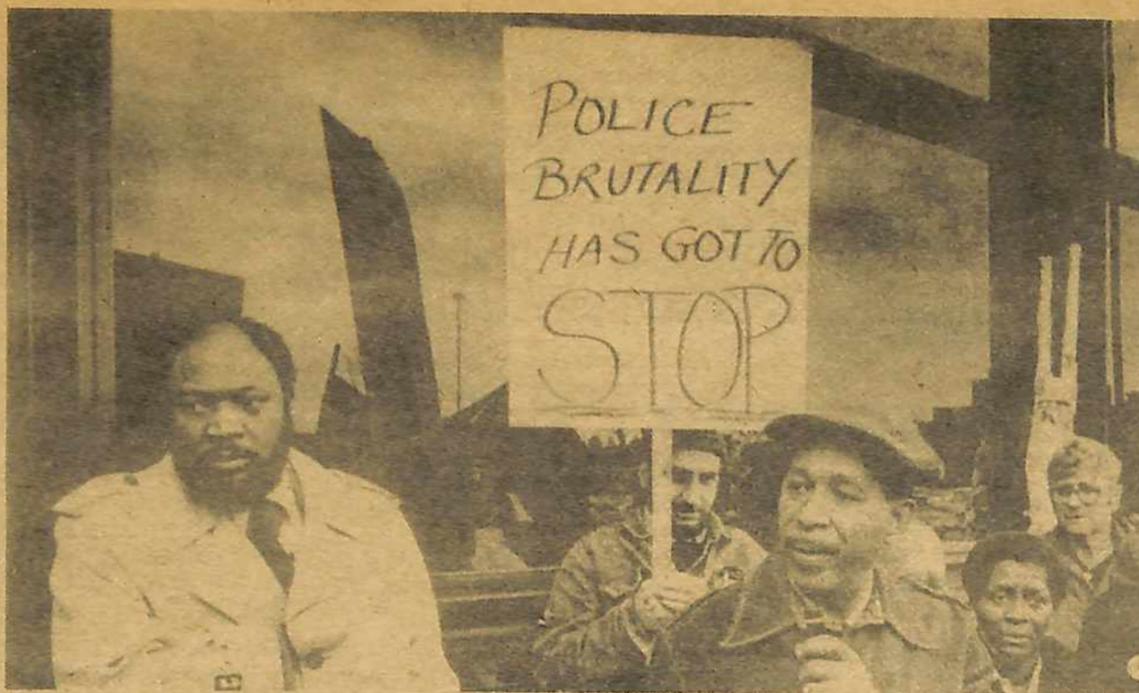
FLASH! Victory! Bennie Lenard was acquitted on all charges except the open can of beer.

The trial of Bennie Lenard continues into its third week in Chicago as we go to press. With every passing day of this outrageous trial the anger of working people grows. The bogus charges, the sham of justice, the whole trumped-up affair between the cops, the courts and the State's Attorney stink to high heaven, and workers in a number of plants throughout the Chicago area continue to build support for Bennie against the railroad.

Bennie Lenard, a 41 year-old Black worker at International Harvester, Melrose Park (near Chicago) suffered permanent damage to his eye, lost partial use of one arm and other continuing effects from a brutal beating at the hands of Melrose Park police last January that left him unconscious and put him in the hospital for 39 days (see *Revolution*, June 1977). The charges against Bennie and the trial are an attempt to cover up this savagery.

After leaving work one evening he had a minor fenderbender with a white woman. When the cops arrived at his call, she alleged he struck her. They handcuffed him without explanation, threw him in the squad car and proceeded to work him over. The beating continued after was brought to jail where he was stripped, doused with cold water and left lying on the floor of his cell with a window open in sub zero weather.

He is now being tried for nine charges—five traffic violations and four misdemeanors, including possession of a gun and having an open beer can in his car. The trial has brought out that none of the five traffic tickets were even issued by the cops who arrested him, but were written up by someone else after he had been brought to the station, a cop who was not even at the scene. The gun which has been produced as evidence is



Bennie Lenard (left). Cops, courts and government tried to nail this Black worker to cover up the brutal beating he received at the hands of Melrose Park, Illinois cops.

an obvious plant, and the cops admitted they did not attempt to make a finger print test to prove it was his gun. Prosecution witnesses have been obviously coached, but still have not been able to keep their stories straight, constantly contradicting one another.

The role of the court as protector of the cops is blatant. In his opening remarks, the prosecutor declared "irrelevant" any evidence concerning the beating. The judge, acting as one of the prosecuting attorneys, has forbidden any mention of the beating, any evidence of Bennie's condition after the beating or any questioning of witnesses that would bring out the brutal actions of the police. The State's Attorney, under pressure from Lenard's supporters, conducted two grand jury investigations of the action of the cops. When defense lawyers asked for the reports and documents of these investigations, he claimed he turned them over to the FBI. The FBI claims they never received them.

The government is spending thousands of dollars to convict Bennie. They sent investigators to his hometown in Arkansas to try to dig up dirt on him, sent agents to International Harvester to interview foremen and supervisors, and tried to fly in two "expert" witnesses from Washington, D.C. to testify at the trial. All this for five traffic tickets and four misdemeanor charges, with everything else "irrelevant"! Bull! They are trying desperately to nail him on these charges to undercut the struggle of Bennie and his supporters to bring the cops

to justice.

Struggle in the Shops and Unions

The most significant aspect of the widespread support for Bennie Lenard is the fact that it has a real base among rank and file workers. And time and again they have had to ride over the attempts of the union hacks to block them from fighting around this case.

Shortly after the incident brothers and sisters from his United Auto Workers Local 6 at IH came by the hundreds to a union meeting to demand that the union set up an official committee to defend Bennie Lenard. Despite moves to cool out rank and file action by sinking the issue in the bureaucracy of the union's Fair Employment Practices Committee, rank and file pressure forced the UAW Region to take a position in support of the demands "Drop the Charges, Indict the Cops! Full Compensation for the Lenard Family."

The rank and file in other UAW locals in the area have also gone over their leadership to pass resolutions of support, to allocate money for Bennie's defense, to have Mrs. Lenard speak at union meetings and to get official union delegations to come to the trial, in some cases on paid union business. At one UAW shop the local president tried to tell workers that it was illegal according to union rules to send a delegation. He was countered with rank and file shouts of "It's union business to see that the charges are dropped!" At one Inland Steel shop, the rank and file voted to have \$100 allocated out of union funds for Bennie's defense and then have had to battle the hacks to get it sent.

Workers have responded to the outrage that Bennie Lenard has been subjected to out of solidarity with a brother worker. As one union newsletter put it, "Bennie is a working person, like all of us and the loss of his eye and damage to his arm were criminal." But the support has also come from the fact that this was blatant national oppression. The plain fact recognized by many workers is that Bennie was beaten because he is Black. What happened to him was no isolated incident. It has happened time and again to Black people who work or pass through Melrose Park. And it happens daily to Blacks throughout Chicago and the rest of the country. As a leaflet put out by Auto Workers United to Fight put it: "Being Black means you're out of line with the cops from the word go . . . the policy of systematic harassment of Blacks and other minorities is the rule rather than the exception."

In the course of building broad support around Bennie Lenard's case, active workers have had to answer the questions from both white and Black workers about why they should become involved. In doing so these workers have deepened their own understanding of the role of the police and of how national oppression, while directly aimed at minorities, is equally a knife aimed at the strength and basic condition of all workers. An Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF) leaflet quoted from the proclamation of the National United Workers Organization at its founding convention: "We have nothing in common with these attempts to promote racism and discrimination."

In the Black community it is common knowledge that what happened to Bennie comes down every day. Mrs. Lenard spoke to this when she said that when a Black woman sends her man to work, she knows there's a good possibility that he may end up in the hospital or in jail before he comes home at night. The broad multinational support among workers for Bennie Lenard has in turn had a significant affect in the city.

A member of AWUF said the answer to why we should fight against the kind of thing that happened to Bennie Lenard lies in understanding what we mean when we say "we draw the line at Bennie Lenard." "Working people took up this fight right away, and that meant that we had a better chance to really win a victory, not only for Bennie Lenard, but for all Black people and for our whole class." ■

Coal...

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coal miners. One has only to look at the tremendous resistance and victories in the face of injunctions and firings. Look how the miners spit in the face of company blackmail for 10 weeks over the benefit cuts.

Arnold Miller has been working hard to put himself in the best position to block the miners struggle. He is in a much weaker position now than he was in the last contract in 1974. Then he was new and given the benefit of a doubt. Now it is the opposite. He has managed to make himself widely hated as a weakling and a traitor throughout the coalfields. But as head of the union he still has a great deal of effect on his own, both through back room double-dealing and also through his public role as a major figure in the negotiations themselves.

Miller has occasionally tried to polish his image with mandatory militant pre-contract talk. He has made attempts to associate himself with some of the deepest felt needs and demands of miners. These have been nothing but attempts to act close to the men so he can better get over with his class collaborationist role in crushing strikes, selling out the right to strike in 1974 and the 10 point program to end wildcats.

This is most clearly shown by the whole barrage of propaganda for the "limited right to strike." Miller's slogan has filled pages of coalfield newsprint. On the one hand it shows the real strength of the miners: Miller was so exposed over the last year that to survive he had to associate himself with the most important fighting demand of the rank and file. His tactic has been to concoct a limited right to strike, and make this the rallying cry of the most reactionary scabs in the coalfields. Naturally the accent is on the limited part of the slogan. However, because the coal companies shudder at the right to strike, whether limited or not, Miller has been forced into an embarrassing public debate over the best way to eliminate wildcats. Miller and the companies agree that picketing must be stopped and the companies must be given the contractual power to discipline and fire strikers and troublemakers. Miller at least publicly has made noise saying that the right to strike—strictly limited to grievances alone, limited to one mine—will let off miners' steam without encouraging big strike

movements. He especially emphasizes setting up procedures to get strike decisions "out of the bathhouses and off the roadsides and into the union halls."

The companies are in no mood to go along. They apparently have no confidence that Miller and the officials can contain the miners once the discussions get into their union halls. Whatever Miller may believe, the BCOA has no illusions that some "silent majority" would solidly oppose strikes at the ballot box. Votes like that were tried during the recent benefits strike in southern West Virginia and the masses of miners voted solidly to stay out.

At every turn the main fear of the union officials is that the rank and file miners will pick up momentum and the struggle will once again get completely out of their hands. Rank and file contract conferences were first promised and then recently cancelled. In their place, cozy get-togethers of local presidents have been staged for "input." Miller has constantly floated outrageous company-minded proposals, testing the waters to see how far he can go, while he works to create public opinion against the miners fight in December. He has proposed working through the December 6 deadline and recently has hinted that longer contracts, like five years, would help stabilize the industry.

Given the events of the past and their considerable experience with Miller the question among miners is not so much whether they are going to face a sellout, thousands know what is cooking. They are preparing to scrutinize all contract proposals, and it is common to hear miners say, "We'll have to vote at least the first one down just so they'll know we are serious."

The main questions among miners now revolve around how they can succeed in turning around the attacks of the coal operators. Miners know they are up against a powerful and determined enemy and they are obviously concerned about the weaknesses they feel with the union run by the likes of Arnold Miller. They worry about disunity and lack of organization in a hard fought strike.

This points to the necessity of building independent rank and file organization within the union. The more openly there exists a center of struggle, the more unified and powerful will miners be in the fight. The Miners Right to Strike Committee has played an important role in building this rank and file strength in the past and has set itself the task of doing it even more so in the upcoming battle. ■

Steel...

Continued from page 2

Soon afterwards, he along with some other active workers were fired by the company, but, he said, he had no regrets and would do it all over again.

The Youngstown workers were furious at the company, and at the union officials for their inaction—they didn't even come to this meeting, although they'd been invited. "We've got to fight for ourselves, because no one else is going to do it for us" were words that spoke for most of those present. The question arose, well, how can we get the mill to reopen? What can we do? It was suggested at first that maybe it would be necessary to offer the company something, some kind of break that would make it worth their while to make steel in Youngstown again. But soon there was strong unity against this.

"We don't have anything to offer—we've got to make them give us our jobs back—we don't intend to see everything we've worked for all our lives go down the drain." "There was a time when we could have struck. We can't do that now with the plant shut down. But we're still workers and anything we get from them won't be because it's to their benefit, but because we made them do it." These were the feelings that the workers united around.

One woman steel worker summed up the situation in cold facts: "The one thing the establishment is scared of is organization. If we don't fight together, we'll all be standing together in the same soup line."

An important point brought out in this was that no one single tactic will do it. The steel layoffs are part of a far broader capitalist crisis and the workers face a tough battle, with no guarantees. But they have little choice, and besides, the question is broader than just any one person's job, or just the jobs in Youngstown. It's a question of building a movement, a question of fighting for jobs across the industry and an overall fight by all workers to keep from being crushed and to build up strength, understanding and organization for the future.

In this light, people were able to bring out the necessity and possibility of bringing the battle against the shutdown in Youngstown to other steel workers including those still working, as the Johnstown workers have already begun to do. When there were some cynical comments about how this was just a pipe dream, a worker from the one department in the Youngstown mill that's still in operation spoke up. "I'll fight for your jobs alright, and I'll be fighting for mine too." A member of the National United Workers Organization from the Youngstown company's Indiana Harbor Works brought this home with some powerful news.

A Fight in Indiana

In September, after starting the shutdown in Youngstown, the company had decided to increase its production at its Indiana Harbor Works in East Chicago, Indiana to take up some of the slack. In violation of the contract, it decided that the way to do this was to give the workers split days off, to reschedule their days off so that they would work six days a week, but not have to pay overtime because with split days off the workers would never work more than five days in a row.

The workers were naturally outraged and wanted to take this on, but again there was the old doubt on the minds of many, "You'll never get enough people to stick together." In fact, especially because the shutdown of the company's mill in Youngstown had shown what the future might hold, a fairly large core of workers got together around an organized plan of resistance. In one department, the wives of the workers threw up a picket line. In another, 80 out of a

hundred workers called in sick on an agreed upon day, despite the fact that their plans had been leaked to the company and the foremen had threatened all of them. Then the workers pulled a two week long slowdown, with every unit in the mill reducing production, some by 50%, until the company began running scared. The National United Workers Organization leafletted to spread this action throughout the mill and link it to the fight for jobs in Youngstown.

For the workers at Youngstown, this was a real inspiration. It showed something about their situation as well—that far from being the isolated victims of an isolated attack, the shutdown at Youngstown is part of the overall efforts of the steel companies to resolve their profit crisis at the expense of all steel workers by getting rid of some and bearing down all the harder on the rest. Especially in this situation, there is a clear urgency for taking the battle at Youngstown out to workers throughout basic steel as part of their own fight.

At the same time, there are far bigger forces than even this involved. The crisis in steel is not at all separate from the profit crisis which is squeezing the entire capitalist ruling class in its grip, bringing layoffs in some industries, and even where this is not true today, forcing the capitalists to squeeze even harder on all workers. This gives a more general importance to battles like those at Youngstown and the fight against the anti-import hysteria being whipped up by the steel bosses and their union flunkies.

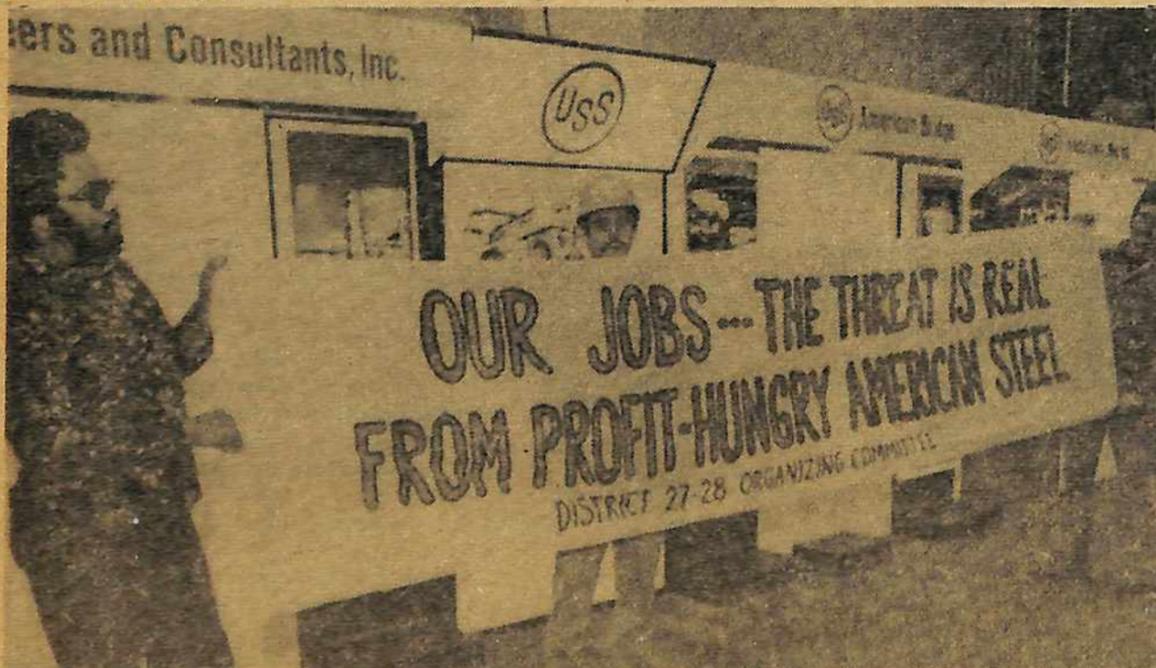
The hysteria is no hoax—low cost imported steel does hurt the steel companies by restricting their ability to raise their prices and thus their profits, at least temporarily. While some steel companies and the USWA International are trying to get the government to restrict steel imports, other powerful capitalists oppose this because they don't want to pay more for steel, as well as fearing losses if a trade war spread. In fact, U.S. Steel, the biggest steel company, opposes import restrictions in part because it is hurt less than other steel companies and hopes to profit from their losses.

But restricting imports wouldn't save steel jobs at all, since "becoming competitive" for these companies necessarily means using their profits to automate more and throw still more people out of work anyway. Most important, just as the anti-imports hysteria is a smokescreen to hide the companies' efforts to step up their bloodsucking and a political tool to try to get the steel workers to submit to this, it is also an attempt to confuse and mislead all workers who find themselves being pressed down harder and harder as the bourgeoisie's profit crisis deepens. All this, together with the other political and economic attacks that are part of the current crisis, provides an even greater basis for many workers to see the forces involved and the importance of the battle against these layoffs.

March Planned

On October 26, it was decided there will be a march in Youngstown with the demands: 1) Reopen the mill; 2) Full SUB pay (the company is saying it doesn't have to pay senior workers the second year of Supplemental Unemployment Benefits [SUB] promised in the new contract since the contract doesn't take effect until January 1, although it was signed last summer); 3) Extended medical benefits for all laid-off workers; and 4) No cutbacks in education and other services in Youngstown. In addition to this, the workers decided to fight for a public meeting with the company and local politicians to present their demands and demand an explanation, and to call upon USWA locals to endorse and become actively involved in this campaign.

The *Steelworker* has just published a 28-page pamphlet, *The Foreign Imports Smokescreen*, which analyzes the question of imports and layoffs in the industry. It is available for 25 cents from the *Steelworker*, P.O. Box 5171, Baltimore, MD 21224. ■



In nearly every steel mill and mill town in this country there is a sign declaring, "The Threat Is Real from Imported Steel." Carrying a banner from the Cleveland area steel section of the National United Workers Organization, rank and file steel workers carry the struggle against this company propaganda to the opening session of the American Iron and Steel Exposition.

Kent...

Continued from page 5

questions of the Bakke decision and Southern African liberation struggles to the battle at Kent.

The CYO's attacks have not all been this subtle. For one thing, even at Kent they have been building for their convention and ignoring the demonstration on the 22nd. To top it off, their shabby little caucus sent a letter to student governments all over Ohio bitching about RSB influence in the Coalition, which nearly resulted in the cancellation of plans for student government-funded busses from Ohio State.

Here the CYO, whether it likes it or not, is working hand in glove with ruling class. Both the Kent administration and the Cleveland newspapers have publically declared that isolating the RSB is the key to ending the Kent State struggle and the CYO is doing its bit, pathetic though it may be.

The Struggle Grows

KSU President Brage Golding obviously did not rely on the CYO's antics to stop the struggle. He even issued a "Presidential Order"—no fooling—that no rallies would be permitted on his campus on the weekend of the 22nd. Even as this upped the ante to Kent students who were thinking about the demonstration, it sparked a lot of interest and defiance on campus. It didn't stem the growing tide of support for the Move the Gym movement with public figures from Bill Walton of the Portland Trailblazers to Grandpa Walton (actor Will Geer) of the TV show making statements backing the struggle. And Golding's threats didn't put any dent in the numbers or the enthusiasm of students from all over who intend to see the struggle at Kent through, and in person when they can.

The battle to stop construction is continuing. No matter what happens as the struggle develops, the ruling class has already paid a heavy political price for its efforts to bury May 4th. A new generation of students is being educated in the lessons and spirit of Kent State and Jackson State, and through their struggles in 1977 students are learning what stands behind the oppression and injustice they see around them. ■

Theory...

Continued from page 4

has raised our enthusiasm to persevere in training ourselves in Marxism-Leninism.

Studying Marxism-Leninism is no straight road forward. And this has posed problems for us more than once. For example, in the first lesson of *Political Economy* the author quotes Marx saying, "The best thing in my book is first (and on this depends all understanding of the facts) *the two-fold character of labor*..." The chapter goes on to explain that the one in the same labor of the worker creates both use value in commodity and exchange value. Fine and well, but it still left us very puzzled about what more was explained by this two-fold character.

Through the course of taking up other aspects of political economy, though, we began to grasp the significance of the two-fold character—that this principle enabled us to understand not only the properties of a commodity, but also the law of value in general, the basis for the differentiation between constant and variable capital and other important questions. More importantly we deepened our understanding of wage-labor as wage-slavery and as a specific historical category that not only was not "eternal" but would and must be done away with.

Beyond all this, though, we have developed our understanding of Marxism as a science, as dialectical materialism. True, there is no chapter in this particular book on dialectical materialism as such, but in taking capitalist society and economic relations, dissecting them and drawing lessons from this analysis, Marx used the science of dialectical materialism. From studying how he applied this science to the particular question, we have also learned a great deal about the method of this science—in its "sweeping, all-encompassing sense."

But one reading of a book cannot make someone a Marxist, and crucial to deepening an understanding of Marxism is to use it to make another qualitative leap—back to practice. The development of knowledge cannot stop in either theory or practice, but using Marxism, continually develops both in their dialectical relationship.

Similarly, there are three main forms of the class struggle, not one or two. We feel that our study of Marxism has contributed to our work in the political and economic arenas of the class struggle, and has laid the basis for still more success.

But more than just this, we are resolved to continue to study and deepen our grasp of Marxism, to train ourselves and others in the science of revolution. We have begun to consciously take up the theoretical struggle against the bourgeoisie, and we are determined to see this struggle, too, through to the end. ■