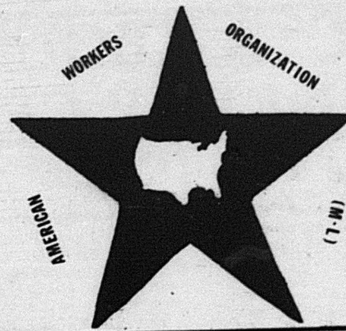


PEOPLE'S VOICE

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VOL. 1 NO. 8

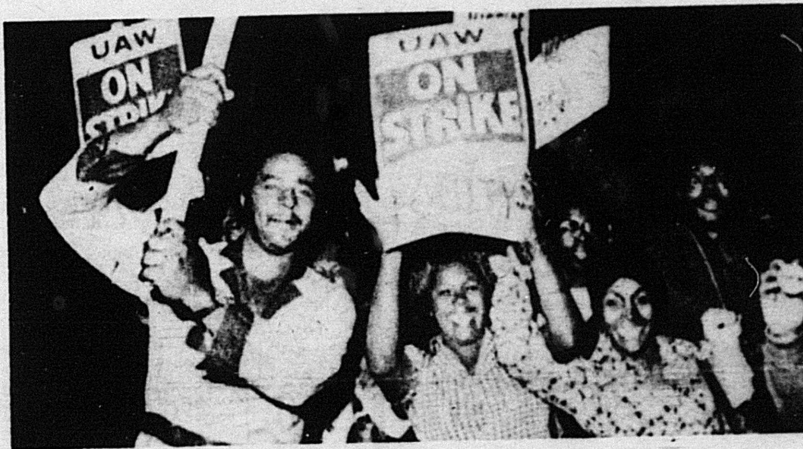
NEWSPAPER OF THE
AMERICAN WORKERS ORGANIZATION (M-L)

OCT., 1973

INSIDE...

A.W.O. (M-L),
O.L. & R.U.
ON THE
NATIONAL
QUESTION

UAW SETTLES FOR 54-HOUR WEEK



Militant rank and file showing solidarity and determination while picketing Chrysler plant. The workers were firmly committed to the struggle for voluntary overtime, but were sold out at the bargaining table.

Once again, the militant rank and file of the UAW have been sold out by Leonard Woodcock and company. Many are beginning to realize however, that the "strike" against Chrysler was actually pre-agreed to by Chrysler and Woodcock in order to stifle radical rank and file opposition and to make it appear that the meager gains of the new contract were hard won. The strike of course was "miraculously" settled just days after the walk-out was called. The whole scene, as portrayed by the media, was very dramatic and carefully engineered to make it appear as though Chrysler and the UAW leadership were at great odds over the issues.

The most significant demand of the UAW rank and file was for voluntary overtime, and it was all but sold-out completely by Woodcock. Auto workers had been working a 70 hour week, but now, thanks to Woodcock and Co., they are only forced to work 54. The question of overtime has always come under the category of "management prerogative"; in other words, management can force workers to work any amount of overtime, whether they want to or not, with only the stipulation that they are payed time and a-half. The eight-hour day which was supposedly won decades ago is still not a reality in most factories in the United States.

The sell-out contract with Chrysler gives the United Auto Workers a 9-hour, six-day week. The other major "benefit" gained by the workers was a 5.5 percent wage increase each year of the three year contract, which doesn't come close to meeting the inflationary rise in the cost of living each year.

At press time, the negotiated sell-out contract was in the process of being ratified by union locals. There is a good chance that "wild cat" strikes will result when locals recognize that they have been sold out. The UAW has a long history of successful "wild cat" strikes, and they have always been used as a weapon to combat sell-outs by union misleaders.

In the coming months, all workers must support any wild-cat strikes by the United Auto Workers in the Ford, American Motors and GM plants, who will subject the workers to basically the same contract negotiated with Chrysler. This pre-arrangement of the "Big Four" auto plants to rotate negotiations with the UAW for a contract acceptable to all, is just another move to undermine the union and the right to strike. UAW rank and file must fight these union-busting activities and reject the sell-out contract.

FASCIST COUP IN CHILE

Years of effort on the part of the CIA (representing US imperialism) and Chilean fascists finally paid off with the murder of Salvador Allende and the overthrow of his social-democratic government in Chile.

Chile's new fascist rulers have thus far established their control through a well organized reign of terror aimed at stifling resistance from progressive left forces. Despite the news blackout on the internal situation in Chile, reliable sources have reported that there seems to be a policy of unrestricted violence against all opposition to the fascist regime. Many reports have come in describing the heroic resistance of armed workers who occupied factories and fought valiantly to resist the fascists who eventually overwhelmed them with superior numbers and armaments.

U.S. COMPLICITY

The US government has thus far kept silent on the situation in Chile, but it will not be long before the fascist junta is officially recognized.

The long history of US imperialist interference in the internal politics of Latin America and in Chile particularly is well documented. The CIA, under orders from US capitalists, caused the defeat of Allen-

de in the 1964 elections, and during the period 1971-1973, untold millions of US dollars were spent to insure the overthrow of Allende and his progressive government.

IMPORTANT LESSON

The lessons to be drawn from the fascist takeover in Chile are ominous and have far reaching implications for workers everywhere. Allende and his socialist party came to power because the Chilean people were tired of being exploited by capitalism both from within and without. Allende's attempt to build socialism from the top down, i.e., without first solidifying a base of power and support amongst the people, was in effect, doomed from the start. Marx in his footnote to the Communist Manifesto, pointed out the folly of attempting to build socialism "by laying hold to the ready-made state machinery" of the capitalists. If the people are to hold power, they must be firmly in control and that means a people's army - capable of countering the inevitable capitalist onslaughts such as those that were launched against the Bolsheviks.

The fascist regime appears to be firmly in control now, but it cannot survive without stepped-up US support. The Chilean people need our support in their continuing resistance to the fascists.

FACTS ABOUT THE ENERGY CRISIS

Through magazine articles and newspaper advertisements, radio and TV programs, the US government and the oil monopolies have recently stepped up their propaganda about the "gasoline shortage" and "energy crisis." They claim that the oil supply in the US is almost depleted and that the US has become dependent on importing oil from "politically sensitive" areas in the Middle East.

Yet 2.8 trillion barrels of oil reserves are still estimated within the US. Over 9.6 million barrels of oil per day were produced in the US in 1970 in comparison with 6 million per day in Saudi Arabia. In 1967 when the Suez Canal was closed the US was easily able to dip into its stockpiles to supply 2.6 billion barrels to Western Europe.



OIL MONOPOLIES VS PEOPLE

This past summer has seen a flurry of political activity; oil politics has been second only to Watergate. First the big oil monopolies with the government's cooperation created a gasoline shortage to squeeze out the so called independents or smaller oil corporations, and pressure congress into approving the ecologically dangerous Alaska oil pipeline. Next a gas war began between the oil giants -- primarily Mobil and Texaco. At the same time the "liberal" and "conservative" wings of the bourgeois press joined in a propaganda blast against the oil producing nations -- both Time and Newsweek featured articles claiming that the oil producing nations were having the audacity to hold the US over the barrel. In order to stress its big stick policy in the Middle East the US government cast a veto in the UN security council (only the fourth US veto) in support of Israel's policy of aggression.

OIL USED FOR WAR

The results. Although one day of the barbaric air war in Vietnam consumed as much petroleum as one

day of cars on the entire US interstate highway system, the American people were subject to gas rationing and higher prices. The oil monopolies got the concessions they wanted in Alaska, and tightened their control over the market, driving many so-called independents out of business, and further dominating the individual gas station owner.

TEXACO & SHELL: RECORD PROFITS

By manipulating the supply of gasoline and raising the price of fuel oil, the oil monopolies raked in record profits -- this is the real meaning of the energy crisis that no amount of TV propaganda by Johnny Cash can cover up.

Texaco's net income advanced 44.5% in the quarter ending June 30th. Net profit in the quarter totaled \$267.5 million, compared to \$185.2 million in that period a year ago. Gross revenues were \$2.7 billion.

Shell recorded a 54% gain in profit in the quarter ending June 30th. So much for the bleeding heart claims of poverty by Shell during their workers' recent strike.

These record profit figures also expose the Nixon government's so called freeze, and anti-inflation wage guidelines of 5.5%.

PLUNDER OF MIDDLE EAST

Oil concessions mean big profits for the oil monopolies. Thus the US government via the CIA overthrew the government of Iran in 1953, and that of Venezuela in 1960 when they attempted complete nationalization of their oil resources. Today US and Russia are scrambling for hegemony in the oil producing areas.

Between 1900-1960 gross profits of US oil companies in Iran alone totaled \$32 billion, while workers were only paid \$1.30 a day in 1960. It only costs 12 cents to extract a barrel of oil (42 gallons) in Iran that is sold in the US for \$3.75.

No wonder that the oil producing countries of the world have finally joined in an effort to limit this plunder, by nationalization and other means. And that the people of the Middle East are forming national liberation movements to control the wealth and resources of their countries for the social benefit of the people.

World capitalism is in a state of decline: monetary crises, trade wars, inter-imperialist competition. The oil monopolies are enemies of the American working people, and the people of the oil producing nations. The monopolies are spending millions of dollars in propaganda to divide us and cover up the facts -- their record profits from manipulation, and from the exploitation of the working people of the world.

PEOPLE'S VOICE

The People's Voice is the monthly newspaper of an organization of American Marxist Leninists.

Our publication will speak for workers, and all people who are oppressed by capitalism, and the economic exploitation, declining standard of living, and racism which it produces.

At this point we make no grandiose claims about the strength of our organization. We are building. There is a great need to develop and bring together Marxist Leninists in order to coordinate and strengthen the struggle against the bosses, and the rapidly developing corporate state (fascism).

Like all other genuine Marxist Leninists, the long range goals of our movement include the perspective of a M-L Party, to lead the people in their struggle for workers' state power, and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship to exercise power over the deposed capitalist ruling class, and build socialism.

The world wide defeat of imperialism will usher in an era of peace, security, democracy for the people -- a time of liberation of humanity.

"FRIENDS OF PEOPLE'S VOICE"

There are groups and individuals who are not necessarily members of our organization, but who support the aims and policies of our publication.

Friends of People's Voice are involved in organizing study groups of workers and students to read the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao; analyze contemporary issues, compare experiences of political struggle at places of work and study; discuss articles in PV and collectively prepare articles for submission to the editorial board.

Our Friends also circulate the paper by selling it where they work or go to school, and by locating new distribution outlets. Partly through forums, study groups and other Friends of People's Voice activities, we hope to bring progressives together.

All comments, letters and possible items for publication can be sent to People's Voice.

P.O. Box 30,
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SOME PLACES YOU CAN GET PV

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THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The national question is of importance to American Marxist Leninists because a correct understanding of the problem is a pre-condition for the achievement of unity between white and minority workers on day to day issues, for the liberation of minority people and for the creation of a broad united front for the ultimate establishment of socialism.

For this reason, prior to the publication of a detailed pamphlet on the subject, we are devoting a good deal of space in this issue to a brief discussion of national liberation and proletarian revolution in the U.S.

Discussion of self determination and what constitutes a nation has correctly proceeded from Stalin's definition, which was approved by Lenin: "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up ... It is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be lacking and the nation ceases to be a nation. ... It goes without saying that a nation ... is subject to the law of change, has its history, its beginning and end ..."

CLASS UNITY AND THE JIM CROW NATION

After the failure of reconstruction such a nation of oppressed black people was solidified in the South. But we must remember that this state of Jim Crow was forced upon black people by an alliance of Northern capital and the Southern bourgeoisie. Prior to that, during reconstruction, considerable unity had at times been forged between black and white trade unionists, small farmers and tradesmen.

Prior to the solidification of Jim Crow, both populists like Watson ("You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both") and black workers' leaders like Thomas Fortune ("When the issue is properly joined, the rich be they black or be they white, will be found upon the same side; and the poor be they black or be they white will be found upon the same side") spoke out for black-white unity against racism and monopoly capitalism.

By the end of the nineteenth century we find the existence of Jim Crow (segregation, exploitation, denial of democratic rights, legal racism) and a Black nation in the South. And a split between the black and white laboring masses. This was a pre-condition for the expansion and growth of monopoly

So deeply ... have the American people been inculcated with this poison of race ... that even members of the anti-imperialist movement have been confused on this issue. They have fallen into the trap of thinking of the Blacks as if their problem was in some way separate ... rather than thinking of the Blacks as the most oppressed single section of the American working class ... They saw the solution to their predicament ... in terms of struggle as "Blacks", as a distinct racial and even national entity. Some even had the idea that the aim of their struggle should be a "Black State" ...

But this was always an illusion, and a dangerous and divisive one. For it constituted an affirmation of the essentially racist idea that Negroes were "different" ... in short, not Americans. It therefore played right into the hands of racism... For the Blacks are a part ... of the American nation ... and politically speaking this ... makes them a key section of the proletarian forces of the US... (They) have a natural relationship with all oppressed people in the US...

(It is) an American struggle, an extremely important part of the American socialist revolution. Racial discrimination is a policy aimed at the whole American people ... It cannot be fought by accepting the very division of forces which the policy of divide and rule created.

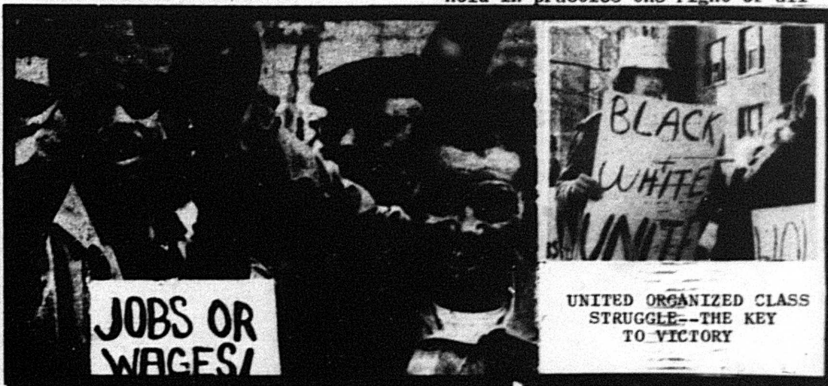
Felix Greene, *The Enemy*, pp. 352-354.
One of the few books by an American to be published in China.

capitalism. The healing of that split is a condition and key aspect of the struggle to overthrow US monopoly capitalism today.

NATION TO NATIONAL MINORITY

Today black people are for the most part working people (proletariat and petty bourgeoisie), and a dispersed national minority living primarily in cities throughout America. The process of urbanization and proletarianization which has taken place at an extremely rapid rate in the South in the last ten years parallels the

In 1928 and 1930, before the dispersal and proletarianization of the Black nation, the Comintern and the then revolutionary CPUSA correctly advocated the creation of a Black State in the South. Then 86% of black people lived in the South, 74% in rural districts. This 1928 position is however parroted some forty years later by the October League in spite of changed historical conditions: "The US is a multinational state. That is, within the borders of the US there exist several oppressed nations and national minorities ... It is the resolute duty of the proletariat ... to resolutely uphold in practice the right of all



historical development of black people in this century. The Black Belt nation has been destroyed by dispersion (less than 30% in the South), destruction of the peasantry and the bourgeoisie, industrialism and integration.

Today over 55% of Afro-Americans live outside the South, three fourths of Afro-Americans live in metropolitan areas. Minority workers make up 40% of the work force in certain sectors of the economy: the capitalists make a \$22 billion profit every year from the exploitation of black labor.

TROTS: DO YOUR OWN THING

Common to many incorrect positions on the "left" is a voluntarism which minimizes class struggle and passes over the only possible objective basis for black separatism -- the existence of a nation. For example, at their 1963 convention the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party embraced all forms of black nationalism on the following grounds: "What we advocate is the right of the Negro people to decide this question for themselves."

OCTOBER LEAGUE: BLACK NATION TODAY

oppressed nations to self-determination (including the right to secede and establish its own independent state)..." (O.L. May '72 program).

"C" P: NATIONALISM OF A NEW TYPE

One aspect of the "C" P reformist line is that black people can win dignity and full democratic rights by reforms under capitalism.

Other aspects of the revisionist position were fully outlined by Claude Lightfoot in a 1967 report to the National Conference of the "C" PUSA. Lightfoot argued an American Exceptionalist position: "In dealing with the American Negro we are dealing with a people that has a history different from any other people on earth, and to fully understand his make-up we must take into consideration that here color, race and oppression operate independently of Stalin's definition ... Certain national attributes that the Negro was evolving in his Black Belt experience could spill over when he came north."

RU: NATION OF A NEW TYPE

In the May Day 73 issue of "Revolution" Revolutionary Union summarized their updating of the autonomous nation line. As we have heard RU speakers talk out of both sides of their mouth on this subject, we quote in detail: "Blacks still constitute a nation within the US, but is has been transformed from an overwhelmingly peasant nation tied to the land to an overwhelmingly proletarian nation under new conditions. The territory of the Black nation, which includes all areas of Black concentration, exists within the same boundaries side by side with the white nation, ie. the continental US... To say that Black people are not a nation but a national minority is to deny the right of Black people to determine their own destiny ... We uphold the right of self-determination, the right to set up a separate state, autonomous region or some other form, but in the US, the possibility of self-determination could only become a

NATIONAL QUESTION (CONT.)

reality with the overthrow of monopoly capitalism". (our stress)

STOP PHRASEMONGERING

But this is very un-Marxist, a-priori, idealist phrasemongering and cannot stand up to the test of reality. It has its roots in the New Left and internal colony theory of the student movement of the 60's. It has at its basis the American Exceptionalist idea that black people in the US constitute a factor unique in Marxist analysis (keep in mind that in some capitalist European countries one third of the labor force are foreign or minority workers). When the Black nation ceases to exist and becomes a national minority one simply invents a new category to justify tailing separatism and narrow nationalism.

For a nation dominated by imperialism (eg. Vietnam) the struggle for national self determination is a revolutionary struggle. But if there is no nation, no multi-class internal economy, no territory, if the mass of black people form a key oppressed sector of the working class and people of a single nation, if there can be no progressive struggle for national independence -- what then? It is certain that, in such a situation, the O.L. and R.U. lines can only disrupt the militant movement of the Afro-American workers, encourage it to wear itself out in unreal struggle, and split it from the struggles of other sectors of the working class.

As a strategy workers and progressives cannot embrace an ideology which has its roots in the past and the petty bourgeoisie. However as a tactic it is of course correct to ally ("from the masses to the masses) with oppressed people when they are making progressive demands, although they make take certain nationalist forms. This means defending nationalists against attacks by the police state, clearly distinguishing the spontaneous nationalism of black people from white racism, and in trade unions when conditions dictate, building caucuses national in form and class in content, as well as integrated left caucuses.

The contradiction between the Black masses in the US and the US ruling circle is a class contradiction...The struggle of the Black people in the US is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the rule of the US monopoly class. Mao Tsetung

UNITE DON'T DIVIDE

What is at stake however is more than a polemic on the national question. The concrete effect of advocating separatism, the "right" of self determination and narrow nationalism within the US is to split the working class and progressive forces.

Imagine organizing exploited "white" workers on the line that what communism will offer you is deportation out of New York or Boston or Chicago to a socialist ghetto someplace else in the country, for you and your family are presently living and working on the site of the future black autonomous region.

Division can also only result from moralistic appeals by white radicals to white workers that they should in some way acknowledge that they are "less exploited" (a liberal theory not only in its sense of collective guilt, but in its non-Marxist misuse of the term exploitation without reference to surplus value). Blanket moral and idealist accusations by well-meaning radicals that white workers are "racist" without examining and overcoming their class fears about crime, drugs and unemployment ("where do incorrect ideas come from?") can only serve to divide. Fighting racism has nothing in common with liberal piety.

Uniting all who can be united against the capitalist corporate state cannot be accomplished by those who gloss over the fact that the majority of the American working class remains "white" (ie. many ethnic groups or national minorities), suffers exploitation, a

decling standard of living and economic insecurity, and has had a glorious, militant and violent history of class struggle.

WAY TO REVOLUTION

The Afro-American people as a whole (proletariat, petty bourgeoisie, students, professionals etc) are oppressed by capitalism and imperialism (a fact overlooked by the Trotskyite PLP). As minority Americans black people suffer racism, denial of human respect and common dignity. Black people are victimized by the police, are kept within slum ghettos, are denied vital social services.

All struggles in these areas are just, democratic and significant. Here the broadest front alliance amongst oppressed black people and other progressives should be formed; in addition existing progressive national forms of struggle should be supported. However as reforms in these areas can only be limited under capitalism, the cause of racism and oppression, these struggles must be guided by a Marxist Leninist perspective.

Black workers are hit most of all at the point of production. Black and other minority workers have played a leading role in the militant struggles of the US working class. Here is where the key fights will take place against capitalism, the corporate state and emerging fascism -- in trade unions and workers caucuses that are the natural united fronts of the working class, as well as in related areas where workers are oppressed in the communities and neighborhoods.

The industrialization and dispersion that has broken up the Jim Crow nation has again created conditions for united class struggle. Future articles in PV will deal with the history of black workers' struggle, with the unity achieved with other American workers, and with the role of a Marxist Leninist party in relating class struggle to the perspective of socialist revolution.

WATERGATE

"He produces anarchy itself in the name of order, by rubbing off from the whole machinery of government the veneer of sanctity, by profaning it, by rendering it at once nauseating and laughable."

(Marx on Napoleon III)

It is as if Martin Boorman was to be found and charged with a parking offense. Nixon faces "the most damaging political crisis of his career", not for bombing Vietnam and Cambodia, but for bugging Watergate. Nixon's spy satellites circle the globe every 90 minutes, the CIA has agents spying, killing, bribing and drug-running from Laos to Los Angeles; telephone tapping in the US is a growth industry. But when a rival faction of imperialist politicians gets bugged -- then the lid blows off. And when in self defense they all start washing each others dirty linen in public, the truth can be vaguely seen through the smoke of burning secret files.

From THE WORKER, publication of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist Leninist).

TENTH PARTY CONGRESS

WORKER CHOSEN VICE CHAIRMAN

Recently Chairman Mao Tse-tung presided at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China. At the first meeting of the new Central Committee, members of the Politburo were chosen, including Wang Hung-wen, a 36 year old textile worker from Shanghai, who was also elected one of the five Vice Chairmen; and Chen Yung-Kuei, a farmer and head of the model commune at Tachai. Only in a socialist country like China, where the workers and peasants hold state power, can working people be elected to the highest leadership positions.

POLITICAL REPORT

Chou En-lai delivered the political report, which stressed that "Lenin pointed out repeatedly that imperialism means aggression and war." At the present time the main feature of imperialism is rivalry or competition between the great powers that are striving for world hegemony.

Chou stated that "therefore on the international front our party must uphold proletarian internationalism ... strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the opp-



ressed people and nations of the whole world ... and form the broadest united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and in particular the two superpowers -- the US and the USSR.

CHINA SUPPORTS

NEW REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

Chou also affirmed the need to unite with "all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations throughout the world." The report emphasized the importance of correct political analysis: "If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained."