

THE COMMUNIST

"A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."

Mao Tse Tung - "Combat Liberalism" SW, Vol. II p.33

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ECONOMIC CRISIS DEEPENS

As we enter the spring of 1975, the grave economic and political crisis which has swept over the United States and the rest of the capitalist world is worsening. Even according to the apologists of capitalism the US economy is experiencing the deepest of its six "recessions" since World War II. No less than 8 million are unemployed even according to "official" statistics which are known for their underestimation of the actual facts. At the same time, inflation and the cost of living is rising at a record high rate of 14%. The working masses are in a deteriorating plight while the situation of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians and other minorities is even worse, as with the case of women and youth as well.

Coupled with the tremendous increase in unemployment and inflation are cutbacks in social services food stamps, medical care, and pension funds. Increasing attacks and repression against the oppressed nationalities and women and curtailment of democratic rights of immigrants are becoming commonplace. This only proves that all the talk of the "great American economy", the so-called "consumer society" where everyone is supposed to be middle class and prosperous is in reality, so much idle chatter. The US economy, a capitalist economy based on the exploitation of wage-labor, is nothing but a rotten and decaying thing--a giant with clay feet.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND OVERPRODUCTION CRISIS--A PERMANENT FEATURE OF "THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE"

According to the latest figures from the Department of Labor, unemployment in February was up to 8.2% (7,500,000) not counting 500,000 unemployed who have supposedly "stop looking for work." A study of the following table shows that since 1947 the unemployment figure has never dipped below 3% or approximately 2,500,000 workers:

Year	Employed population	Unemployed population	% of unemployment
1947	59 400 000	2 300 000	3.9
1953	63 000 000	1 800 000	2.9
1958	67 800 000	4 800 000	6.8
1969	80 700 000	2 800 000	3.5
1974 (Nov.)	85 700 000	5 979 000	6.5
1974 (Dec.)		6 500 000	7.1
1975 (Jan.)	91 000 000	7 500 000	8.2

(GRAMMA 2/23/75)

A further look will show that in the years 1953 and 1969, the periods of the Korean War and the Vietnam War respectively, unemployment reached its lowest point. This is because production for war and the drafting of workers who were sent to war had the effect of lessening the unemployment figure a



few percentage points. But even in these periods unemployment still remained in the millions. As the table also shows, the numbers of unemployed increased substantially after each war due to overproduction. And we are told that this proves the Economy has changed since the 1930's--"It can't happen again." This latest recession which began in the first quarter of 1974 has been admittedly greater than all the previous ones because not only have workers been laid off on a much greater scale but also because many plants have closed down altogether, mainly in the auto industry, the construction industry, the electrical machinery industry, the textile industry, and the consumer goods sector. And what's more, the slump in production has been accompanied by the highest rate of inflation in the country's history

In Detroit one out of six auto workers is unemployed. Unemployment among Black and other minority workers is even more alarming. The official figure for Black unemployment is now 16.5% and in cities like Detroit it is near 30%. The unemployment rate for Black teenagers and younger workers and veterans is near 40%.

INFLATION

The problem of double-digit inflation has added a new "twist" to the periodic overproduction crisis characteristic of capitalism. Last year the consumer price index rose 12.1%. Using 1967 figures as a base, this meant an overall increase of 150% in food prices, 165% in housing, and over a 100% increase in gas and fuel costs. Inflation strikes hard at both the unemployed and employed sectors of the proletariat. While it drives the unemployed worker into utter destitution and "welfare", it seriously curtails the purchasing power of the employed workers and cuts deep into wages. Therefore the gap between what workers produce and what they are paid and their ability to buy back the goods that they produce becomes wider and wider. The crisis deepens.

According to government statistics, the average worker's salary was \$145.00 per week in 1973, while his purchasing power was only \$93.00 per week. In July 1974, the average wage went up \$18 dollars. In the last two years, real wages, or purchasing power dropped over \$5.00.

Inflation, unemployment, recession and depression are all manifestations of the periodic crisis of overproduction inherent in capitalism. Long ago, the great Karl Marx proved that these things arise from the basic contradiction of the socialized nature of capitalist production and the private nature of appropriating what is produced, and the ability of production to far outstrip the ability of the masses to consume. Because industry is controlled by a handful of blood-suckers whose only interest is to make a maximum profit, production cannot be planned in a rational way and every five or six years the market becomes "glutted"--too many products cannot be sold. Workers are thrown into the streets which forces down the wages of other workers which further restricts the

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CRISIS DEEPENS

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market. Factories close down, products are wasted and even consciously destroyed, bankruptcies occur, and this cycle is repeated over and over again until capitalism itself is overthrown by the conscious activity of the proletariat led by its party.

FORD, THE DEMOCRATS, AND THE LABOR TRAITORS--SAME FACE, DIFFERENT MASKS

The government of the United States is a government of the super rich. Republicans and Democrats and the labor bureaucrats who support them all view things from the point of view of how best to preserve the interest of the big bankers and industrialists. This is especially true in times of crisis when the ruling class has to find better ways of shifting the burden of the crisis on to the backs of the working class and oppressed peoples.

All the lackeys of the ruling class today for instance are calling for "greater sacrifices" and "belt tightening". The American people can no longer expect to live in the "old way" they say. The ruling class has begun a grandiose ideological campaign in order to get the masses to accept more suffering than they are already enduring. From Ford's "grow your own vegetables" to Leonard Woodcock's "buy an American car" scheme, and the companies "rebate" deals, to the concerted effort to place the blame for the crisis on the Arabs, a great mystique is being built up about the nature of the crisis and its cure. Actually there is no mystery at all and the masses do not fall for those who want to make mysterious that which they feel on their backs every day.

Ruling class strategy during the present crisis is no different now than it was in the days of the great capitalist "hope" FDR. The capitalists have relied on the ideas of John Maynard Keynes, a British economist, who said that in order to prevent economic crisis the capitalist state must intervene by supporting and subsidizing monopoly profits and bail out companies that have gone bankrupt. An example of this is the Penn Central Railroad which went bankrupt, and was then reorganized and funded by the Federal Government.

Despite the severity of the economic crisis, the profits of the big monopolies and the size of the military budget--the real "nut" of Ford's "plan" is the highest in history.

Ford has come up with a so-called "plan" to solve the crisis, and the Democrats are following suit. In reality both Ford's plan and the one the Democrats are proposing will make matters worse. Ford's "Energy Bill" for example would raise the price of imported oil \$3.00 dollars a barrel at a cost to the masses of about \$750 a year in additional gas and fuel bills. Though the Democrats supposedly "oppose" this, their plan would also raise the price of fuel oil and gasoline at least an additional 15¢ a gallon by raising the price of domestic oil. With either

"plan" the effect is the same--higher fuel costs for the consumer and a further deterioration in their standard of living. This also provides a guaranteed prop for the oil companies super-profits.

The so-called "tax-rebate" is another example. Ford's "tax plan" would rebate up to \$1,000 of 1974 income taxes to upper-income and capitalist elements while only "rebating" \$200 dollars to the vast majority of people who earn less than \$20,000 a year. While the Democrats may add a few pennies more at the cost of increased taxes this year, neither ruling class party is calling for increased taxes on the rich or curtailing unheard of profits.

Nearly 50% of Ford's budget for fiscal 1976 is being outlayed for military spending. Military spending will increase from 85 billion in fiscal 1975 to 94 billion for fiscal 1976--an increase of 9 billion dollars! The deficit which will result from this fantastic increase will be 51 billion dollars--nearly a billion dollars a week. Most of the profits from this "defense spending" goes to the same monopolies who control the government.

Moreover, the big oil companies who have gone to such lengths to create an artificial oil shortage, companies like Exxon, Tenaco, Shell, and Gulf, alone claimed profit increase between 100 to 1200% in 1974. Also because of the contrived "sugar" shortage of 1974, giant sugar monopolies like Amstar

and Great Western reported profit increases of up to 400% last year.

Other big monopoly industries like Steel, Coal, and paper and agri-business have also reported tremendous increases in profits in the "recession" year 1974. Armco Steel for example, reported an increase of 92% profit in the last quarter of 1974. Borden reported a 22% increase, Campbell's Soup 15%, H. J. Heinz 19% and General Mills 11%. On the whole the profits of the biggest 200 corporations averaged 54% higher in the last quarter of 1974. This only proves that in "good" times as well as bad, the giant monopolies that dominate the economic life of the country and control the state, are determined to make super-profits at the expense of the people.

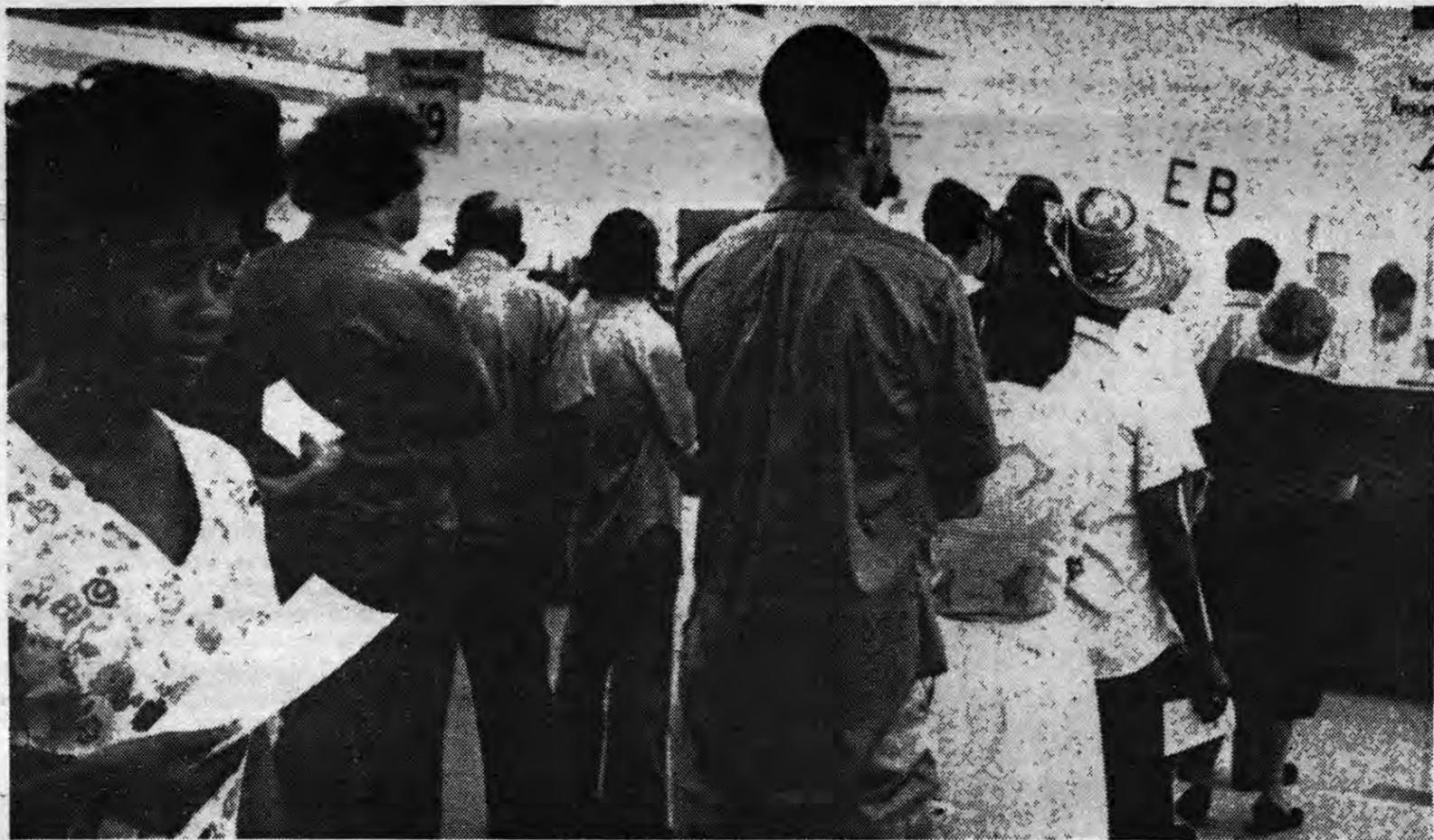
This does not mean, however, that many companies, even certain monopolies, suffer from a reduction in profits, since the number of exploited workers drops sharply, due to the tremendous unemployment.

WHERE THERE IS REPRESSION THERE IS RESISTANCE

As we stated previously, while US capitalism plunges deeper into crisis, the strategy of the ruling class is to make working people bear the burden. But the masses of people are increasingly coming to know this and are looking for a way out. For instance, 1974 witnessed the greatest strike wave of the proletariat since World War II. Even if we look at statistics pro-



The Situation Is Even Worse Than The Statistics, Which Are Bad



vided by the Labor Department, an agency of the bourgeoisie itself, we can see that no less than 5,600 strikes took place in 1974. This is a "record number" according to the department and 540 more than in 1973.

Just about every sector and category of work was affected-- auto, steel, communications, transportation, office and clerical as well as agriculture. All told, nearly 3 million workers took part in strikes in 1974, over 600,000 more than in 1973. Over 48 million work days were lost in 1974, twice the number lost in 1973 (27 million).

Most significant was that many of the strikes occurred in large scale industry. A large number of strikes took place in plants where there were more than 10,000 workers (like the one at McDonnell Douglas involving 17,500 workers which is still in progress). Another was the independent truckers strike in February which involved over 100,000 workers in 42 states, the Coal Miners' strike in March involving 20,000 workers, the garment workers' strike involving 110,000 in June, and the second and third coal miners' strikes in August and November. As a result of these strikes alone, nearly 7 million work days were lost. Again it should be noted that these figures do not nearly represent the total number of workers' strikes such as strikes by non-union workers, service workers, wild-cat strikes and many other small-scale actions. Therefore the strike-wave was much deeper and broader than the figures reflect.

The growth and depth of the economic struggles of the workers is a clear sign of the growing militancy of the class. These economic struggles have not yet been turned into conscious political struggles with the strategic aim of abolishing capitalism and achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is due to the reformist influences of the labor bureaucrats who as we discussed in

the article on the UAW in this issue are trying to maneuver in order to maintain their leadership in the face of tremendous pressure from the rank in file, and due to the absence of a mass line and a genuine Communist Party capable of winning over the vanguard of the workers and uniting the whole class under a revolutionary program, in unbreakable unity with the heroic struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world.

In order for the working class struggle to go beyond the boundaries set for it by the bourgeoisie, the labor aristocrats, the modern revisionists of the "C" PUSA, and Trotskyites and opportunists of all hues, what is needed is a genuine revolutionary party guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, a party which is connected to the masses of people like flesh on bone. Marxism-Leninism is that guiding light which can illuminate the path that the struggle must follow, but it must be integrated with American conditions, with the practical activity of the revolutionary movement, and not treated as dogma with ready-made recipes for each and every question. Without a revolutionary theory that is integrated with the actual conditions of the U.S., there can be no revolutionary movement in the U.S. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung have given us the weapon of Marxism-Leninism. Our task is to learn how to use this weapon correctly.

REFORM AND REVOLUTION

In carrying forth the fight to overthrow capitalism the fight to take up the immediate issues such as the fight against inflation, the fight for jobs, the fight against police repression is key.

In taking up struggles for immediate demands, our view is radically different from those of reformers of all stripes --- from lying politicians like Ted Kennedy,

who say that things are going to get better to labor misleaders who tell us like Leonard Woodcock to cast our case upon liberal capitalist politicians and they will take care of us. For the reformer the starting point is that capitalism is the best of all possible systems and he takes for granted the permanence of the capitalist system. Our view starts from the point of view that capitalism is the source of the bitter oppression and exploitation of the masses and that to rid ourselves of this oppression and exploitation we must rid ourselves of capital. That is our starting point. And for one moment to forget this while taking up the fight for the day to day demands would be like stepping over a quarter to pick up a nickel.

Beset with internal contradictions and deep all around crises, imperialism and social imperialism are heading towards their doom. The forces of revolution -- of national liberation, of women's rights, of genuine democracy, led by the working class are delivering blow after relentless blow against the forces of reaction and imperialism. In the United States in particular, the time is not far off when the many struggles of the people, the struggle for women's equality, against racial and national discrimination, against police repression, the struggle against deportations, the struggle for decent housing, education and medical care, against imperialist wars and U.S. exploitation of other nations and peoples, and the struggle against capitalism itself, will merge into one mighty current, break the boundaries set down by bourgeois law, and wipe capitalism away forever, despite all the efforts of politicians, trade union bureaucrats, revisionists and opportunists of every variety to contain them.

LENIN ON INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY

Since 1910 the international working class movement has honored the struggles of women for equality and for the liberation of the entire proletariat on March 8. This holiday was inspired by a demonstration held on that date in 1908, when thousands of working women took to the streets in New York City to protest sweatshop conditions, child labor, and to demand the vote.

We are reprinting an article written for International Working Women's Day by V.I. Lenin in 1921 in honor of this glorious holiday.

In contrast to the bourgeois feminists, who hold that women's oppression can be ended under capitalism, Lenin puts forward a revolutionary position, linking the struggle of women for emancipation with the struggle of the proletariat for communism. In another article written in 1920, Lenin wrote: "THE PROLETARIAT CANNOT ACHIEVE COMPLETE FREEDOM, UNLESS IT ACHIEVES COMPLETE FREEDOM FOR WOMEN."



The main and fundamental thing in Bolshevism and in the Russian October Revolution is the drawing into politics of precisely those who were most oppressed under capitalism.



These were oppressed, deceived and robbed by the capitalists under a monarchy as well as in democratic bourgeois republics. This oppression, this deception and this filching the toil of the people by the capitalists were inevitable as long as the private ownership of the land, the factories and works existed.

The essence of Bolshevism, the essence of Soviet power, lies in exposing the fraud and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy, in abolishing the private ownership of the land, the factories and works, and in concentrating all political power in the hands of the toilers and the exploited masses. These masses are taking politics, i.e., the work of building the new society, into their own hands. This is a difficult task; the masses are downthodden and oppressed by capitalism, but there is no other way out of wage slavery, of slavery to the capitalists, nor can there be any other way out.

And it is impossible to draw the masses into politics without also drawing in the women; for under capitalism, the female half of the human race suffers under a double yoke. The working woman and the peasant woman are oppressed by capital, but in addition to that, even in the most democratic of bourgeois republics, they are, first, in an inferior position because the law denies them equality with men, and secondly, and this is most important, they are "in domestic slavery," they are "domestic slaves." crushed by the most petty, most menial, most arduous and most stultifying work in the kitchen, and by isolated domestic, family economy in general.

The Bolshevik, Soviet Revolution cuts at the roots of the oppression and inferiority of women more deeply than any party or any revolu-

tion in the world has dared to do. Not a trace of inequality between men and women before the law has been left in Soviet Russia. The particularly base, despicable and hypocritical inequality of marital and family rights, inequality in relation to the child, has been completely abolished by the Soviet government.

This is only the first step towards the emancipation of women. But not a single bourgeois republic, even the most democratic, has dared to take even this first step. They dared not do so out of fear of "the sacred right of private property."

The second and principal step was the abolition of the private ownership of the land, the factories and works. This, and this alone, opens the way for the complete and real emancipation of women, their emancipation from "domestic slavery", by passing from the petty, individual, domestic economy to large-scale social economy.

This transition is a difficult one, for it is a matter of remolding the most deep-rooted, habitual, case-hardened and ossified "system" (it would be more true to say, "outrage and barbarism" and not "system"). But the transition has been started. Things have begun to move, we have started out on the new path.

On International Working Women's Day, in all countries in the world, at innumerable meetings of working women, greetings will be addressed to Soviet Russia, which has started on unprecedentedly difficult and arduous, but great, universally great, and really liberating work. Encouraging appeals will be made not to lose heart in face of the raging and often brutal bourgeois reaction. The more "free" or "democratic" the bourgeois country is, the more the gang of capitalists rave and commit their brutalities against the workers' revolution. An example of this is the democratic republic of the United States of America. But the masses of the workers have already awakened. The imperialist war has finally roused these slumbering, half-asleep, conservative masses in America, in Europe and backward Asia.

The ice has broken in all parts of the world.

The emancipation of the peoples from the yoke of imperialism, the emancipation of the workers, men and women, from the yoke of capital, is moving irresistibly forward. This cause is being advanced by scores and hundreds of millions of working men and women and peasant men and women. That is why this cause of the emancipation of labor from the yoke of capital will triumph the world over.

(LENIN, INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY, 1921).

SOLIDARITY WITH DHOFAR

On February 1, 1975, a solidarity conference regarding the struggle in the Persian Gulf was held in Chicago, Illinois.

Nearly 600 people from various revolutionary organizations, anti-imperialist groups, students, workers, oppressed nationalities and progressive persons amassed to express solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle in the PERSIAN GULF, with specific support for the people's struggle in Dhofar and Oman. This struggle has been waged for over 9 years, and is led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO).

Dhofar is a province in



Southern Oman. Oman is located on the lower edge of the Persian Gulf and is ruled by the brutal Sultan Qaboos and his imperialistic British masters, who give him the absolute right to deny the people all rights. Even the rights to wear eyeglasses, to eat fruit, to wear "western slacks" were denied to the people by Sultan Qaboos, who came to power by overthrowing his father. Before the ongoing struggle currently being waged by the people, Dhofar and Oman had no schools, no hospitals, no doctors, no electricity, no water supply system, nothing but oppression. Slavery as a system still existed. There was only one road in the entire country. There was fabulous profit, super-profit, for the imperialist dogs and hell for the masses.

But in the mountains of Dhofar, in 1965, armed struggle broke out. The revolutionary movement developed. The people made a move. Liberation fighters armed only with old weapons and a minimum of ammunition scored hard-fought victory after hard-fought victory, while simultaneously gaining the support of the peasantry and former slaves. By 1968, the western part of Dhofar was liberated and by 1971 over 90% of the rural areas and a few major cities were liberated. Shell Oil Company which owned most of the oil contracts in Oman and Dhofar was forced to close its Dhofar operations. By this time, the struggle

had spread to Northern Oman.

CHICAGO CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL

The Chicago Conference on the Dhofar-Oman struggle was not only one of solidarity but an educational one as well, sponsored by

Iranian Students Association, Organization of Arab Students, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, New World Resource Center, Workers Viewpoint (formerly Asian Study Group), Revolutionary Union, Black Workers Congress, Revolutionary Student Brigade, Union of Democratic Filipinos, and the Illinois Committee for Freedom and Democracy for Greece.

In recent months the U.S. imperialists have intensified their propaganda attack, fat-mouthing in the press about the measures it will take to maintain its so-called great society, U.S. imperialism, from stagnation -- namely to wage war on the people of the Middle East.

The conference attempted to explain why the Middle East may very well become the next Vietnam. There was much discussion about the strategic importance of the Middle East. The fact is that 2/3 of the world's proven oil reserves are in the Middle East and 60% of those oil reserves are contained in the Gulf. The Gulf supplies 90% of Japan's oil and 55% of Western Europe's. By 1980, the U.S. will depend on the Gulf region for up to 60% of its oil imports. The Middle East is also highly important because of its geographic location designating it as the gateway to Africa, Asia and Europe.

In the workshop on the International situation one speaker emphasized the necessity, in viewing the world situation in general and the Middle East specifically, to keep in mind that one of the basic features of imperialism is the bitter tit for tat struggle between the so-called great powers to re-divide the already divided-up world.

It was further pointed out that the Superpowers contending for hegemony today are the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The Middle East is one of their main focal points, the U.S. because oil has become its imperialist life-blood, and the Soviet Union, because of its all-around restoration of capitalism, has the same imperialist aim, viewing Middle East Oil as a strategic paradise.

U.S. imperialism, which has greatly weakened, has to rely on its last ace to maintain its hold over Japan, in particular, and the European Common Market countries. That "ace" is oil, the most vital food in the diet of modern industry.

Soviet Social Imperialism, on the other hand, has called oil "international property" because of its strategic importance to modern society, indicating that imperialism has the right and duty to exploit the people and resources of the Middle East.

The Soviet Social Imperialists know what the Gulf means for the U.S. and is therefore trying to

establish its own hegemony in the area. The U.S.S.R. also needs to extend its control in this region in order to meet the growing needs of its so-called allies; in fact, its Eastern European possessions. As well, they also feel it necessary to pacify the Middle East in order to further penetrate the market of Western Europe, with low-cost Middle East oil, in rivalry with the U.S. for control of Europe.

Another speaker pointed out the role of the Shah of Iran plays in the Gulf. The Shah came to power in 1953, by a CIA sponsored coup. Since then, he has been supplied with over ten billion dollars worth of sophisticated US military armaments. It was emphasized that the Shah is the chief policeman in the Gulf. His role must be seen in light of the Nixon-Kissinger Doctrine, which in Vietnam meant "Let Asians fight Asians". In the Gulf it has meant "Have Iranians fight Arabs" -- namely the PFLO.

The Shah has dispatched over 30,000 of his troops to Oman to try to assist Qaboos in keeping the Omani people "in their place," using every murderous method possible, such as poisoning the water supply in Dhofar's liberated area and using napalm.

It was also pointed out that the Shah's attack on the people's movement as the chief puppet and protector of US imperialists in the Gulf, is 100% US backed, encouraged with the latest US military equipment. It was further stressed that the US will eventually move to direct intervention in the area -- if the puppet Shah cannot be successful in crushing the movement there.

The conference emphasized the importance of the need to rally the masses of American people to support the people's struggle in the Gulf and to demand -- SHAH OUT OF OMAN -- US IMPERIALISM OUT OF THE GULF!

The struggle going on in Oman and Dhofar shows that the "wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." Revolution is the main trend in the world today.

*This shameless theory was run by the Soviet Social Imperialists in 1972 at the UN Industrial Development Board, and in 1973 at the meeting of the Sea-Bed Committee in Geneva. It provoked such righteous indignation among the representatives of the Third World countries and caused such embarrassment when it was exposed in the pages of PEKING REVIEW (see nos. 39 and 40, 1973), that the Soviet revisionists were forced to back down. In April 1974, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko repeatedly claimed that the U.S.S.R. upholds the "principle of sovereignty" at the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Raw Materials and Development. But though they've cleaned up their act in words, the Social Imperialists continue to plunder and trample on the national rights of the peoples of the Third World and Eastern Europe.



LONG LIVE THE PARIS COMMUNE!

On March 18, 1871, exactly 104 years ago, the first working class revolution took place in Paris, France. This revolution, which Lenin called "...the greatest example of the greatest proletarian revolution of the 19th century," is THE PARIS COMMUNE. Genuine Communists the world over commemorate the anniversary of the Paris Commune not only because of the heroic deeds of the workers who fought and died there, but also to continue to bring to light the valuable experiences and many lessons that this struggle has for the revolutionary working class movement of today.

ORIGINS OF THE COMMUNE

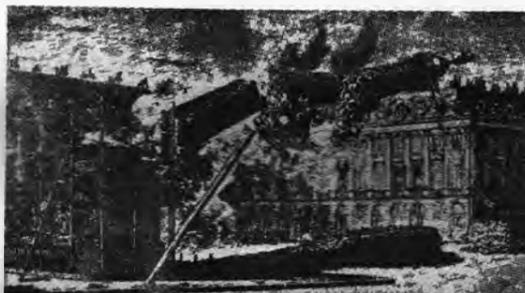
The Paris Commune was the consequence of both the class struggle in France between the years 1848-1871 and the Franco-German War which broke out in 1870. Due to the expansionist aims of the French bourgeoisie, which wanted to seize a part of the German side of the Rhine river in order to expand the "French Empire", a war was launched which ended with the complete victory of Germany in less than eight weeks.

The International Workingmen's Association, led by Marx and Engels, issued a manifesto four days after the war broke out (July 29, 1870), calling for the international solidarity of the workers of both countries. The manifesto blamed both the French and German ruling classes for the war. The manifesto also stated that though Germany had been attacked first, the German rulers were planning on turning a war of defense into a war of conquest of the French people as a whole.

As Germany was preparing to march against Paris, the Parisian National Guard, composed mostly of workers, overthrew the sell-out government of Adolphe Thiers, which, fearing the workers more than the Germans, was preparing to turn the city over to Bismark --- the commander of the German forces. After overthrowing the traitorous French government, the workers issued the following proclamation: "The proletarians of Paris amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling class, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs."²

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE UPRISING

In spite of their greatly outnumbered forces the communards



Pulling down monument to French Emperor to make bullets



National Guard tell corrupt politicians that the people are taking over.

were able to hold out for over three months (72 days). They set up a worker's government with a people's militia, reduced the wages of all government functionaries to the level of workers, established free and general elections, "burned the guillotine," and, as a symbol of their internationalism, adopted as their flag the red banner of the international proletariat. As Lenin stated:

"The Commune is the first attempt by a proletarian revolution to SMASH the bourgeois state machine, and it is the political form "at last discovered" by which the smashed state machine can and must be replaced."³

This is a far cry from the preachings of "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful transition to socialism" of the Soviet imperialists and Communist Party USA revisionists, who shamelessly turn their backs on this key lesson of the Paris Commune.

But the Commune also suffered from many mistakes and shortcomings. One of these, perhaps the most important, was the lack of a revolutionary Communist Party guided by Marxist theory--an absolute necessity for the correct leadership as well as the consolidation of the revolution. History has afforded us no examples of a victorious proletarian revolution which did not have a genuine Communist Party at its head. The absence of a Communist Party guided by revolutionary Marxism was due in no small part to the influence and line of the "Blanquists," and the anarchist, Bakunin. The anarchists denied the necessity of a worker's party and government in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and preached spontaneity in its place. This line helped disarm the workers in the face of the organized strength of the bourgeoisie.

Another weakness of the Commune was that it failed to thoroughly eliminate the forces of counter-revolution (failed to seize the funds of the Bank of France and arrest the members of the overthrown government). Additionally the workers failed to mobilize workers and especially peasants in the other parts of France, thus leading to their isolation. Marx said that an insurrection was not something to play with and once it is launched it must be carried out ruthlessly.

After a long and bloody battle, the Communards, in the face of overwhelming odds, were crushed. Over 30,000 workers--women and children

included--were murdered. Another 45,000 were arrested and thousands more exiled.

VALUABLE LESSONS FOR TODAY'S STRUGGLE

The historical lessons of the Commune are especially significant today when the working class is still waging a life-and-death struggle against the forces of reaction--imperialism and social imperialism, opportunism and modern revisionism. The modern-day traitors to the working class are seeking to divert the proletariat from its world historic mission in abolishing capitalism and imperialism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are seeking to prevent the advanced forces of the proletariat from building a genuine Communist Party in the United States, by advocating such nonsense as a "party of the whole people" which works for "peaceful change through the ballot box." These elements along with the modern-day anarchists, "Bakuninists," and trotskyites are joining hands with the ruling classes of all reactionary countries to crush the workers' movement.



LOUISE MICHEL

HORTENSE DAVID

They led armed women's brigades in defense of the Commune.

But the genuine socialist countries like the People's Republic of China and Albania are leading the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces and parties throughout the world in struggle against imperialism and opportunism. In these countries and among genuine communists the ideals of the Paris Commune are being put into practice. The spirit of struggle and self-sacrifice which was embodied in the Paris Commune over 104 years ago, is also embodied in the struggles of the American working people. Inevitably, working people here too will rise up and strike the final death blow to all the forces of reaction and evil. The masses and the masses alone are the real makers of history.

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- 1 Lenin- "State and Revolution"
- 2 Marx and Engels- "Civil War in France"
- 3 Ibid(I)



The first decree of the Commune abolished the draft and armed the people.

U.A.W.: WORKERS RALLY, LEADERS SELL OUT

On February 5th, the UAW leaders mobilized 10,000 auto workers to demand jobs at the very 'halls of Congress'. What was the political significance of this rally?

First of all, over 300,000 auto workers have been thrown into the street by the big auto companies. At Chrysler alone, well over 50% of its total workforce has been laid off indefinitely or permanently. If we examine the situation in Detroit, the heart of the auto industry, we see that the masses of workers are shouldering incredible burdens and sacrifices. Unemployment is listed officially at 15.8% in the general metropolitan area, and actually rising towards 30-40% in the inner-city. There are at least 500,000 people receiving welfare or some form of public assistance, and there are literally tens of thousands of new applicants each month, as many former workers exhaust their unemployment benefits and turn to Welfare assistance. Long lines stretching for blocks are common sights at unemployment centers, welfare offices, and food stamp centers, with hundreds of people lining up outside in the cold as early as four or five in the morning.

THE UAW RALLY AND THE QUESTION OF SUB FUNDS.

The actions of the UAW bureaucracy in Washington must be looked at in light of the state of the supplemental benefit funds to be really understood. Woodcock and Co. went begging to the liberal Democrats to solve the workers' problems and spoke of a national unemployment compensation plan that would make SUB unnecessary. While this scheme has been put forth to the liberal bourgeoisie the SUB payments moved closer and closer to bankruptcy and not a word was mentioned of organizing a militant struggle to secure the benefits, i.e. the sub funds, the workers had assumed would be theirs should they be laid off. What is the actual state of the SUB payments?

Both Chrysler and GM's SUB fund are practically broke. When the monies in these funds are gone the laid off workers face the prospect of receiving no further supplemental benefits under the present contract. In an article in the Detroit Free Press on February 26, 1975, Arthur Hughes (administrative assistant to UAW Vice-President Douglas Fraser) stated: "The Chrysler Corp. SUB fund for UAW represented salaried workers will run out in mid-March" and that, the hourly SUB fund would run out in late March or April. Chrysler has 2,000 salaried or "white collar" workers and 51,000 hourly or "blue collar" workers on indefinite

layoffs. At GM the picture is not much better. In the March issue of SOLIDARITY (the UAW official newspaper) Vice President for General Motors, Irving Bluestone, states that: "by mid-May the fund could be depleted."

Before the massive layoffs hit the auto industry workers believed that if they were laid off, at least they could count on receiving supplemental benefits (a contractually agreed upon mechanism designed to supplement state unemployment benefits which together would equal 95% of the workers' regular take-home pay). The UAW leadership deliberately promoted this illusion. For example, in the "Chrysler Newsgram" circulated by the union leadership to convince the workers to ratify the 1973 contract it

The message is clear. The union bureaucrats Woodcock, Fraser, Bluestone and Bannon, as well as the auto company management, do not have the slightest intention of satisfying the workers' demands or protecting their living standards. "Sorry workers, its just too bad the SUB funds will be running out pretty soon, too bad we conned you into counting on them. Maybe if we pressure Congress as well as bargain, we'll make progress. Maybe the liberal Democrats will have pity on us and will get unemployment compensation paid by the government so that SUB won't be needed -- wouldn't that be nice?" This is the so-called "strategy" that the labor misleaders say will save the day.



UAW demonstration reflected the alliance between the labor aristocracy and the "liberal" bourgeoisie, and clearly showed that Woodcock and co. are the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

was stated that: "UAW gained substantial increase in financing of the SUB plan by Chrysler. This continues the union's efforts to firm up the financial security of laid off workers." (p. 5). Woodcock and Co. systematically lulled the workers into a false sense of security with empty promises. They must do this as they have systematically avoided organizing the growing anger of the rank and file, who know that only through struggle can they really secure the benefits they counted on.

THE REAL AIMS OF WOODCOCK AND CO.

The response of the trade union bureaucrats to the crisis in the auto industry has been one of lobbying with the liberal Democrats in order to get some more crumbs thrown at the workers, while "pressuring" the companies to negotiate and "compromise". For example, at GM, Vice President Bluestone has such a "compromise". General Motors has agreed to cover workers' Bluecross payments (which are contractually tied to SUB benefits) in exchange for no struggle over the SUB payments themselves. A splendid "compromise". A thief robs you taking your car worth \$3500 and your TV worth \$350, he is caught and "compromises." You get the TV back if you won't bother him about the car!

These are the depths to which the "leaders" of the UAW have sunk. They collaborate with the workers' exploiters to further impoverish the workers. Under the cover of great talk of national reforms they attempt to convince the workers to accept greater poverty and insecurity so as not to anger those who have grown rich at the workers' expense.

The demand for a national unemployment compensation system which would in fact make SUB unnecessary and aid the entire working class is a just demand. All UAW members, employed as well as laid off would favor such action. However, this demand is one that cannot possibly be won by the action of UAW members alone. Neither can this demand be won by going begging to the liberal Democrats or by relying on anything but the workers struggle and unity themselves. This demand speaks to the condition of the entire working class. A reform of this nature, of this scope, would only be won through militant and determined struggle. It is obvious that the misleaders in the UAW are once again trying to lull their members to sleep with false and empty promises.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

MAKE THE CA



The workers of the UAW, particularly the politically active advanced workers, must not allow Woodcock and Co. to use sweet words about a "national unemployment insurance" as a sugar coating for the bitter pill of exhausted SUB funds! A struggle must be organized to protect the living standards of the thousands of UAW members now laid off and the thousands still working who will eventually join them as the crisis deepens. Some workers are saying that the contract itself needs to be reopened in order to re-negotiate the SUB fund agreements. Others say that this measure is prohibited by the Taft-Hartley Act and therefore should not be done. Though we have no position on this question now, it is a serious concrete step which needs to be taken seriously, Taft-Hartly or no Taft-Hartly.

Some say it is foolish to talk of re-opening the auto contract now when the companies have such large inventories and so many workers unemployed. Certainly these factors present relatively unfavorable conditions under which to renegotiate an important part of a contract. The objective conditions brought on by the economic crisis must be taken into account, this is true. Conditions for gaining real SUB protection were far better when the 1973 contract was negotiated. Auto workers should hold Woodcock and Co. responsible for the fact that after a one-week, phoney strike such a miserable agreement was forced down the members' throats.

However to talk only of retreat in the face of difficulties is defeatism, pessimism. Sometimes an army beset with difficulties must plan a counteroffensive to prevent a further deterioration of their condition. If the auto workers simply accept the defeat of the bankrupt SUB funds, how can they rally the strength to resist further attacks which are sure to follow? A complete retreat on the SUB question will shatter the bonds that remain between the unemployed and employed workers in the UAW. This will only further weaken the workers' ability to struggle against future difficulties.

It may also be said that it would be selfish or narrow-minded for the auto workers to struggle over SUB payments when so many other workers in different

industries have no SUB benefits at all. And it is true that the auto workers are a little better off than other workers in having the SUB payments. However, in another sense the condition of the auto workers is not unique in the sense that they like millions of other unemployed workers are faced with the elimination of a contract benefit. Not through any technical violation of the contract but as a result of the exploitive and limited nature of the contract itself. This is not qualitatively different, not different in essence, than the situation of workers who are experiencing wage-cuts, loss of holidays, pension funds, etc. Different sectors of the workers are feeling the effects of the crisis in different ways and to varying degrees, but the entire working class (with the exception of the labor aristocrats) is being forced to bear the burden.

To argue that workers should not struggle over demands in their particular unions, that they should only struggle for class-wide, national demands, is "leftism" -- the subjective wish for class-wide struggle not based on a concrete understanding of the particular stage the struggle has reached and the steps through which it must pass in order to get to the stage of class-wide or nationwide struggle. For example, nation-wide unemployment insurance at a living level for all cannot be mistaken for something which can come about quickly since it is much more difficult to organize and requires the united action of at least the majority of the workers, than a struggle inside a particular union. On the other hand it would be "right" opportunism to limit the struggle to the demands which speak to particular sections of the workers or individuals unions, demands which would tend to make some workers more privileged and comfortable than others. The point is that the struggle of workers in particular unions and industries (the main character of the present struggles) must be broadened and linked to the struggle of the working class as a whole. Just like the struggle for immediate demands (jobs, higher wages, etc.) must be linked to the struggle for ultimate demands (the struggle for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat). Only in this way can the struggles

of the workers become a class-conscious political struggle directed not so much against an individual employer or union, but the capitalist state itself.

Woodcock and Co. will not face the loss of their cars and homes when the SUB funds run out. Nor will they stop eating steak and jet-setting to Miami. They do not face the problems the workers face because they do not lead the lives of workers. They are not workers themselves. They are nothing but -- "agents of the capitalists in the working class movement . . . labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." (Lenin). That is, they are bought off, corrupt lackeys of the capitalist class in general, and the auto companies in



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MENT, POINTING OUT THAT WE MUST
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TIME WE MUST OPPOSE IMPERIALIST

particular. They don't have the slightest intention of risking their very comfortable positions to lead the workers in a determined struggle either on a national scale or within their own union. They try to lead the workers to the Democratic party, the so-called "party of the little man" instead, hoping for a few insignificant "reforms". They can go no further.

If this isn't the meaning of these traitor's actions, then Woodcock and Co. must have done the quickest turnabout known to man, because all up

PITALISTS PAY!

and down the country this same Mr. Woodcock has been defending the auto companies even better than GM's Chairman, Thomas Murphy, Henry Ford II, Chrysler's Chairman Lynn Townsend. On Jan. 26th, just ten days before Woodcock turned into a "militant" in D.C. along with such imperialists as Kennedy, he ran on national TV (MEET THE PRESS) the following sob story for the big three: "The auto companies profit margins have been paper thin for more than a year . . . You can't cut prices if you're losing money on every car that is sold. . . that there were some 240,000 automobile workers on the jobless rolls this week . . . that cutting car prices would probably help sell some cars and increase employment, but it

generally downward. Even the more slow moving consumer price index was beginning to move upward more slowly. It is reasonable to expect further progress." (DETROIT NEWS, 2/9/1975).

Can anyone tell us the difference between the views of Mr. Woodcock, Professor McCrahen, and Mr. Murphy? All are outright liars. On Jan. 26th GM had 93,000 workers out on the street. Today in March, just ten days before spring arrives, GM has 130,000 workers out on the street, almost 40,000 more than in Jan. Yet the "worst is over". And of course Woodcock, the leader of one of our biggest unions, the UAW, cries crocodile tears for the "profit margin" of the auto companies and in reality tells us that there is nothing we can do about walking the street jobless and hungry, except maybe one thing. The working class has no concern with the guaranteeing of monopoly profit at its own expense. Let's take a look at what these traitors want us to do

Despite bad weather, consisting of snowstorms and freezing temperatures workers flocked from all over the country full of spirit and fight ready to demand jobs now. Over 50 bus loads came from Detroit alone. Over 1,500 people came from the New Jersey/New York area, and some came from as far away as California and Georgia. It didn't take Woodcock and Fraser long to let the workers know what they had in mind for them to do. Woodcock shouted and accused the Republicans of planning a recession as a way out of their present overproduction crisis.

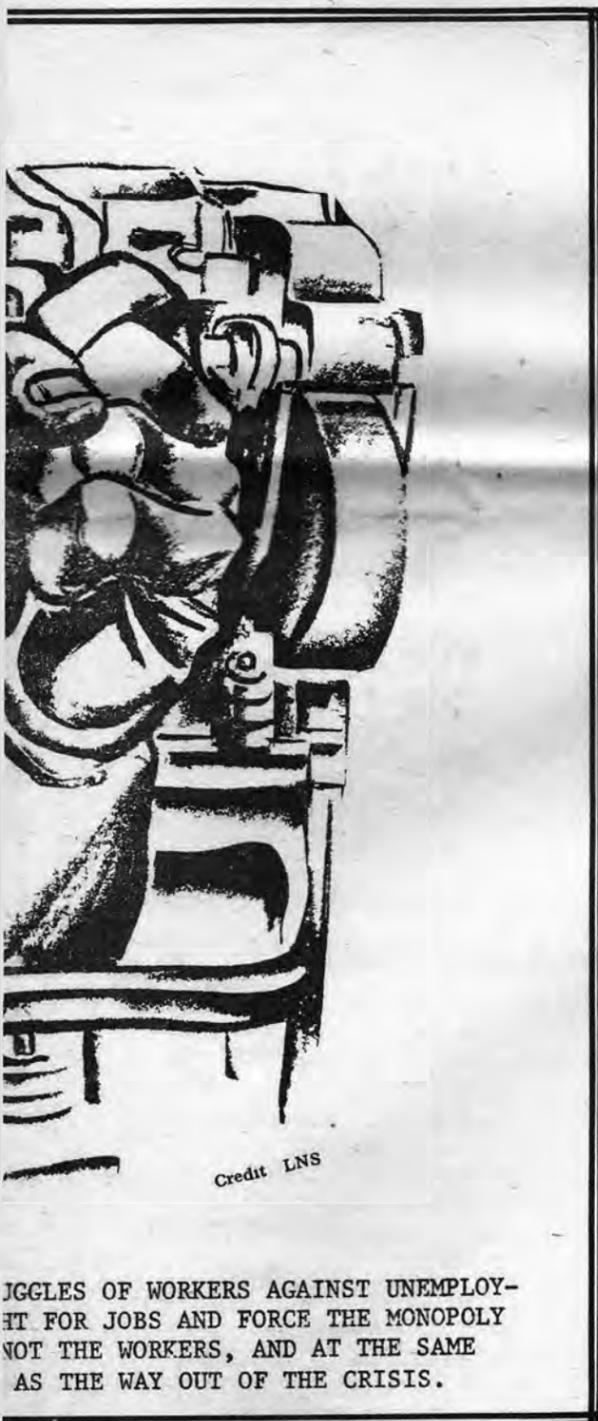
Woodcock and co. are also joining with the imperialists in their plans for imperialist war. They are aiding in the drive by the imperialists to whip up chauvinism and reaction towards the oppressed peoples of Asia Africa and the Middle East. They are pushing a protectionist "Buy America" scheme screaming about the foreign workers who "steal" American jobs (see for example the Burke-Hartke bill now being pushed through Congress).

It is with the crumbs, the morsels of loot obtained from imperialist "Great Power" looting and privileges that the monopoly capitalists can bribe the likes of Woodcock and Fraser to do the filthy work of disarming the masses of workers, of throwing dust in the workers eyes, of traitorous acts like they performed for their imperialist masters on Feb. 5th. Class conscious workers are not fooled by traitors like Woodcock and Co. and their allies in the government, the big universities, the newspapers, the churches, foundations, community programs, etc.

Of course, as February 5th shows, the labor aristocracy also moves politically and practically to tighten the strangle hold of bourgeois ideology on the workers. No class conscious worker will ever tire of educating the rest of the members of our

class to how the labor aristocracy is operating and how we must learn their nature and be on guard against them. Leonard Woodcock and Doug Fraser both boasted about returning to Washington in the spring with 250,000 workers if unemployment was no better at that time. The demand that Mr Woodcock make use of our organizational apparatus, the UAW, to mobilize the workers to go to Washington must be made by all workers starting right now.

What are our general and specific tasks in this period? First of all we must join with and build the struggles of workers against unemployment, pointing out that we must fight for jobs and force the monopoly capitalists to pay for the crisis, not the workers, and at the same time we must oppose imperialist war as the way out of the crisis. Our vigilance must especially be directed towards the Middle East where the imperialists are casting about for war. We must also direct our attention towards building a firm alliance between employed and unemployed workers of ALL industries because as Marx pointed out, the determination of wages is based not only on the struggle between the worker and the capitalist at any given time, but also on the supply and demand of labor power -- furthermore, unless this is done, pressure for wage increases will largely be cancelled out by the pressure of millions of unemployed in the labor market. ★



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GGLES OF WORKERS AGAINST UNEMPLOY-
HT FOR JOBS AND FORCE THE MONOPOLY
NOT THE WORKERS, AND AT THE SAME
AS THE WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS.

can't be done on a loss basis. . .
All you have to do is take a look
at their profit margins. . ."
(NEW YORK TIMES, 1/27/75).

The very same day, January 26,
the DETROIT NEWS reported the
following statement from Thomas
Murphey, Chairman of GM: ". . . that
the worst of the slump is over
and laid off workers would be
getting back to work by
spring." At the same time a UAW
special consultant and University
of Michigan economist had this to
say: "The performance of the price
level in these early weeks of 1975
has had its encouraging aspects .
Prices of raw materials continue



Over 300,000 autoworkers are now
walking the streets, all faced with
the threat of losing their SUB pay.
In response to this Woodcock and co.
offer "compromises" and fail to or-
ganize to keep the SUB pay.