



REVOLUTION

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

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Miners Press On Despite Sellout Attempt

Support Struggle In the Coalfields!

"A vote against this proposed contract will be, in effect, a vote to destroy the UMW," said Arnold Miller. "I would hope our miners recognize that this contract meets the human needs they have had through the years and meets them well," said West Virginia Governor John D. Rockefeller IV. The Bituminous Coal Operators Association offered a \$100 bonus per man if the contract is ratified at the first presentation.

And so it went, a united effort by the top union hacks, the capitalists and their government to ramrod through one of the most grotesque sellouts in the long history of the United Mine Workers of America. Looking and sounding like a mongrel just whipped by its master, Miller went on TV to tell the miners that they could either accept the wonderful benefits the companies were offering them or they could go on striking over "every little bitch and gripe" and suffer the consequences.

It was clear long before contract negotiations began that the coal companies and the rest of the capitalist class were out to deliver a severe beating to the rank and file of the UMWA and to break apart the militant wildcat movement that has grown in size and significance in recent years. Number one, the coal bosses are determined to force greater productivity out of the miners. This means continuing their onslaught on job rights, safety conditions and depriving miners of their main weapon in defending themselves against these attacks: their ability to strike. Number two, the coal company owners and the whole capitalist class fear the militancy of the miners and their strike movement because it represents a challenge to their "right" and ability to keep the rank and file in chains. Number three, the struggle being waged by the miners, despite all the slander and distortion laddled out by the

capitalists and the union leadership, has been a source of inspiration and pride for hundreds of thousands of other workers throughout the country and if it continues to grow will certainly serve as a spark and example to workers in other industries. Further, the attempts to beat down the miners is part of an overall attack by a crisis-ridden capitalist class on the whole working class.

This was illustrated recently at the John Amos power plant in St. Albans near Charleston, West Va. Over 100 miners, including members of the Miners Right to Strike Committee, went to stop a train of scab coal being taken into the plant. When they got there they discovered that workers at John Amos, an open shop organized by the United Steelworkers Union, had been on strike for two weeks.

The union hacks had told the steel workers that they could not stop the scabs who were keeping the plant in operation and had to limit the number of pickets to two per gate. The miners were outflanked tactically by the company and were not able to stop the coal train.

What they did do was join with their brothers on the picket line, talk with them about how miners were fighting their strike and exposed the fact that the fat cats and bureaucrats running the steel workers union and trying to sabotage the John Amos strike were the same breed of sellout flunkies as Miller and his crew. Before the night was out, the steel workers had gotten on their CBs

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As Miller and the BCOA try to "merchandise" their outrageous sellout, miners are continuing to mobilize to reject ratification and to fight for their own demands. Above demonstration against the 1974 contract.

Arrogant Clique Suffers Defeat

RCYB Consolidates On Correct Line

Braving severe winter blizzard conditions, nearly 100 youth and students traveled long distances to attend a crucial meeting of the recently formed Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) held in Cincinnati on January 21. The delegates were sent as representatives by a large majority of the RCYB's chapters from all areas of the country—from Boston and New York to California and Hawaii, and everything in between. Although it had only been two short months since the RCYB's founding convention, this Cincinnati conference was critical in determining whether the Brigade would continue under the basic principles unanimously adopted at the convention or whether they would be reversed by a small but arrogant faction. It was the unity and understanding achieved at that convention that forged the RCYB as a vital force in organizing youth to fight shoulder to shoulder alongside the working class for proletarian revolution.

But this was not achieved without struggle—not only mass struggle, but also struggle within the RCP between two sharply opposed lines. This struggle focused on the name of this youth organization, with a number of leading comrades in youth and student work, together with some others, opposing the Party's line of having the word "communist" in the name of the organization. Their opposition to the name "communist" reflected a right-wing, contemptuous view of the masses of youth, as well as the working class in general—an out-

look which permeates a paper they wrote and submitted as an appeal to the Party leadership prior to the convention. (This paper, together with the reply by the leadership, has been published as a pamphlet for all to examine.)

As has now become clear, these people had been organized for some time as part of a revisionist headquarters within the RCP which engaged in factional opposition to the central leadership of the Party not only on the question of the communist youth organization, but many other questions as well. The line put forward by this clique of careerists (which included members of the former National Office [NO] of the Revolutionary Student Brigade) would have led this newly formed youth organization down the swampy low road of reformism and revisionism—eventually to become an obstacle in the path of the workers struggle rather than a weapon in its hand in the fight against the bourgeoisie.

"Too Much Anti-Communism"?

These revisionists claimed that working class youth in particular would be "turned off" by the name "communist," and in essence (and in practice) they felt that the working class youth could not and would not grasp communism in this period. Their rationalization for this rotten stand was that "for the past 20-30

years the bourgeoisie has been beating the s--- out of socialism and communism," and there's too much anti-communism among youth and in society overall.

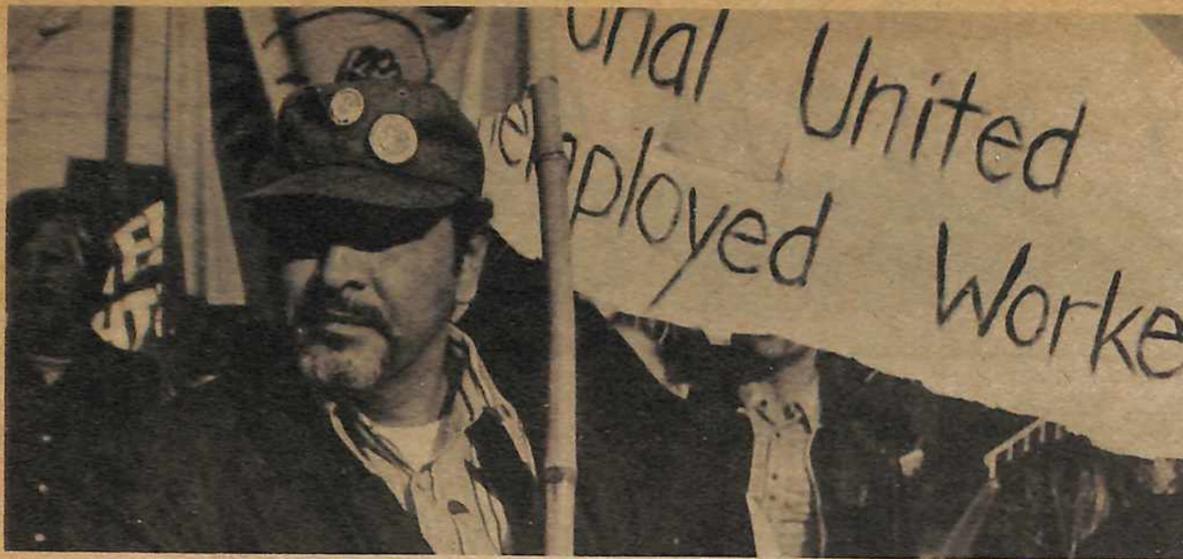
While paying lip-service to the concept of a communist youth organization, they put forward a totally different formulation—an "advanced mass organization." The main basis on which people would become members of this organization would be their desire to fight against the attacks coming down on youth. This denies in effect that there is a qualitative leap involved between the problems and outlook of the masses of youth and of a communist youth group. It forgets that the main reason the RCYB is involved in battles is not because of the particular problems of youth, but to help make proletarian revolution. They went so far as to say that a good chapter would have as many as 30% of its members being people who didn't consider themselves communist or aspiring to communism!

This line was defeated within the Party prior to the RCYB founding convention, and on that basis, the RCYB was founded November 22-23 on a fundamentally sound political and ideological line. There was lively discussion describing the miserable conditions youth face under capitalism—the high unemployment, dead-end jobs with lousy wages, as well as discrimination, terrible schools and widespread drug abuse. And beyond all this, youth tend to question the injustices of society, the whole set-up and what it holds for them. In response to all this, many youth rebel and boldly fight back—and any youth organization must join and lead these growing struggles. But the delegates to the convention saw that this was not enough, because merely fighting for partial "solutions" or a few piecemeal reforms never has and never will end these conditions.

Only a total overthrow of the existing system—a revolution—can solve this, not a vague "youth revolution" or a drug-filled "youth culture" or reformism.

There was sharp discussion at the convention on the question of whether being openly known as communists would "get in the way" of building mass

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West Coast UWOOC demonstration Jan. 21 in Oakland, California united 350 employed and unemployed in the struggle of the working class around unemployment.

Jan. 21 Unemployment Demo

350 March In California

On January 21, around 350 workers—steel workers, farmworkers, workers from auto, garment, electronics, cannery and other industries, employed and unemployed—from cities up and down the West Coast united in a powerful demonstration in Oakland, California, demanding Union Jobs at Union Wages, Stop the Attacks on the Unemployment Insurance System, and Smash Carter's Workfare Plan. Fed up with continuing high unemployment—with speedup and forced overtime for some while others search in vain for a decent paying job—and angry at having unemployment benefits chipped and chopped away, forcing workers to accept slave-wage jobs, they came to fight the capitalists' attacks and target the fight at their crisis-ridden system as the source of unemployment.

Many were members of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) or from chapters of the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOOC), the two groups which jointly initiated this campaign early in the fall. Since then the campaign against the capitalists' unemployment attacks, typified in part by Carter's programs—cutting back benefits and forcing the unemployed and welfare recipients into minimum wage jobs—has been built at unemployment centers and plants across the country. Local and regional demonstrations were held to build this campaign and get the word of the fight out broader.

Throughout the campaign it became clear that workers, both employed and unemployed, have many basic questions about the causes of unemployment and what to do about it. While many people would agree with the demands being put forward, and even join these demonstrations, it was not enough to simply talk about Carter's "one-two" punch of attacking unemployment insurance and driving down wages. The campaign had to be built as a political campaign in the interest of the working class, in contradiction to the capitalists' necessity of cutting off benefits and lowering the wages and working conditions of workers. The understanding that the capitalists and their system were the cause had to be brought out and deepened.

Around the country the *Worker* newspapers held forums on unemployment with speakers from the RCP. By going into a Marxist-Leninist analysis of unemployment, targeting the bourgeoisie, and through lively question and answer sessions afterwards, piercing the smokescreens around imports, "illegals," and other questions, a number of active workers were able to understand the nature and scope of the battle more clearly. Struggle around these questions helped move workers' understanding forward, release their initiative and better enable them to struggle with their fellow workers in the process of taking up the campaign. Through mass leafletting, these forums, newspaper articles, demonstrations and other means, the basic reason for the nearly 10 million people out of work in the U.S. today became clearer to more workers—the built-in inability of the system to provide work for all who need it.

D.C. Demonstration Cancelled

UWOOC and the NUWO had also planned for a demonstration in Washington, D.C. on the 21st, which workers from the East and Midwest had been building for. These two actions were timed to counter Carter's State of the Union address with the working class's message that the only road forward is to fight these

capitalists tooth and nail. But a blizzard in the East and heavy snow in the Midwest forced the cancellation of the D.C. demonstration. Still, understanding the necessity for these actions, some workers from as far away as Denver and El Paso set out for D.C. before actually getting stopped by the snow or getting word of the cancellation.

Carter in his State of the Union address tried to claim that progress is being made on unemployment and push the line of unity between the capitalists and workers, saying—we can move mountains if you will just get behind me and pull together. His officials are even bragging that he lived up to his promise to reduce unemployment to around 6.5% by the end of 1977. But their statistics don't begin to reflect the true extent of unemployment and aren't meant to. The big drop they are claiming in unemployment was achieved by juggling the "seasonal adjustments" of their "statistics" around, which had one Wall Street research firm shaking their heads in disbelief and calling it "incredible." Some bourgeois economists are even running around trying to redefine "full employment" at around the present official rate of 7% unemployment.

The capitalists are trying to convince people that everything is fine, that unemployment is disappearing and is no longer the big problem it was. But the fact remains that the only jobs—if any—to be found for a great many are minimum wage and part time jobs, which don't even begin to pay for the necessi-

Sadat, Dayan Visit U.S.

Reactionaries' 'Peace Plan' Sours

The Egypt-Israel road show arrived in Washington, D.C. in early February. First came Anwar el-Sadat, trying to maintain some semblance of dignity as he desperately pleaded with President Carter to pressure Israel into making at least the appearance of some concessions in the "peace talks" which Sadat so dramatically initiated last November by crawling to Israel. Hot on his heels came Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan for a 10-day speaking tour of major American cities. "My objective is to try my best to explain our attitude," said Dayan. "I wish it would have been President Sadat's attitude too so I wouldn't have to contradict him." Dayan's statement is a bit more than silly propaganda. It is a succinct statement of Israel's position. They want complete and open Egyptian capitulation to their demands for continued occupation and sovereignty over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and Israeli settlements and military bases in the Sinai.

Sadat has made it more than clear that he is willing to capitulate to the Zionists, but it cannot be quite so naked and complete as the Israelis are demanding. He is willing to bend over to the Zionists, but if he bends too far, too fast, he will be toppled right out of his seat of power. Hence when the Zionists, in the middle of the so-called "peace negotiations," not only stonewalled on their positions, but announced that they would go

ties of life. Because of this and as unemployment benefits are being cut away, more and more workers are squeezed into accepting these jobs. Soon after Carter's address, on the strength of these new "statistics," 300,000 more workers were dropped off of benefits and the maximum length of claims was cut to 26 weeks in 41 states. This is the future the capitalists have to offer.

Oakland Action

But the future will certainly not be as the capitalists would like it. Workers are beginning to understand that the only road forward is through struggle against these capitalists and to fight in their own interests, as the Oakland demonstration and the response to its stand showed. Clenched fists, honking horns and shouts of "Right on!" greeted the march. On the morning before the march, a 20-car caravan and two flatbed trucks wound through the streets of San Francisco with an eight-foot effigy of the capitalists' current chief representative hung with a sign saying, "Let them eat peanuts," and drew an enthusiastic response from people on the streets. On the march itself spirits were high and the demonstrators, displaying their militant and multinational unity, were clearly proud to be taking the fight right up against the capitalists and all their servants.

As an unemployed worker said at the rally said, "They always say the Democrats are for the working man, but I've been voting for 20 years and nothing has basically changed. The way I see it, the Democrats and the Republicans both represent the rich. Really there's only two parties in this country, the rich and the poor. But what they try to accomplish with the Democrats and Republicans thing is to get the people of the country fighting each other. We aren't falling for this. Even a horse gets tired of pulling a plow, and we're tired of carrying the rich on our backs for 200 years."

The road forward is not easy, but it is the only road—determined struggle coupled with a deeper understanding of the battle. As the speaker from the RCP said, "As long as Carter's class is on top of the mountain, workers are going to have to fight them and there's going to be nothing but misery for us. In the course of this battle and many others like it, workers will come to see revolution as the only real hope for the future, but getting there means taking the high road of struggle. By any other road, whether it promises 'vote for me and I'll set you free' or union leaders or political hacks telling us to limit ourselves to what we can win right away—these easy 'solutions' are just dead ends. This march and demonstration, though the numbers are small compared to the millions of workers in this country, showed that the working class can and will fight in its own interests and that this is the road to victory."

On the night of the demonstration, 350 people attended a cultural program capping the day off. The program included songs by Prairie Fire and Firebrand, a group from Los Angeles, which sang "Bloody Ludlow," the new single about the coal miners' struggle. The program also included a ventriloquist. Of particular significance was the performance of the original dramatic play *Hard As Steel* by an ongoing revolutionary theater group formed in the Bay Area. ■

ahead with the creation of new Israeli settlements in the West Bank and maintained that they would not relinquish their settlements and key military bases in the Sinai (where Prime Minister Begin has purchased a "retirement" home), Sadat had little choice but to denounce them and break off the negotiations. This he did on January 22, recalling his envoys from the talks of the committee set up to work out the political aspects of a "settlement." However, the military representatives of Israel and Egypt continue to meet in Cairo.

Sadat asked that, for a minimum, the Carter administration sell Egypt the highly sophisticated and versatile F15 fighter plane which the U.S. has been supplying to Israel in large quantity. This was not for the purpose of war against Israel, said Sadat, but for defence against possible Soviet backed attacks from Libya or Ethiopia. On the surface Sadat was pleading that such a sale would in itself be pressure on Israel to be more forthcoming in negotiations and would demonstrate that the U.S. was taking an "evenhanded" stand towards both sides, i.e., that there was some tangible payoff for hitching Egypt's star to U.S. imperialism. Included, though, was the warning that if he failed to make some "justifiable" capitulation to Israel it would leave the door open to new Soviet inroads in the Middle East—

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Party of Proletariat Strengthened

How Bolsheviks Defeated Mensheviks

All revolutionary, all genuinely communist parties, grow and develop and can only do so through the process of struggle—not only the mass struggle of workers and other victims of exploitation and oppression but also intense struggle within such parties between Marxism and opportunism, between the interests and outlook of the working class and those of the bourgeoisie. In fact, it was through such struggles that the first Party to be based on Leninist principles was forged, the party which led the working class in Russia in making the world's first successful socialist revolution and building the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union. The fact that, beginning with the seizure of power by Khrushchev in the mid-50s, that Party has been transformed into one based on opportunism and representing the interest of a new bourgeoisie in restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, does not in any way detract from the great contributions of the Party of Lenin (and after him led by Stalin) or the lessons that can and must be drawn from the history of the Bolshevik Party.

In particular, the early history of the struggle to found this Party and to safeguard it against the attempts to split and destroy it shortly after its birth holds many crucial lessons for us today. It is a stirring history of relentless struggle against opportunism, of upholding revolutionary principles in the face of rabid and vicious attack, and finally, of decisive victory for the Party of Lenin. It was out of this struggle that Lenin's Party earned the proud title "Bolshevik." Originally, the term simply denoted the fact that Lenin's supporters happened to have a majority at the Second Congress of Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP); ever since it has meant staunchness of revolutionary will, thoroughgoing Marxism-Leninism, refusal to conciliate with opportunism or to sacrifice the long-term interest of the proletariat for some petty temporary expediency. And the opportunist minority at the second Congress also earned a title—the title of "Menshevik", a term of stinging contempt reserved only for those jackals and traitors, who having failed to tear the revolutionary heart out of the new Party of the proletariat, fell completely into the swamp of opportunism and, following the logic of their revisionism, ended up selling their services to the bourgeoisie and joining the camp of counter-revolution.

Today the struggle between Bolshevism and Menshevism, between communism and cowardly capitulationism, goes on and must go on within the ranks of the revolutionary movement and we can, by examining the original Bolshevik-Menshevik battle, learn more deeply some of the basic laws of this crucial part of the overall class struggle.

The Period Preceding the Founding of the Party

In the late 1800s in Czarist Russia, capitalist development began to accelerate dramatically, and this had the effect of rapidly transforming the conditions of the class struggle. The creation of the beginnings of a modern industrial proletariat, a growing bourgeoisie which to a certain degree had come into contradiction with Czarism, the abolition of serfdom and so on, all began to undermine the economic base which served as the foundation for the autocracy. It also gave rise to the swift spread of revolutionary sentiments, among the peasants and workers and sections of the intelligentsia. Groaning under the weight of 14 and 15 hour work days, at wages of seven or eight rubles per month, the peasant-turned-proletarian soon learned the benefits of his new found "freedom". Already in the 1870s and '80s, strikes became commonplace, and trade-union consciousness began to grow. By the eighties, Marxist theory began to take root in Russia, with the formation of the "Emancipation of Labor" group formed by G. Plekhanov, who played a critical role in introducing Marxism to Russia but who later completely betrayed the revolution and the proletariat.

The first formidable opponent of struggling Marxism in Russia was Narodism, a populist, anti-Marxist trend which held that a form of "communism" could be built out of the feudal base in the countryside, that the peasantry was the main force in the revolution, that the working class was insignificant and would never be a serious factor, and which adopted terrorism as its chief tactic in the struggle against Czarism. This trend had broad appeal, not only among the peasants, but also among the new breed of revolutionary intellectuals in the cities.

While the early Narodnik movement was genuinely progressive, the continued rise in the struggle of the working class against the capitalists and the devastating

critique of the Narodniks by the Marxists caused the Narodniks and the terrorists to lose much of their influence by the nineties. By then, in fact, the line of the Narodniks represented the needs, not of the mass of poor peasants, but the interests of the more well to do peasants. The ideological struggle against Narodism in the 1890's led by Lenin was an essential step towards laying the basis of unity among revolutionaries for the founding of a real Marxist Party. Of interest, in light of his later behaviour, was Plekhanov's tendency to conciliate with some features of Narodism. Even then, despite his overall positive role, Plekhanov's inability to radically break from all forms of bourgeois ideology showed itself. In his critique, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social Democrats" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 1), Lenin for the first time outlined what was then the principal task of the Russian Marxists: to weld the scattered, isolated Marxist circles and study groups into a single, united and revolutionary Party of the working class.

Following the complete ideological defeat of Narodism, a first, unsuccessful, attempt was made in 1898 to found a Party. The First Congress of the RSDLP, which was attended by only nine persons (Lenin was not present, being in exile in Siberia), was significant in that the Congress formally proclaimed the formation of the Party. But actually, no real Party had yet been formed. The Central Committee elected at the 1898 Congress was arrested almost immediately, and the program it issued negated the leading role of the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The real task of Party-building still lay ahead. This was a situation specific to Russia.

The Struggle Against Economism

In the period of time after the First Congress, the ideological confusion among the Russian Marxists began to increase. It became clear that the ideological defeat of Narodism and terrorism alone could not provide a sufficient basis of unity for the formation of a genuine independent proletarian Party. In particular, the influence of a revisionist deviation from Marxism, known as Economism, was growing rapidly. Economism, a trend in the international Social-Democratic movement of that time, advocated that the workers should engage in only the strictly economic struggle, the struggle for better wages, working conditions, and so on.

The Economists advocated the theory of "spontaneity," which held that the economic struggles of the workers would spontaneously generate socialist consciousness. "A kopek added to a ruble is worth more than any socialism or politics," cried the Economists, and "the workers must fight, knowing that they are fighting, not for the sake of some future generation, but for themselves and their children." By this the Economists meant that the workers were absolutely incapable of seeing anything but their own most narrow, most immediate interest. Further, the Economists sneered at revolutionary theory as useless, and opposed spreading it among the workers. While the workers' struggle was to be limited to the economic arena, the Economists reserved the political struggle for the liberal bourgeoisie, which they called the leaders of the people in the fight against Czarism.

Lenin saw that as long as such opportunist trends and theoretical disorder reigned supreme, it would be impossible to forge a single, united Marxist Party in Russia. First, a strict line of demarcation had to be drawn between genuine Marxism and revisionism parading under the guise of Marxism.

The struggle against Economism reached a decisive turning point in 1902, with the publication of Lenin's famous work, *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin showed that to chain the workers to the "strictly economic struggle," even under cover of "lending the economic struggle itself a political character," meant to condemn the

workers to eternal slavery. The real interest of the workers lay in the abolition of the capitalist system itself, and the abolition of all forms of exploitation, not in merely "adding a kopek to a ruble." The so-called "theory of spontaneity" was nothing more than *tailism*, making the task of the so-called "Marxists" who adhered to this theory concentrating on building the immediate, economic struggle of workers, with the aim of achieving "palpable results."

To sneer at and belittle revolutionary theory meant not only knocking out of the hands of the Party the only weapon it had to scientifically analyze the situation and find the road forward; it meant assuring that the working class, would be maintained in a state of darkness and enslavement. Lenin also exposed the links between the then-fashionable Economism and the terrorist trend of recent memory, showing that their common opportunist root lay in denying the ability of the working class to grasp the necessity for revolution and to gain revolutionary consciousness.

Lenin went on to show the connection between opportunist theories of the Economists and their primitiveness in organization, their aversion to a centralized and disciplined Party of the working class. Since in point of fact, the Economists did not see the "necessity" of conducting revolutionary propaganda and agitation among the masses, preferring to "lend the economic struggle itself a (bourgeois) political character," they found it impossible to understand the need for any form of organization beyond the trade unions. The Economists thought it wise to tie the workers to the tail of the "liberal" bourgeoisie, and that was politics enough.

Lenin had a different view of the tasks of the working-class movement:

"We must bear in mind that the struggle with the government for partial demands, the winning of partial concessions, are only petty skirmishes with the enemy, petty encounters on the outposts, whereas the decisive engagement is still to come. Before us, in all its strength, stands the enemy's fortress, which is raining shot and shell upon us and mowing down our best fighters. We must capture this fortress; and we shall capture it if we unite all the forces of the awakening proletariat with all the forces of the Russian revolutionaries into one party, which will attract all that is alive and honest in Russia. And only then will the great prophesy of Pyotr Alexeyev, the Russian worker revolutionary, be fulfilled: 'the muscular arm of the working millions will be lifted, and the yoke of despotism, guarded by the soldiers' bayonets, will be smashed to atoms!'" (Quoted in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolshevik]*, page 34)

What Is To Be Done? accomplished two major tasks: 1) It marked a devastating defeat for the Economists, and a great victory for Marxism, on the fundamental questions of the nature and goals of the workers' struggle. 2) Based on this Lenin elaborated on the kind of Party the working class needed to lead it in the fight against Czarism and in the fight for socialism: A disciplined, militant and centralized vanguard Party, a Party of professional revolutionaries, in which every member was subject to the discipline of the Party and was obligated to work actively in a Party organization.

The ideological defeat of Economism and the wide popularization of Lenin's conception of a Party, in *What Is To Be Done?* and through the pages of the Leninist *Iskra* newspaper, laid the basis for the actual formation of the Party.

The Struggle at the Second Congress

Less than a year after the publication of *What Is To Be Done?*, the Second Congress of the RSDLP was convened. The chief purpose of the Congress, according to Lenin, was "to create a real party on that basis of principles and organization which had been advanced and elaborated by *Iskra*." Forty-three delegates, representing 26 organizations, were present. The majority of the delegates were supporters of *Iskra*, but there were divisions within the *Iskra*-ists themselves; a bloc of vacillators commanded about 10 votes, and avowed opponents of *Iskra*, including the Bundists, disposed of 8 votes. Thus, a split in the ranks of the *Iskra*-ists would be enough to give the enemies of *Iskra* the upper hand.

The adoption of the Party program, a revolutionary program supported by Lenin and the *Iskra*-ists, proceeded fairly smoothly, despite some opposition from the opportunists. But a bitter struggle arose over the adoption of the Party rules, particularly on Paragraph 1, the section dealing with Party membership. Lenin's formulation was that anybody could be a member of the Party who accepted its program, supported it financially, and belonged to one of its organizations. One Martov, himself an *Iskra*-ist, put forward a different formulation in opposition to Lenin: that Party members must accept the program and support the Party financially, but need not belong to and actively work in a Party organization. Stalin summarized the difference in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* (HCPSU):

"Lenin regarded the Party as an *organized* detachment, whose members cannot just enroll themselves in

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Revolution

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Editorial

First Time Tragedy Second Time Farce

In an effort to break new ground in the area of sensationalist journalism and spice up page one, two newspapers have recently announced the disintegration of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP)—both for the umpteenth time and both, alas, prematurely (for we ourselves are determined that the RCP will wither away, but only with the achievement of communism!).

The papers in question are the January 27 edition of *Workers' Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League (a microscopic Trotskyite sect headquartered in New York) and the February 6 *Call*. While there are striking similarities between the two—both in form and political content—the Spartacists lump Marxism-Leninism with revisionism and attack both, while our CP(ML) authors attack Marxism-Leninism in order to unite with revisionism.

It would be a waste of time (though perhaps an entertaining diversion) to rake the self-proclaimed Trotskyites over the coals, but the *Call* article is worth a comment or two as an example of Menshevism running obscenely exposed.

The *Call* article is an open appeal to an arrogant clique—a revisionist headquarters recently exposed and defeated within the RCP—to join the CP(ML) in forming a new Menshevik Party. The tone of the article is one of pleasant surprise that a revisionist line and headquarters could actually exist in a genuine communist Party.

For Marxist-Leninists this is certainly no surprise. As Engels once said, "It seems that every workers' party of a big country can develop only through internal struggle, which accords with the laws of dialectical development in general." (*Engels to Eduard Bernstein in Zurich*, London, Oct. 20, 1882, emphasis in original. Lest our CP(ML) authors or their fellow opportunist Mensheviks be confused, it should be noted that this statement by Engels was *not* an attempt to distinguish workers' [communist] parties of big countries from those of little countries, but to make the point that class struggle exists inside all such parties.) And as Mao stressed, and our own history has repeatedly borne out, such two-line struggle is vital to the proletariat and its Party, to its ideological and political development and to its growth.

Opportunist Patchwork

But the CP(ML)'s consistent ability to avoid any serious two-line struggle over the years has been yet another damning piece of evidence that Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought has never made any serious inroads into the revisionism of their organization. (The recent spat with Martin Nicolaus was certainly no two-line struggle. It was simply the opposite poles of the same revisionist stupidity. Just another case of CP(ML) posturing—feigning two-line struggle [because, after all, real Marxist-Leninist Parties have such struggles] when in fact Nicolaus had only taken their line to its logical, embarrassing extreme. With Nicolaus gone, they have lost even the pretense of scientifically analyzing Soviet social-imperialism, which reduces their "opposition" to mindless name-calling incapable of arming anyone with a grasp of why and how it is one of the *two* main enemies of the people of the world.)

We do not intend at this time to do a definitive analysis of CP(ML) revisionism (much of the groundwork has already been laid in previous issues of *Revolution*), nor to fully illustrate their fundamental and pervasive unity with our degenerate Menshevik "superstars." So repugnant are the opportunist machinations of the people involved that they are a true self-exposure. Picture our Mensheviks, in league with the Klonskyites, running to the Spartacist League with cooked up tales and sensational "scoops," relying on the Trots to "spill the beans" so that when the CP(ML) publishes "excerpts" from those same pirated wares, our Mensheviks can point to the Trots rather than themselves as the culprits and try to hide from their misled followers the obvious fact these Menshevik "leaders" are negotiating with Klonsky & Co.

Those with whom the Klonsky Corporation seeks to merge are under the leadership of a handful of former members of the old CP who never thoroughly broke with its revisionism.

This is entirely in keeping with the history of M. Klonsky himself, who has never made a thoroughgoing break with the upbringing he received in a den of leading revisionist CPers. This background has come to the

fore in the CP(ML)'s (and the OL's before it) thorough rightism, bolstered heavily by dogmatism.

They negate the revolutionary character of the student movement of the '60s. They attack those who took advanced action, who shocked (yes, Klonsky, *shocked*) many people—even many in the antiwar movement itself—by calling for the defeat of U.S. imperialism, for waving NLF flags, throwing Purple Heart medals at the White House and declaring that their next war would be to take the Capitol steps! The CP(ML) heaps scorn on all this, and in contrast offers a gratuitous self-exposure of the reactionary role of their own leaders during that period, replete with its CP-style rightism and fear of the masses, its "love" of the mass movement and hatred of its revolutionary content.

First Time Tragedy, Second Time Farce

All their talk of "Marxist-Leninist Unity" is a thin veneer covering their deep desire to recreate the CP USA as it was before it went thoroughly revisionist, but keeping all the right deviations that eventually led to its degeneration. The revisionist degeneration of the old CP was indeed a tragedy, but the CP(ML)'s dreams of a "second time around" are a farce. Their bankrupt line on the international situation is a clear indication that they are prepared to capitulate to U.S. imperialism—to "out-Browder Browder." In the December 26 *Call* they openly declare their desire to split off and absorb a section of the CP—a blatant admission of their revisionism and a ridiculous effort to swell their numbers and coffers any damn fool way they can. What significant section of revolutionaries can be found today in the CPUSA?

Is it any wonder, then, that M. Klonsky & Co. would reach out to embrace those who festered in the RCP as a right-wing revisionist headquarters? Those whose fear and contempt for the masses was such that they didn't want anyone to know our youth organization is a *communist* youth organization? The *Call's* contortionist attempts to slip and slide past the glare of this embarrassingly obvious revisionism, while embracing its proponents, is truly amusing.

To the CP(ML) we say, concerning the top, ex-CP, revisionist ringleaders of the Menshevik headquarters: "You want them? You can have them! You deserve each other."

But Menshevik unity will be nearly as hard to achieve as it is shallow. Clearly the jockeying for positions in the planned conglomerate has already begun, along the lines described in last month's *Revolution* editorial on the call for Menshevik unity. At the same time Klonsky & Co. reach out to embrace the pathetic remnants of this revisionist headquarters, they also rabbit punch in the clinches. Their message is clear: "We are pleased that you have returned to the swamp, Comrades, but we have been here consistently and you have not. Never forget that we are the true guardians of the swamp!" ■

Mensheviks ...

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the Party, but must be admitted into the Party by one of its organizations, and hence must submit to Party discipline. Martov, on the other hand, regarded the Party as something organizationally *amorphous*, whose members enroll themselves in the Party and are therefore not obliged to submit to Party discipline, inasmuch as they do not belong to a Party organization." (p. 42)

The debate at the Congress, analyzed in detail in Lenin's pamphlet, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* (1904), makes interesting reading: we are watching the opportunists in the agonies of labor, straining to give birth to Menshevism. Lenin refers to the speech of a certain Comrade Goldblatt: "... He inveighs against my 'monstrous' centralism and claims that it would lead to the 'destruction' of the lower organizations, that it is 'permeated through and through with the desire to give the center unrestricted powers and the unrestricted right to interfere in everything, that it allows the organizations only one right—to submit without a murmur to orders from above,' etc." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 249, emphasis ours) Martov and Co. raised the slogan: "Every striker a Party member," and proposed to essentially liquidate the distinction between the Party and its mass organizations.

Lenin pointed out that the Martov formulation, while in words defending the "interests of the broad strata of the proletariat . . . in fact serves the interests of the bourgeois intellectuals, who fight shy of proletarian discipline and organization. No one will venture to deny that the intelligentsia, as a special stratum of modern capitalist society, is characterized, by and large, precisely by individualism and incapacity for discipline and organization. This, incidentally, is a feature which unfavorably distinguishes this social stratum from the proletariat; it is one of the reasons for the flabbiness and instability of the intellectual, which the proletariat so often feels . . . It was not champions of

a broad proletarian struggle . . . but the supporters of bourgeois-intellectual individualism who clashed with supporters of proletarian organization and discipline." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 267)

It was evident, that the emerging Menshevik trend was quickly moving to embrace the Economist view on questions of organization. At the Congress itself, and during the period immediately subsequent to the Congress, it was opportunism in organizational affairs—factionalism, careerism, splittism, clinging to organizational primitiveness and the old "circle spirit"—that most clearly distinguished Menshevism as a trend. But this organizational opportunism in fact stemmed from an all-out revisionist program, a program which only revealed itself in all its true splendor after the split, after the Mensheviks were "freed" from all the constraints of Leninism. Indeed, the line of the Mensheviks on organizational questions paralleled their whole political program. For them, it was fine for "every striker," professor or high school student to declare himself a member of the Party because they were not interested in building a Party that would actually try to seize power from the bourgeoisie. While a Party organized along Menshevik principles could not wage a revolutionary struggle, it could be a form for providing a thin "socialist" veneer on top of the economic struggle the workers were already waging while doing nothing to develop the workers' struggle into an all-around fight against capital. The Mensheviks dusted off all the broken-down arguments of Economism, and pushed a version of what subsequently became known as the "theory of the productive forces," whining that since the working class is so backward and far less numerous than the peasantry, and since the revolution was to be in its immediate stage, a democratic, not a socialist revolution, that it should be led by the bourgeoisie; and the working class should not do anything to scare off the bourgeoisie.

Thus the Mensheviks underplayed, and in fact totally negated, the *conscious*, dynamic role of the working class and openly opposed its leadership in the democratic revolution, demanding that the

workers attend to "their own," strictly wage-worker interests. They rabidly promoted once again the theory of spontaneity, which holds that the workers' movement will develop socialist consciousness through its own spontaneous development, i.e., out of the day to day economic struggle. This theory is closely linked with the "theory of the productive forces" which holds that socialism and communism will develop automatically, as a result of the growth of the productive forces, without political revolution. The Mensheviks took up the stance of tailing behind the most backward and least conscious elements of the working class, and holding them up as models for everybody else to follow.

The Mensheviks, because of their deadly fear of genuine, revolutionary theory and its spread among the workers (seeing as how they, especially Trotsky—for the Mensheviks were the real kindred souls and colleagues of Trotsky—based their careers on speculating on backwardness and primitiveness) made a big noise about "practice," "practical work" and "the tasks of real life which demand our attention," etc. But in fact their "practice" following the split with Lenin, when it was not entirely direct splitting and wrecking activity, was the practice of timid and limp-wristed cowards, weak-bladdered Nellies damp with fear at the prospect that they might, after all, be dragged into the revolutionary storm. (In fact, the storm that was to explode in the 1905 Revolution was already brewing. And what was their role in that historic upsurge—to whine, like Plekhanov did—that the masses "shouldn't have taken up arms"!) The depths of Menshevik opportunism were not yet so clear at the time of the Second Congress. What was striking there was that the forces led by Martov, the little band of bourgeois intellectuals he represented, were demanding in their formulation of Paragraph 1 the right to float around in the Party, enjoying a position of *privilege* above the rest of the Party, utilizing discipline only when it suited them—discipline for the "common herd" and anarchist freedom for the condescending saviours ruling from their judgment hall. Lenin pointed out a specific characteristic of the emerging Menshevik trend: "... when

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Summing Up Advanced Experience

The High Road In Vets' Work

Ed. Note: *The following article was submitted by Party members active in building the struggle of veterans in California. At the time of the formation of the RCP, many activists from the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) joined the Party. Since that time the leadership of the Party has attached importance to building the struggle of veterans and VVAW as a mass veterans organization fighting in unity with the working class against the imperialist system. As the article points out, this line has met resistance from the revisionist headquarters that developed within the Party, which held that VVAW should, for all practical purposes, be liquidated and only a shell retained to be trotted out on occasion to bolster some political gimmick. Despite this line, work among veterans developed in several places—most notably California where work began with VVAW having one small chapter in one city and now three vigorous chapters exist with regular regional coordination of activities. The work in California is a good, if only beginning, example of the revolutionary potential that exists among veterans and which can be unleashed by persistent work under the guidance of a correct line.*

In the California area over the last two years and more, significant advances have been achieved and important lessons learned in the Party's work among veterans, especially in helping to build the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) as a key mass organization to tap the revolutionary reservoir of veterans. The key to advancing the Party's work has been deepening our grasp of the Party's line—particularly sticking to the hard, high road of revolutionary work in today's non-revolutionary situation. This has involved struggling with both Party and non-Party comrades against pragmatism and rightism, a tendency that arises spontaneously from the work but which was increasingly championed by the revisionist headquarters in the Party.

As we have more and more developed our work to organize veterans, going deep into the day-to-day struggles of veterans and attempting to lead them in waging the economic and political battles against the capitalists, there has been a lot of struggle among comrades to come to an understanding of how to correctly apply the Party's line in our work.

The Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party states: "As the working class and its Party increasingly takes up and leads the struggle of veterans and this struggle becomes more consciously aimed against the imperialist system, veterans become a spark for the entire working class movement."

Implementing this, more than anything, has been a battle against pragmatism and rightism, and a battle to carry out the three objectives laid out in the Party Programme: "... to win as much as can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy; to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the struggling masses and instill in them the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat; and to develop

the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists, recruit them into the Party and train them as revolutionary leaders." (p. 102)

Our understanding of the importance of work among veterans, and the correct line which must lead this work, has been continually deepened and developed through the course of our work and the struggle to apply our Party's line. Though this has been no straight line forward, the gains made in this way serve as proof that, as Mao Tsetung says, "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."

Taking Up July 4th

In early 1976, in one of the California chapters, and on through that summer, we began building for the Battle of the Bicentennial. It was during this period, as we struggled politically within the Party and in VVAW, that we began to gain a better understanding of the "use once and throw away" reality of vets' lives. Before this period we led the chapter to concentrate almost exclusively and very narrowly on the "throw away" aspect—in particular doing work only to extend and expand the GI Bill. The chapter went out to a number of colleges, including one where every single vet had been cut off the GI Bill, while the Veterans Administration (VA) and the college blamed each other, and the vets, for the cuts. In the course of this work, through struggle within the Party we started to understand that while it was correct to build fights like this it was incorrect to take up only those kinds of battles and to take them up divorced from other things affecting vets. We saw more clearly the need to link battles around vets being "thrown away" with the way imperialism had "used" us, and continues to try to use vets as a reactionary political force.

As VVAW got more involved in the July 4th campaign against the bourgeoisie's Bicentennial celebration in Philadelphia, the chapter began to consciously speak about why "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War"—why we won't be used as the imperialists' cannon fodder in their wars of plunder—and to better understand the special ability of veterans to speak on this question. This helped us better link up the Philly campaign with the fight against the Memorial Day cutoffs—3.7 million vets cut off the GI Bill—to put forward how these cutoffs represented yet another abuse from the rule of the bourgeoisie.

On Memorial Day itself, in 1976, there was a large demonstration at the VA in Los Angeles with many new vets coming to confront the politicians and hacks who cried crocodile tears and spewed warmongering tripe over our partners' graves, all the while stabbing us in the back with these cutbacks. Exposing this, VVAW was also able to bring out the real nature of the capitalists' Bicentennial celebration, and put forward the slogan—"We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years, Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!"

These struggles, combined with sharp discussion within the Party around veterans work, helped us bet-

ter understand how the "use once" and "throw away" aspects of veterans' experience interact and interpenetrate with each other. We could not just build battles around the "throw away" aspect (say, the GI Bill cuts, or jobs) and divorce this from the way vets have been used. To divorce them would lead to falling into a more militant form of the bourgeois line that veterans deserve special privileges because they "served their country." In addition, we saw much more sharply the need for veterans to speak from their experience around the question of war.

Ashby Leach Campaign

Our understanding about doing revolutionary work deepened again in the period after the July 4th demonstration, and especially as VVAW began to take up the campaign to Free Ashby Leach. (See *Revolution*, particularly Vol. 2, Nos. 1, 6 & 7) Key to this was struggle to better grasp the mass line campaign being waged by the Party. Particularly our work with the advanced moved forward as we struggled to go deeply into political questions, release their initiative, and rely on them to help build VVAW and the Leach campaign. By this time, active work was going on in three major cities in the state. The work included fighting the attacks on the GI Bill, battling campus administrators who tried to suspend one chapter, and extensive work around the Ashby Leach campaign. Leach became a big social question as a concentrated example of the conditions many veterans face and the fighting anger they feel. Many speaking engagements were set up on campuses and in working class neighborhoods, with as many as 100 people attending. In one city, on the weekend before Leach's trial began, over 50 vets participated in an action on the VA's front lawn, demanding his freedom and an end to the attacks on all veterans.

Building the Revolutionary Movement among Veterans

During this period we began consciously struggling to center the meetings and the life of VVAW generally, around political discussions concerning questions coming up in the work and in society overall. We began to more consciously integrate discussion about where we saw the struggle heading and the goal of revolution with VVAW's daily activities. For the first time in the largest chapter, we made sure there was at least one comrade who openly spoke as a Party member. This same chapter developed a real life of its own, with many members participating in debate and struggle around our activities, and chapter members developed an active social life with each other. We were able to bring a large number of members to May Day celebrations that year, and soon developed a Party-led Marxist-Leninist study group of veterans.

This was an important step in the struggle to overcome rightist and pragmatic errors, and develop the "class consciousness and revolutionary unity" of both comrades and the veterans involved in the struggle with us. In one of the chapters in the region, a sharp example of rightism surfaced, with some comrades saying they were "too busy" to do independent communist work with the advanced. This line essentially made the task of developing the most active and advanced into communists a question of "icing on the cake"—a nice extra for "spare time" instead of an inseparable part of approaching our work as communists, with the final goal of communism always in mind. Again, these rightist tendencies were overcome, through struggling to apply the Party's line in general and in particular the mass line in the course of our work.

Another sharp area of struggle within the Party and VVAW was around the question of taking up national oppression particularly as it came out in the Pendleton 14 case during 1977. (See *Revolution*, Vol. 2, No. 4) As VVAW began to build the fight to Free the 14, our initial tendency was to forget the question of national oppression in society as a whole and just talk about the KKK, why the military would support the KKK, and what this shows about the nature of the military.

It was important to bring out the nature of U.S. imperialism, the military and their puppets in the Klan, but the Pendleton 14 case was much more than that. It offered the raw material to bring out in a graphic way how capitalism breeds discrimination and racism and in fact depends on national oppression for its survival. Capitalism reaps superprofits off keeping minorities and whole nations in oppressive conditions where they can work them harder, pay them less, charge them higher prices and exorbitant rents and much more. The military in turn takes advantage of the divisions created by capitalism to maintain control over the troops.

As comrades deepened their understanding of these questions we were able to unite VVAW to help build the Pendleton 14 case into a large social issue in southern California. Members of VVAW also saw that to deal with discrimination we couldn't just wish it away but had to take it up and get at its roots.

In the past we had brought forward a lot of new people around particular events, but we were always beset by what we called "the revolving door"—having forces in and around VVAW, but also regularly losing old forces as new ones came forward. While it's true

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The West Coast Regional Veterans Day '77 demonstration in San Francisco was the product of constant struggle to do revolutionary work in a non-revolutionary situation. It showed the powerful potential of an organized and politically conscious veterans movement.

Crisis Grips Auto Giants

Already the rosy future predicted for the auto industry is revealing itself to be considerably greyer than such heavies as Thomas Murphy (the president of General Motors) forecast in a press conference just a few short months ago. Instead of another "banner" year, 1978 sales have been consistently below last year's levels. Total January car sales are down over 5% from last year, and domestic car sales (excluding imports) are down 10%.

Auto has always been considered a "pillar" of U.S. capitalism. One out of every seven jobs in the U.S. is either in auto or auto related. Steel, rubber, and many other industries depend heavily on continued demand from the auto industry. The continuing serious problems in auto threaten to pull the rest of the economy even lower. This is especially significant in light of the fact that it was the increase of consumer spending for autos, along with housing construction that fuelled the so-called "recovery" of '76-'77. The bourgeoisie looked to the performance of these industries as bright spots. But then, even the Age of Reptiles had its moments too.

Afraid of the possibility of a repeat of the overproduction crisis of 1974-75 (when the Big 3 had stockpiles of over 90 days) auto manufacturers are cutting back on production. January has seen large and in many cases permanent, layoffs in many plants. This is especially true at Chrysler, the weakest of the "Big Three." Over 1,000 workers at Chrysler Sterling Stamping outside of Detroit have been laid off since December. One and two

week shutdowns have become commonplace at assembly plants like Lynch and Hamtramck in the Detroit area and Newark, Delaware.

Increasingly desperate competition among the auto-makers leads them to even more savage attacks on auto workers through grinding speed-up, job eliminations and combinations, and rapidly deteriorating working conditions. The profits that the bosses so desperately vie for come from only one source, the labor of workers. Without workers their factories are only ghost towns, their precious machinery just so much scrap metal. Fundamentally competition between them comes down to competition in exploitation. To maximize their profits these bloodsuckers are driven constantly to get more labor out of their workers. As the industry tries to claw out of this downturn, conditions for the workers are bound to worsen even further.

But auto workers are not standing idly by while the companies squeeze the life out of them. As much as the UAW hacks try to keep the lid on things, struggle continues to break out. There has been a recent rash of strike votes at GM plants—a successful strike at Van Nuys, California over production standards and the current strike at the Fisher Body plant in Euclid, Ohio.

At the Detroit trim plant 250 have been laid off since November due to a combination of job eliminations, production cutbacks and transferring of operations to a non-union plant in northern Michigan. This last fact was only uncovered by rank and file initiative with UAW leadership doing its best to cover up the situation. It has led to a number of sharp confrontations between the workers and the hacks from UAW Local 212. Besides the Detroit trim workers themselves, workers from other plants in the same local have taken up the fight, circulating petitions condemning the company and the union leadership's collusion.

Bourgeois spokesmen have traditionally pointed to auto as a symbol of American capitalism's ability to "deliver the goods." During the 20's the bourgeoisie cried "Ford—not Marx," claiming that the continued growth of U.S. industry and technology would eventually provide a better life for the working class under capitalism. After climbing out of the Depression through WW 2, the auto companies, as well as other U.S. capitalists, were able to expand into foreign markets and set up profitable overseas production as well.

At home, increasing capital investment refined the technology of production, and this, combined with speed-up and increasingly enforcement of labor "dis-

cipline" by the UAW top leadership, led to greater capitalist efficiency and profits. The political power of the auto companies was used to stifle development of mass transit, and trolley and rail systems in several major cities were completely shut down. Instead of a luxury, cars became a necessity. As the overall economy expanded in the '50s and '60s, car sales climbed, buoyed by an increasing amount of consumer credit buying.

But as Marx and Engels said over 100 years ago, the very means by which the bourgeoisie gets over one crisis lays the basis for more extensive and destructive crises to come. One can see that all the factors which earlier encouraged capitalist growth in auto and the economy generally have today turned into their opposite or are in the process of doing so. Consumer credit is so strung out today that the ratio of savings to debt has reached an all time low. A big part of consumer debt today is tied up in auto loans, and 40% of these are for 42 months or longer.

The auto giants need enormous amounts of capital investment to continue to remain competitive with each other and—increasingly—with foreign auto manufacturers (imports accounted for a whopping 21% of January 1978 auto sales in the U.S.) But their ability to raise the necessary capital internally has deteriorated, as the rate of profit in the auto industry has been falling since the mid-60s. Reflecting this, even in the banner sales year of 1972, the profit return on sales in auto was only 4.3% as compared to 5.9% in 1966. In the record sales year of 1973, profit rates fell even further. The productivity drives of '72, especially sharp at GM, met with resistance in strikes such as those at Lordstown and Norwood, Ohio. The massive speedups and job eliminations of '75-'76—leading to the permanent loss of about 100,000 jobs in auto—succeeded only in restoring profit margins back to 1972 levels.

Auto companies had to spend \$3.75 billion in 1976, and \$5.7 billion in 1977 on downsizing, research and development, and even greater amounts are forecast over the next few years. As Ford Chairman Iacocca put it, "The laws are frozen in cement. If Ford wants to stay in business the money must be spent." But money like that doesn't fall out of corporate piggy banks these days—the auto bosses have been forced to go to the money markets for loans to finance their expansion. In especially serious shape in the competition for loan money is Chrysler, which has the least confidence from the banks and is saddled with a BBB bond rating (in contrast to AAA for Ford and GM).

A large part of Chrysler's car sales revenue goes just to make payments to its debtors. AMC, along with Chrysler, have to pay higher than the prime rate for its loans.

For the auto bosses there is only one way to deal with the crisis, temporarily—automation, cutbacks in the workforce, and increasing exploitation of the workers. Chrysler's future plans can be seen from the recent retooling of their Belvedere, Ill. plant to bring out the new Omni-Horizon line. This resulted in a 33% increase in production (from 40 to 60 cars an hour) with several hundred less workers called back! The addition of 20 robot welders in the body shop replaced 75% of the hand welding done before.

Ford has remodeled its Escort (built in Europe for European markets) into the Fiesta (now being imported back into the U.S.). The Escort had 2140 parts in all that had to be assembled, beginning to end. The Fiesta had 1394 parts, 42% less electrical connections, etc., which adds up to a lot fewer job operations and jobs!

In a recent *Ford World*, a paper the company sends out every month to "its" workers, there's an article entitled "Produce or Perish." In it the bosses extol the virtues of productivity and say that they aim to "win the hearts and minds of our workers." They proudly say they borrowed the phrase from the Vietnam War. Typical of the bourgeoisie, they can't seem to remember who won that round. ■



Auto workers fighting for jobs in 1974 joined with UWOC and other unemployed workers at the International Harvester plant in San Leandro, Cal.—which the company had announced it was closing.

Chrysler Strikers Regain Jobs

Last summer a massive wave of walkouts and wildcats over the intense heat took place among auto workers around the country. At issue wasn't just the temperatures outside but the deteriorating conditions inside—like at Chrysler Trenton Engine near Detroit where over 50% of the fans lay in disrepair. Walkouts happened everywhere, spilling into wildcats in several Chrysler plants as the company tried to fire "ringleaders." The high point of this struggle was the weeklong wildcat

at Trenton Engine (See article in September, 1977 *Revolution*).

Overall the wildcats broke new ground for the rank and file around the right to strike. Instead of their usual policy of wide scale firings over "illegal" work stoppages, Chrysler was forced to reinstate the few they decided to fire. This left in the end seven workers from Trenton Engine out on the streets.

These firings at Trenton were coupled with a legal railroad in which the same seven were tried and found guilty of contempt of Federal court. (They were recently sentenced to one week jail sentences.) This pressing of legal charges after a strike ended is unprecedented in recent years in auto and sparked a broad movement among auto workers.

In no recent times has the collective power of auto workers from so many plants been brought to bear in support of workers fired in a wildcat situation. "Support the Trenton 7" became a real cry on the part of auto workers from Detroit and to a significant extent around the country, and Auto Workers United to Fight played a key role in spreading this single spark of resistance, using leaflets, declarations of support for the Trenton workers, demonstrations and show

of support at the trial, protests to Chrysler and the International signed by hundreds, union resolutions passed in many locals, etc.

The International particularly felt the heat. As the International rep handling the Trenton case told one of the workers involved, "We're on the verge of a breakthrough around your firing, but please tell your people to cool it in these other locals." Other hacks revealed how annoyed Doug Frazer, (UAW president) was to be getting new telegrams every week from locals where resolutions were passed.

This broad support helped the Trenton workers keep the struggle going and last fall they forced a strike vote over plant conditions and the firings, as one way to continue the fight. Although all their local officers and reps campaigned hard against it, the vote carried overwhelmingly. As we go to press, Chrysler has just announced that six of the Trenton Seven have been reinstated leaving one, an alternate steward who played a key role in the wildcat, out. While by no means does this represent a complete victory, the struggle overall has shown a real step forward in making a single spark of the class struggle a real prairie fire. And it has put into practice the working class principle: an injury to one is an injury to all. ■

District 65 Hacks Exposed

NYC Steelworkers Wage Militant Strike

Last November 7th the 540 workers at Art Steel in New York City went on strike. In recent years the Art Steel workers have fought many battles, including slowdowns, work stoppages, wildcats and strikes. The most recent strike was the most militant of all these struggles, and lasted the longest, six weeks.

The workers at Art Steel make office equipment, and the wages and conditions there are very bad. The majority of the workers are Latin—mainly Dominican and Puerto Rican—and the rest mostly Black. A group of them came to the founding convention of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) last Labor Day weekend in Chicago, and learned a lot there about how working people are standing up against the capitalist class, about how the workers have nothing in common with the bosses, and how working people have to unite to lead the fight against all oppression.

Many of the Art Steel workers, especially the Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, have a lot of experience with U.S. imperialism because of what it has done to their homelands. This experience was one of the reasons why this strike was a militant and determined one.

At the beginning of the strike the workers formed their own strike committee to unite workers more solidly and take things into their own hands. The second week the strike committee organized a powerful march through the community, against the will of the union misleaders from District 65 (Distribution Workers of America).

The cops hassled the workers during the march, threatening to arrest one of them in an effort to intimidate everyone else. And all during the strike the cops hassled the picket line, trying to break the strikers' unity and militance.

District 65 Misleaders

While District 65 has a big reputation as one of the more "progressive unions" around, such as being one of the first unions to come out against the Vietnam War, in reality its officials have been and to a large degree still are closely associated with the revisionist CPUSA. Under a phoney progressive and sometimes socialist banner, they do everything they can to limit, narrow and openly sabotage the struggle of the union's rank and file.

During the strike these union misleaders further exposed themselves in the eyes of many of the workers (many of whom already knew to some degree what these hacks were all about), which is why they formed their own strike committee. The misleaders used a number of tactics, including a vicious red-baiting campaign against the NUWO and especially against a member of the RCP, USA who was involved in the strike.

These scum even sent goons to try to kick this Party member out of the picket line. But workers on the line, seeing this as a threat to the unity of the whole strike, stood up, defied the goons and prevented them from kicking out the Party member.

These great "heroes of the people" stooped to the typical capitalist tactic of trying to pit one nationality against the other in an effort to weaken the strike. There are two main Art Steel plants, a couple of miles apart. The hacks pushed the line that the reason why there was more strike activity and rebelliousness at one of the plants was because "that's where all the radicals and Dominicans are working," and it was these "radicals and Dominicans" who were endangering the success of the whole strike!

The truth is that while many Dominicans did play a strong and leading role in the strike, so did many of the strikers of other nationalities. A lot of the workers were angered by this blatant divide-and-rule tactic, and

it backfired because it led to even stronger unity between the different nationalities. In a similar vein—afraid of the effect of the strike throughout District 65—they spread all kinds of stuff about how the Art Steel strikers were a cancer eating away at the union.

The strikers elected their own negotiating committee made up of shop stewards, but the bosses and hacks ignored this committee and negotiated a sweetheart deal behind the workers' backs, then told the rank and file to come to a meeting to vote for the contract. But once again the workers showed their anger and determination not to go along with any sellout.

After lots of discussion they decided to go to the meeting and jam the hacks and to demand that the company sit down with the strikers' negotiating committee. At the start of the meeting the District 65 President David Livingston thought he had everything under his thumb. But many workers called on their fellow strikers not to vote for the sweetheart contract.

Officials Beaten Back

For the first time in the whole history of District 65 these misleaders got a taste of what they deserved. The strikers called Livingston and the others traitors and sellouts, and after they had made it very clear to these traitors what their demands were, that they wanted the company to sit down with their negotiating committee, they walked out of the meeting before it was even over.

Both the company and union misleaders were badly shaken by this show of workers' power. They were forced to recognize the workers' negotiating committee, but they weren't reconciled to overall defeat and came up with another tactic to turn the tide in their favor. Once they sat down with the negotiating committee they tried to divide it by uniting with one of the most backward shop stewards and getting him on their side.

Having been defeated before, the company and the hacks finally succeeded. They were able to split the negotiating committee around the contract demands, and when the workers found out about the split many of them became confused and demoralized, and many felt they could now do no better and they had to go back to work.

The strikers' demands were for a wage increase of

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Henry Ford and Vorster, two reactionaries pressed from the same mold.

Masses Have Better Idea... Henry Ford: We'll Never Leave S. Africa

In the face of worldwide mass protest against the fascist white settler regime in South Africa, Henry Ford II recently made clear (not that there was any doubt) the intention of the U.S. imperialists to continue propping up the regime for as long as they can. "We are not going to move!" declared Ford, after meeting with South African Prime Minister Vorster. Ford Motor Company, as a company, has a 55-year presence in South Africa (with current investments of \$70 million) and represents one of the oldest U.S. operations in that country. Henry Ford was clearly not just speaking for himself.

Indeed, the U.S. ruling class has been trying desperately to justify its continued support for the racist Vorster regime—even to the point of arguing that their departure would mean further unemployment among black workers in South Africa!

This disgusting example of bourgeois logic is a feeble attempt to cover the fact that U.S. monopolies are reaping super-profits from the near slavery of black and "mixed race" workers in their South African

operations. At Ford Motor Company plants the average wage for hourly workers is \$1.27 per hour for those of "mixed race," and \$1.09 for blacks (less than half the rate of whites).

The only thing more ludicrous than their feigned concern for black unemployment is the idea that anyone would believe it. A great many autoworkers in this country, who have seen their numbers shrink dramatically over the last few years—due to speedup, job combinations and the like—have no illusions about it. In fact, Henry Ford may find that his crimes in South Africa will have repercussions in his own backyard of Detroit.

Millions of black South Africans are rising up in open rebellion against the system of apartheid, moving once and for all to rid themselves of the hated white settler government and its U.S. backers. The fact that Henry Ford, one of the most notorious slavedrivers in the U.S., is helping prop up the Vorster regime is further evidence that the people of South Africa and workers in this country face the same enemy. ■

Pittsburgh Program Exposes "Black Majority Rule"

[Editor's Note: The following article is edited from the January-February 1978 issue of The Worker for Western Pennsylvania and the Eastern Coalfields.]

The truth about Ian Smith's "majority rule" proposal was exposed recently in Pittsburgh. Allegheny Ludlum Industries and Union Carbide Corporation have funded a \$500,000 program at Carnegie-Mellon University to train black Rhodesians to work in Smith's threatened "majority rule" government.

For decades Allegheny Ludlum and Union Carbide have made hundreds of millions in profit from their control of Rhodesia's main product, chrome. They have loved and supported in every way the enslavement of the 6.3 million blacks because it has allowed them to pay near nothing to the African workers, killing thousands under brutal working conditions. If it wasn't for the backing of corporations like these, white minority rule would have toppled long ago.

So why are Allegheny Ludlum and Union Carbide now funding a "black majority rule training program"? For the same reason they have in the past funded white minority rule. To protect their profits! And this is also why Jimmy Carter and Andy Young are now pushing black majority rule.

The Zimbabwe liberation forces are getting nearer to victory every day. That victory will mean the end of U.S. and British imperialism's enslavement of Zimbabwe Africans, and therefore the end of huge profits to the U.S. and British corporations, especially Allegheny Ludlum and Union Carbide.

Carter, Young, Allegheny Ludlum, Union Carbide and Carnegie-Mellon University (interesting name for a university, don't you think?) plan on training a loyal, pro-American blacks to join a government that will oversee the exploitation of black Africans.

But already eight of the 25 students brought to Pittsburgh from Zimbabwe have quit the program when they realized its true purpose. They are now being threatened with deportation. Students at CMU, the University of Pittsburgh, and people in the Black community are organizing for their defense. ■

Chile Election Hoax Meets Resistance

On January 3, according to foreign press reports, on the eve of an election organized at gunpoint by Chile's generals, 500 people demonstrated on the main avenue of the capital, Santiago—the first such mass demonstration to defy the fascist dictatorship since the armed forces took over nearly five years ago.

Police carrying machine guns finally broke up the demonstration and dragged off a few people, although they weren't able to just open fire as they would have a little while ago. Nevertheless, the generals' phoney "election" was ruined even before it began. First of all, the brutality of the electoral hoax left the regime even more exposed than ever, not only in the eyes of the Chilean masses (who've seen enough to need no more), but also in the eyes of the world. Second, rather than allowing the military government to extend its support among some sections of the population, the election was the occasion for some of the most open and mass defiance of the government yet.

Election Hoax

Of course the results of the election itself had never been in doubt. A little over a week before, military junta chief General Augusto Pinochet had announced that Chileans would be "allowed" to vote yes or no on a referendum which stated: "In the face of international aggression against the government of the homeland, I support President Pinochet in his defense of the dignity of Chile and I reaffirm the legitimacy of the republic to conduct in a sovereign way the process of the institutionalization of the country."

This wording was intended to play on the nationalistic sentiments of many people which have been stirred by intense border disputes and threats of war between Chile and several of her neighbors. But it turned reality completely on its head, because in fact the Pinochet regime, like the big capitalists and landowners who stand behind it, is tied by a thousand threads to the U.S. ruling class to whom the generals have turned over Chile's resources and the fruits of its people's labor. The junta hoped to use the referendum to silence international criticism (including several votes of condemnation in the UN) and rally to its cause some backward elements among the masses, especially small and medium businessmen and others from the petty bourgeoisie.

The Chilean armed forces have ruled nakedly and with heavy force—jailing tens of thousands, murdering untold thousands more and driving a tenth of the population (one out of ten million) into exile. In this "election," the generals never intended to take any chances—they printed up twice as many ballots as there were voters and counted them themselves. Their real problem was getting people to go along with this farce. As usual, they resorted to terror.

The U.S. press was full of reports about how people had "voluntarily" lined up to vote hours before the polls opened, but they didn't say why. All Chileans must carry identity cards, and the government announced that no card would be valid unless it was marked to show that the holder had voted. Further, just in case the people didn't get the point, in some cases the polls were located in the large sports stadiums used a few years ago by the military to hold thousands of prisoners and carry out mass executions.

Under these circumstances, the fact that Pinochet announced that 77% of the votes had been in his favor was no surprise. If he'd said 100%, the whole thing would have looked even more phoney. But according to several reports, a sizable minority of voters defiantly cast blank ballots.

This whole turn of events was especially bad news for the U.S. The *Wall Street Journal* editorialized that Pinochet's clumsiness "could give dictatorship a bad name." Carter has tried to keep the Pinochet regime at arm's length, covering up the links between the Chilean fascists and the U.S. which greatly helped them come to power in the first place. He has hypocritically criticized Chile around "human rights" and his aides spoke harshly of the phoney referendum after it had taken place and it was already clear that few were fooled by it. But Chile is a neocolony of the U.S., and despite Carter's cover-up U.S. imperialism is more and more involved in the robbery of the Chilean people.

U.S. Props Up Pinochet

Public opinion in the U.S. forced the U.S. government to back off on the generous loans it made at first to the Pinochet regime. Still, none of the Chilean government's requests for massive loans have been denied—they have all been fully met by private loans from U.S. banks such as Citibank, which are enjoying fat profits from the interest which is paid from the wealth created by the Chilean working people.

The more the Chilean government removes all obstacles to imperialist goods flooding the country, the more Chile's economy is ruined and the more the Chilean government has to borrow abroad to keep going—and the more the government will have to bleed the people through taxes and state-owned enterprises in order to pay. The Chilean government's economic policies are openly set by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund and a group of economic advisors from the University of Chicago.

In addition, the American monopolists are once again becoming more involved in the direct exploitation of Chile's people. The Exxon corporation has recently announced huge investments in Chile's copper mines (its main industry). The Citibank of New York, which is controlled by the Rockefeller family, in turn not only controls Exxon, but also is a major lender to the Chilean government and is deeply involved in controlling credit, seed and fertilizer for Chile's farms. In this way Chile is almost completely the private preserve of the Rockefellers and other big American monopolists.

This has led to a situation where the U.S. ruling class, no matter how much they find it against their political interests to be openly associated with the Chilean government (especially in regard to keeping their mask on before the American people), still can't afford economically or politically to see the Chilean government's grip on the people loosen even an inch.

The Allende Government and the Coup

The 1960s saw a raging storm of struggle in Chile, as in most of Latin America. The workers, students and others in the cities and the farm laborers and hard-press-

ed peasants in the countryside battered the government. From this arose the 1970 election of Salvador Allende, whose government nationalized the imperialists' major holdings and made some steps toward agrarian reform and improving conditions for workers and others. Most importantly, it helped create favorable objective conditions for the development of revolutionary consciousness and organization among the workers and peasants, although the revisionist CP which dominated the Allende government served as the main obstacle to this development. But exactly as this consciousness and organization grew, the big bourgeoisie and landlords who hoped that the Allende government could tame the masses threw their support to the armed forces who marched in and drowned the revolutionary masses as well as the Allende regime in a sea of blood in 1973.

Since the first few weeks after this coup, when the military crushed the poorly armed and loosely organized forces who fought against it, the resistance has been scattered and relatively weak. There has been hit-and-run leafletting, slogans painted on walls, sabotage and occasional armed clashes in the countryside and the working class neighborhoods. But in the face of the military's efforts to systematically hunt down and eliminate all revolutionary elements, and because the people were largely unprepared politically or organizationally for such conditions, a period of regroupment and reorganization has been necessary. Although the extent of the resistance movement is not known to us, there have been many reports of actions taken by resistance committees organized in the factories and neighborhoods and among other sections of the people.

But the people have had no choice but to resist. Tens of thousands of workers have been blacklisted, hundreds of thousands more just can't find work. Tens of thousands of peasants have lost their land and face starvation. Most of the gains workers and peasants fought for over the last 50 years have been wiped out. Hunger has swept across the land like a plague, slaughtering tremendous numbers of people, especially children. Although the junta has done its best to cultivate support among the commercial and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie which has been its main base of support among the masses, many small and even larger businesses have gone under in the flood of foreign (chiefly American) goods.

Last summer, the families of 26 political prisoners who "disappeared" while in police custody staged a sit-in and hunger strike in the Santiago offices of a UN agency. This courageous act of rebellion had great impact on the people. Then, in November, about 10,000 workers at the El Teniente copper mine, the biggest in the world, walked out on strike. Previously there had been slowdowns, sick-outs and a few strikes among textile and construction workers, but this action by the miners was by far the most powerful yet. This set the stage for the Santiago demonstration against the junta's "election" farce.

Revisionism

Along with this mass upsurge there have been important advances in the political struggle over what line should guide the anti-junta resistance. Although the election of the Allende government represented a step forward, its victory at the polls also enabled leading forces in that government to promote a tremendous amount of reformism, preaching to the workers and peasants that their struggle could and had to stay within the confines of the bourgeois democratic system, and presenting the conditions created by the Allende government as an end in themselves rather than as a period to prepare for a revolution in which the armed workers and peasants themselves would take power in alliance with other forces among the people. Above all, this was the criminal role played by the revisionist, pro-Soviet Communist Party of Chile, which not only told the workers—who were heavily under CP leadership—that they could achieve their emancipation through elections, but even went so far as to support the armed forces in taking away guns stored in factories and farms so as to not "provoke" the military and "insure the democratic process." Throughout the Allende years the revisionists tried to convince the workers that their main task was "to win the battle of production" and not to make political revolution.

When the mass movement overflowed the bounds of bourgeois democracy despite the revisionists' efforts, with extensive armed seizures of land in the countryside and the organization of workers councils in the cities, then the military moved in to crush it. This political and physical disarming of the masses by the revisionists—and the lack of a genuine communist party which had developed deep influence among the masses to combat it—was the chief reason why the fascists were able to come to power in Chile.

The revisionists are still pushing their poison today. The struggle against their line is clearly a life and death matter for the Chilean resistance movement. The CP has called for the resistance movement to unite with—and tail along behind—the Christian Democratic Party, a party of the big bourgeoisie tied by a thousand political and financial threads to U.S. imperialism. The Christian Democrats are in "opposition" today, banned as are all political parties in Chile, but they are a bour-

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The Chilean junta can erase the people's call "Long Live Liberty" from the walls, but will never be able to remove it from the hearts and organization of the masses.



Steel workers march in Youngstown, Ohio last October, demanding their jobs after company announced the plant would be closed.

Youngstown Steel Shutdown

'Worker Ownership' Dead End Scheme

An awful lot of workers have dreamed of being their own boss someday. Now, just when times are looking pretty hard for 5000 laid-off steel workers at Youngstown Sheet & Tube's all but completely shut down Campbell Works near Youngstown, Ohio, the capitalists are peddling that myth in a new form and on a mammoth scale.

The idea is to make the mill "a showcase of modern employee ownership." With the aid of the Youngstown Religious Coalition and a publicly funded economic planning agency, a company has been formed to borrow \$535 million in a plan for "steelworkers and the community to buy, reopen and run the mill." This plan has been given very wide publicity, not only in the Youngstown area, but also on national TV.

When the announcement came out that Campbell Works was being closed, people in the area were outraged. In both large meetings and dinner time conversation, the workers heatedly discussed why this was happening and how to fight it. The president of the steelworkers union and the local politicians all moaned that nothing could be done about it at all. Their argument that the mill was closing due to mismanagement began

to smell even more like baloney when U.S. Steel announced that sooner or later it would close down its operations in Youngstown too, throwing another 5000 out of work.

Ten thousand workers who poured their lives and sweat and blood into these companies to be thrown out with nothing! Unemployed steel workers sitting around while the mills rust away. This is a clear exposure and indictment of the capitalist system.

Fight for Every Job Committee

Soon after Youngstown Sheet & Tube announced the closing last Fall, workers at the mill and workers around the *Steelworker*, which is affiliated with the NUWO, formed a Fight for Every Job Committee, holding a very successful march on Oct. 26 and another action several weeks later. The campaign against the shutdown and the demands for the benefits due the laid-off workers became the center of resistance, rallying active workers and speaking to the feelings of many more. The bourgeoisie took this seriously enough to mention the October 26 march in *Fortune*, a prestigious monop-

job classifications of these workers be lowered to the level of the Basic Steel agreement. This would mean a takeaway package of \$2-3 an hour in incentive pay, as well as an average cut of three job classes for most workers. Oregon Steel claims the cuts are essential to keep them competitive with Big Steel companies.

Oregon steel workers are meeting these attacks head-on. But in the course of the strike they have learned that while they are not directly shackled by the no-strike deal, the union leadership's policies have posed serious obstacles in their fight. For five months the union officials enforced a policy of keeping the strike peaceful at all costs. But with the plant still running, with supervisors and company men doing production work, and with negotiations producing nothing but more takeaway offers, the anger and frustration of the workers boiled over.

On the night of January 10, the supervisors and foremen who were coming off another 8-hour shift of making scab steel were greeted by one hell of a trashing! Car windows were broken and tires slashed.

The company called police to establish "law and order" on the picket line. Before the night was over, more than 50 cops had responded to the company's SOS and made four arrests. The following day they were called back to disperse 30 strikers who had blocked the plant entrance and shut down operations for nearly four hours.

This decisive action of the strikers marked a turning point in the strike. It was at this point that a sizable number of strikers summed up that the direction of the strike could only be turned around by getting organized, breaking through the shackles of the union leadership's "peace at any cost" policy, and hitting the company where it hurt.

On January 28 the company presented the strikers with a contract offer, the first since the strike began on September 1. Recent rank and file militancy on

olists' mouthpiece. Clearly the capitalists felt very exposed in this situation and needed to be able to throw some sand in the workers' eyes.

This was the context for the much publicized founding of the Mahoning Valley Steel Corporation with its "employee ownership" scheme. This fraud plays on the workers' demand for jobs, their longing to get the bosses off their backs, and their feelings that they could run the job much better themselves, using these sentiments to push the idea that capitalism could work just fine if the workers ran it.

Obviously the Lykes Corporation that now owns the mill would love to be able to sell what it considers to be an obsolete and completely unprofitable operation. The Mahoning Steel Company is trying to raise the nearly half a billion dollars necessary by borrowing from banks, churches, private investors, the government—and maybe robbing life savings as well. On the face of it, it seems unlikely that the capitalists are going to throw out that kind of money in an industry where the owners are already crying about too much productive capacity and competition. But just the existence of the scheme serves the capitalists well as a way to mislead and confuse the workers struggling for their jobs, and to spread some general confusion about the nature of the capitalist system—in other words, to try to turn around the situation that has been bad for them so far.

Even if they got the capital, how could the new company make enough to repay the loans plus interest and still turn a profit? How could it accumulate the necessary funds needed for future modernization? Only by being better than other steel companies at squeezing the hell out of the workers. This is what competition is all about.

The Western Reserve Economic Development Agency whose attorney has become the president of this "workers' management" venture admitted this themselves in their report: "because the company is starting from scratch . . . Labor costs would be reduced and higher levels of productivity would be possible." Translated, this means lower wages and more speed-up. Two thousand men are proposed to do the work once done by 5000.

Even if the workers could somehow avoid falling into becoming employees of men like this attorney who are out for their own business careers, being "their own boss" would be more like being your own foreman—working harder for less and never being able to let up. Even this would not guarantee their jobs. There would be no escaping capitalism's laws.

The Youngstown workers face a two-pronged attack. They have lost their jobs and now the Lykes Corporation is trying to take away their SUB (Supplementary Unemployment Benefits) and their retirement pay. At the same time, the capitalists are on a political and ideological offensive against the struggle and the beginning consciousness and organization developed by the workers. *The Worker* for the Cleveland-Northeast Ohio area, which helped build the struggle in Youngstown, is helping to expose the phoney "employee ownership" plan. The Fight for Every Job Committee is determined to meet these attacks head-on, and unite more workers from Youngstown Sheet & Tube, U.S. Steel and other mills to carry this battle through. ■

Oregon Steel Workers Take On Company Attacks

For over five months 600 steel workers, members of the USWA, Local 3010 in Portland, Oregon, have been on strike against Gilmore Steel and Oregon Steel Company, the largest rolling mill in Oregon. The outcome of this strike, going on in the midst of a huge crisis in the steel industry, is not only important for the workers in the Portland area but for steel workers nationwide who are facing sharp attacks by the big steel companies and who are shackled by the hated no-strike deal in Basic Steel.

The workers at Oregon Steel are not officially covered by the no-strike agreement (the ENA) in Basic Steel. But the company is insisting that the wages and

the picket line forced the company to back off of some of the takeaways in the contract offer, including provisions to do away with seniority, extended vacations, and total elimination of call-back rights.

But the contract was still rotten to the core. Besides retaining pay cuts of \$2-3 an hour, the company threw another wrench into their offer, a scheme to split the ranks of the strikers by firing five to six strikers and threatening disciplinary action for "another group" involved in the militant picket line activities. They also made it clear that if the contract offer was rejected they would hire scabs to run the plant.

The contract was decisively voted down by the membership. At the same time there was controversy over how far they could go in the face of the unified strength of the company, cops, courts, and the treachery of the union leadership. But many workers summed up that the way forward was to rely on their own strength and organization and the support of other working people.

The union leadership's refusal to supply union lawyers or financial help to five strikers who face stiff criminal charges was condemned and countered by the formation of a rank and file defense committee which collected \$300 on the spot.

The National United Workers Organization in Portland is taking up the strike in a big way, building it as a battle of the whole working class in the Northwest. They are distributing leaflets, organizing plant-gate collections, putting up posters all over Portland, and calling on fellow workers to support the strike.

In the Portland area, where these steel workers are the highest paid production workers, workers in every industry are looking to the strike to see if the workers there can defend the gains they have made and break the momentum of the capitalists' offensive of union-busting and takeaways. This key battle at Oregon Steel is winning wide support throughout the Northwest. ■



1930 Soviet cartoon against Trotsky titled "The opportunists' show is unsuccessful." Trotsky, in his late 20s at the time of the 2nd Congress, was even then a swollen-headed careerist: Trotsky always tried to find cracks and crevices within which he could hide, hoping to represent a "third line" while in fact covering for and giving support to the Mensheviks.

Mensheviks...

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people sort things out, the howls of the minority will also be laughed at, for they cried out against centralism and against the Rules when they were in the minority, but lost no time in taking advantage of the Rules once they had managed to make themselves the majority." (Ibid., p. 249)

Opportunist Alliance Collapses

Martov took with him, in the final vote on Paragraph I, one quarter of the Iskra delegates, and combining the votes in alliance with the opportunists in the Bund and the other anti-Iskraists, secured victory for his opportunist formulation at the Congress.

But following the debates of the Party rules, the struggle against the Bundists arose, a struggle destined to alter the balance of forces at the Congress. The Bund, as Stalin summarizes, "laid claim to a special position within the Party. It demanded to be recognized as the sole representative of the Jewish workers in Russia. To comply with this demand would have meant to divide the workers in the Party organizations according to nationality, and to renounce common territorial class organizations of the workers" (HCPSU, pg 43) Though Martov and those around him had found it useful to ally with the Bundists against Lenin, they were forced by the blatant opportunism and the arrogant demands of the Bundists to vote against their special demands; whereupon the Bundists and two of their opportunist allies who were supporters of Economism split from the Congress. Lenin points out: "The Martovites had lost their faithful allies . . . The Iskra-ists of the zig-zag line were faced with the prospect of submitting . . . But the Martovites were so unbridled that instead of submitting they set out to cause a row and a split." ("Account of the 2nd Congress of RSDLP" Vol. 7, p. 30)

The elections to the central committee and to the Editorial Board of Iskra were the decisive battles of the Congress. The CC elected consisted mainly of firm Iskra-ists, in spite of a frenzied attempt by Martov to have a slate of his old cronies elected. On Lenin's proposal, Lenin, Plekhanov, (then still allied with Lenin, but soon to desert to the Menshevik camp) and Martov were elected to the Editorial Board. But Martov, stung with rage that his candidates for both central bodies were rejected by the Congress, petulantly refused to join the Editorial Board. Martov snivelled that those rejected were "great leaders" and "chief figures," that "their political reputations have been destroyed" by not having been granted the positions they lusted after within the Party. Lenin comments sarcastically on the Martovite hysteria, which immediately after the Second Congress became public knowledge and gossip in every "left" rag in Russia and Europe:

" . . . it is absurd to think that a candidate is 'disgraced' when he is not approved . . . absurd to make a 'scene' and go into hysterics over what forms part of a Party member's direct duty to select officials conscientiously and judiciously. And yet this is what put the fat in the fire as far as our minority are concerned, and they began after the Congress . . . to assure the broad public in print that Comrade Stein had been the 'chief figure' on the former Organizing Committee and that he had been groundlessly accused of 'diabolical

schemes' . . . It is bureaucracy and formalism, we are to believe, to think it proper to discuss and decide upon candidates *only* at congresses . . . Instead of this bureaucratic and formal view, new usages and customs have now become the thing: we are, after congresses, to talk right and left about the political burial of Ivan Ivanovich or the destroyed reputation of Ivan Nikiforovich . . . Those of the reading public who have a taste for scandal will eagerly savor the sensational news that, on the assurance of Martov himself, so-and-so was the chief figure on the Organizing Committee. This reading public is far more competent to discuss and decide the question than formalistic institutions like congresses, with their grossly mechanical decisions by majority vote . . ." ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 279)

Elsewhere in this same work, Lenin points to another revealing feature of the Mensheviks, their "fear of minutes." With the Mensheviks basing their case on cheap appeals to emotion, rumormongering and sensationalism, the last thing they wanted was for an actual record of what they said and did at the Second Congress to be made known to the whole Party.

The Second Congress marked the establishment of a genuine, Leninist Party of the working class in Russia. But, while formally a single Party had been founded, in fact two centers existed, the Bolshevik headquarters, headed by Lenin, and the Menshevik headquarters, headed by Martov, and Axelrod, Trotsky, and soon, Plekhanov. Stalin reviews in capsule form the situation following the Second Congress:

"After the Second Congress the struggle within the Party became even more acute. The Mensheviks did their utmost to frustrate the decisions of the Second Congress and to seize the central institutions of the Party . . . The Mensheviks, in secret from the Party, created their own anti-Party factional organization, headed by Martov, Trotsky, and Alexrod, and, as Martov wrote, 'broke into revolt against Leninism.' The methods they adopted for combating the Party were, as Lenin expressed it, 'to disorganize the whole Party work, damage the cause, and hamper all and everything.'" (HCPSU, p. 44)

Lenin, in *One-Step Forward, Two-Steps Back*, comments on the apparent oddity that there was very little struggle over the program of the Party at the Second Congress, and that the struggle came down around organizational matters and personalities. With penetrating insight born of experience in dealing with opportunists, he wrote:

"With large numbers of radical intellectuals in the ranks of our Marxists and our Social-Democrats, the opportunism which their mentality produces has been, and is, bound to exist, in the most varied spheres and in the most varied forms. We fought opportunism on the fundamental problems of our world conception, on the questions of our programme . . . we fought opportunism on tactical issues . . . We must now vanquish the opportunism of Martov and Axelrod on questions of organization, which are, of course, less fundamental than questions of tactics, let alone of programme . . .

"When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget a characteristic feature of present-day opportunism in every sphere, namely, its vagueness, amorphousness, elusiveness. An opportunist, by his very nature, will always evade taking a clear and decisive stand, he will always seek a middle course, he will always wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to 'agree' with both and reduce his differences of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, innocent and pious suggestions, and so on and so forth. Comrade Eduard Bernstein, an opportunist in

questions of programme, 'agrees' with the revolutionary programme of his party, too . . ." (CW, Vol. 7, pp. 401-2)

Particularly noteworthy in this regard was the behavior of Trotsky not only at the Second Congress but in the decades following it (for Trotsky was young at the time of the Congress and had a whole career of double-dealing and revisionism ahead of him.) Trotsky, while fundamentally allied with the Mensheviks, always tried to find cracks and crevices within which he could hide, hoping to represent a "third line" while in fact covering for and giving support to the Mensheviks. His career showed that his "third line" was nothing but a ruse, an embellished version of outright revisionism and opportunism which proved even more dangerous than the less disguised variety.

Lenin, strictly adhering to principle and seeking to avoid an irreparable split, struggled with the Mensheviks to abide by the decisions of the Congress and to perform useful work for the Party. Verbally at the Congress, the Mensheviks had assured all present that despite the differences, they would remain in the Party and struggle things out. Lenin writes, "nothing remained for the central institutions but to wait and see what would come of their verbal assurances that they would adhere to loyal methods of struggle . . ." However, events quickly proved that "the celebrated promise to be loyal and abide by the decisions of the Congress was just talk, and that, as a matter of fact, the minority had positively decided *not to obey* the central institutions of the Party, replying to their appeals to collaborate with *evasive excuses* full of sophistry and *anarchistic phrase-mongering*." (Ibid., p. 356)

Lenin painted a picture of the characteristic features of Menshevik opportunism which holds good to this day: "Consisting of opportunists and people who detested *Iskra*, the minority strove to *rend the Party* and damaged and disorganized its work, thirsting to avenge their defeat at the Congress and sensing that by *honest and loyal* means . . . they would *never* succeed in refuting the accusations of opportunism and intellectualist instability which at the Second Congress had been leveled against them. Realising that they could not *convince* the Party, they tried to gain their ends by *disorganizing* the Party and *hampering all its work*. They were reproached with having (by their mistakes at the Congress) caused a crack in our pot; they replied to the reproach by trying *with all their might* to *smash the pot altogether*." (Ibid., p. 355)

The Mensheviks squealed like stuck pigs against "the system of autocratic and bureaucratic government of the Party." Lenin, pointing out that "autocracy means the supreme, uncontrolled, non-accountable, non-elective rule of one individual," pointed to the obvious: "This accusation of autocratic government necessarily and inevitably implies pronouncing all members of the governing body except the autocrat to be mere tools in the hands of another, mere pawns and agents of another's will . . ."

"It is clear, . . ." Lenin continued, "that the cries about this celebrated bureaucracy are just a screen for dissatisfaction with the personal composition of the central bodies, a fig-leaf to cover up the violation of a pledge solemnly given at the Congress . . . They talk of bureaucracy . . . Bureaucracy means subordinating the interests of the *work* to the interests of one's own *career*; it means focusing attention on *places* and ignoring the work itself; it means wrangling over *co-optation* [the bringing of new members onto leading bodies—Ed.] instead of fighting for *ideas* . . . If the talk about bureaucracy contains any principle at all, if it is not just an anarchistic denial of the duty of the part to submit to the whole, then what we have here is the *principle of opportunism*, which seeks to lessen the responsibility of individual intellectuals to the party of the proletariat, to lessen the influence of the central institutions, to enlarge the autonomy of the least steadfast elements in the Party . . . That opportunism leads to the Martov and Axelrod 'views' on organization by its very nature, and not by chance, and not in Russia alone but the world over . . ." (CW, Vol. 7, pp. 360-2)

"Revolt Against Leninism"

Following the Congress, the Menshevik "revolt against Leninism" was taken to the League of Russian Social-Democrats abroad, one of the organizations which had been represented at the Congress and was a stronghold of Martov and Co. The League, which was composed of exiled and, for the most part, demoralized and degenerate intellectuals who had long since lost contact with the realities of revolutionary life in Russia, rejected the discipline of the Central Committee—while still proclaiming itself part of the Party!

" . . . [I]t inevitably followed," wrote Lenin, "that this assembly, which wanted to be counted an assembly of a Party organization but at the same time not to obey the Party's central institution, had to be pronounced *unlawful*. Accordingly, the followers of the Party majority at once withdrew from this quasi-Party assembly, so as not to have any share in an indecent farce." (Ibid. p. 366)

It was at this point that Plekhanov, who had even during the time he stood with Lenin, always showed

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Mensheviks...

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a tendency to conciliate with opportunism, passed over into the bog of Menshevism and complete opportunism. Long considered "the grand old man" of Russian Marxism, with a long history in the movement extending back into the '70s, and worshipped by some impressionable young Marxists as a revered "patron saint," Plekhanov had in fact made important contributions for many years. But he had, as Stalin points out, never really thoroughly broken with the earlier Narodnik views which he had once held, though he played a key role in criticizing and exposing the Narodnik trend. As Stalin succinctly states, "It was the deadweight of his earlier opportunist mistakes that dragged Plekhanov down to the Mensheviks. From an advocate of reconciliation with the opportunist Mensheviks he soon became a Menshevik himself." (HCPSU, p. 45)

Though formally the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks were still in one Party, there were in fact two centers in the Party—one headed by Lenin, the other by Martov, Trotsky, and Plekhanov. Every conceivable effort was made by the Bolsheviks to resolve the differences and avoid a split, but as time passed, and the situation grew more critical as the revolutionary situation matured, it became clearer and clearer that the opportunist leaders were intent upon losing themselves in the marsh. The Russo-Japanese war and the impending revolution of 1905 called for decisive leadership and a united party. The Third Congress of the RSDLP, held without the Mensheviks (who attempted to hold their own congress but due to lack of attendance were forced to call it a "conference") achieved real, Bolshevik unity and a revolutionary program for leading the workers and peasants in the revolutionary struggle. The Menshevik conference, however, advocated the surrender of the field in advance to the liberal bourgeoisie, to rely on them as the "most consistent fighters for democracy," to not do any thing too daring which would frighten off the bourgeoisie.

In summing up the "revolt against Leninism," Lenin sardonically commented on the fact that many of the new Menshevik trend had in fact bitterly hated each other and had always clawed at each other's throats in the past; but that when it came down to the decisive battle, "All the offended forgot their mutual scores, fell weeping into each other's arms, and raised the banner of 'revolt against Leninism.'" (CW, Vol. 7, p. 404)

Lenin went on: "A revolt is a splendid thing when it is the advanced elements who revolt against the reactionary elements. When the revolutionary wing revolts against the opportunist wing, it is a good thing. When the opportunist wing revolts against the revolutionary wing, it is a bad business." (Ibid. p. 405)

With Mensheviks Gone Party Grows Stronger

The Second Party Congress, Lenin pointed out, was a "real revolution," a great advance. The Second Congress brought together dozens of groups which had until then been pervaded with the old narrow "circle spirit," devotion to one's own organization, locality, or clique. These organizations "... were now prepared (in principle, that is) to sacrifice all their group aloofness and group independence for the sake of the great whole which we were for the first time actually creating—the Party... But it is one thing to call oneself something, and another to be it. It is one thing to sacrifice the circle system in principle for the sake of the Party, and another to do it."

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Long considered the "grand old man" of Russian Marxism, Plekhanov never thoroughly broke with his earlier Narodism. He eventually became a leading Menshevik.

Important Analysis of Revisionism and Capitalist Restoration

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■ "In examining the degeneration of the Soviet Union, the two principal classes of modern society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—have two entirely opposite summations. The summation of the bourgeoisie, which it promotes in a thousand ways, is, of course, not based on Marxism and scientific class analysis. The bourgeoisie does not explain what is happening in the Soviet Union today on the basis of capitalism having been restored through a process of acute and complicated class struggle, but instead dishes up its favorite line that socialism is 'impractical,' that it is suited only for 'backward' countries, that it is not viable once modern industry is established, that sooner or later it ends up the same as capitalism, etc., etc. . . ."

"But the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist leadership draw exactly the opposite conclusion. Far from concluding that mankind will never reach a higher form of society—communism—in which classes, exploitation and oppression, and material want will be relegated to the history books, we examine the profound negative example of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union in order to better learn how to wage the class struggle in all its forms against the bourgeoisie, in order to progress from the barbaric and outmoded capitalist system to the lofty goal of communism.

"And while the experience of the Soviet Union is a negative example from which we must learn, there is also historical experience of the class struggle under socialism which is providing the answer of how to prevent capitalist restoration and continue along the socialist road toward communism. For it is precisely these questions that are at the heart of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. . . ." (RED PAPERS 7, p. 114)

■ "How is it possible for a socialist country, a country where the workers have seized state power under the leadership of a Communist Party, to revert to capitalism?

"The answer is complicated, but lies in the fact that socialism doesn't drop from the sky. It comes into being through revolution to overthrow capitalist society, but, as Marx writes in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, it is 'in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society. . . ." (RED PAPERS 7, p. 11)

■ "In summary, the continuing presence of capitalist production relations under socialism provides an objective basis for the restoration of capitalism, but this does not indicate that the economy, and the society, is capitalist. We can say that *socialism exists where the working class actually holds state power, where the sphere of operation of the law of value is being reduced to the maximum degree permitted by economic and political realities, where the initiative of the working class in developing new relations of production including a new division of labor is actively fostered by Party and state, and where the revolutionary transformation of all aspects of society is vigorously carried out under the leadership of the working class and its Communist Party. . . .*" (RED PAPERS 7, p. 9)

■ "In the final analysis, the revisionists can only fall back on the law of value as the 'lever' which organizes production. They must reduce the workers to propertyless proletarians, competing in the sale of their single commodity—their labor power—to live. They must appeal to the narrow self-interest of the worker in this competition, backing this up with the power of the state, as a force standing above and oppressing the workers, a weapon in the hands of the owners of the means of production. . . ." (RED PAPERS 7, p. 55)

■ "Khrushchev had constantly promised to increase production of consumer goods and help raise the living standard of the people. But despite all his talk of 'goulash communism,' living standards actually declined. For all of Khrushchev's attempts to revise Marxism-Leninism, most Soviet workers still remembered what communism is supposed to mean: not simply an abundance of the good things of life, but the breakdown of distinctions between mental and manual labor and between worker and peasant and town and country; not a 'state of the whole people,' but the withering away of the state. The workers still remembered what goulash tasted like, too—and they knew they weren't getting much of that, either. . . ." (RED PAPERS 7, p. 29)

■ "Instead of mobilizing and relying on the working class to change the actual class relationships that existed in Cuba, to eliminate the warped economy that imperialist plunder had created in Cuba, and on this basis to develop the productive forces, the Cuban leaders looked for something that could substitute for the masses and class struggle. Despite the rhetoric of building the 'new man,' they more and more based themselves on the line common to all revisionists, that things, not people, are decisive; that in order for their version of 'socialism' to triumph in Cuba, productive capacity had to be obtained from abroad. Their class outlook insured they could never understand that revolutionizing the relations of production is the key to developing the productive forces. Still less could they understand that, in Marx's words, the 'greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself.' In place of the conscious struggle of the masses the Cuban leaders sought to purchase socialism by mortgaging the economy to the Soviet Union. . . ." (CUBA, p. 13)

■ "Castro said that the main problem facing the revolution was how 'to produce the abundance necessary for communism'—meaning, to him, trading sugar for the means of production and machinery that he felt the working class could never produce by relying on its own efforts. And to do this the Cuban leaders' plan amounted to putting the *substance* of the old relations of production, in somewhat altered form—society's division of labor and its sugar plantations—to work at top speed to produce the goods to sell to get this wealth. Now the buyer and 'provider' was no longer to be the U.S., but the Soviet Union.

"Once this line was adopted, the enthusiasm of the masses for changing the old society was increasingly perverted so that the role of the working class, rather than revolutionizing society, was reduced to working hard to produce the necessary cash. Thus the basic capitalist relation of production was preserved and strengthened—the subordination of the working class to production for profit. Rather than a new socialist society, and still less communism, this was, in essence, the same old society with new masters. The workers' role was to work hard. The Cuban leaders more and more became bureaucratic state capitalists dependent on a foreign imperialist power.

"Even the revolutionary fervor and desire of the Cuban people to support anti-imperialist struggles, exemplified by their support for the people of Vietnam, was twisted to support Soviet adventures abroad against their U.S. rivals, as in Bangladesh and in Angola.

"Once the basic political road was taken of buying 'socialism' instead of relying on and mobilizing the class struggle of the working class and masses which alone could revolutionize society, the basic economic policy of the Cuban revisionists followed as surely as night follows day. The cash that Castro sought could only be obtained by preserving and strengthening the very lopsided and semicolonial economy that had led to the Cuban revolution in the first place. The production of sugar for sale to the Soviet Union became the basis of economic policy, which all the get-rich-quick schemes, 'socialist' proclamations and gimmicks depended on and served. And this economic dependency, in turn, became the basis for the further development of the political line of the Cuban leadership." (CUBA, p. 14)

■ "Within the people's movement in the United States, even among those opposed to the 'Communist Party' of the USA, the influence of revisionist ideas is an important block holding back revolutionary struggle. Social pacifism, reliance on the 'progressive' politicians of the bourgeoisie, reliance on union leadership, and other bourgeois representatives, all are ideas which keep people from seeing the need for mobilizing the masses of people, under the leadership of the working class and a genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, to make revolution. For those who want to make revolution in the United States, it is essential to understand the roots of revisionism in the class struggle, and to see that revisionism is an international phenomenon. The struggle against revisionism and all forms of opportunism must be a part of making revolution in this country, and is part of the international struggle of the working class to defeat imperialism and all reaction, and to build socialism. . . ." (RED PAPERS 7, p. 2)

Officials' "Game Plan" Big Obstacle

J.P. Stevens Union Drive

In November of last year, 800 J.P. Stevens workers from across the South jammed into the Spartanburg Memorial Auditorium in South Carolina for a rally called by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) to build the drive to organize Stevens. The convention marked big advances in the struggle to organize Southern textile workers—the hundreds who came from the Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama threw mud in the face of the myth that "mill workers will never get organized."

Thousands have come forward in the battle to organize J.P. Stevens, a drive which was initiated two years after the union election victory in Roanoke Rapids, Virginia in 1974. The convention showed that there are activists determined to break through every obstacle Stevens throws up against the union—like the workers from Statesboro, Georgia where the company closed the mill several years ago to avoid organization.

It showed that Stevens workers are resisting attacks by the company—like in Stuart, Virginia where Stevens bought out four mills a few years ago and immediately introduced a medical plan that was far worse than the one under the previous owner. They also kept pay at around a dollar an hour lower than the rest of Stevens' mills. Within nine months, a majority of the workers signed cards, and up to 1000 were attending union meetings.

But in order to make the union drive a real blow to the capitalist enemy, and in the course of this build the kind of fighting union they need, Stevens workers will have to break through the "game plan" that the ACTWU officials have set up. In particular, the union officials have dished up a scheme—the boycott of J.P. Stevens—that is meant to prevent any outbreak of struggle on the part of the rank and file. The ACTWU hacks intend the boycott as a *substitute* for mobilizing the textile workers themselves in struggle against J.P. Stevens—and this is the only way the union drive can move ahead. For this reason the boycott must be opposed at this time.

The *Textile Workers' Voice*, an industry-wide newsletter, has taken up the J.P. Stevens struggle, and together with some active Stevens workers is putting forward a fighting program. The *Voice* was formed at the time of the founding of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) over Labor Day weekend, 1977 and is closely linked with it. One purpose of the newsletter is to unite the rank and file in order to fight the companies, and as part of this, take up the question of organizing unions in the textile mills.

At the convention in Spartanburg, they put out a leaflet that said, "If we are going to build a union that unites the vast majority of Stevens workers, that is strong and able to fight whatever the company comes down with, then we need a different strategy. The

heart of this battle has to be the rank and file workers planning and leading the fight."

The leaflet called for the campaign to be built around the real demands of the workers in the mills: recognize the union; a hefty increase in wages and benefits—no wage cuts; stop the stretch-out and job overload; plant-wide seniority; and keep all the mills open. It talked about the need to build union organizing committees around this program, and to put forward the need to build independent organization for the rank and file to really forge its own path. The hacks responded by sending goons to rip leaflets from the workers' hands, which caused much controversy and confusion. But despite this, over 500 got leaflets and many were disgusted with the hacks' tactics.

The fight to organize unions is certainly an important one, and for textile workers, it is a key battle today. But the past history of the working class and the current experience of textile workers underlines the lesson that to *limit* the fight to just "getting a union" is to politically disarm the workers as the capitalists inevitably try to take back any concessions they have given up, and more. Organizations like the *Voice* and the NUWO can and must play a key role in linking the struggles in the mills to larger political battles—such as unemployment, discrimination, and war—facing the entire working class. This in turn releases the initiative of the workers in their immediate battles, helping them see the face of the class enemy more clearly.

Struggle and Roadblocks

Textile workers have a proud history of struggle—



Southern textile workers demonstrate against J.P. Stevens.

many of their battles have become legends in working class history—such as the Lawrence Strike in 1913 and the Gastonia, North Carolina Strike in 1929. Still, the level of trade union struggle in North and South Carolina has been lower than other parts of the country—for example, in days lost due to strikes—because of the backward conditions historically in the South and the tremendous roadblocks thrown in the workers' path.

For decades, the Southern textile mills have been mainly small family-owned operations based in rural areas. Like the mines, the mill owners also controlled the towns, lock, stock and barrel. Due to this the capitalists have been largely able to isolate and crush organizing drives and strikes.

When organizing drives were launched by the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA)—which the mill owners would invariably answer with massive firings, plant closings, and brutal attacks on union organizers and active workers—the hacks' only response was to file endless and useless lawsuits. For years, the gutless TWUA officials had worked to tie the workers' hands to the capitalists, trotting out the same old story—"either give in or lose your jobs"—and pointing to the fact that the textile mills could easily be moved, machinery and all, out of the area. When the TWUA merged with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to formulate ACTWU, this treachery remained.

In the last 20 years and more, important economic changes in the South helped spark a new wave of struggle in the textile industry. Hundreds of Northern companies moved to the largely nonunion Southern states. Large monopolies like J.P. Stevens and Burlington began buying up smaller companies. Today Stevens owns 85 mills and employs 45,000 workers. Although the industry is still largely rural, textile workers are more concentrated in fewer companies than ever before.

Following World War 2, the plantation sharecropping system gave way to mechanized capitalist agriculture. Millions of Blacks left sharecropping and became members of the working class, while national oppression remained. This set the stage for the mighty storm of the Black people's struggle.

Until 1964, Blacks were virtually barred from the mills except for the most menial jobs. But the upsurge of the '60s forced the doors open, bringing in thousands of Black workers. This laid the material basis for break-

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Mensheviks...

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other to renounce one's own circle. The fresh breeze proved too fresh as yet for people used to musty philistinism...The furious gale raised all the mud from the bottom of our Party stream; and the mud took its revenge..." (CW, Vol 7, pp. 410-11)

The Third Congress of the Party (April, 1905) condemned the Mensheviks as a "section that has split away from the Party." (HCPSU, p. 63) The Third Congress represented the consolidation of the Party on Leninist principles, even though it wasn't until the Prague Conference of 1912 that the Mensheviks were formally expelled from the RSDLP. The Leninist, Bolshevik Party, far from destroyed by the wild Menshevik assault, was strengthened, and made ready to lead the masses forward through the complex revolutionary struggles which lay ahead, forward on the road to victory. This is a profound lesson, a profound confirmation of the thesis which Lenin chose to quote on the title page of *What Is To Be Done?*: "... Party struggles lend a party strength and vitality; the greatest proof of a party's weakness is its diffuseness and the blurring of clear demarcations; a party becomes stronger by purging itself."

Just how prophetic Lenin's inscription was was shown by the actions of the Mensheviks in the years to come. The Mensheviks capitulated to the Stolypin reaction which followed on the heels of the defeated 1905 Revolution and fought against illegal Party organizations.

In 1914, when the imperialist war broke out, the Mensheviks followed in the footsteps of the social

chauvinists in all the belligerent countries who leapt to the "defense of the fatherland." Plekhanov, in particular, capped his opportunist career by being in the forefront of this disgusting action.

Dizzied by temporary successes, the Mensheviks howled with derision at Lenin's Bolsheviks, whom they ridiculed as a "sect." But the temporary successes of the Mensheviks in creating a relatively large but completely opportunist and unprincipled party were shown to be, like the imperialist system they sought to preserve, a Colossus with feet of clay. While they were able to attract, for a while, sections of the backward and unenlightened workers, their party itself was characterized by a relatively small handful of leaders using whatever influence over the masses that they had as bargaining chips with the bourgeoisie. In the end, they found themselves completely isolated from the revolutionary proletariat, and their own followers were deserting them, many joining the revolutionary camp.

After the February Revolution toppled the Czar, the Mensheviks came to the defense of the bourgeois Provisional Government. Just as they howled about "democracy" when they were trying to destroy the RSDLP, they again became the biggest proponents of "democracy"—bourgeois democracy, of course. While claiming that the workers had no right to rise in revolution against their masters, the Mensheviks openly aided the bourgeoisie in attacking the Bolsheviks and the revolutionary masses. For this service the Mensheviks, along with the equally opportunist Socialist Revolutionaries with whom they were allied, were entrusted to form a cabinet with Kerensky at its head and administer the state for the imperialist ruling class. This final act of counter-revolution made them a target of the revolutionary wrath of the masses, and they were toppled along with Kerensky and the rest of the Pro-

visional Government.

They had opposed the Leninist Party because they opposed revolution. At a critical juncture in the months before the October Revolution, the Menshevik leader Tsereteli had declared emphatically that there was no Party in Russia that would dare claim that it could govern. To this Lenin made his famous reply, "There is such a Party!" This was a fundamental difference which, focussing then on the question of the Party's role, reflected, in fact concentrated, the struggle between communism and revolution on the one hand and revisionism and reformism on the other.

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

Lenin's inspiring conclusion to *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* has lost none of its luster or immediacy with the passage of 75 years:

"One step forward, two steps back...It happens in the lives of individuals, and it happens in the history of nations and in the development of parties. It would be the most criminal cowardice to doubt even for a moment the inevitable and complete triumph of the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy, of proletarian organization and Party discipline. We have already won a great deal, and we must go on fighting, undismayed by reverses, fighting steadfastly, scorning the philistine methods of circle wrangling, doing our very utmost to preserve the hard-won single Party tie linking all Russian Social-Democrats, and striving by dint of persistent and systematic work to give all Party members, and the workers in particular, a full and conscious understanding of the duties of Party members, of the struggle at the Second Party Congress, of all the causes and all the stages of our divergence, and of the utter disastrousness of opportunism..." (CW, Vol. 7, p. 412) ■

Wilmington Ten Frame-up Continues

On January 23 Governor Hunt of North Carolina announced in a highly publicized television address that he refused to pardon the Wilmington 10. The announcement was a slap in the face to Black people and the whole working class, driving home the message: If Black people, or any others, step out of line and militantly challenge the system, they will be crushed. Even if it takes frame-ups, with bribed witnesses and stacked juries, the state will not back down.

The Wilmington 10 are nine Black men and one white woman who were framed up and sentenced to a total of 282 years for allegedly firebombing a small white-owned grocery store and conspiracy to shoot police and firemen. The store was burned during an intense struggle in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1971, sparked by discrimination in the newly integrated schools. The struggle began when Black students who were bused to the white high school were excluded from many extracurricular activities. When fights broke out at the school, only Blacks were expelled.

Black students and parents demanded an end to discrimination in the schools, and organized a school boycott. White vigilantes and night riders—backed by local politicians, business leaders and police—terrorized the Black community. When several Black youths were shot down, the community moved to defend itself by force.

It was only after a white vigilante was killed while making an armed attack on the church which served as the school boycott center that the state moved to "restore order." The National Guard was called in and effectively crushed the boycott. Throughout this period the government made calculated use of violent attacks on the Black community as their main weapon in combatting the mass movement. The mayor of Wilmington was quoted after one such attack as saying, "I see the shooting as a deterrent. I think we have the situation in hand now."

Climate of Terror

The frame-up of the Wilmington 10, one year later, was a further move to show that those who step out of line would be made to pay, that the state was prepared to destroy their lives even if they survived the direct attacks by cops and vigilantes. Only in this way could the proper climate of terror be created for the capitalists and politicians to feel secure in their ability to continue their super-exploitation and oppression of Black people, and keep down workers of all nationalities.

The trial of the Wilmington 10 was an open frame-up. The first jury had 10 Blacks and 2 whites, so the prosecutor suddenly got sick. He probably felt a lot better when the next jury had 10 whites and 2 Blacks. Evidence was suppressed and "lost," and witnesses were bribed and intimidated into lying.

After the state's witnesses all publicly recanted their testimony nearly a year ago, and admitted to being bribed by the prosecution, there was a widespread feeling in North Carolina that the government would have to give in.

Celebrate International Women's Day



**"The Stronger the Role of Women,
the Stronger Will Be Our Movement"**

**"Beat Back the Attacks on Working
Women"**

**"Equality and Unity, Not Division and
Oppression"**

Events will be held in March in many local areas. At these events there will be a Party speaker on the general theme "Emancipation through Revolution."

The Carter administration has found the Wilmington 10 frame-up embarrassing as their "human rights" campaign—employed by the U.S. bourgeoisie to stir up trouble for their imperialist rivals in the USSR—is being turned around on them. The "New Czars" in the Soviet Union, who are guilty of brutal repression themselves (such as the imprisonment of over one million Soviet workers, minority nationalities and political dissidents in "mental hospitals" and concentration camps) have made the most of the Wilmington 10 case to further their own superpower contention with the U.S. bourgeoisie. For this reason the federal government, on the horns of a dilemma, for a time exerted some pressure for a pardon, while they also "refused to interfere"—i.e., acted according to their overall nature of enforcing national oppression and repression.

Governor Hunt, responding to local capitalist interests and, still more, to the general capitalist refusal to tolerate mass struggle, refused to reverse the frame-up. Keeping their state an "attractive" and highly profitable area for investment is the top priority for North Carolina capitalists. This means tightening the chains on the state's workers (only 8% of whom are unionized and who have one of the lowest wage levels in the country) and smashing any signs of rebellion among North Carolina's large Black population. The continued national oppression and super-exploitation of Black workers, who are heavily concentrated in the state's unorganized textile mills, is crucial to maintaining the capitalists' version of the "New South." Thus Hunt's hard line on the Wilmington 10, while consistent with general capitalist interests, also goes hand in hand with the capitalists' hard-line offensive against the whole working class in North Carolina.

CPUSA Revisionists Lead Struggle Down Blind Alley

The bourgeoisie is caught between a rock and a hard place in the Wilmington 10 case, and its ugly features are being increasingly exposed in this blatant frame-up. But the capitalists' efforts to get off of this tight spot are receiving invaluable assistance from the revisionist Communist Party, USA, which has been parading itself as the great defender of the "Wilmington 10" and riding this case for all its worth. What the CPUSA is trying to cover up—the vicious nature of the bourgeoisie and its state, the political apparatus that enforces the rule of capital—is even more disgusting than what Hunt is trying to cover over with the frame-up.

Working mainly through the National Alliance against Racist and Political Repression (which includes some honest forces and individuals) the CP has raised the slogan "Human Rights Begins at Home" in the best reformist, misleading and petty-bourgeois moralistic fashion—as if the rights of the working class and oppressed nationalities can be protected under monopoly capitalism if just enough "pressure" is exerted by the people. The CPUSA holds that discrimination and the brutal national oppression of Black people can be "outlawed" and eliminated step by step, without overthrowing its source—the bourgeoisie and their blood-soaked rule.

In recent months, the CPUSA has initiated demonstrations at Democratic Party headquarters in a number of cities, asking this political party of the bourgeoisie "to make it known to the President and the Governor that it too wants justice done"! The CPUSA is now calling for a mass protest and demonstration in March at the White House to demand that "President Carter intervene in the case"—which Carter and the bourgeoisie may well do, but for their own reasons.

RCYB and ALSC Launch Campaign

The masses of Black people in North Carolina, as well as a significant number of whites, are outraged by Hunt's calculated attack on the Wilmington 10 and the people's struggle in the area.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) and the Organizing Committee for a new African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) are now taking up this struggle. They are contacting other groups to build local demonstrations throughout North Carolina this month, to be followed by a statewide demonstration. The case is controversial, and a big task remains to be carried out, particularly among the masses of white people. By going out boldly, patiently explaining what is at stake, and mobilizing the masses to free the Wilmington 10, such activity can contribute to upsetting and exposing the bourgeoisie's political calculations and can help develop a new political climate in the state—a climate of revolutionary struggle against the ruling class and its state. ■



The Wilmington 10, framed and jailed in North Carolina, in the fight against national oppression.

But 'Free Trade' Still Main Banner

U.S. Cries Foul in Trade Wars

The U.S. bourgeoisie, which has sung the praises of "free competition internationally" for three decades, peddling the "free enterprise" system has now come up against the fact that in the anarchy of capitalism it too can be a loser in the competitive struggle. Now that important segments of the U.S. bourgeoisie are suffering losses, praise of competition has been coupled more and more with squeals of "foul play."

These capitalists are like contestants in a game who praise the rules while ahead, then demand that they be changed when they start losing their advantage. The economic domination of U.S. imperialism is everywhere under attack. This has come out especially sharply in the auto and steel industries, where the capitalists are almost hysterical about foreign imports. What has made foreign competition suddenly "unfair" to a U.S. bourgeoisie that pressed lower tariffs and "free trade" in general upon Western Europe and Japan as well as the Third World since the end of World War 2?

To listen to the squeals of the capitalist press, one would believe that it is a result of two causes: first, that the lesser imperialist powers (particularly Japan) have suddenly begun "dumping" their commodities upon the U.S. market at "unfair" prices; and, second, that this is possible because wages are "too high" in the U.S.—that the U.S. proletariat must work harder and for less in the future if it is to save its jobs from competition by "cheap" foreign labor. The U.S. bourgeoisie is peddling a familiar line: unemployment is the result of the competition *among workers*. "Japanese workers are taking our jobs," as the union hacks eagerly put it.

This is, of course, complete nonsense and cannot stand up to scientific (Marxist-Leninist) analysis. It doesn't even stand up to the facts that the bourgeoisie itself collects.

Wage Rates

The idea that rising imports result from U.S. workers being paid too much is a lie so bold as to be laughable, were it not so widely repeated. U.S. government figures show that since 1967, hourly wages have risen slower in the United States than in any other Western imperialist country (this doesn't include the USSR, for which we don't have information); less than half as fast as in Japan, and 35% less than in Germany. As a consequence, unit labor costs of production in the United States have also increased more slowly since 1967 than in other imperialist countries. If, as the bourgeoisie would have the working class believe, "labor costs" are the cutting edge of competitive advantage, then U.S. capital should be seizing markets, not losing them. But it is losing markets, abroad and "at home" in relative terms (that is, total exports are rising, but slower than those of the other advanced capitalist countries). Why?

A basic problem for the U.S. bourgeoisie is that its plant and machinery overall is antiquated, out-of-date, and backward compared to that in Japan, Germany and other imperialist countries. This antiquated equipment, for example in the steel industry, prevents the productivity of labor from rising as fast as in other capitalist countries. Since 1967, output per worker-hour has risen at 2.3% per year in the U.S., slower than in any other advanced capitalist country, slower even than in that pathetic imperialist corpse, Great Britain. By comparison, labor productivity rose at 8.2% per year in Japan and 5.8% in Germany and France. This is the main reason why the U.S. is losing its former competitive advantage.

Thus, the U.S. capitalist class is faced with the urgent necessity of replacing its fixed capital, in order to provide a basis for lower cost production. But their ability to carry this out is reduced by the competition with other capitalist countries, a competition which is reducing profit rates of U.S. industry, profit rates which are themselves the source of the replacement of fixed capital. There is an irony in this, because for 15-20 years after World War 2, the U.S. capitalist class ruled the imperialist camp, using its sheer power to enforce favorable economic relations with the lesser capitalist countries. During this period when German and Japanese capital was reconstructing after the war, the U.S. was a virtual monopolist in the world trade in industrial products. Because of this position, the U.S. had no need to "modernize" so rapidly.

High Cost of Retooling

The demand for U.S. exports seemed limitless and the dollar was in high demand in foreign money markets.

But as the lesser capitalist countries rebuilt, with more modern equipment, the U.S. bourgeoisie began to first lose foreign markets, then domestic ones. During this period of ascendancy, U.S. monopoly capitalists innovated slowly, falling behind in the competitive struggle. Now when they must innovate, the means of innovation—profit—is being squeezed by foreign competition, as well as by overproduction (markets which are increasingly limited compared to the productive power unleashed by new machinery). Further, the freedom to restructure U.S. industry is limited by competition within the U.S. capitalist class itself, as well as by external competition. The steps necessary to "retool" would leave even huge capitalists like U.S. Steel overextended financially and temporarily even more vulnerable to competition, domestic and foreign.

The export of capital—imperialist investment abroad—has been a major feature of the U.S. economy since monopoly capitalism first developed around the turn of the century, and especially since World War 1. The rapid expansion of this investment abroad after World War 2 led to a constant balance of payments deficit (more money leaving the country than coming in), but this was cushioned throughout the 1950s and '60s by a positive balance of trade—more goods exported than imported. With the declining competitiveness of U.S. goods in the world market in recent years, the balance of payments deficit has become a major problem for U.S. imperialism. Yet the more competition heats up among the imperialist powers, the more American capitalists must open up new plants and investments in these other advanced capitalist countries (as well as in the Third World) to meet this competition head on, including in its own markets.

This trend is starkly clear. In the late 1950s about 55% of U.S. foreign productive investment was in the developed countries. By the mid-1960s it had risen to 67%, and in 1976 to almost 75%. But this shift of investment abroad to Europe, Japan, Canada (and away from the Third World in relative terms) is fraught with contradictions.

On the one hand, the critically severe balance of payments conditions, a deficit of almost \$30 billion in 1977, calls out for restrictions of imports. But such restrictions would stimulate moves by the lesser imperialist bourgeoisies to place barriers on the inflow of U.S. capital to their countries. As a result, tariffs and import restrictions would undermine the necessary steps the U.S. bourgeoisie must take. For this reason, Jimmy Carter, as the utensil of the bourgeoisie, is trying to convince Japanese capitalists to voluntarily reduce their exports to the U.S. He hopes that the essence of protectionism—reduced imports—can be achieved without employing the forms of protectionism (tariffs, quotas) which would generate barriers to U.S. investment abroad. Some U.S. capitalists, those most affected by imports, genuinely want protectionism, but for the class as a whole such a policy would weaken the position of the U.S. as an imperialist power.

Decline of Dollar

For a long time the balance of payments deficit seemed to work to the advantage of U.S. imperialism, because it enabled the American government to print money to stimulate the U.S. economy while dumping

many of these dollars abroad—in effect exporting inflation. But when this balance of payments deficit suddenly ballooned—along with other economic, political and military setbacks for U.S. imperialism—this deficit reached the crisis level, with the vast amount of U.S. dollars abroad leading to a sharp decline in the dollar's value in relation to other currencies.

This decline of the dollar plays a contradictory role for the U.S. bourgeoisie. On the one hand it momentarily cheapens U.S. exports, thus offering the hope of an improvement in the competitiveness of U.S. goods (although in previous devaluations of the dollar this advantage has lasted only briefly before the U.S. once again fell behind in the international market.) On the other hand, the devaluation of the dollar will make it harder to expand U.S. investment abroad—which the U.S. imperialists must do. The Carter administration has allowed the dollar to decline—or rather gone along with the decline of the dollar since it couldn't stop it anyway—but in the last few weeks it has stepped in to try to limit the dollar from falling any lower. In this, the U.S. found it had the cooperation of the lesser Western imperialist countries—who bought up huge amounts of dollars—not only because a falling dollar threatens the competitiveness of their own goods, but even more importantly because it threatens to tear apart the entire structure of finance built around the dollar. The use of the dollar as an international medium of exchange (as a "reserve currency") is absolutely essential to the U.S. bourgeoisie in order for them to maintain their position as top dogs in relation to Western Europe and Japan (as well as much of the Third World), but while this has enabled the U.S. to lord it over its weaker "partners" the bourgeoisies of these other countries have had no choice but to go along or risk going down the drain economically themselves.

The capitalists of Western Europe and Japan, however much they try to beef up their position in relation to the U.S., are still fundamentally within the sphere of U.S. control. Their economies are tied in with the U.S. by a thousand threads. They remained tied, ultimately, to the fate of the dollar and the U.S. economy. Their competition with the U.S. is within the context of having to accept the U.S.'s dominant position within this camp, because they cannot muster the military might to challenge the U.S. nor to defend themselves against the USSR without the U.S.'s "help".

Superpower Contention

The struggle between the bourgeoisies of the U.S. and the other imperialist powers in its camp over their respective shares of the exploitation of the working class and the loot extorted from the Third World is taking place within the broader context of the growing rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The USSR is the main barrier to the expansion of the U.S. bloc (which is the only way that the U.S. and its rival "partners" could temporarily submerge their differences.) At the same time, the Soviets themselves are aggressively trying to expand their sphere of influence, and unlike Japan and Western Europe, the USSR is not *principally* engaged in economic competition with the U.S., but rather in building towards a military confrontation to redivide the world (which, in turn, is the only way the USSR could become "competitive" economically). This situation means that the trade wars now brewing between the U.S. and Japan, etc., will not lead to a shooting war between the U.S. and Japan as long as the Japanese imperialists are dependent on American imperialism's guns. (In the unlikely event that Japan switches allegiance to the Soviet Union, this could change.) The economic struggle between the U.S. and the countries allied with it will continue indefinitely, with the U.S. using the Soviet threat to help keep its own bloc in line, until the imperialist world is redivided again by world war, which can only mean a war between the two blocs headed up by the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Continued on page 15



Made in Japan.

Has your job been exported to Japan yet? If not, it soon will be.

Unless you buy the products of American workers who buy from you.

To protect your job, look for this union label when you buy women's and children's apparel.



At left, U.S. union ad. At right, demonstration in Japan. The capitalists try to whip up national chauvinism and pit workers of the different countries against one another as part of their cutthroat competition.

More Rotten Alive than Underground

HHH: Happy Warrior For The Bourgeoisie

Hubert Humphrey's death put the capitalists' myth-makers on overtime, cranking out books, magazines, long newspaper articles and television specials on the "Happy Warrior." Politicians, top union officials and monopoly capitalists have sung tearful praises about this "man of the people." "A true friend of both business and labor," "the man who gave politics a good name"—so the song goes. In Atlanta, "Daddy" King (father of the late Martin Luther King, Jr.) interrupted memorial services for his son to eulogize over Humphrey, portraying him as a savior of Black people.

The rulers of this country, faced with the worst economic and political crisis since the Depression, are well aware that not only "politics," but their whole decadent system is becoming less and less appealing to the masses of people. So they are using Humphrey's death as an occasion to rewrite history, hoping that, in a small way, it will help them instill in the masses a new faith in the American political system.

But facts, as Lenin once said, are stubborn things. And the facts show that Hubert Humphrey was infinitely more rotten in life than he will ever be underground.

The Happy Warmonger

People who are now in their late twenties or thirties remember Humphrey best as the unrepentant, diehard warmonger of the Vietnam era. As the war dragged on, growing numbers of people saw it as the criminal imperialist adventure that it was for the U.S., producing death and hardship for the masses of people both here and especially in Vietnam. Because of heavy U.S. losses and growing opposition to the war, many politicians were forced to publicly disassociate themselves from it and denounce it. Sham opposition to the Vietnam War became the order of the day for aspiring candidates—but not Hubert Humphrey.

Despite the massive upsurges and rebellion against the war, which swept from the campuses and the streets to the front lines in Vietnam itself, Humphrey clung stubbornly to the war like it was his prized possession. "This is our great adventure," he told the staff of the American Embassy in Saigon, "and a wonderful one it is!" And in an earlier TV interview Humphrey proudly predicted, "We are going to be in Asia for a long, long time."

At the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, while thousands of people filled the streets, demanding an end to U.S. aggression and shouting "Dump the Hump!", Humphrey was inside accepting his nomination for President and defending the U.S. role in Vietnam. Proclaiming his "deep desire for peace," Hum-

phrey ran essentially the same "Peace With Honor" line that Nixon harped on—meaning continued U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

This was Humphrey's Last Hurrah. Devastated by his loss to Nixon in 1968, Humphrey had to change his tune in a vain attempt to save his political life. In his unsuccessful bid for the 1972 Democratic Presidential nomination Humphrey spouted the lie that the Vietnam War was "a tragic mistake," some sort of unexplainable accident for which no one was to blame, rather than the vicious, calculated imperialist war that it was. Badly exposed as a hypocrite to the masses and therefore useless to the Democratic Party, Humphrey was dumped like a hot potato. He spent the remaining five years of his life trying to pawn himself off as the venerable "elder statesman" of the party.

For Humphrey, dubbed a "perennial loser" in 1976 by candidate Jimmy Carter, this was a humiliating final chapter in a career characterized by lies, back-stabbing and outright attacks on the working class and Black people.

Pimping Off Populism

Humphrey's political life was heavily influenced by the social upheaval of the 1930s and early '40s. The Great Depression brought poverty and misery to the vast majority of people, and sparked militant struggle within the working class and among small farmers and others. The then-revolutionary Communist Party, USA played a leading role in developing the struggle and directing it against the real source of the people's misery—the capitalist system.

The idea that capitalism must be done away with was very popular among large sections of the people, including in Humphrey's home state of Minnesota, although the question of how to get rid of it (by revolution or some peaceful means) and what to replace it with (proletarian dictatorship or some utopian form of "democratic socialism") was not clearly understood—even by some in the Communist Party. Many reformist political tendencies and parties grew out of the economic stagnation and social upheaval of the Depression era, and the populist Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party (FLP) was one of them.

In 1930 Floyd Olson, the FLP candidate for governor of Minnesota, won the election and developed a program for his party which said, in part, that "capitalism has failed . . . immediate steps must be taken by the people to abolish capitalism in a peaceful and lawful manner." This was part of the political climate when Humphrey entered the political arena in the early '40s.

Humphrey saw the handwriting on the wall. He had set his ambition on becoming a political bigshot and he knew that no candidate in Minnesota could hope to win an election without promising to work in the interest of the working class and the small farmers, and against the capitalist profiteers. Speaking at a rally denouncing war profiteers (!) Humphrey was approached by a leader of the FLP and was persuaded to run for mayor of Minneapolis in 1943. In that election, which he lost, as well as the next, which he won, Humphrey had the support of many of the city's union officials as well as a number of communists (including a former editor of the *Daily Worker* who was a business agent for the United Electrical Workers union [UE]).

An Early Favorite of Capitalists

By this time U.S. imperialism had grown much stronger through World War 2 and was preparing an offensive against the working class, and Humphrey was more than willing to throw in his lot with the capitalists. After the election of 1945, Humphrey immediately began working up to the local fat cats, who were impressed by his popularity among the voters. (Prior to this election the owner of the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, a capitalist heavyweight in the city, attempted to convince Humphrey to switch to the Republican Party—a proposal he considered seriously but decided against. Nevertheless, Humphrey got the support not only of this newspaper, but of such big capitalists as the vice-presidents of General Mills, Minneapolis Honeywell, Pillsbury Mills and others.)

The unions had supported Humphrey in '45 on the condition that he would get their approval before appointing a chief of police. The police were hated for their violent strikebreaking, anti-union activity. In 1934, during a strike in the trucking industry, the cops had fired on unarmed strikers. Humphrey was quick to agree to the union's terms and, after the election, was just as quick to appoint Ed Ryan—the capitalists' choice for police chief—who had been trained by the

FBI and who was labeled a fascist even by the Minneapolis City Council because he supported the renting of the municipal auditorium to a Nazi for a rally.

Joining the Attacks on the Working Class

As it turned out, this was only the first of a long string of broken promises and outright attacks on the working class and masses. The period immediately following World War 2 saw sharp struggle on the part of the workers. Before the war the working class, often under communist leadership, had won important victories in the form of industrial unions, unemployment insurance, and social security among other things. The working class movement had grown in size, strength and consciousness during this period, in direct contradiction to the interests of the capitalists.

At the end of WW2, the U.S. monopoly capitalist class emerged as top dog on a world scale. With most of the developed world devastated by war, the U.S. used the opportunity to step in and impose its economic and political domination on the imperialist countries of Western Europe and their lucrative colonies in Africa and Asia. This domination was strongly opposed by the masses of people in these countries, and in the U.S. large sections of the people, especially class conscious workers, opposed the U.S. imperialists' maneuvers, especially its instigation of the war in Korea. The capitalists saw that they would have to stifle the working class organizationally and politically if they were to pursue their adventures unhindered, and this would mean putting an end to all the talk about "capitalism is the source of our problems." This meant that the CP would have to go and the militant unions would have to be neutralized, captured or destroyed.

Vicious red-baiting campaigns were launched, giving rise to the McCarthy era, where real communists and other working class leaders were attacked and "communists" were uncovered from the Boy Scouts to the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Hubert Humphrey jumped into the fray early on with all the gusto of a gorilla on the make. His first target was his own backyard, the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party (DFLP—the FLP had merged with the Democratic Party).

Many people were banned from DFLP meetings and if they tried to get in they were often beaten up by Humphrey goons and busted by the Minneapolis cops (Hubert's fascist police chief served him well). Humphrey had his people read the *Daily Worker* regularly, and if anyone was heard taking positions even remotely resembling those of the *Daily Worker*, they

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Trade...

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The U.S. bourgeoisie tries to hide the fact that the crisis in steel and auto, the decline of the dollar, the mounting balance of payments deficit and so on are all the result of competition between capitalists. Instead they paint it as the result of a competition between workers—"Japanese workers steal our jobs," "German imports are putting us out of work," "workers in the underdeveloped countries will work for almost nothing," etc. It preaches that the level of wages determines the movement of capital; that international proletarian solidarity is an idealistic dream, a mere gleam in the eye of the working class. Of course workers compete for jobs—capitalism is impossible without unemployment and competition for jobs. But the movement of capital, the loss of jobs here, the smaller increases there, is not the result of competition among workers—it is the result of competition between capitalists. In other words, it is the "normal" working of the capitalist system itself.

No tariffs, no quotas, no lowering of wages will "save jobs." Furthermore, the same economic laws which lead to the crisis in the various industries and growing unemployment are also leading to war between the two imperialist superpowers—a war which is the highest form of capitalist competition. Although the working class can and must fight against the effects—unemployment, drive towards war, etc.—it has to do this in such a way as to build the conscious struggle against the basic cause of this situation—the capitalist system itself. Only by overthrowing the capitalists, country by country, can the working class put an end to all the misery caused by trade wars and real wars. ■

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Coal...

Continued from page 1

and called out many of their fellow strikers and as the next shift of scabs tried to come through, miners and steel workers stood shoulder to shoulder and kept them out. The power plant was shut down cold.

Members of the Miners Right to Strike Committee rapped with other miners and steel workers about the Committee and the National United Workers Organization (NUWO). They talked about how workers throughout the country were part of the same class, locked in the same common struggle against the same class enemy, and of the need to link up their struggles and unite to aim the most powerful blows possible at these capitalists.

Key Terms of Sellout

As we go to press all the details of the Miller-coal companies handiwork are not available. But the 15-page general outline of the proposals presented to the union's bargaining council by Miller and the negotiating committee makes clear the viciousness of the attempted sellout. To list all the takeaways and attacks would be to reprint the entire 15-page document. It offers the companies every weapon they demanded to use against the rank and file. It offers the rank and file nothing and takes away many of the gains won in the past through hard fought battles.

Before the strike began the Miners Right to Strike Committee summed up the key demands of the rank and file: 1) the right to strike; 2) full restoration, increase and guarantee of all pensions and medical benefits; 3) equalization of pensions and full pensions for disabled miners and widows; 4) a cost of living allowance with no caps and a big increase in pay; 5) collective right to withdraw and refuse unsafe work and no arbitration of safety; 6) all mine work to be classified and awarded by seniority.

What's in the Miller-BCOA proposal? There is no right to strike. There is no cost of living increase. Miners are to be fined \$20 a day for each day of a wildcat strike. After 30 days of striking all medical benefits will be cut off. Miners are subject to firing for picketing another mine.

Miners' struggle has done away with the hated piece-rate system in the mines. This contract gives the companies the right to institute productivity and bonus systems—a big step back towards the day when miners were paid by the ton of coal mined. It has been a long established principle of the UMWA that a miner was a member of the union, with all rights and coverage from the first day he stepped into the mine. This contract institutes a 30 day probationary period.

In the past miners had established a six month training or "red cap" period for new miners, during which they could not run heavy equipment or do certain jobs until they have been thoroughly broken in. This was fought for because of the high rate of accidents among new miners. This contract reduces the period to only 45 days. Miners had fought for and won the right to have Sunday off and to be paid time and a half for working on Saturday. This contract gives the compa-

nies the right to "seven day production," i.e. shifts can be worked on Saturday and Sunday, with no overtime until after 40 hours. Now miners have the right to bid on another job in the same or a lower category once a year and can bid up at any time. The Miller proposal limits job bidding to only once every 18 months.

There is no equalization of pensions for miners who retired between 1950 and 1974 and those who retired after 1974. Since the Miners Health and Welfare Funds were set up in 1950 they have been funded by company royalties paid on the basis of the amount of coal mined and man hours worked. The demand of the rank and file, as the Miners Right to Strike Committee put it, is for increased and guaranteed medical benefits and pensions, not tied to the royalty system and to the ups and downs—and overall down—of the crisis-ridden capitalist system.

Not only do pensions and benefits remain tied to production, the royalties agreed upon are not sufficient to keep the funds solvent through the life of the contract. There will be *no* royalty payments into the 1950 pension fund. This is to be financed by fines against miners for wildcatting! Miners pensions are based on the number of years worked. Up to now 1000 hours worked in any year counts as a year's work for figuring the pension. This contract raises it to 1450 hours.

Miners long ago won 100% medical coverage. This is eliminated under the contract and the rank and file will have to pay a big deductible—justified by Miller as a step to eliminate abuses of medical benefits. Now the companies have to pay royalties on all coal mined or processed at UMWA mines. Under the proposed contract they will pay no royalty on nonunion coal processed in union mines.

But according to Miller and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, there is much in this for the rank and file. A \$2.35 an hour wage increase over three years—which will be quickly eaten up by inflation. And to show that they are being *fair*, the proposed contract allows that the companies will be fined *if an arbitrator holds that they caused a wildcat!*

Miller Merchandises—At a Distance

Not surprisingly, Miller announced that he will not personally go into the coalfields to try to jam this garbage through. "It would be futile," he said. It's not that he's afraid to go into the coalfields, protested Miller. Oh, no! Still, miles away in Washington, D.C. he has taken to packing a gun these days—just in case. Now, Miller is going to rely on the companies, the government and the power of the union apparatus to try to get this contract over.

At the beginning of the strike, Miller went out and hired a fancy, high priced public relations firm "to tell the miners' side." For the first two months of the strike these parasites remained absolutely silent, at Miller's direction, about the demands and struggle of the 160,000 striking miners. All the while they collected hefty fees. As soon as Miller crawled out of negotiations with the BCOA clutching his settlement, the firm announced that now it was going to gear up to "merchandise" it to the rank and file.

But Miller and the capitalists are going to need a lot more than PR "merchandising" to get over. No matter what they call it or how good they say it is, it's exactly

what it smells like. But no matter how hard it is going to be, they are going to use every card they have to bury the miners under this contract. If it is rejected, as is likely, they will come down harder during the next round. Miners know that they can expect more company terror, bank foreclosures and utility cutoffs for non-payment.

In Bluefield, West. Va., the coal bosses and their courts have put two miners on trial for conspiracy and explosives charges stemming from the destruction of some Norfolk and Western rail lines. The N&W is one of the largest coal haulers in the Eastern coalfields. This legal lynching of Danny Surface, vice-president of the UMWA Local 5954 and James Llevins is a blatant attempt to get rid of active fighters and to intimidate all miners from militant action against the companies. And the UMWA leadership is following right along. District officials have not only refused to take up the men's defense, they have tried to keep their union brothers and sisters from visiting them in jail or even sending them cigarettes. The Miners Right to Strike Committee and the Miners Support Committee in Beckley, West Va., have joined with others to form a Miners Defense Fund to fight for the dropping of the charges and the release of these men.

The companies have waged a relentless propaganda war to convince the miners that they were "pitifully weak" and could not possibly win. They have marshaled their police and gun thugs to harass, beat and arrest rank and file picketers and to attack actions to close scab mines. They have not stopped short of murder. Miller and the Union's International Executive Board (IEB) have done everything in their power to stop and sabotage the successful efforts of the rank and file to halt coal production and shipment. Miller ordered union officials to have nothing to do with such action and in one case at least, a district official was transferred out to the Western coalfields because he was active in the struggle against nonunion coal.

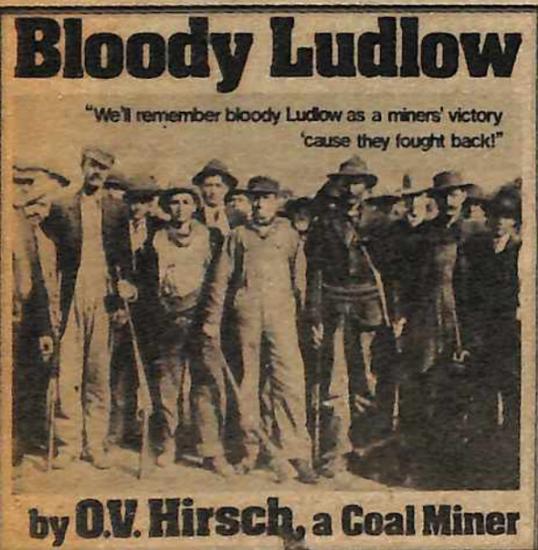
No Longer "Pitifully Weak"

In the last two months the rank and file has thrown all this back into their faces and now the companies are crying. All of a sudden the capitalists have changed their tune. They are yelling that if the strike does not end immediately utility companies in the Midwest and the East will run out of coal to keep their power generators going. The steel companies are warning that they will have to shut down and lay off thousands of steel workers.

The rank and file has gained tremendous encouragement and strength as they have seen their power and effectiveness in stopping production and hitting the capitalists where it hurts most. The stories and examples of the rank and file's courage, determination and unity in this strike would fill a large book. For example, 300 miners from District 17 in southern West Virginia and District 30 in eastern Kentucky recently joined in a caravan to Pike County, Kentucky, the largest coal producing county in the state and, in the face of the bullets and clubs of police and company goons, shut down two of the largest scab mines.

Miller and the BCOA no doubt think that because they were able to get through a stinking contract in 1974 in the face of widespread opposition and resis-

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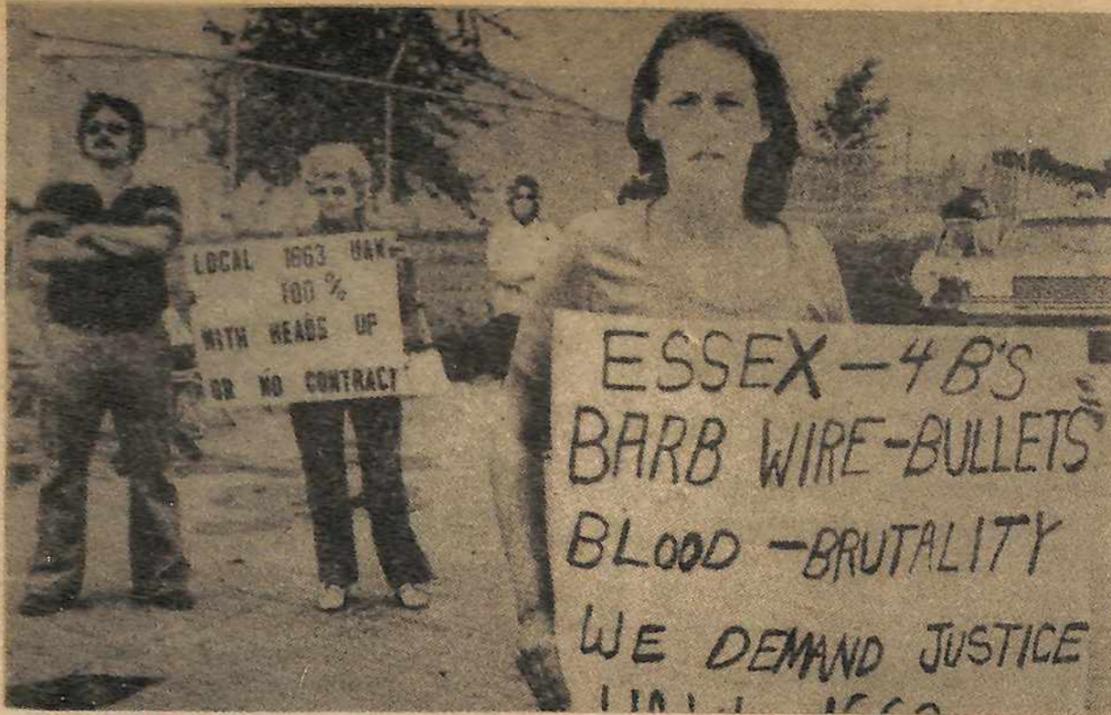
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The pamphlets HOW SOCIALISM WIPES OUT EXPLOITATION; REVOLUTION: ONLY ROAD TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION; THE PARTY—INVINCIBLE PROLETARIAN VANGUARD; and CORRECT LINE ACHIEVED THROUGH STUDY, STRUGGLE AND CRITICISM are temporarily out of stock and will be made available shortly. ELECTIONS '76: CAPITALISTS' DESPERATE DECEIT VS. WORKERS GROWING STRUGGLE and 200 HUNDRED YEARS IS LONG ENOUGH! are in limited supply.



For nine months Essex strikers, mostly women, held out against the corporate power of United Technologies and the cops and courts it controls.

UAW Int'l Sells Out Essex Strikers

After almost nine months on strike, in a hard fought battle, where the rank and file had been very active, the UAW International sold the Essex Wire Co. strikers down the river. They were "screwed and tattooed" as one of the strikers put it.

The final settlement in this Indiana sweatshop was no better than the five other rotten offers that had been voted down overwhelmingly since July. With a starting rate of \$2.76/hr. before the strike, the new contract gives them a pitiful 61 cents over three years, with sick and accident benefits increased from \$35 to \$37.50 per week. To make things worse the scabs are still in the plant and don't have to join the union. There's no guarantee all the strikers will ever be called back, and 11 fired during the strike are still fired with their cases going to arbitration.

The International reached a tentative agreement on the Tuesday before Christmas and insisted on calling a meeting the next day. Only two-thirds of the membership was able to come. And when they got there they had to listen to the International say *again*, "We've done all we can for you. There's nothing else we can do." The strikers voted 70 to 44 to accept the contract and the strike was over.

Fierce Struggle

The 220 Essex strikers, mostly women, held out for nine months and put up one heck of a fight. They found themselves up against United Technologies, the huge conglomerate that owns Essex Wire, and the cops and the courts UT controls. The strikers had been shot at and arrested trying to stop scabs going into the plant. One picketer was hit by a van driven by the acting plant manager, and another active striker was severely beaten in her home by company thugs. The strikers stood up to all of this and hit back at every turn. When an injunction came down limiting pickets to three at a gate, the local union (UAW Local 1663) leased land

right near the plant and strikers massed there. They organized a picket of Indiana Governor Bowen, when he spoke in Anderson, Indiana, to protest the use of state troopers to escort scabs into the plant. A group of strikers even drove up to Detroit and picketed UAW Solidarity House when the union refused to pay court fines imposed on the strikers.

The UAW International knew what the stakes were. On the one hand, they had to put up a front of being a "strong, democratic" union—so they carried a couple of stories in *Solidarity* (national union newspaper) claiming they were leading the strike. But the real strength pushing things forward were the Essex strikers and many active workers who rallied behind them. Rank and file workers in the Elwood area came out to a caravan in support of the strike. Auto Workers United to Fight and other National United Workers Organization members proposed resolutions of support and donations be sent from their local unions. Plant gate collections were taken up in Ohio, Detroit and California. But even when the rank and file took the initiative, union officials put obstacles in their way.

In this strike, like so many others, the workers lost their immediate demand, but also in this strike, like so many others, many are looking at the world differently for having waged this battle—some charting plans for continuing the fight against both Essex and the sellout leadership in the UAW.

"The fight is not over! We can't let this happen again. We've got to be more organized so we can be on stand-by to jump to people's defense in our region," is the way some strikers feel. Others gained an even broader understanding of the Essex strike as only one of many battles the working class and the owning class are fighting. And for many workers across the country, the Essex strike has been a beacon and a call to struggle, and further warning against the vicious enemies the working class faces—both inside the unions and the corporations workers slave for. ■

to draw important lessons from the experience of these struggles and their limitations. The understanding of the whole history of sellouts that have rolled down from the union leadership is taking a much deeper hold among the rank and file.

Right to Strike Committee

The Miners Right to Strike Committee has been able through strike bulletins, participation in the picketing to stop scab coal and other activities, to play an important role in focusing and articulating the real demands of the rank and file and call Miller and his crew out for what they are, and further develop the presence of an organized, class conscious force in the coalfields.

The Committee is uniting with other rank and filers not only to mobilize for a rejection of this contract, but to continue building the fight for the things miners want to win off this strike as well as broader questions miners face as part of the working class.

Carrying this out is, of course, no smooth sailing. It involves struggle. For one thing, in the presence of a large-scale spontaneous mass movement, there is strong sentiment even among many active miners that picketing and the like is enough. More organized and conscious activity is just "buying trouble."

NYC Steel...

Continued from page 7

\$75 for a 2½ year contract (they wanted a 2½ year contract instead of three so that next time the contract wouldn't expire in the Winter and right near Christmas), a better vacation schedule and better medical benefits, as well as greater job security. What they got was a \$45 increase for a three year contract and hardly any improvement in benefits. Also this new contract doesn't even talk about job security, although over the last five years hundreds of workers have been laid off even while production has been sped up.

To say that this contract is a victory, as the union hacks are doing, is wrong and criminal. When inflation, higher social security taxes, etc., are taken into account, the \$45 wage increase is in fact a wage cut since the Art Steel workers will, three years from now, have less spending power than what they've got now.

But there were certain other ways in which the Art Steel strike was a victory. For one thing, 105 workers voted against this contract (275 voted for it). Such a large no vote has rarely, if ever, happened in District 65. But more important than that, many workers in the course of the strike, and through the discussions that went on during the strike and are going on after it, have come to a deeper understanding of what they and other workers are up against.

As it says in the *Programme* of the RCP, USA: "In these struggles, the workers begin to throw off the foot of the employer from their necks, to raise their heads. And in raising their heads they are able to see farther and more clearly. The face of the enemy and the forces fighting him begin to come into sharper focus. This gives rise to vigorous discussion among the workers not only about every question of the immediate struggle but also about events throughout society and the world. Through all this the workers begin to see themselves as more than mere individuals, but as members of a class, locked in warfare with the opposing class of employers." (p. 101)

All this has helped raise the level of many workers' understanding of what they're up against, and also of the need for a strong, powerful workers organization, such as the NUWO, to take on all the attacks of the capitalist system.

Shortly after the strike ended, the immigration authorities pulled a raid at Art Steel, obviously aimed at trying to deport some of the most active and class conscious fighters there. This raid was certainly no coincidence, since no such thing had ever occurred at Art Steel before the strike.

But the workers at Art Steel refused to be intimidated. They have formed a workers committee there—so they can be better organized to deal with the attacks of the Art Steel bosses—and an increasing number are moving towards becoming active fighters not only at Art Steel but class conscious fighters in the overall war against the capitalist system. ■

Nevertheless, in the face of vicious red-baiting over the years and other attempts to drive a wedge between the members of the Committee and other active miners, it continues to be widely respected, and controversial, among miners and to grow in influence.

The biggest difference between the time of the 1974 contract and today is that the stakes are up—precisely because of the recent history of militant struggle of the miners. And these stakes count for the whole working class. If the miners are defeated in this contract battle it will be a major setback for the whole working class. It's like any battle in a war, if one of your most embattled, hard fighting and victorious detachments suffers a heavy blow from the enemy, it can only strengthen them and weaken all of your forces.

Build Support

Many workers around the country have seen this battle of the miners as their own and have taken up the call to support them. In Pittsburgh on February 2, members of the National United Workers Organization joined members of the Right to Strike Committee and went out to several plants in the area to collect funds for the strikers. At Westinghouse and U.S. Steel they collected over \$200 in less than an hour at only three gates.

The NUWO nationwide is mapping out plans to step up its support work, including demonstrations at key capitalist targets, letters of support, more efforts to gather funds for the strikers and a counteroffensive against the Miller-BCOA propaganda to put forward the stand of the working class in support of the miners. **Down with the Sellout Contract! Victory to the Miners and Their Demands!** ■

Coal...

Continued from page 16

tance to it, they can do the same thing this time around. While the task ahead of the miners isn't easy and there are no guarantees, there are a number of big differences between 1974 and today.

In 1974, the first contract that the rank and file could vote on for ratification in the history of the UMWA and the first negotiated by Miller, a lot of miners were inclined to give him the benefit of the doubt. Since then Arnold has been exposed widely as the patsy for the bosses that he is. This time miners are looking at the crap Miller and the BCOA are dishing out a lot more mercifully.

This resolve to fight for their demands and the understanding of miners about what Miller and the companies are up to has been built in the course of repeated and protracted struggle. This is the fourth major strike since 1974 demanding the right to strike. Miners went into this strike off a huge 13 week strike against the medical benefit cutoffs. There is growing potential

RCYB...

Continued from page 1

struggle and deepening the Brigade's ties among the masses. The entire convention firmly united that while being known as communists from the start would not be as "easy," as opposed to being known only as fighters, or even "revolutionaries," that even in the short run, by practicing the mass line, the RCYB could build and lead mass struggles and move forward the overall movement far better. After lengthy discussion the November RCYB convention unanimously voted to openly proclaim the *communist* nature of the RCYB, determining that in all the fights it waged it would consciously aim to build them as part of the overall struggle for revolution.

As such an organization, it is dedicated to carrying out the three tasks with regard to the masses of youth as laid out by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, in his speech at the convention:

- 1) Lead the masses of youth in struggling against the attacks and abuses they face;
- 2) Mobilize the masses of youth to fight at the side of the working class under the leadership of its Party in the overall struggle against the imperialists and for revolution;
- 3) Broadly and boldly propagate communism among the masses, and especially youth, bringing out that the only solution for youth is fighting shoulder to shoulder alongside with workers to overthrow the capitalists and to replace their decadent rule with socialism, the rule of the working class, where the laboring millions struggle together to transform all of society and bring about communism—the final elimination of all classes and forms of class rule!

Two-Faced Opportunism

At the convention, the RCYB elected its leadership on the basis that they would implement the line and principles that had been adopted. This included a number of these factionalists—who like all opportunists say one thing openly, and do another behind your back. After the convention they stepped up their two-faced opportunism and betrayed the trust of Brigade members by continuing to uphold their defeated line and consciously undermined the principles of the RCYB. Using the RCYB's temporary national office as a headquarters, they factionalized against the correct line of the RCYB and the Party, and in early January they issued a document that essentially called for Brigade members to split away from and attack the RCP and the working class. This they did in collaboration with a group of people who were trying to wreck the RCP from within and use the RCYB as a pawn in their game.

Cincinnati Conference

It was in this context that the Cincinnati conference was held. It was called under the authority of the RCP Central Committee and leading members of the RCYB, and was a severe blow to this arrogant clique's plans. Despite the short notice, over two-thirds of the chapters were represented, including the entire RCYB in the West and South, a solid majority in the Midwest, and about one-fourth of the chapters in the East. (The RCYB in the East is relatively small, but it is a solid, daring, determined and *communist* RCYB!) This good turnout came despite the fact that the RCYB had been one of the strongholds of the revisionist faction in the RCP, and they had been able to gain more influence there than in the Party as a whole.

Those attending the conference unanimously denounced this small group's plans to seize control of their organization. Many of the youth and students attending the conference rose to criticize the factionalists—not just them as individuals, but their *line*—and gave many examples of how these swollen-headed "leaders" from the former NO had sabotaged student and youth work in the past.

They pointed out that this had not always been the case—some of these people had in fact made contributions to the development of work among students in the past. But what had been a secondary aspect in these people—errors in line and growing tendencies reflecting bourgeois ideology—had taken a qualitative leap and consolidated into full-blown revisionist opportunism. Now these formerly leading people had degenerated. Out of this lively discussion emerged a graphic picture of the worst type of Menshevik careerism.

The leading hacks from this clique acted as if the RCYB was their little kingdom, and wanted to use the many successes achieved through the hard work of the Brigade's membership and the overall leadership of the RCP as their own "capital"—claiming credit for the "flashy" successes and spreading rumors and innuendos blaming "the stupid rank-and-file members" and "the Party leadership's left dogmatic line" for any setbacks. The traitorous "national officers," bent on building up their own individual reputations as

Communism and Revolution Vs. Revisionism and Reformism

In the Struggle to Build the
Revolutionary Communist
Youth Brigade

by the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA \$.50

Pamphlet Introduction

In November 1977, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, the youth organization of the Revolutionary Communist Party, was founded. But this victory was not achieved without struggle—not only mass struggle, but also struggle within the Revolutionary Communist Party between two sharply opposed lines.

The struggle focused on the name of this organization, with a number of leading comrades in youth and student work, together with some others, opposing the Party's line of having the word "*Communist*" in the name of the organization. As has now become clear, these comrades had been organized as part of a revisionist headquarters within the RCP, headed by former members of the old CP, who, while joining the RCP (and the Revolutionary Union before it) and playing a positive role to an extent and on that basis becoming leading members, never made a thorough-going rupture with revisionism. This headquarters engaged in factional opposition to the central leadership of the Party on the question of the communist youth organization as well as many other questions. Of course not everyone who took this position was part of this revisionist headquarters and many have since repudiated this line.

The struggle over the name for the youth organization was actually over far more than that: it represented two lines over the character and purpose of this organization. The correct line of the Party is based on the basic view of the Party's *Programme* that "there is only one path that offers youth a genuine opportunity to put to use its enthusiasm, its innovativeness, its daring and its determination to change the world—proletarian revolution."

To chart this path requires the leadership of the Party of the working class, its line and outlook of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and an organization that carries out all three tasks with regard to the masses of youth as laid out by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, in his speech to the founding convention of the RCYB: first, leading the masses of youth in struggling against the attacks and abuses they face; second, fighting at the side of the working class under the leadership of its Party in the overall struggle against the imperialists and for revolution; and third, broadly and boldly propagating communism among the masses, and especially

"mass leaders," wherever they could began substituting this "flashiness" for politics, determining what actions or campaigns to take up on the basis of "How will it spin?" (meaning, will it guarantee quick and easy results?) rather than how it would help advance the cause of proletarian revolution.

A good example was the righteous struggle to stop the gym at Kent State last summer and fall. Initially the leader of this clique in the Party's youth and student work was opposed to the Brigade launching a major effort around this deeply significant and developing issue, claiming they were "too busy" building for a youth demonstration on Wall Street later that summer (this was his pet project at the time). He and others in the clique backed this up by saying that working class youth weren't interested in Kent State anyway, and that students on campus wouldn't move either—they were too young when the killings occurred to be concerned. Only after sharp struggle on the part of RCP leadership was this taken up as a campaign outside of the Brigade in Ohio (a point which these opportunists conveniently fail to remember when they claim credit for the big successes) and even then they wavered at every critical point. First they said the struggle was for "elite" campuses. Then, as they were building for the first big demonstration of the fall semester, they characterized it as "throwing a punch while backing away," exposing the fact that they never intended to build it as part of a militant and protracted

New! Documents From The Two Line Struggle to Build the RCYB

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youth.

The opposing line, while opposing "Communist" in the name, opposed far more. It watered down and narrowed the nature and tasks of the youth organization. The result would have been a reformist, if sometimes militant, youth group—not the *communist* youth organization of the RCP. This is hardly the bold step needed today by the broad masses of youth and by the revolutionary proletariat. This line was reformist, revisionist—not communist—in that, among other things, it negated the real revolutionary potential of youth, the need to exert a steady *communist* influence on the masses of youth and train youth in Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought while leading them in struggle on many fronts. It is revisionist in that it negated the necessary leadership of the working class and its Party to fully develop this tremendous potential of youth into a powerful force in the struggle for proletarian revolution.

This line was defeated within the Party in the period leading up to the founding convention. Based on this, the advances of the founding convention were achieved. But since that time, a number of those who held this line, rather than building off these advances and changing their views, have persisted in their revisionism and gone still further. A small but arrogant little clique of these people have made a futile effort to use their leading positions in the RCYB to turn this organization into a pawn in a struggle against the Party and its line—marching further into the swamp of opposing communism and opposing the Party, and trying to impose their revisionist line on the RCYB and drag it along with them.

Such reactionary puffed-up but puny efforts are being clearly repudiated by the Party and by the masses of members of the RCYB around the country, and the RCYB is growing far stronger in the process. To assist the Brigade members and others in developing the struggle—strengthening their understanding of the two lines and deepening their grasp of Marxism in opposition to revisionism, the RCP is publishing these two documents, representing the two lines on this question. One (printed second) is an appeal written to the Party Center by some leading people in the youth and student work. The other is the line of the Party, written in opposition to this, which was circulated to the whole Party just before the founding convention. Based on this line, the founding of the RCYB as the communist youth organization of the RCP was achieved, and based on this line the RCYB can and will move forward in today's struggles and in the struggle for proletarian revolution and the ultimate goal of communism. ■

fight. They had planned to end the Kent struggle after pulling off a large mass demonstration. They claimed, "We'll never win anything more now, let's end the struggle here—any future demonstrations would have less people."

Once again the central Party leadership was forced to struggle against their line, which included much more capitulation than this, and on the basis of this struggle the militant confrontation of October 22 was organized, which saw 1500 people militantly stand up to tear gas-wielding pigs, shattering the ruling class' claims that "student unrest is dead."

Consistently they downplayed or opposed the study of the science of revolution within the Brigade, in order to keep people ignorant of the correct way to wage revolutionary struggle. They criticized members who wanted to organize study groups as "dogmatists," and accused people who read Marxism as "burying their heads in the books." A leading member of their faction liked to say, "Have faith that you know some Marxism, in your ability to analyze things," which in essence called for people to substitute bourgeois "common sense" for Marxist theory and promoted narrow empiricism (taking one's own narrow experience as general truth). When over the past year the central leadership of the RCP struggled with members of the RSB NO to develop more study in the Brigade, only a half-hearted attempt was made—for instance, an

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areawide study session was held in the Midwest, but it turned out to be merely a rambling lecture by one of their so-called "leader-theoreticians," with very little discussion.

Over the past year, the factional activities of these so-called leaders of the RSB took the form of sabotage of the Brigade's work. They published only a few, irregular issues of the newspaper *Fight Back*—a task the Brigade and Party had summed up as extremely important—claiming they were "too busy with other things."

The few issues of *Fight Back* that did emerge increasingly reflected their revisionist line. It downplayed the importance of propagating theory among the masses of students and didn't even address many of the political questions facing the students, let alone much on the broader events and questions involving the working class and the rest of society. Even in its summation of different struggles, it paid little attention to line, substituting instead pages of mere descriptions of "what happened." In short, it was as politically "meaty" as pabulum—it was not a *communist* newspaper, and it couldn't aid the (then) RSB membership in being "tribunes of the people" and doing ideological work among the masses of students.

One chapter revealed it had even sent in a finished draft of a much-needed pamphlet (on the Bakke case) accompanied by all the necessary money for its publication, but nothing was done! (No one knows where they squandered this money.) On the other hand, this "National Office" was never "too busy" to travel from chapter to chapter acting as honchos. Claiming that a number of RSB chapters in the Midwest were "incapable of doing good work" without their "direct leadership," they parcelled out these chapters to various members of the NO, almost as if they were their personal property, and effectively tried to stifle the initiative of the membership.

They didn't want an organization fighting for working class revolution—what they really wanted was an organization they could control from the top while the rank and file membership just blindly carried out their orders. In many ways, they acted just like some of the union hacks that control workers' unions—self-serving and arrogant, ready to crush all members who opposed their dictates. One delegate from the Northwest at the Cincinnati conference recounted how, when she opposed a particularly raunchy line emanating from the NO, she was told, "We can make revolution without your area of the country—in fact, why don't you move to some place that's important, like Chicago or New York!" They told the Hawaii chapters of the Brigade (which had raised the money for the trip), "You won't get the speaking tour [to build for the founding convention] because you're not bringing enough people." But they, unlike the NO, were building the RCYB!

Contemptuous Toward Youth

Concerning work among youth, this faction exhibited the worst form of opportunist behavior, picturing themselves as "condescending saviors." They felt that working class youth couldn't understand Marxism. Reflecting the same view toward the oppressed nationalities, they acted as though the reason to take up campaigns around national oppression was because "that would bring Black people around." With this view they carried out the line that the best way to organize youth was through a few flashy demonstrations, plus "getting down" and partying, while hiding the politics of the organization. One Brigade member brought this out sharply by pointing to an example where one of these so-called "mass leaders" had brought a number of youth to a conference to build towards the RCYB convention without explaining to them that it was communist. Needless to say, these youth felt tricked—in much the same way the bourgeoisie has always slandered communists as "duping people"—and left the conference enraged!

Under the guise of "getting down" and "immersing themselves in the life of the masses," they pushed liberalism and refused to struggle against some of the backward tendencies that are inevitably found among youth growing up in bourgeois society. Male chauvinism was tacitly condoned, with women who brought up criticisms of this behavior being slandered as "feminists."

Some of these degenerates even encouraged dope smoking and promiscuity as ways to "get down"—making a mockery of the concept of proletarian morality and revealing even more graphically the low view they held of the masses of youth. This view came out as well in their line that calling the youth organization "communist" might be "o.k." among students, but would be ruinous among working class youth.

This same view came out once again in the content and character of the *Young Red* newspaper which was aimed at working class youth which also appeared about as regularly as the Do Do bird. If *Fight Back* was pabulum, the *Young Red* was watery pabulum plus boogie.

Even their view that there must be two newspapers (if newspapers are really necessary at all)—one for students and a separate one for working class youth—is revealing of their line. While some separate forms of

THE HIGH ROAD

*Through the din of machines and the throb of tired backs,
Through the constant, teeth-gritting battle
To avoid the whip and loosen the chains,
Through the steady snow of bills that fall on the house
And the fear in the gut for a future-less child,
Through the inch by half-inch climb uphill
To master the laws underneath it all,
To link the experience and knowledge
Of you and your fellow workers
With the history of the toiling, rebelling millions,
Through the slow-swelling power of that focused strength and anger
Into a mushrooming cloud of muscles and rage
Against the profit-dynasty and its stinking decay,
Through the struggle to open hearts and minds
To dream, to soar, to dare
To build a new world—*

*Oh, my comrades, don't look back, don't fall,
For though the road is high and hard
It is not lonely:
The lifting eyes and fists of all the workers and
oppressed people of the world
Go with us and guard our journey,
And though the exuberance of rebellion
Is coupled with the strain of uphill steps,
A billion hearts applaud each one,
As humanity stands up
Shaking off all pharaohs, kings and capitalists,
Like ancient dust,
And grinding them into the past,
We come together, to struggle together
Towards a master-less future,
A no-chains, sky's-the-limit future
At last. ■*

[Ed. Note—This poem was submitted by a comrade in Detroit who was inspired by the current two-line struggle.]

agitation must be developed, their line reflected their negation of the *communist* bond that provides the only revolutionary basis for uniting students and working class youth in one organization with one purpose.

Situation Excellent

Even though some of these degenerate anti-Party elements held leading positions in the RSB and RCYB, their rotten line and behavior did not characterize the overall work of the organization. Great advances have been made in work among students and youth, due to the correct line of the RCP which—in spite of the interference from these opportunist "leaders"—has been implemented and deepened by the dedicated revolutionaries in the neighborhoods and on the campuses. The January Cincinnati conference was an inspiring testimonial to this fact, and was a severe blow to the clique's puffed-up plans. Not only did it represent the large majority of the RCYB's membership, but it clearly released the initiative and strengthened the determination of RCYB members to carry out the revolutionary line and tasks they had united around at the founding convention.

The conference unanimously denounced the attempts to seize control of their organization, and reaffirmed the principle of leadership of the working class and its Party, the RCP. Even though a number of RCYB members (a clear minority) had been swayed by the degenerate hacks, the conference recognized that uncovering and removing the reactionary leaders actually strengthened their organization and signified a big victory. For it was like cutting out a cancerous tumor—removing the sickness strengthens the patient. And this experience helps educate members about why certain people who claim to be revolutionaries "go bad," linking this to the question of class outlook and class struggle in society as a whole. All told, the situation in the RCYB is truly excellent, and the basis is laid for even further advances in organizing among students and youth.

In the weeks to come, the RCYB plans to develop a Communist Consolidation Campaign to thoroughly study and discuss the questions raised in the struggle with these opportunists, in order to better understand why things like this inevitably occur, how to analyze it and grow stronger in the struggle against it. The RCYB will also study how the struggle between correct and incorrect ideas (and the people who hold them) is an integral part of the struggle for revolution—in fact it's the way that real understanding develops, and that's a good thing. They will study more systematically and deeply the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in order to oppose the revisionism pushed by the clique and in this way the RCYB will become better able to grasp and apply Marxism and to recognize and defeat all forms of opportunism.

Work Ahead

At the close of the one-day Cincinnati conference, the RCYB members briefly mapped out guidelines for the organization's work during the coming months. This includes plans to fight the Bakke decision against affirmative action programs and building nationwide support among youth for the peoples of southern Africa struggling for liberation from imperialism and racist rule. Another emphasis will be building support for the current coal miners' struggle. Local chapters will investigate conditions facing youth in their areas, stressing the application of the mass line and building struggle around such issues as jobs for youth and police repression. In addition, beginning plans were made for the RCYB's second national convention to be held later in the spring. The convention's purpose will be to

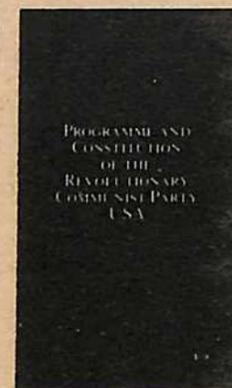
repudiate the revisionist garbage pushed by the former misleaders in the Brigade, and to grasp more firmly the correct line on the class struggle in the U.S., the role of the RCYB in that struggle, and other questions. It will build off the fundamentally solid strengths of the first RCYB convention.

In contrast to the revolutionary achievements of the Cincinnati meeting, the Menshevik former Brigaders continue to sink further into the swamp. At a meeting held later, they decided to drop the name "communist" from their organization, dub it the Revolutionary Student Brigade (our emphasis), and de-emphasize the crucial work among working class youth. In a pitiful maneuver, their meeting also decided—based on predictably little study—to take a position on a decisive question for which they had blasted the RCP for an "undemocratic" "rush to judgment." The reason they took this position now? According to leading speakers, they had a pressing necessity for "tactical reasons"—they needed a position to combat the RCP's. And after all, if they were wrong "they could always change the position later"!

CP(ML) Jumps to Defense

Although defeated and exposed in their attempts to seize control of the RCYB, it cannot in all honesty be said that the small clique of former RCP members have had *no* success with their opportunist line they tried to peddle among youth and students. Not surprisingly, they have attracted the attention and admiration of an equally slimy group of opportunists, the so-called "Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)." In the February 6 issue of their slander sheet, *The Call*, they show how willing they are to slither and crawl, and twist their already ragged line in order to encourage and accommodate others of their own opportunist ilk. For instance, they do everything but come right out and endorse the clique's opposition to the name "communist" for the Party's youth group—even though they have named their own rump youth group the "Communist Youth Organization." (Of course their chairman Mike Klonsky has always shown his

Continued on page 20



Programme and Constitution of the RCP, USA

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RCYB...

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willingness to bend his "principles" when the question of a few more dues-paying warm bodies are at stake.)

But more serious and exposing is the overall unity on line concerning the question of youth (and other things) between the self-styled former RCYB careerists and the CP(ML). For instance, they both "reverse correct verdicts" on the gains of the mass student struggles of the '60s. *The Call*, reprinting a page from Klonsky's social pacifism in SDS days, criticizes the observation made in the RCP's recently published youth polemic on the formation of the RCYB that advanced ideas and actions, like carrying NLF and red flags in the anti-war marches, had a positive "shock" effect—and in much the same way, so would open use of the name "communist." In fact, experience has shown that this "shock" sometimes angered some people, but also spurred many others—especially youth who were already questioning what the hell was going on—to check out further *why* someone was willing to risk heckling and opposition for such a controversial question.

Of course, this is not (and was not portrayed as) the main way to bring out communism among the masses of youth—but the opportunists' stand on this question clearly betrays their right-wing essence. Bringing communism and working class ideology to the masses is a *concrete task* of the RCYB, not a "frill" to be added in "stages" or just "drawn out of their experiences" in struggle. Putting it in a name alone, and negating the propagation of the ideology of communism

in fact, is not enough (as can be seen by the CP(ML)'s example).

Idealist Notion?

The *Call* article, in a similar rightist vein, goes on to attack as an "idealist notion" the line in the RCP *Programme* that while youth face many problems, "the most basic problem the masses of young people face is the fact that imperialism is unable to offer them a life with a purpose." (p. 157) This attack is in fundamental unity with the outlook of the former NO clique. Particular attacks must of course be fought, but underlying all this is the basic fact that imperialism can offer youth no purpose. All it can offer is a lifetime of exploitation and oppression because of its very nature. This is perceived by youth to a certain degree, but it is a truth that must be brought home to them and raised to a rational level in their understanding.

In the *Call's* Menshevik search for something palpable and concrete, these rightists narrow down and underplay the great potential for the proletariat to rally and guide youth's "enthusiasm, its innovativeness, its daring and its determination to change the world" (*Programme*, p. 158) for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system by proletarian revolution. Such a line can in no way grasp why and how Mao Tsetung could have stated in "Orientation of the Youth Movement" that *in a way* youth play a *vanguard* role in the revolutionary struggle—a struggle whose main force and leadership in this country is the working class.

One other way the CP(ML) tries to snuggle up to the defeated faction is by worshipping bourgeois democracy to defeat democratic centralism. They quote the RCP document which says that the line put forward there is not for "free debate" as evidence that dictatorship exists within the RCP. This is ironic, because in

fact this question *had been* discussed and debated among comrades doing youth work for many months—the "Appeal" that was written was part of that process, and the RCP document was the summation of the *line*, as deepened through that process, which was soon to be implemented at the convention. It was precisely because some of the opportunist clique's factional machinations during this period had been uncovered that it was necessary for this document to clearly spell out that comrades must firmly unite to carry out the line, which is merely a restatement of a Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

The working class and its vanguard Party, the RCP, see the gains of the recent Cincinnati conference as a real victory—not only for the youth in the RCYB, but for our class as a whole. Defeating the attempt at an opportunist coup within the Brigade, deepening the criticism of the clique's revisionist line, and grasping and further developing the correct line of the RCP will ensure that the RCYB will continue on the revolutionary path charted at its founding convention.

This is the type of organization that can really serve the interests of our class, the type of organization that sons and daughters of the working class and other youth dedicated to fighting for its revolutionary cause in the neighborhoods and campuses can join with pride. Not only will it fight for better conditions for young people, more than that it will provide a real alternative to the decadence and dog-eat-dog system and outlook the ruling class tries to train and coerce youth, along with the masses of people, to accept as "the only way" and the "natural order of things." The Revolutionary Communist Party has complete confidence that the RCYB will continue to be the place where youth will truly find a life with a purpose, in helping to accomplish the historic task of the working class—making proletarian revolution, and freeing all of mankind. ■

Vets Work...

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that relatively more people will come forward around particular battles, and that, as these battles ebb or subside, many will fall away again, we now began to understand more clearly that in order to consolidate our gains and to take advantage of the new conditions we'd helped to create, we had to struggle with people politically to sum up what gains had been made and what was the road forward.

We feel this "revolving door" question is important. If we don't understand how to consolidate active and advanced forces, politically, it leads to a lot of gimmickry and rightism.

One line we've had to fight goes something like this: "Since people come forward around particular struggles, the way to keep them around is to keep taking up new struggles in order to keep them active." What this line means in the real world is that people come forward out of struggles they're involved in, but they're too stupid or brainwashed to be able to understand much about how their problems relate to other people's problems and society as a whole, so let's keep them active so they don't have time to think about anything.

In fact, everything about Marxism teaches us that the masses can and will become the conscious makers of history (as opposed to pawns of a few "organizers"), and our experience in the recent period of veterans work bears this out. When vets become active, they start to raise their heads, and instead of seeing a smooth road to revolution, they see a lot of contradictory phenomena. Naturally questions come up. How come people who say they agree with us don't get involved? Why do we raise the questions of revolution or communism when that turns people off? How can we say the U.S. is as bad as Russia, they've got a dictatorship over there? Why can't the races get together? etc. We've seen that our ability to keep these people active in VVAW related directly to how well we answered these questions. The more we have brought "light into the struggles," and along with this done all-around exposure of the imperialist system and developed political discussion and struggle, the more we brought activists into VVAW and moved them forward politically. When we let up on this, the masses would get demoralized and drop away from the struggle.

In some areas of the country within the Party and VVAW the incorrect line on this question of struggle and consciousness was not struggled against and in fact was even encouraged. This line reduced the question of building VVAW with a life of its own to a question of "results" in the narrowest sense, liquidating the tasks of raising the general level of consciousness of the masses and training the advanced in Marxism-Leninism, and only paying attention to how many people we can get to a demonstration or how much news coverage we can get. The people spouting this line push "organize, organize" and "fight, fight, fight." Organizing VVAW chapters becomes an end in itself, "activity" becomes everything, and the consciousness of the masses, and consolidating the advanced into Marxists, is reduced to nothing. This incorrect line forgets that

for us, in everything we do, we are building a revolution and not just a veterans organization. And, in fact, such a line makes it very difficult to sustain any type of activity for long, for the reasons gone into earlier.

Veterans as a Powerful Social Force

Another incorrect line promoted in some areas, which is the mirror opposite image of the "fight, fight, fight" incorrect line, negates that it is possible or necessary for the working class and its Party to do work among veterans at all.

This line says that since most veterans are workers, they face the sharpest contradictions as workers, and therefore it is not "realistic" to try and organize a powerful veterans movement as a distinct component of the revolutionary movement generally.

To bolster this argument, some people try to use Marx to oppose Marxism, incorrectly asserting that Marx said, "social position determines consciousness." In fact, what Marx said (in "Preface to a Critique of Political Economy") is that "social being determines consciousness." Marx's point was that consciousness derives from the material world, and that man's activity in production is his fundamental social activity. But to listen to those who promote the line that a veterans movement is not possible or necessary, you'd have to think that aside from work, people are not affected in any way by anything else going on in the world.

In the first place, veterans face some particular contradictions as veterans—cuts in disability benefits, the GI Bill, the Veterans Administration, etc. These are all real contradictions, and there is just as real struggle around them, against the capitalist attacks. Secondly, and more importantly, there is the whole *experience* of veterans in the broadest sense, of being used to fight an unjust, imperialist war for the profits and empire of the bourgeoisie, only to be discarded on their return back home. We constantly see veterans' burning hatred, having seen their partners killed or maimed in the process of suppressing foreign peoples and protecting the capitalists' oil fields or Bank of America buildings, their

disgust at racial discrimination, harassment, the unsafe and unhealthy conditions and much more in the military. This hatred can only get intensified as they return home to no disability pay, no jobs, more discrimination, benefit cuts and the rest. And beyond that, vets, along with the masses of people, have the experience of living in a society and in a world where exploiting bandits try to rob and crush millions of people and where people in turn continually rise up against them.

All this is part of veterans' social being, and deeply affects how veterans look at society, their position in it and their participation in the overall class struggle. This, in turn, and the role of veterans as a group, has a big influence on society as a whole. For both positive and negative reasons, veterans have a certain "right to speak" in the eyes of the masses on the nature of the military and the country's foreign policy, even on overall questions of the nature of the country.

To sum this up: the incorrect line on this question has led, in some places around the country, to liquidating the work of VVAW entirely, while others with this incorrect line have argued that VVAW should be little more than a shell organization, whose name is preserved for "heavies" to speak at events and rallies.

On the other hand, building the movement among veterans in a revolutionary way and recognizing their potential as a powerful social force against imperialism, has been increasingly based on and deepened our grasp of what Mao Tsetung said in *On Practice*, "Man's social practice is not confined to activity in production, but takes many other forms—class struggle, political life, scientific and artistic pursuits; in short, as a social being, man participates in all spheres of the practical life of society. Thus man, in varying degrees, comes to know the different relations between man and man, not only through his material life, but also through his political and cultural life." We cannot afford to throw away an organization which enables us to reach and influence veterans, mobilize and organize them in struggle against the capitalists, and through them influence broader sections of the masses.

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Southern California veterans confronted the Marine Corps at Camp Pendleton's front gate in the Fall of 1977, shouting, "Brass, Nazis, Ku Klux Klan; Tools of the Rich, Scum of the Land."

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Veterans Day

With much of this struggle as background, the California chapters of VVAW built struggle around Veterans Day this year. All three chapters marched together in the official San Francisco Veterans Day parade. (see article in *Revolution*, Vol. 3, No. 3). This struggle had a deep effect on many people in San Francisco generally, on the members of VVAW, and in turn had a deep effect on the comrades doing the work. This campaign, and the whole struggle against rightism, has resulted in an even deeper and fuller understanding of how to conduct revolutionary work in today's non-revolutionary situation. VVAW regionally saw a clear need to answer the ruling class which used the festivities to glorify imperialist aggression and pave the way for more in the future, and we felt that by gathering our forces together from all over the state, we'd be able to make the most impact both on the ruling class as well as among the masses.

VVAW entered the political battle around Veterans Day to "create favorable new conditions through struggle," and the results were even more positive than expected. Many veterans left at the opportunity to tell the ruling class and their reactionary friends on the reviewing stand to "sit on it." The slogan "To Hell With Your National Honor, We Won't Be Used Again!" summed up their anger at being lied to and used, and aimed it at the enemy.

Frankly, none of us were quite expecting the thunderous response we got from the crowds watching the parade. They cheered us and chanted with us, and when the embarrassed politicians and military brass tried to chase us from the reviewing stand, they were booed down. Even the reactionary San Francisco *Chronicle* had to admit, in the next day's issue, that VVAW stole the show, and was received better than any other group in the parade.

This action brought home in a powerful way the potentially explosive contradiction that exists between vets, who have gotten a first-hand taste of what imperialist "freedom and democracy" is all about, and the bourgeoisie. It also showed how deeply the masses of people hate the slaughter and destruction of imperialist war.

When comrades summed up the weekend, we knew we had to build off the advances that had been made, but we also knew that we had been caught a bit off guard in some areas. This pointed to some weaknesses in our understanding that would block the road forward if we didn't get down on them. Specifically, we had been weak in understanding the objective necessity to carry out independent work as communists from the start, and this hurt our ability to make the most out of the action, because we had left politics to simply doing VVAW work and didn't really use the opportunity to also put out independently a Marxist-Leninist analysis.

The Veterans Day weekend events in the Bay Area had been an extremely intense period of political struggle with many people participating. It was exactly this intensity, and the relatively high level of political discussions that resulted from it, combined with struggle within the Party around the question of revolutionary work and the tasks of communists, that allowed us to see our weaknesses.

We had lots of freedom to get at what is the answer to these problems (imperialist war, veterans being "used once and thrown away," etc.), where does the working class come in, what is the role of the Party, and where does it get its ideas from. We could have used *Revolution*, *The Worker*, the pamphlet *War and Revolution* and other Party literature in a pretty up front way. Basically it was an excellent situation to do a lot of good political work as tribunes of the people, and while we did a pretty good job, we didn't make the most of it.

In discussing this, we deepened our understanding of the fact that, as the Central Committee Report of 1976 states: "Never forget the revolutionary goal. If we do it will also affect the smaller battles, because they are also dialectically related—whether we understand it or not, whether anyone wants it to be true or not—it's true that what you can achieve in changing the conditions of the masses for example is related to the big question of how society is going to be organized. There's no way to get around that." (Excerpted in the July 1977 issue of *Revolution*)

By not integrating with our work the question of our overall goal and revolution we would fall into the incorrect line of making the question simply building VVAW as an end in itself. The Veterans Day action confronted us sharply with the fact that we were still too cautious of red-baiting and struggling over the need for revolution. As we discussed this problem, another example of it surfaced.

In one chapter, comrades had actually struggled with a vet who was beginning to see the need for revolution to quit talking about it in meetings because it was jacking up the level of unity! Although we have to help new activists understand the mass line and bring them into all-round political life beyond VVAW, the position we took turned our priorities upside down, and was fundamentally in opposition to the line of our Party. We were walling off the struggles we were taking



Vets picket Senator Cranston's office in San Francisco, March 1977. Demanding freedom for Ashby Leach who represented the fighting anger many veterans feel at having been used and thrown away.

up along with other vets from the final goal of socialism and communism.

In the past we had frequently raised an example from our practice to justify this erroneous position. A Vietnam veteran who had been active on and off for quite awhile told us that if he had known we were reds at the start, he would never have worked with us. One way to sum this up is that when you're up front with your politics, you'll turn people away. The correct line, however, recognizes that this system propels people into struggle against it, and this will be stronger than initial anti-communism—if not today, then tomorrow—provided the communists carry out a correct political line and style of work. In fact the guy who raised this objection is now in VVAW, and is checking out Marxism and the Party exactly because of communist politics, not because we hid them and didn't wage struggle to win him to an understanding of how things are set up, how society is organized and so forth.

It is crucial to grasp the relationship between unity and struggle. Things develop through contradiction, through struggle of opposing forces. And the surest way to make things stagnate is to smother the political struggle that's bound to develop as controversial ideas get tossed around.

Regional Meeting

The first meeting of the regional steering committee of VVAW for the California region, called to plan the upcoming regional conference, was the most political and lively meeting VVAW had held up to that time. Party members and other VVAW activists had vigorous discussion and struggle which both deepened everyone's understanding of key questions and also served to firm up our grasp on how we were going to take up these subjects at the conference, and unite others around them. There was much discussion on war and revolution, where does war come from, what are the economic and political laws in operation, whether and why revolution is the only solution. Here we referred people to and were able to discuss parts of the Party's pamphlet *War and Revolution*, Lenin's *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and the Banner Press study course, *Political Economy*. Heated debate took place about how and why we should bring out the danger of world war between the U.S. and USSR. The steering committee united around having a full presentation of VVAW's position followed by discussion. This was a big advance in terms of dealing with this question. (VVAW's position is that there is a big danger of such an inter-imperialist war and that VVAW should oppose both superpowers, especially fighting the war preparations by the U.S.)

The meeting got into how VVAW has been battling the day-to-day economic attacks on veterans and others, and united that this should be a large discussion at the conference, including specific discussion on our GI Bill work as well as on the upcoming State of the Union demonstrations around unemployment (called jointly by the National United Workers Organization and the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, but which was cancelled on the East Coast because of bad weather, while around 350 attended out West). There was also an in-depth discussion around why and how the Party should play a role at the Conference.

The conference itself was dynamite. A number of advanced forces played key roles, including giving presentations and leading discussions. A little over 40 veterans attended, which wasn't quantitatively larger than the last conference, but quality wise, there was much more political unity and understanding. Those present were much more active members of VVAW than in the past, when the majority of people were "just checking it out."

The Party and the revolutionary goal came out as in-

tegral parts of the life of VVAW, not that people had to agree with them, but that they were a part of the struggle over the road forward. It also created a lot of controversy, and that too was a good thing.

As we said in the beginning, our struggle to keep to the high, hard road to revolution has been marked by much sharp struggle, mostly against rightism. It has been exactly this struggle that has propelled our work forward. Without it, as has become clear in some other parts of the country where this rightism has been encouraged, we would be doomed to the low road towards opportunism and revisionism. As the article in the September issue of *Revolution* on the "Tasks of Party Branches" put it, "The point is that without the leadership of the Party, without the guidance of its ideological and political line representing the revolutionary outlook and interests of the working class, there is no way that mass struggle can continue to advance through ups and downs, no way the struggling masses can thoroughly distinguish real friends from real enemies and build the broadest unity against the enemy, and certainly no way the struggle can be carried forward to achieve the historic mission of the working class, the abolition of class society."

The revisionist line, the low road, reaps what it sows. It says the masses can't understand all this political stuff, so "leave it to us hot shots." It hides the political goals and outlook of the working class in the name of turning out numbers to gimmick events, and it can't even turn out numbers on a long-term basis as our "revolving door" experience showed. In its substitution of quantity for quality, it negates both, and leads people into a dead end. It would inevitably lead to a VVAW consisting of a small handful of officers and no troops.

Our overall experience, which became so sharply focused around Veterans Day, really showed us something. The masses of people hate the misery this system heaps on them, and we can tap this hatred and turn it on the system itself. We can do *revolutionary* work in a non-revolutionary situation and prepare our own ranks and the masses for revolution—and our work among veterans is one important part of this. ■

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Humphrey...

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would be kicked out of the DFLP. With this experience, and after winning the Senate election in 1948, Humphrey went all out.

In 1950, Humphrey put forward an amendment to the McCarran Act (also known as the "Internal Security Act") which provided for the construction of concentration camps to imprison "subversives" during times of war or severe national emergency. Six such camps were actually constructed.

More Counter-Revolution

In 1952, Humphrey chaired the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations which engaged in McCarthy-style hearings to expose the "red menace" in the unions. Singled out for immediate attack was the UE—one of Humphrey's main supporters in his first election victory! The UE was charged with "Communist domination" and "threatening national security," in part because it took a firm and righteous stand against U.S. involvement in the Korean War. As Chairman of this subcommittee, Humphrey proposed a law in which "a union which, for all practical purposes is a political organization controlled under the leadership of proven and known members of the Communist Party and following a line which one is able to identify as a communist line, that even if that union gets a majority, it shall not be given bargaining status in terms of a collective bargaining contract."

In 1954 Humphrey sponsored the Communist Control Act, which was aimed at outlawing the CP. And in the late '50s he topped it all off by supporting the Landrum-Griffin Act, which barred communist workers from elected positions in the unions.

All of this was part of the capitalists' rabid effort to isolate the CP and to take the unions out of the hands of the militant rank and file workers and put

them under the control of stooges and goons like George Meany who would serve the capitalists' interests. Despite his claim to be "a true friend of labor," Humphrey proved from the beginning to be deathly afraid of the working class.

Civil Rights—More Empty Talk

One of the biggest hoaxes of the Humphrey legend is that he was a staunch fighter against discrimination and the oppression of minorities, especially Black people. This lie stems from a speech Humphrey made before the 1948 Democratic Convention in which he infuriated the racist politicians from the South by saying, "There are those who say to you—we are rushing this issue of civil rights. I say we are 172 years late." But less than six months later, as the newly elected Senator from Minnesota, Humphrey voted *against* a bill that would require states to desegregate their schools in order to get federal funds! His excuse was that he didn't want to alienate Southern Senators—so the Blacks be damned! In his typical two-faced style, Humphrey cried, "No Senator could be more unhappy than I am at this hour." But his "unhappiness" was nothing compared to the outrage of the masses of Black people fighting desperately for the right to a decent education for their kids.

When favorable court decisions of the 1950s, like *Brown vs. The Board of Education* in 1954, failed to lead to any real improvement in the lives of the majority of Black people, the civil rights movement took on a more massive militant form. With sit-ins, marches, freedom rides, the masses of Black people went into motion and there was a growing understanding that any real change would have to be wrung from the rulers through bitter struggle. In the face of such struggle, the capitalists took the road of granting certain concessions on the one hand, and on the other hand using these concessions (federal funds, poverty programs) to buy off the leaders they could, come down hard on those who wouldn't bite, and direct the struggle into legal, political channels where they could try to keep a lid on it. Hubert Humphrey was in the forefront of

this effort.

In 1964 Black people in Mississippi as well as some white civil rights workers formed the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). They chose delegates to the 1964 Democratic convention and demanded to be seated in place of the all white mainline delegation which had been elected via the Jim Crow laws. The MFDP had been on national TV, telling how they had been harassed and beaten for trying to participate in the regular Mississippi Democratic Party's business.

At the convention Lyndon Johnson told Humphrey he'd better get over there and stifle things if he ever wanted to be vice-president. Hubert worked out a "compromise" in which the delegation was seated as "honored guests"—with no vote! Later this was changed to allow the delegation two of the state's 24 votes, but MFDP delegates were so disgusted that they walked out, despite the efforts of Martin Luther King and Roy Wilkins to get them to accept Humphrey's generous offer.

With the growth of the militant, rebellious Black liberation struggles of the mid-sixties Humphrey began to more openly attack the masses of Black people. As the Democratic nominee for President in 1968, he threatened to "break their backs" if they got out of line. "Have patience," he warned. "Let us wait and see..." In his 1968 election fight with Nixon he even floated the idea of outlawing "paramilitary groups," calling the Black Panther Party one.

Humphrey's staunch opposition to the struggle for Black liberation, as well as his stubborn defense of the Vietnam War, served as a final exposure of his thoroughly reactionary career. Despite frantic attempts to rewrite history now that he is dead, the true record of this two-faced but loyal servant of the capitalist class will be his living monument.

Hubert Humphrey styled himself a great savior of the working people. But his whole life and career show very clearly once again that all such promises dished up by the capitalist system are nothing but disguised attacks. And such back-stabbers as Humphrey have to be fought tooth and nail by the working class as part of taking its future in its own hands. ■

J.P. Stevens...

Continued from page 12

ing down national divisions among textile workers—as Black and white workers were now working together under the same miserable conditions, facing the same capitalist enemy.

Especially as the civil rights movement, aimed mainly at breaking down Jim Crow segregation, developed into a Black liberation movement aimed more squarely at the imperialist system, it became the main force pushing ahead all other struggles against the capitalist rulers at that time, including the struggle of Southern textile workers. This was shown in the powerful strike at the Oneita Knitting Mills in South Carolina, where a six-month strike for union recognition by some 600 women, mainly Black, ended in victory in July 1973.

Growing Crisis

More fundamental, though, has been the deepening of the imperialist crisis and its particular effects on the textile industry.

Like workers everywhere, textile workers have faced serious attacks in the '70s. Particularly, cutthroat international capitalist competition has cut into the U.S. companies' markets at home and overseas. In 1974, the industry took a nose dive that cut manufacturing activity by 25%, profits by 50%, and left almost 100,000 workers jobless. Since then, both output and profits have risen way above the 1973 peak levels but 50,000 jobs have been eliminated. Those still working have paid dearly with tremendous stretch-out, or job combinations, by increasing the number of machines operated per worker in order to increase productivity. Often this means doubling the number of machines a worker has to run.

And the crisis is far from over for the textile giants. In a traditionally labor intensive industry, they are now faced with the necessity of raising hundreds of millions of dollars to modernize their outmoded machinery—much of which, as any textile worker will tell you, is older than their parents. But their ability to do this is seriously hindered by a number of things. *Business Week* has labeled textiles as bad for investment, citing an 8.9% return on investment compared to 14.9% in 1966. Almost no new investment money has gone into textiles in the past decade, and foreign competition has both cut into U.S. companies' markets and made it more difficult to raise their prices higher. This is what's behind their big "Stop the Flood of Imports" campaign.

Squeeze on the Workers

With investment, sales and prices caught in a squeeze, the companies are working overtime to suck more and more needed capital out of the workers. It's clear from this why Stevens, Burlington and all the textile compa-

nies will fight tooth and nail to keep their mills "union free." Textile workers today make over \$1.50 an hour less than the average Northern industrial worker; pensions and seniority are almost nonexistent. Injured workers are forced to report to work so the companies can avoid workers' compensation payments. This situation has also attracted hundreds of other companies to the "Sunny South." In South Carolina, capital spending in 1977 was up 300% from 1976, and today, 37% of North Carolina's workforce is industrial workers—the highest in the country.

The growing attacks, along with the increased monopolization of the industry, are once again raising the need and possibility of organizing and winning unions. But, it must be noted, today this understanding is still very weak and young. The ability of beating the companies is a major point of controversy among the workers. Also, significantly, the rotten state of the unions weighs heavily on workers' minds when the question of organizing comes up.

The flood of industry to the South has also forced the AFL-CIO hacks to develop a "Southern Strategy," also known as "Labor's Domino Theory." In the past few years they not only have been losing members, but also political clout with their capitalist masters, and they are desperate to make a breakthrough at Stevens to use textile workers as bargaining chips in their many "deals" and "trade-offs" with the capitalists. This is why they have poured so much time, money and people into the Stevens' drive.

At the Spartanburg convention, the hacks wrapped themselves in the cloak of the tremendous battles of the '30s. They even included the verse that said, "We can build ourselves a new world from the ashes of the old," when they sang "Solidarity Forever." In case anyone missed the point, they declared themselves the inheritors of the civil rights movement—fighting today for "Economic Justice" for Blacks.

But to date the drive bears little resemblance to the '30s or '60s. When the workers at Roanoke Rapids (3000 in all) held their election in 1972, they spontaneously broke through many of the shackles the hacks tried to put on them. They built their drive militantly, holding parades and rallies. It was because of this that they were able to win, when the union had lost on ten previous elections at Stevens plants. Without conscious leadership, though, the workers' initiative couldn't be sustained.

The union officials quickly moved to get things "back under control," attempting to chain the struggle to filing grievances and NLRB cases. Stevens, of course, has seen no need to budge at the bargaining table.

Even when the officials finally decided in 1976 to organize the whole company, it was carefully planned out to keep the workers from taking "too much initiative." The last thing these traitors want is for the Stevens workers to take things into their own hands, give inspiration to other workers around the country, and make the fight for a union a conscious battle against the rich man's system. If that happens, it would threaten the hacks' livelihood and turn the struggle into something far great-

er than a means to negotiate the terms of sale of the workers' labor to the mill owners.

The AFL-CIO has been telling the Stevens workers and other workers in the South that the success of the organizing drives depends on more favorable labor legislation in Washington. Instead of militant struggle the hacks have organized letter writing campaigns.

Key in the officials' strategy for keeping things "cool" is their present "boycott" of J.P. Stevens. "J.P. Stevens is so strong and the workers so scared," reason the hacks, "that we have no choice but to boycott the company to put economic pressure on them." This "get-rich-quick" gimmick is meant to divert and disarm the workers, whose own organization and struggle is crucial to winning the union drive.

While it's true that overall the Stevens workers are not in a position to strike, the main reason for this is that they are not yet organized—a large majority of the workers still have not yet joined the union. What is needed is for the active Stevens workers to organize their fellow workers, building their strength and unity, and relying on themselves to fight the company. Only in the context of such struggle would a boycott be a positive weapon in the hands of the workers.

Boycott

Using the boycott as their main selling point, many anti-union groups have formed in the mills with company backing. In Roanoke Rapids, such a group got over 1000 signatures on a petition to "kick the union out." These scabs have been able to point out that the boycott is just a way for big time union hacks to force their way on the scene with the workers having no part in it. And while they end up drawing the ridiculous conclusion that "we have it good here, and don't need to fight," which only exposes where they are really coming from, these scabs have been handed a trump card by the union officials themselves!

This doesn't mean that in principle boycotts are bad, or not effective tactics for the workers to use in fighting the capitalists. But they are just that—a tactic, to be used or not used given the necessity and strategy of the particular struggle.

When built on the foundation of the workers struggles themselves, boycotts can be effective weapons, as demonstrated by the farmworkers and the Farah strikers in the Southwest a few years ago. With most of Farah's production shut down, the nationwide boycott called against Farah pants not only helped strengthen the strike, but provided an important vehicle for building support for the strikers among workers in many industries all around the country. It helped bring the lessons of the Farah strike and union drive to thousands of workers around the country.

Further, the facts show that the union hacks are using the "boycott" scheme as much to keep the lid on the rank and file as hurt J.P. Stevens "economically." According to the *L.A. Free Press* (Jan. 12, 1978), while the AFL-CIO is on record in favor of the boycott,

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Israeli settlement in the Sinai. The Zionists intend to hold key parts of Egyptian land in the Sinai—from luxurious Mediterranean real estate to strategic military bases.

"Peace" Plan ...

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and perhaps in Egypt itself.

No Agreement on "Settlement" Terms

After promising to serve up a delicious dish of phoney peace, the U.S., Egypt and Israel are having a tough time agreeing on the ingredients of their poisonous brew.

When Sadat announced his scheme for conciliation with the Zionists, the U.S. saw it as a possible way to cut through the obstacles it had met in forcing the Arab countries to make peace with Israel on terms acceptable to the Zionists and their U.S. backers and to eliminate the Palestine Liberation Organization from any effective role in the determination of events.

This is not to say that the U.S. did not see the risks involved in Sadat's maneuvers. To the extent that his trip to Israel caused any misgivings to the U.S. rulers, it was only that they knew it would bring the key issues of the rights of the Palestinians and the return of occupied Arab land rapidly to a head. Since the only way Sadat could get his "peace" was by crawling on all fours before the Zionists, the question was, could they pull it off without stirring up even greater active resistance to U.S. imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East and especially in Egypt.

In Israel, the U.S. has a firm, strategic Middle East outpost. The U.S. has no intention of doing anything to weaken or jeopardize the Zionists' strength or to undermine its ability to be used as a weapon which the U.S. can threaten at any time to unleash against the Arab states and the Palestinian liberation movement. On the other hand, if Sadat can carry off a settlement with Israel and on that basis force Syria, Saudi Arabia and Jordan to come to terms, it will be a victory for U.S. imperialism.

So the claims run out in the U.S. bourgeois press, including by the pseudo-Marxist rag, the *Call*, that Sadat's trip to Israel was not at all welcomed by the U.S. are merely an attempt to cover over what the U.S. imperialists are trying to achieve through Sadat. The CP(ML) even went so far as to call it "a step against superpower hegemonism," and to use this flimsy reasoning to give some feeble back-handed support to Sadat's treachery and betrayal.

The tasks of Marxist-Leninists, however, is not to parrot the press releases of the bourgeoisie or to build self-serving and imperialist-serving analysis out of disgusting sophistry as the Kautskyites of the CP(ML) do. It is to get to the essence of the situation. In this case it is clear that the essence of Sadat's actions is not a stand against imperialism or social-imperialism, but an attack against the Palestinians, sabotaging Arab unity against Zionism and serving the interests of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

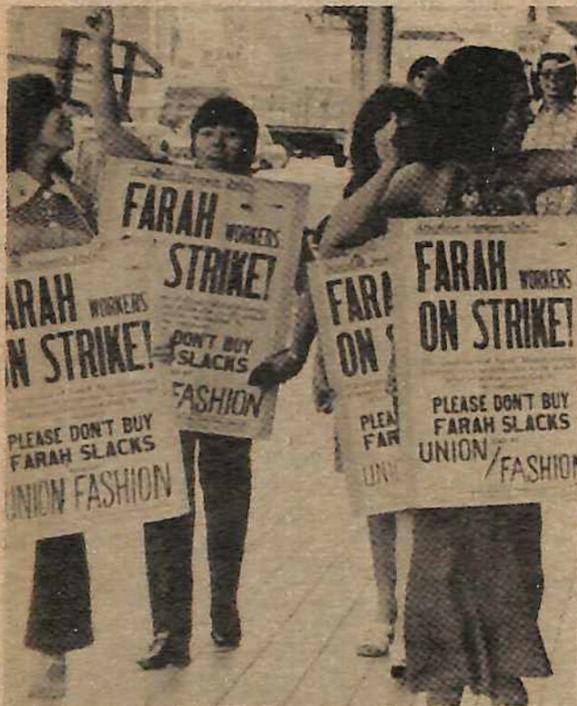
In the complicated Middle East situation, a setback for one superpower often opens new opportunities for the other. The Soviets, for example, oppose Sadat's

recent actions not because they are against legitimizing the Zionist state, they did that a long time back. They opposed them not because Sadat is attempting to stick a knife in the backs of the Palestinians. The Soviets have been doing that all along, while trying to pose as friends and supporters of the Palestine liberation movement. They oppose Sadat here because his move took the maneuvering away from the Geneva Conference where the Soviets, as co-conveners with the U.S., hoped to play a big role; because it could strengthen the hand of the U.S. at the expense of the Soviets in the Middle East; and because they hope to strengthen their own influence within the Palestinian liberation movement and those Arab states the U.S. bourgeoisie is calling the "hard liners" (Libya, Algeria, South Yemen, Syria and Iraq) and to use those states as pawns in their superpower contention.

Responsibilities of Marxist-Leninists

Marxist-Leninists cannot base their analysis or their actions on the claim that the Soviet Union is always and everywhere the main—and in effect the only—enemy of the people of the world, that whatever is to the detriment of the Soviets is therefore an unqualified good thing to be supported, as does the CP(ML). Communists in the U.S. cannot abandon their responsibility to expose and build opposition to the machinations of both superpowers, particularly the U.S. For the U.S. is, after all, where they live and the mobilization of the U.S. working class and the masses of people to overthrow its ruling class is their task. Neither can communists in the U.S. abandon their internationalist duty to call out Sadat's actions for what they are and to use the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to analyze what is going on—including the temporary and partial conflicts such reactionary regimes may have with one or another superpower at times.

Even the Soviets give verbal support to the Palestinians. Even a U.S. puppet like Jordan's King Hussein can accuse Sadat of wrecking Arab solidarity. Even Syria's President Assad who launched an all-out military attack on the Palestinian Liberation Organization in Lebanon last year can demand "no peace without the PLO." Some, like our own Kautskyites can even claim to support the Palestinians while supporting the U.S.-Israel-Sadat schemes. In fact almost anybody can be a double-dealing bourgeois diplomat. But they can't be a Marxist-Leninist at the same time. Support for the Palestinians and the struggles of the Arab people requires opposition to Sadat's treachery. ■



Striking Farah workers together with workers nationally were able to make their boycott a weapon in their strike in 1972-74. In contrast the J.P. Stevens boycott must be exposed as part of efforts to substitute for and squash any struggle of Stevens workers.

J.P. Stevens...

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many of these same unions have billions invested in companies like Manufacturer's Hanover, Irving Trust and Metropolitan Life, which in turn have loaned J.P. Stevens over \$147,000,000!

The struggle at J.P. Stevens, and the overall fight to organize the Southern textile mills, holds great potential for advancing the revolutionary workers movement. This potential will be realized if this battle is built as part of the overall class struggle by linking the union drive to other battles against the same enemy and to the long-term aim of abolishing the source of these abuses, the capitalist system of wage-slavery. As the RCP Programme states, "The policy of the proletariat and its Party is to build its strength in the unions as part of building its revolutionary movement, and not to reduce the class struggle to the struggle for the control of the unions." ■

Chile...

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geois opposition, differing with the military only on tactical questions of how the bourgeoisie should rule. During Allende's regime, the Christian Democrats and the Chilean monopolists who back them threw their support to the junta to overthrow Allende and put a stop to the tide of mass struggle. Their role today is to try to confine the resistance against the junta to various calls for "free elections" and other kinds of maneuvers while the masses are to be passive lest they "provoke" more repression. Important forces among the U.S. ruling class are particularly anxious to bolster the Christian Democrats in the belief that the military has already done its job and some more democratic trappings might be a more stable way to protect U.S. imperialism's interests in Chile.

Current Resistance

The current formation of rank and file resistance committees led, at least in many cases, by revolutionary elements, in the factories, farms, schools and so on is an extremely important step because it enables the masses to organize the struggle for their own interests independently of the maneuvers of the revisionists and Christian Democrats. The revisionists are particularly dangerous because they work to tie the reemerging mass struggle to an electoral "way out" of fascism, in opposition to the line of building up the organization and consciousness of the masses in the struggle against the dictatorship so that no matter what happens to the military junta the masses can continue to push forward towards national liberation and socialism, rather than having to suffer through an endless cycle of open repression and "democratic" elections for generation after generation, as in so much of Latin America, without any real prospect of getting the landlords, capitalists, and foreign imperialists off their backs. Today many forces, including many rank and file militants once led by the reformist parties, are discussing and summing up important lessons about reform and revolution and the role that the revisionist party has played.

But this process is still impeded to some extent by the cry for "unity" put forward by the CP and forces tied to Cuba which amounts to unity behind the CP's line rather than following a line which can really unite the vast majority of workers, peasants and others to move forward through revolutionary struggle.

Especially because of the activities by the revisionists in our own country, many people in the U.S. who have been active around exposing the U.S. crimes in Chile have fallen into presenting the whole thing as a tragedy and little more, making it a question of "democracy"—"the people" vs. "dictatorship," and ignoring or even covering up the real revolutionary lessons which are so important to our own struggle.

The working class and its allies can win many reforms and concessions as a by-product of its struggle, but if it doesn't keep in mind its revolutionary goal—the armed seizure of power—the bourgeoisie can and will use these concessions to derail the mass movement and eventually take back what has been given and much more. This was what happened during the Allende regime.

Those who once tried to fix the attention of the masses on the immediate results won through the election of Allende, and who today promise the masses immediate results in the struggle against the junta through tailing after bourgeois democracy, are betrayers of the real interests of the Chilean people. ■



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