

We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!

The following proclamation has been issued by the July 4 Coalition. East and Midwest regional conferences are being held in March by the Coalition in Philadelphia and Cincinnati to develop plans for a series of actions in Philadelphia at the time of the July 4, 1976 Bicentennial.

1976—Millions walking the streets looking for jobs and still more shoved out the door while plants close down. Those still at work, worked to death, chained to the bosses' machinery. Our cities falling apart. Our schools, hospitals, and firehouses shut down. Half finished construction sites standing next to burned out tenements and the drums of another war beating louder. All this amidst lies of recovery and the fireworks of celebration.

No! This is not what we worked so hard for. No, this is not the future we want for our children. One thousand outrages slap us in the face. No, we can't live like this. And we won't.

Our class, the working class, men and women of all nationalities—we build and we produce. But their class, the capitalist class, takes it all. They own what they have never built—the mills, mines and banks. Owning all, they take all we produce. And for us, only enough to keep us alive so we can slave for them some more.

They take our hard work and twist it. We work together. They steal, each as much for himself as he can, and try to keep us apart. Everything has a price for them. Their uncontrollable drive for profit makes this whole society run like it does. Crisis after crisis, war after war, injustice upon injustice. Ten generations of profits bled out of ten generations of our lives.

Our whole history proves this. We have fought for all that is worthwhile in this country. We are not animals but that's how they would have us live. No! Not in 1776, 1876, or 1976. Our history is filled with storms of resistance, battling back and standing tall. We are men and women. We will not be slaves. We are the backbone of the whole country, millions strong. They are a handful of murderers and slavedrivers, rotting even as they claw to grab more.

1976. These thieves call all of us to celebrate with them. National unity....all together and many happy returns. No! We shall not celebrate their rule. Despite all their sickening lies and broken-record hoopla, we have nothing in common with them. For them—200 years of plunder. For us—200 years of slavery and oppression. All they have they took from us. All we need we have wrenched from them through bitter battle. It is they and their never-satisfied thirst for profit that stand between us and our fight for a better life and a brighter future for our children.

Fellow workers! Today as before our class battles every last abuse—on picketlines and shop floors, in neighborhoods and communities and everywhere throughout society. Our fight is a just fight, our demands are just demands. In building this struggle on July 4th in Philadelphia, we will proclaim especially our demand for "Jobs or Income Now!" and our determination that "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War!"

We have the strength to mobilize. We have the ability to unite all the battles, all the people, all the anger at the way we have to live. The future belongs to us. We are the only ones who can push things forward, and we are determined to break through.

Now is the time to pull it together. All our forces. All our battles. As we have always fought them we will fight them on the day they choose to celebrate their bloodsoaked rule. We will come together, thousands strong, to expose their crimes and build our movement, on that day and for the great battles ahead.

On to Philadelphia!

We've carried the rich for 200 years, let's get them off our backs!

The July 4 Coalition. Initiated by Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party and Revolutionary Student Brigade.



REVOLUTION

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

25¢

Vol. 1, No. 6



March 15, 1976

Jobs Convoys Roll Through New Jersey and Ohio

Sugar coated lies and promises about economic recovery are coming fast and furious these days. Yet despite all the talk by the bosses and politicians of recovery and "putting America back to work" millions remain jobless. It is clear that the only recovery they are concerned about is the recovery of profits. They are quite willing to sacrifice everything for this: *our jobs, our unemployment benefits, our schools, the cities we live in.*

But two important actions by workers this past month demonstrated what is really growing across the country—the mass action and determination of workers, employed and unemployed, not to be lied to and shoved around. Sponsored by the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) and in New Jersey co-sponsored by the New York-Northern New Jersey United Workers Organization, these demonstrations put forward the working class' demands for **JOBS OR INCOME NOW! NO CUTS IN UNEMPLOYMENT EXTENSIONS! STOP THE PLANT CLOSINGS! WE WANT JOBS!**

Ohio Extensions Cut

In Ohio 200 unemployed workers came to the capital, Columbus, from all over the state on Friday, February 27 to demonstrate for jobs and against the government's plan to cut out 26 weeks of unemployment benefits. In January the Federal government announced that, because Ohio and 19 other states had juggled their statistics to claim unemployment below 5%, unemployment benefits will be cut from 65 to 39 weeks. In Ohio alone 65,000 people on second and third extensions will be cut off without a cent on April 3.

The demonstration was the largest and most militant action of unemployed workers in Ohio during the current capitalist crisis. Since the cuts were announced

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Unemployed workers from cities all over Ohio poured into Columbus by bus and car on February 27. Here they demonstrate in front of the State Capitol, demanding jobs and protesting plans to cut 26 weeks from unemployment benefits.

6000 Students Battle NJ Tuition Hikes

Thursday, February 19, 6,000 students poured into Trenton, state capital of New Jersey, from college campuses around the state to demand an end to attacks on the state education system. Continuing the fight started last semester when students defeated a proposed tuition hike, the demonstration showed the great anger of the students and the strength of the movement being built there.

The demonstration, along with actions on different campuses, was directed at a series of cutbacks and a tuition hike announced in January by Governor Byrne and State Education Chancellor Dungan. These include laying off at least 1,000 teachers and a cut in enrollment by 26,000 students.

Last term, students in Jersey united to stop a proposed 50% tuition hike (see *Revolution*, January 15, 1976). During this struggle, in dozens of actions and a statewide "armband day" in which 10,000 participated, many students came forward as active organizers. The overall consciousness of students about the source of the attacks and the need for struggle was raised. Last term, for example, some politicians and other reformists tried to sell a tax hike as a "solution" to education cutbacks. As struggle developed, most students rejected this scheme. The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), student organization of the Revolutionary Communist Party, raised the two demands: (1) No Tuition Hike and No Cuts and (2) No New Taxes.

At the rally in Trenton (which was called by the student governments and the American Federation of Teachers and built for on many campuses by the RSB), students were presented with some of the same—speeches about writing letters and electing new legislators. Fed up after two hours of speeches, hundreds of students began chanting "We want Byrne!" and demanding that Governor Byrne come out and face the crowd.

Soon, when Byrne refused to come out, hundreds of students stormed the steps of the state capitol building, demanding to see the governor.

State Police Attack

State police moved in with riot sticks and attack dogs and attacked the demonstrators, and for the next half hour constant fighting went on as the students refused to retreat. Many students fought back and



Shouts of "We want Byrne" shake the door of the New Jersey state house.

defended their brothers and sisters from attack. When the student government "leaders" tried to break up the rally early by announcing that the busses were leaving, a number of students sat down in front of their busses to keep them from leaving.

From the start, the RSB has played an important role in the fight, trying to draw out the lessons of the struggle and fighting all attempts to derail it into reformist schemes like demanding a tax hike. The RSB is the only organization so far to raise the slogan "If there's a hike, we'll strike!" They have been up front about pointing to the capitalist system as the cause of the cutbacks and struggling to bring forward new revolutionaries out of the struggle. Because of this the RSB has been singled out in the attacks that have come down as a result of the demonstration.

The day after the demonstration every paper in N.J. attacked the demonstration—saying that "mindless violence" had "marred an otherwise peaceful demonstration." The papers also singled out the RSB as the instigator of the violence, making it seem like the hundreds of students who seized the steps were just blind sheep who were tricked by the communists in the Brigade. Along with the garbage in the papers, the state police announced an "intensive probe" of the RSB to scare students away from the Brigade and further struggle.

Through the students' experience and the work of the RSB, instead of frightening students, these attacks have only helped to further expose the role of the government and the police in protecting the ruling class. The face of the enemy is clearer, and this understanding has laid a basis for further advances in the struggle. Thousands of students in Trenton saw that it was the state police who initiated the violence, not the students. They've also seen in practice that the RSB, as a communist student organization, fights for the demands of the students and, rather than "duping" people, has always been up front about its beliefs and goals, including linking the students' battles with the overall revolutionary struggle. As the RSB state-wide

leaflet summed up, "rather than apologizing for Trenton, the students are proud of Trenton."

The RSB has used these attacks as an opportunity not only to expose the role of the state and bring out the need to continue the battle, but also to boldly explain what communists really are; to explain why communists are the hardest fighters and why the RSB stands for revolution and socialism. This has brought the Brigade many new supporters and a number of new members.

The fact that the movement is growing in size and consciousness was shown clearly at a demonstration at William Patterson College, three days after the Trenton demonstration. Six hundred students showed up at a "closed" Board of Trustees meeting which was to vote on the firing of 104 teachers. Instead of playing by the rules and going home, the students pushed in mass past the campus cops and reached the meeting room when suddenly the meeting was declared "open."

In the meeting the trustees kept claiming there was no money. They also said the students should go to Trenton with their demands. Hearing this, the students, many of whom still had bandages from police clubbings in Trenton, became furious. They pointed out that the trustees sat on the Boards of Exxon and IBM and their class had plenty of money. One woman, whose three daughters all go to Patterson, stood up and declared, "The youth of today are being thrown out of college and on to the jobless streets."

Because of the actions of the students, who confronted the trustees and demanded the teachers be re-hired, money was "found" for 64 jobs. The fight continues to re-hire the 40 others.

These recent events have given a real boost to the movement against the attacks, encouraging even more students to join the fight. The RSB sold over 1,200 "If There's a Hike—We'll Strike!" buttons at the Trenton rally. The tuition hikes are now scheduled for September. The direction of the organizing being done by the Brigade and other students in campus committees organized against the attacks is to build the fight on each campus, like in Patterson, and at the same time, to move forward to a state-wide strike in the future.

Broader and More Conscious Movement

Even more important in the long run are the tremendous lessons many students are learning in this fight. The struggle last term laid the basis for an even broader, more conscious and stronger movement this term. Seeing this has really deepened the RSB's understanding of the need to go into struggles with more than just the immediate victory as a goal. The RSB, as the communist student organization of the Party, brings to the struggle the revolutionary interests and outlook of the working class. As thousands of students go into struggle against cops, school administrators and the government, the need for communists to be raising the overall level of consciousness and to be bringing forward new communists from the advanced fighters becomes even sharper.

Having summed up a tendency not to do this last term, a tendency to "narrow" the struggle to only the immediate battle, the RSB this term has made some real advances in carrying out all these tasks. The result is that more and more students are coming to see the need for a broader movement against the capitalist system and many of them are now building that movement.

Through the course of this second round of struggle against cutbacks and tuition hikes in New Jersey during the past six months, the enemy has become still more exposed to the students. And their determination to build their struggle is even firmer. ■



February 19. Thousands of students say "No Way!" to attempts to impose a tuition hike and education cutbacks at New Jersey's colleges and universities.

Mass Line Is Key to Methods of Leading Struggle

Recently (Dec. 15, 1975) an article in *Revolution* went into the basic principles underlying the mass line and its application to developing the revolutionary movement of the working class. This article stressed that, on the one hand the masses of workers must learn through their own experience—and not just one or a few, but many, repeated experiences—the laws governing the actual development of the struggle; and that, on the other hand the proletariat—through its Party—must also wage repeated struggle with the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere “over how to sum up the struggle, what lessons to draw from each battle and what road to take in order to change with the situation.”

In light of all this, that article laid special emphasis for the Party to “pay special attention to uniting with and raising the level of advanced workers in the science of revolution including the application of the mass line...not apart from, but in the course of, actually leading the struggle of the broad masses.”

Unleashing Masses' Initiative

Closely linked to these crucial principles of the mass line is the question of methods—*how* to develop mass struggle, unleash the initiative of the masses in struggle, to raise their consciousness in the course of it and train the advanced who come forward in struggle as communists.

Mao Tsetung spoke to the same problem nearly 30 years after the founding of the Communist Party of China (and shortly before the capture of nationwide power by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party): “For over twenty years our Party has carried on mass work every day, and for the past dozen years it has talked about the mass line every day. We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders. The mass line, however, is still not being thoroughly carried out in the work of some comrades; they still rely solely on a handful of people working in solitude. One reason is that, whatever they do, they are always reluctant to explain it to the people they lead and that they do not understand why or how to give play to the initiative and creative energy of those they lead.

“Subjectively they too want everyone to take a hand in the work, but they do not let other people know what is to be done or how to do it. That being the case, how can everyone be expected to get moving and how can anything be done well? To solve this problem the basic thing is, of course, to carry out ideological education on the mass line, but at the same time we must teach these comrades many concrete methods of work.”

Explaining Political Line

This problem—of failing to explain, even to the advanced workers, lines, policies, actions, etc. that the Party has taken up—this is a real problem in developing the struggle in this country today, a basic question of method for the Party, as the vanguard of the working class. Failing to explain what is to be done does not mean that people are not told about this or that event, or are not asked—even urged—to take part. The problem is that the *line* on which the action, policy, etc. is based, is not gone into, or gone into only in a shallow way.

What is this particular action, policy, etc. meant to achieve? Why is it correct and necessary and timely to take this up now? How does it relate to the fight that workers are already waging or already see the need to wage? How is the line on which an action is based a concentration of the experience and ideas of the masses, which will expose more sharply the face of the class enemy and deepen their understanding of the nature of the fight against this enemy? Who are the allies in this fight? How will a policy help the masses to fight in a more conscious and determined way for their own interests? These are the kind of questions that must be gone into, in discussing and explaining policies and actions taken up by the Party. Failing to go deeply into this, how can it be expected that the initiative of the masses, especially the advanced workers, will be unleashed?

Often related to this error is the tendency to tail the masses, or as the previous article on the mass line put it, to simply “mirror” their present level of consciousness and give back to them what they already understand. Along with that there is the question that, as Mao Tsetung summarized it, “Our comrades must

not assume that the masses have no understanding of what they themselves do not yet understand. It often happens that the masses outstrip us and are eager to advance a step when our comrades are still tailing behind certain backward elements, for instead of acting as leaders of the masses such comrades reflect the views of these backward elements and, moreover, mistake them for those of the broad masses.”

Is this not a problem that has often arisen in the work of our Party already? Are there not many cases when the masses looked to the advanced forces, including Party members, to kick off and lead them in struggle, only to be disappointed? Have we not been told on more than one occasion such things as “we thought you were going to lead a walkout, how come you didn't?”...or found ourselves simply talking in a general way about attacks when the masses wanted to get together to fight concrete abuses and outrages slapping us in the face?

Determining Correct Forms of Struggle

This, in turn, is linked to the questions of what are the correct methods for building struggle, what are the correct forms to build it—or, more exactly, how to *determine* the correct forms. This, too, is a question of applying the mass line. It often happens that the masses go into struggle, or come to the advanced forces looking for leadership to go into action—and have creative ideas on how to do it. They have had rich experience in fighting the enemy and with different forms of developing this struggle.

The role of communists, once again, in relation to this is to apply the mass line, to concentrate what is correct in their ideas about how to fight and go into this deeply, especially with the advanced workers, and unite with them to organize the broadest number of people in active struggle. And, as this struggle develops, to continually apply the science of Marxism-Leninism to sum it up and give back to the masses the main lessons of the struggle.

In carrying this out it is especially important to guard against the tendency to substitute subjective thinking, or pre-conceived notions about how to build the struggle, for concrete analysis of the actual conditions of the struggle and application of the mass line to concentrate the experience and ideas of the masses. Otherwise the advanced forces can quickly become isolated from the broad masses, even in cases where the masses have initially sought out the advanced forces looking for leadership or have rallied behind a call issued by the advanced forces, because—initially at least—it did reflect and concentrate their own interests and showed the way forward in the fight.

The masses have had a lot of experience that teaches them that the class enemy has real teeth, that it will hit back at struggles launched against it and that it

will pay special attention to isolating—either by direct attack or through attempts at buying off—those who come forward as leaders of the struggle. The Party must learn, and must train the advanced workers—while learning from them—the methods for combating this.

Investigation and discussion must be carried out broadly to develop the forms of struggle that enable the masses to pit their *strength* against the enemy. In this question the masses also have a wealth of experience and special attention must be paid to learning from it and applying Marxism-Leninism to sum it up, to concentrate what is correct in it, what corresponds to and will lead to the development of the struggle in a forward direction, toward the final goal of proletarian revolution. It must always be kept in mind, as the previous mass line article pointed out that “Between here and there [communism] is a long, complicated and bitter struggle—a struggle made up of thousands of battles, of skirmishes leading to major encounters from one stage to another.”

“And at each stage the Party must deepen its ties with the masses and its grasp of Marxism-Leninism, and on this basis strengthen its application of the mass line. It must do so to fulfill its objectives and tasks as the Party of the working class and enable the working class to advance to the greatest degree possible through each battle.”

Advancing Through Each Battle

This applies *within* each battle—each of the thousands of skirmishes as well as major encounters. If at any point during the development of the struggle, we depart from these principles, fail to deepen our application of the mass line in any respect, including the aspect of determining the correct forms of struggle, we are bound to make mistakes, and the struggle is bound to be set back. Experience has already been accumulated in this regard and should be summed up.

There are many cases where initially the struggle was developing in a big way, more and more people were coming forward, taking initiative, grasping matters in their own hands, giving active expression in battle to their deep hatred for the class enemy, but at a certain point the leading forces substituted their own “good idea” for a scientific application of the mass line in determining the next step—and what was the result?

The result was inevitably that the momentum built up was lost—at least temporarily—the initiative of the masses was dampened, the hand of the enemy was strengthened and the advanced forces became isolated. Where yesterday hundreds, sometimes even thousands, were in motion, now only a small number remain active. Where before the masses were gaining in their

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NOW AVAILABLE

CUBA: The Evaporation Of a Myth

From
**Anti-Imperialist Revolution To
Pawn of Social-Imperialism**

CUBA: The Evaporation of a Myth is a pamphlet reprinted from the February 15, 1976 issue of *Revolution*. It is an English/Spanish edition, 48 pages, with footnotes in English.

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On to May Day!

May First. May Day. International Workers Day, the proudest and most solemn holiday of the working class world wide.

In countries across the world, workers this year as every year will be greeting our holiday with celebrations and demonstrations. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is calling for celebrations to be built in cities throughout this country around slogans that sum up the struggle and tasks of the growing workers movement:

**FIGHT—DON'T STARVE!
WORKERS UNITE TO LEAD THE FIGHT
AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION!
DOWN WITH THE SYSTEM OF WAGE SLAVERY!**

Every May Day is a day for the working class to take stock of our growing strength, to sum up where things stand in our struggle. May Day honors the fighters who have gone before, who fought and sacrificed to advance the struggle of the working class. May Day surveys the present battlefields on which workers are locked in deadly combat with our enemy, the arrogant and decaying class of capitalists. May Day sums up the past and the present in order to point the way forward for the working class in the future. This it does in two senses, both laying plans for the battles working men and women will face in the year to come and reaffirming the determination of the working class to destroy the parasites who bleed the workers and lord it over the great majority of people, to replace their rule with a new society, free from exploitation and oppression.

The last year has seen the capitalists attempt ever more boldly and desperately to shift the burden of their economic crisis onto the masses of people. It has become more and more clear that workers and many other American people face nothing short of a battle for survival. Take jobs. Not only has unemployment been at the highest levels since the Depression, but the capitalists are hailing this as the trend of the future.

Already their economic experts have redefined the "acceptable" level of unemployment from 3-4% up to 5-6% and now some are suggesting that in the 1980s 10% may be the "acceptable" figure. Behind every percentage point they throw around so casually in their rigged figures stands a million workers in need of jobs, most of them driven out of previous jobs as bosses drive to cut costs and jack up profits. For the working class, the question of "accepting" unemployment does not even arise. The struggle for jobs in this country is growing in intensity everywhere, from anti-layoff struggles and the fight for every job on the shop floor, to the UWOC Jobs or Income petition, rallies and job convoys. Wherever the capitalists unleash their attacks—and the fight for jobs is one front among many—the working class will have no choice but to fight back even more strongly. **FIGHT, DON'T STARVE!**

As the capitalist system continues to decay around the masses of people, it is not only the working class that is under attack, but the vast majority of the Am-

erican people. Everywhere cutbacks in social services are the rule, as the rich try to devote the maximum possible amount of capital to increasing profits to weather the crisis.

The shape of attacks yet to come around the country can be seen in New York City, where the capitalists' "save the city" plans for the next year alone include dumping 40,000 more city workers, 7 city hospitals and more firehouses and schools to close, an end to open admissions at the City University of New York and 40,000 students dropped from the rolls. Increasingly, people are fed up with this "belt-tightening" routine and looking for ways to fight back.

Likewise, people are increasingly aware that the ruling class is headed for a new war, with not a year yet elapsed since their final defeat in Vietnam. This time the war threatens to be on a far vaster scale—a giant clash between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, to determine who will be top dog in the imperialist world, number one plunderer of the world's people.

The threat of world war and attacks on social services needed by millions of people are, like unemployment, only few among countless abuses—police attacks and murders, soaring prices, discrimination, the drug plague, the list goes on and on. As these attacks expand so must the working class expand its role in the resistance to these attacks. We are the largest class; our labor is the very source of the vast bulk of society's wealth; we have *no* interests in common with the bourgeoisie who steal and live off this wealth our class creates. Because of this the working class can mobilize the broadest possible sections of the people and aim all its struggles straight at the source of all these abuses. **WORKERS UNITE TO LEAD THE FIGHT AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION!**

All of the ruling class' attacks show the rottenness of their system, but some show more sharply than others exactly what that system is. In the past year, the various capitalists have gone hog-wild trying to come up with ways to get more work from "their" workers for less money. Outright wage cuts, forced overtime, job combinations, speedup, laying off new hires before they can join the union, increased harassment, runaway threats, poverty pleas, constantly shifting piece-work rates, pushing "Buy American," working management—can there be a plant in the country where the bosses haven't tried to shove through at least one gimmick like this in the name of "increasing productivity?" For the capitalists, survival is always a question of squeezing more profits from the labor of the workers, and the pressure is even heavier as their crisis deepens.

For the workers, survival is a constant battle to keep the heads of our families above water in this capitalist system. Workers are, of course, "free" to stop swimming, "free" to give up their jobs, but to exercise this "freedom" is to drown. In reality, workers are *enslaved* by the capitalists to whom we must sell our ability to work for enough to keep body and soul together, and in doing so see the wealth we create twisted to enrich the slavemasters. **DOWN WITH THE SYSTEM OF WAGE SLAVERY!**

Under these three slogans, the Revolutionary Communist Party is joining with other groups and individuals to sponsor May Day celebrations around the country. May Day will be observed in more cities, with more participants and a more thoroughly proletarian character than it has been in this country for over two decades.

In every case the heart of the celebrations will be tying in the present struggles of the workers—including sharp struggles in every locality around jobs, cutbacks, the war danger and increased exploitation, as well as on other battlefronts—to the overall tasks and direction of the workers movement nationwide.

In laying out the tasks the working class faces in building its struggle during the year to come, the May Day celebrations will include a call for those attending to build the July 4 demonstration in Philadelphia under the slogan "We've carried the rich for 200 years. Let's get them off our backs!" Like May Day, the Philadelphia action will make a big contribution to building the workers movement as a powerful revolutionary social force.

Let us prepare for May Day with the stand expressed by the great revolutionary Frederick Engels on the first worldwide May Day in 1890, "Today as I write these lines, the European and American proletariat is reviewing its fighting forces, mobilised for the first time, mobilised as one army, under one flag..." ■

Editorials

China Puts Fat In Fire By Inviting Nixon To Peking

Citizen Richard Nixon went to China on the fourth anniversary of his first visit. That earlier visit had been a complete turnabout by Nixon, who earlier had made himself a political career by being a well-known red-baiter and witch-hunter of those responsible for "losing China to the communists." That about face, going to China hat in hand, happened for only one reason. Nixon, at that time the chief representative of the U.S. ruling class, had been forced to recognize the weakened position of the U.S. rulers in the world, due mainly to the struggle of the world's people against it and, secondly, to the growth of their new capitalist rivals in the Soviet Union.

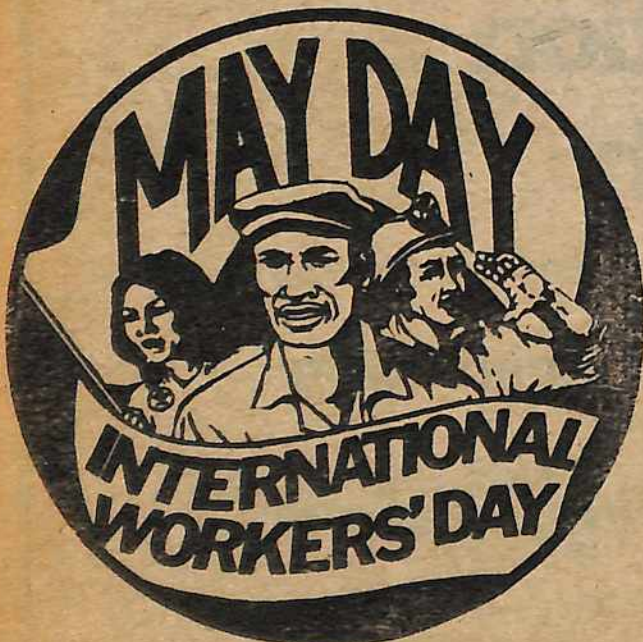
The first Nixon visit produced some results. Open U.S. threats against China were toned down. The U.S. officially recognized that Taiwan, which it occupies, is a part of China. And for the people of this country, many doors were opened to information about China and the life of the people there under socialism.

Since the first visit, the U.S. has done little to improve matters more. The capitalist class apparently decided to cool off their relations with China a bit. Instead they have seen it more in their interest to play the "detente" game with the Soviet Union. So when Gerald Ford, now the chief man for the ruling class, visited China last year, he just went through the motions and had a pretty "ho-hum" trip.

So now the Chinese have made their response. Saying in effect, "OK, if that's the way you're going to play the game, we'll throw a little fat on the fire!" In order to embarrass the U.S. ruling class and light a fire under them, the Chinese invited Nixon to China. There they wined and dined him and through all this used his visit to make the point "perfectly clear" to the U.S. ruling class that all their stalling and backtracking on their earlier commitments just won't do.

Nixon, of course, was the ruling class' chief scapegoat for the Watergate mess and has acquired a reputation as the biggest political jerk in years—and the competition is pretty stiff. His resignation with his tail between his legs grew out of the outrage and anger of millions of Americans. The exposure of Nixon's crimes led to further exposures of other politicians' crimes, all leading to today where politicians, pimps, and purse snatchers are all about equally popular. The ruling class tried to keep the spotlight confined to Nixon, but ended up turning up the lights on a whole ugly show. And it was this exposure, more than Nixon's departure to the beach at San Clemente and his replacement in the White House by a bum of equal stature, that was the real victory when Nixon was dumped from office. Through all this the working class movement was strengthened and the face

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Revolution

Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA (RCP, USA). It is published on the 15th of every month. All correspondence to the Party should be sent to RCP, USA, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

Revolution and Superpower Drive to War

Angola Spotlights World Trends

The superpowers' war over which would grab domination over Angola has ended—for now, at least. But the imperialist rulers of the U.S. and the USSR are already issuing warnings to each other about "further interference" on the continent and beefing up the troops at their command in Africa, threatening to re-fight their Angola battle in other countries.

To say that the people of southern Africa are rising up is not just a slogan—it's daily news. At the same time, the two superpowers are locked in combat over the continent's strategic resources and areas, each trying to form a bloc of countries under its control to serve its interests, including military ones, as the superpowers' contest for world domination sharpens and threatens world war. Both these trends are tightly intertwined, and the revolutionary forces of each country must take them fully into account or suffer great reversals.

Alongside the revolutionary advances there have been serious setbacks, as bourgeois forces in some countries, drawn by greed and fear, are sucked into the whirlpool, falling in behind one superpower or the other. This question is getting sharper every day, as the rulers of the USSR crow about the invincibility of their "aid" and move to grab up more countries now dominated by the U.S., while the rulers of this country try to whip up support for the defense of their empire under the guise of stopping Soviet aggression.

Superpowers Pose as "Anti-Imperialists"

Lenin described the two sides in World War 1 as "a slave holder who owns 100 slaves warring against another who owns 200 slaves, for a more 'just' redistribution of the slaves." (*Socialism and War*) This is exactly what has happened in Angola. Under high-sounding slogans about the "freedom" of Angola and either "freeing" other Africans of keeping them "free," depending on which side you listen to, each superpower is trying to use the other's aggression as an excuse for more aggression and war preparations. We can see this very clearly in the way our own rulers use the Soviets' crimes to justify their own aggression and further arm themselves for more crimes against the world's people.

The "aid," troops and other superpower interference changed the nature of the Angolan war from a war of national liberation to a war over which imperialism would bleed the Angolan people. From a just revolutionary war it became an unjust, reactionary war, a war of imperialist plunder. Until just a year ago Angola was occupied by Portuguese troops paid for and advised by U.S. imperialism. Now it's occupied by Cuban troops and their Soviet social-imperialist "advisors."

In early February, Cuban and Soviet troops smashed the cities held by the FNLA in northern Angola. Then the armoured columns headed south, taking the areas held by UNITA. Now the only major part of the country not under the control of the MPLA government is a strip near the southern border with a dam and power station which the South African government has vowed to hold. The dam is crucial to South Africa's exploitation of the riches of nearby Namibia, which it occupies.

This military sweep has been followed by increasing diplomatic recognition for the MPLA government. The Organization of African Unity, which had urged a coalition government of the three groups, recognized the MPLA on February 11. By the end of the month, neighboring Zaire, which had given the FNLA and UNITA bases in its territory, agreed to recognize the MPLA and throw the other two groups out.

U.S. Scurries to Pick Up Pieces

With the two groups it backed in full retreat, the U.S. government began an about-face to "do business with the MPLA," as the *Christian Science Monitor* put it, trying to shore up U.S. investments and influence. The U.S. State Department gave the Gulf Oil company permission to "resume normal business transactions" in Angola. Gulf has now paid the MPLA several hundred million dollars for the oil Gulf took from its Angolan fields during the fighting, and it's begun negotiations for a permanent arrangement for the \$1 billion in oil these fields produce yearly—only a tiny fraction of their estimated potential. The U.S. and European-owned Diamang Company, whose Angola property has produced much of the world's yearly diamond haul, also began negotiating with the MPLA. Boeing Aircraft began sending back the technicians and personnel it had withdrawn earlier.

But despite the U.S. imperialists' hopes that some-

thing can be salvaged, and despite whatever anyone in the MPLA might want, state power in Angola now depends mainly on Soviet guns. It was Soviet tanks, helicopter gunships and heavy artillery and over ten thousand Soviet-sponsored Cuban troops that put the MPLA where it is today. All this puts the Soviet Union in a very good position to steal Angola's oil and diamonds for themselves and use Angola as a military base for further conquests. The "liberation" they've imposed is not liberation at all, but naked imperialist aggression.

This is not the liberation the Angolan people fought for during the last 12 years. Together with the people of Portugal's other colonies in Africa and the Portuguese people who opposed the war, the Portuguese army was driven out and the Portuguese ruling class brought into crisis. While today each superpower likes to contend that Angola's liberation from the other depends on them, it was by relying mainly on their own efforts that the masses of people were able to smash Portugal's 500 year old colonial rule, while the U.S. actively opposed the war of liberation and the Soviets basically sat it out.

The U.S. supplied Portugal with the most modern weapons and training, while U.S. investments flooded into the colonies. So much for the U.S. imperialists' claim that they want to see Angola "free"—free for themselves to plunder alone. And this also shows what the Soviets claim for their magical "aid" amounts to, because the Angolans had already put Portuguese and U.S. imperialism on the run long before massive Soviet "aid" arrived.

Superpowers Provoked Civil War

During these years three liberation organizations arose in three different parts of the country, each based mainly on one or two tribes. All three were recognized by the Organization of African Unity (the organization of the heads of state of the various African governments). But once it became obvious that Portuguese rule was about to fall, the superpowers threw themselves into the country like a ton of bricks.

The USSR, which had never provided more than token amounts of aid to the liberation movement, began pouring heavy weapons and troops into the MPLA, hoping to fuel a civil war and make the MPLA so dependent on the Soviets that it would never be able to break free, while the U.S. did the same with the FNLA and UNITA, bringing in mercenaries and South African troops. The superpowers worked to turn these organizations into their opposite, from liberation groups into tools of the superpower drive to snatch Angola. A coalition government of the three which had been approved by the OAU was destroyed by fighting between them.

This superpower crime has brought the murder of thousands in Angola and tremendous suffering to the Angolan people. It has also made it much clearer to millions of people exactly what superpower "liberation" means, exposing the U.S. imperialists who have long been under fire in Africa, and also the Soviet social-imperialists now occupying the country, who try to disguise their aggression behind the fact that the USSR was once a socialist country. This victory for the social-imperialists, while a very bad setback for the struggle, will turn out to be a nail in their coffin in the long run because the Angolan people have already proved that no amount of guns and troops can hold them prisoner forever.

Revolutionary Struggle Advancing

In fact, the situation for revolution in Africa is excellent. Many countries in southern Africa and elsewhere on the continent have just won their independence from Portugal and Spain, the last bastions of old-style colonialism in Africa, and the struggle in the white settler ruled countries is also reaching a high point. A great many people have been drawn into active combat, and the armed struggle is spreading. At the same time, however, the superpowers are determined to turn this tide. Now the USSR wants to use the techniques it employed in Angola, including its new Cuban foreign legion, to push on in southern Africa and in other places, while the U.S. is trying to use both old and new ways to hang on to and extend its empire.

In Zimbabwe (called Rhodesia by the imperialists, after Cecil Rhodes, an early British imperialist), the Africans who make up 95% of the country have stepped up their struggle against white settler rule. Liberation fighters waged several fierce battles with government forces in February and March, and that war is growing sharper every day. An embargo by newly independent Mozambique is strangling the Rhodesian rulers' exports and imports. The Rhodesian government has been forced to cook up negotiations with an African "moderate leader" who they hope will allow them to salvage what they can of their rule by allowing Black people some voting rights over a period of years.

In Namibia (South West Africa), ruled by South Africa as a "protectorate" (colony), liberation fighters have stepped up their activity. Since both of these countries border on South Africa itself and are dependent on the South African capitalists and their white supremacist government, the situation is very grave for the local capitalists and their U.S. backers. And within South Africa itself, strikes and demonstrations by Black workers and a recent wave of student protests have shown just how shakey that rule is. Shares of U.S. and other companies with investment in these three countries have been tumbling on the stock exchange.

Superpower Contention Spreading in Africa

For the superpowers, Africa is both a rich prize in itself and a strategic base which each needs in its contention over Europe. In southern Africa and elsewhere on the continent, the USSR is offering some groups its magical "aid" to try to bring them under Soviet influence, while maneuvering to bring in its own military forces when it can. The U.S., for its part, is trying to salvage what it can in a crumbling situation. It is backing the old order and outright suppression of the strug-

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Over the last seventeen years, the Soviet ruling class has collected a lot of I.O.U.'s from Castro & Company. As partial repayment, this Cuban soldier and more than 10,000 others have been sent to do the Kremlin's dirty work in Africa.

Key Contract Fight Looms in Rubber

Workers Say: No Repeat of '73 Sellout!

On April 20 the contracts expire between the big four rubber companies—Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich and Uniroyal—and the United Rubber Workers (URW). Despite the fact that the International union has kept them in the dark, sentiment for a strike is running high in many plants among the rubber workers. Many are fed up after suffering through three years of a disastrous 1973 contract and are eager to avenge that sellout this time.

If a strike does occur in this industry it could be significant for more than just these 68,000 rubber workers. Many major contracts, covering millions of other workers, are due to expire shortly after the rubber contract. A sharp class battle around the rubber contract could have a powerful effect, inspiring other workers in their resolve to fight the capitalists, win good contracts and deal a blow to their officials' plans for sellouts. Recognizing this, the bourgeoisie and top labor hacks are worried that the rubber workers could help torpedo plans to make 1976 "labor's year of compromise."

Important Issues at Stake

The 1973 contract has become the object of a whole lot of contempt and anger among the rank and file rubber workers. Wages for rubber workers were once on a par with auto workers. But last time the contract was negotiated without a Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) and over three years wages fell nearly 20% behind the cost of living. Now wages are over \$1 an hour less than in auto. Rubber workers are demanding a big "catch up" wage increase and COLA this time around.

Pensions are another sore point with a disgusting pension plan that only comes to around \$450 a month including social security. So the workers are demanding a big improvement here, including COLA for those who retire.

Job security is another big issue with unemployment in rubber running close to 12% and job eliminations, plant and line closings the order of the day. In particular the SUB fund is running out and there is a demand for the companies to beef it up.

The conditions in the shops, including attacks on seniority, changes in job classifications, changes in piece rates and standards, cutting crew sizes and health and safety hazards are the center of more anger, and

there are many demands in these areas, including many local contract demands.

The rubber workers are determined not to get sold out like last time and if they can, to gain back some of the things they lost. But the companies have another idea. They are taking a hard stand, hoping to use this contract to take away even more gains won in previous contracts. Already, for example, Firestone has told its salaried personnel to be on call to work production during a strike. And Uniroyal in Los Angeles has been showing propaganda films to their workers in an attempt to convince them a strike will be useless.

The reason for this is that the rate of profit at the rubber companies is way down. In 1968 they were making five cents on each sales dollar, in 1974 it was three cents on a dollar. The companies have also been hit by the decline in the general economy, especially in their largest market—the auto industry. The switch to greater production in radial tires has also meant heavy, new investment in expensive equipment. This, combined with an increase in foreign imports, has driven profits even lower.

There has been a stiff increase in competition between the different rubber companies as they each try to grab up the shrinking market for themselves. This means the companies have all been trying to outdo each other in exploiting their own workers, hoping to get their rate of profit back up and trying to get a jump on the competition by increasing productivity and undercutting wages. As a result not only are many rubber workers on layoff but several plants around the country have been closed.

Rubber Companies' Divide and Conquer Schemes

Another trend over the years has been for plants to move out of the Akron, Ohio area. In the 1940s and early '50s there were 46,000 Akron rubber workers. Today there are only 18,000. In the past the companies opened up new plants in other parts of the country utilizing newer technology. This served to weaken the United Rubber Workers and to cut the wages of rubber workers. In Danville, Virginia, for example, wages at Goodyear average up to a dollar an hour less than at Goodyear in Akron, even though both places are unionized. Especially today the companies try to hold the threat of plant closings over the heads of the workers to keep them from fighting back.

The companies have also been trying to break parity between non-tire workers—those making belts, hose and plastics—and tire workers. Complaining about having to compete with many smaller companies in these products, Peter Pestillo, Goodrich's vice-president of corporate employee relations whined about how "the URW must realize that we can no longer live without rates comparable to those of our direct competitors who have more favorable labor agreements, or none at all." Clearly breaking parity would serve as another way to cut wages if the companies can push it through.

At the same time the companies have been cutting wages they have also tried in a thousand ways to squeeze more work out of each individual rubber worker. Changing the standards on the jobs is one way they try to accomplish both. Many workers receive an hourly wage plus a piece rate. The company has let their time-study men loose, to roam through the plants timing the workers and according to one tire worker, "excluding everything down to the time it takes to spit." In this way they have set what they call "tight standards" for the jobs. As a result people are having such a hard time making their rates that some are transferring to other departments after many years in the same area. Others have lost fingers and increasingly people are getting reprimands for not making the rates and meeting quality standards. On some jobs it's almost impossible to make rates without giving up lunch break.

Current company proposals call for cutting wages by manipulating the piece rate system. They want to pay the lowest wage possible during down time, including breakdowns. This would amount to a big wage cut for many workers. They are also messing with rates as they combine and eliminate jobs. Another company proposal along this line in the contract is to have a rotating 24 hour per day, 7 day per week schedule, in an effort to cut into overtime pay.

The companies have also been trying to squeeze out more work per man by attacking seniority and changing job classifications. They continue to try to weaken the seniority system and force through



schemes which would allow them to threaten a lot of older workers with layoffs and indiscriminate harassment. The companies also routinely try to force people to work out of their classifications, a violation of the contract and something that really has the rank and file fighting mad. Many people have been bumped down into other jobs with no compensation after their old jobs have been eliminated. Crew sizes have also been cut. As the Vice President of Goodyear bluntly put it in a recent interview, "Reduction in the number of work rule restrictions is certainly an important area of concern."

Rank and File in Fighting Mood

These kinds of company attacks have led to a growing struggle among the rank and file leading into this contract. Hundreds of grievances have been filed, especially around the companies messing with job classifications. Slowdowns and refusals to work have broken out, again around changes in job classifications and in challenge to new rates. Many times the struggle has overflowed into strikes, in the final inspection department of Goodyear Plant No. 2 in Akron last summer, for instance. Here the men wildcatted when the company laid off men and tried to force the remaining guys to work more machines.

All this has put tremendous pressure on the International union to deliver when the contract expires. President Bommarito has responded by talking out of both sides of his mouth. On the one hand he's blowing a lot of hot air about striking all four companies at once, instead of choosing one target company like usual.

On the other hand he's kept the rank and file completely in the dark about negotiations which began back in the middle of January. As a result workers in one part of the country don't know what's happening in other parts of the country and the union leadership is making no concrete preparations for the possibility of a strike.

Bommarito and the International union have also proposed some schemes designed to get the workers fighting each other. For example they've tried to foster a division between older and younger workers by saying the union can only fight for either better wages or better pensions in this contract. They have also tried to play the employed off against the unemployed by proposing to beef up the SUB fund by taking money out of the Christmas fund. But most workers are sick and tired of this junk. As one younger worker put it, referring to the choice offered between wages and pensions: "we need both because we need unity."

Workers Resisted 1973 Sellout

The situation at present has some similarity to just before the 1973 contract expiration. The International union made a big show then of putting up a militant fight, coming out with a long list of demands and putting out a lot of militant talk about striking. But the contract settled with Goodyear, the "target company," didn't include any of the major demands.

The companies and the International didn't have an easy time selling this garbage in 1973 though, as thousands of rubber workers voted down the "agreements" and workers at Goodrich and Firestone hit the bricks. After a 23 day strike, Goodrich workers won some improvements over Goodyear's, including better pensions and SUB improvements. But they still got a rotten deal. Firestone won some improvements after a two day strike, but they also got the shaft.

There was tremendous resistance to these final settlements, especially in the big Akron plants. Local 2 at Goodyear voted overwhelmingly to reject the sellout and was joined by the big Jackson, Michigan plant and two others. At Local 7 at Firestone in Akron, local leadership tried to ram the contract down the workers' throats with a miscount on the vote. But when the rank and file booted down the official and showered him with copies of the contract he was forced to call for a division-of-the-house vote which showed a clear "NO!" vote. Even after the contract was signed,

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20,000 Wildcat, Demand Black Lung Benefits

The capitalists' constant drive for profit has always gone hand-in-hand with a disregard for the well-being and even the lives of the workers whose labor is the source of those profits. The mining industry is a good example of this. In the industry's early days draft animals used in production were treated better than the miners by the capitalists. While there are no longer mules used in an industry that's become more and more mechanized, mechanization has brought about more coal dust that the miners inhale while working, and an increase, not a decrease in Black Lung disease which disables and murders thousands of miners each year.

As long as they could, the capitalists tried to ignore this occupational disease and even declared that it did not really exist. But a prolonged battle waged by working and disabled miners that reached its high point in 1969 resulted in a quick "discovery" of the disease and Federal legislation compensating disabled miners and the widows of miners who were affected by the disease.

But from the moment these concessions were forced from the capitalists, they made plans to take them back. By using various "loopholes" and technicalities written into the original law, denials became commonplace in

1973. 95% of the miners who filed after July 1, 1973 are being denied. And thousands continue to work disabled because they can't afford to quit and go through the application process only to face denial.

These outrageous denials have sparked a new movement around Black Lung benefits. The rank and file, over the last two years, has built this struggle and formulated demands aimed at meeting these needs. The key points of these demands are:

- 1) 15 years=benefits. No cutoff date. (Any miner who has worked 15 years and finds himself disabled should be able to collect benefits without medical "proof." These 15 years could be accumulated at any time.)
- 2) Fairer medical standards to qualify for benefits for those with less than 15 years. No re-reading of X rays (which is used for the purpose of denial).
- 3) No discrimination against widows whose husbands were working at the time of death, or widows lacking medical evidence of their husbands' Black Lung disability.

Thousands of miners have signed petitions; resolutions were passed in locals. Black Lung Associations (formed originally during the '69 struggle) have picketed Social Security offices, met with locals and organized other actions, and 5,000 miners went to Washington, DC—all of this to demand these provisions. The rank and file forced the adoption of these same demands by various UMWA District conventions and the UMWA International Constitutional Convention.

Black Lung Bill Attacks Miners

This struggle reached a critical point early this year with the threatened passage in Congress of HR 10760. Although the coal operators and certain Congressmen have been crying about how HR 10760 is nothing but a giveaway program, the rank and file miners know that it is nothing but an out and out attack on the Black Lung movement and the needs of the rank and file in combatting Black Lung.

For bituminous miners, who make up over 95% of all coal miners, the only new provision is automatic benefits after 30 years in underground jobs, and only if those 30 years were accumulated before 1971! This bill would *legitimize* the constant denials to anyone with less than 30 years, to any miner who did not have

30 years in by '71, and to miners who work above ground on various jobs, most of whom also get their lungs full of coal dust. All in all, this bill, if it became law, would provide benefits for less than 5% of the miners and widows who need them!

To smash this bill and to fight for their real needs around Black Lung, working and disabled miners intensified the struggle in February. Off of mass meetings in various counties in southern West Virginia, miners called upon Arnold Miller, president of the UMWA, to call a "memorial" period to advance the Black Lung fight, or the rank and file would. The "memorial" period is a provision in the contract giving the International the right, in essence, to call legal strikes for a set period of time. Instead of calling the memorial period, Miller chose to side with the capitalists and sabotage the fight of the rank and file.

The UMWA International officers called for miners to support the sellout bill. In the UMWA's *Journal* they outright lied about the different provisions in the bill.

20,000 Miners Take Matters in Own Hands

Despite this, 20,000 rank and file miners in southern West Virginia and Virginia took matters into their own hands and struck for one week in opposition to the bill and for their demands. As usual the companies got their injunctions, this time with even heavier fines aimed at destroying union locals. As we go to press, it looks like one active miner will go to jail. The media was used in attempts to sabotage the strike by continually lying about the number of miners out on strike. From one county or state to another, the number the media reported never ranged above 5,000, when in fact, over 20,000 were out at one time.

Arnold Miller rode into office on the tail of a powerful rank and file movement that shook the coalfields. But now that he is comfortably in office, he says, "there's a better way." The rank and file should give up their fight and follow him on a Washington merry-go-round, spending their time and money tracking down Congressmen. He tells them to hang their hopes and lives on Congress, whose very purpose is to protect the profits of the ruling class.

Miller Attacks Rank and File

After two years of lip service to the rank and file demands, Miller has backed down on each of them. On March 2, while thousands of miners were out in opposition to HR 10760 and uniting around their demands, Miller was lobbying for this sellout bill, which did pass the House with one concession—a watered down version of the demand against the re-reading of X rays added as an amendment.

Miller's role in this strike is the clearest example of class collaboration in the coalfields in a long line of sellouts since he took office. Besides his lies about what was in the bill and his dead-end lobbying strategy, he and the rest of the International Executive Board (IEB) launched a full-scale attack to sabotage the strike.

He blitzed radio and TV with spot announcements on how a handful of radicals were sabotaging his legislative efforts and were out to bust the union and how this handful was keeping thousands of miners and their families from the benefits of a permanent program. As the week wore on, he launched into his attack through his henchmen on members of the Right-to-Strike Committee, who were part of the active leadership of the strike, saying that they were a handful trying to destroy the real interests of the rank and file. But a leaflet from miners active in the Black Lung fight put it to Miller sharply:

"...the only sabotage by a handful is the sabotage of Miller and Co. who have sold out the rank and file's just demands—siding with the companies in getting injunctions and trying to sucker the rank and file into supporting this rotten bill.

"And this same handful, who are using their top Union office to sabotage our struggle, are the *real wreckers* of our Union. They use their position to gain 'respectability,' wear fine suits and rub elbows with the rich. The only thing they treasure about our Union is the treasury. But the rank and file treasure our Union because we need to unite the strength of thousands of miners in common struggle for our common needs. We will fight to strengthen and defend our Union from attacks from within and without."

Telegrams and letters have been sent to a number of rank and file activists, threatening them with disciplinary action and even expulsion from the union through the use of the "10 point program to end wildcats" passed by the IEB after last fall's "right-to-strike" wildcat. (see *Revolution*, January 15, 1976)

Miller's attack on rank and file leaders has only added to the anger over his betrayal on the Black Lung issue (and other struggles since he came into office). While miners will be taking into account the heavier attacks from the courts and the International, as an open letter to Arnold Miller and the IEB from working and disabled miners involved in this strike says:

"We will find a way to continue a battle which is far from over, for we will not be thrown on the gob pile, sick, with nothing, after the companies have used us up for their profit!" ■

Miners' Blood On Bosses' Hands

*"There is never a mine blown skyward now,
But we're buried alive for you..."*

This line from the poem and song "We Have Fed You All For A Thousand Years" has once again been proved as true today as it was when it was written at the turn of the century. On March 9, a methane gas explosion ripped the Scotia mine in eastern Kentucky, killing 15 miners. The blast killed several outright. The others suffocated slowly in the methane fumes and carbon monoxide as their emergency one hour breathing devices gave out.

Although the Scotia mine is notorious for having among the highest levels of methane in the country, a substance so volatile it is used in jet fuel, the Commissioner of the Kentucky Bureau of Mines and Minerals, H.N. Kirkpatrick, okayed sending in a team of miners with a few government mine inspectors only three days after the blast to shore up the mine, so it could then be given a "full inspection" and reopened for production. While this team was in the mine, the methane gas blew again. This time eleven men died in the blast. Kirkpatrick's only explanation of why he had sent these men so quickly in the Scotia death trap was "Any time you go underground or get on the high-



A rescue team descends into the methane-filled Scotia mine in search of miners caught in an explosion. For the capitalists, who would never permit themselves to be soiled by the coal dust of the mines they own, profit is king and miners are expendable.

way, it's dangerous."

He was right there. 155 miners died in accidents in 1975, up from 132 the two previous years, over three times the fatality rate in industry as a whole. The increase can be directly laid to the productivity drive of the coal bosses, who are mining every coal seam they can and to hell with safety, to take advantage of the demand for coal in the wake of the "energy crisis" of 1974. It was to aid the coal companies in this drive for profits that Kirkpatrick was in such a hurry to get the Scotia reopened.

The Federal Government's mine safety laws are a farce, especially compared with the stringent laws British, German and other European miners have won, which have kept the accident rates there far below that in the U.S. Even the UMW safety rules, which were not in effect at Scotia, are still insufficient, especially with the union bureaucracy cracking down on walkouts and miners losing paychecks for insisting safe conditions be established before they go to work.

As of March 12, 49 miners had been killed already this year, murdered to fatten the capitalists.

*"If blood be the price of your cursed wealth
Then, Good God, we have paid in full." ■*



Workers demonstrating at the Columbus, Ohio state unemployment office against benefit cuts prepare to move out to the State Capitol.

Convoy...

Continued from page 1

in January, thousands of employed and unemployed workers have come forward to build the struggle by giving donations, signing Jobs or Income petitions, coming to meetings and demonstrations, or passing out leaflets to friends and fellow workers. A large percentage of the people who filled the busses and cars to Columbus came from leaflets passed out at local unemployment offices.

Active support was given by hundreds of employed workers and was a very important part of the demonstration. In Cincinnati, donations from workers at Hilton Davis, General Hospital and the Sanitation Department paid for the bus to Columbus. Letters of support were sent by employed workers from several work places. In Dayton, workers at Frigidare, themselves constant victims of layoffs, and GHR Foundry passed the hat and gave generous donations to help pay for the trip. Workers at Premier Rubber sent a letter of support. Cleveland UWOC received over \$80 from Alcoa workers to pay for gas, and workers at the Brookpark Ford plant sent a letter of support with 183 signatures.

Big Support

As the workers marched from the state unemployment bureau to the Governor's office in Columbus, scores of construction workers, shoppers and others downtown shouted, waved or honked their horns in support, while others joined right in.

The response of the ruling class to the convoy and the demonstration was to harass and try to intimidate the workers. Two weeks earlier UWOC had sent a letter to Ohio Governor Rhodes demanding to see him when they got to the capital. Instead, he got court orders against the demonstration entering unemployment offices, set a \$1,000 fee on a permit to march in the streets and skipped off to Florida, leaving dozens of cops to guard the locked doors of the state house. In fact, police had been guarding the Cleveland unemployment office when the workers left that morning and no sooner had the contingent from Cleveland arrived in Columbus than the cops arrested the driver of the lead car and charged him with car theft (they had to drop the charge a half hour later).

But all the efforts to intimidate and demoralize the demonstrators turned into their opposite. Why is it that when working people come to bring our demands for Jobs or Income to the government we get met with locks on doors and police to keep us out? For the majority of the people in the convoy this was their first demonstration, and they were righteously angry at all the efforts to turn away their just demands. "You've been pushing us around all our lives," one woman shouted, and the unemployed stood their ground. The cops backed off from any moves to beat up or arrest people and retreated behind the locked doors of the state house.

The local media also tried to stir up a red-baiting campaign around the convoy. The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* warned of the communists in UWOC and accused the demonstrators of violence for standing their ground against the police. Several reporters spent the whole day at the demonstration telling the workers that they were being "used" by communists.

But the speech by the Revolutionary Communist Party at the rally was warmly applauded and sharply laid out who is using who. The capitalists need the workers, the speaker said, and we need them as much as we need a tapeworm to help us digest our food!

Another speaker, a woman thrown out of work after 15 years at the now-closed RCA plant in Cin-

cinnati, attacked Rhode's plan to try and lure industry to Ohio from other states with promises of low taxes and wages. We can't have workers competing for jobs against each other, she said, bidding wages lower and lower. And she made it clear that we are always going to face this situation until we get rid of these capitalists and build a system by and for the workers.

On the busses home there was strong feeling that "we made our point" and a lot of enthusiasm for building the demonstrations planned for cities across the state on March 27 to fight the benefit cuts.

New Jersey Jobs Convoy

On March 6 a 60 car "Fight for Jobs" convoy rolled through northern New Jersey as the opening shot in a campaign of employed and unemployed to fight plant shutdowns and for every job. Workers started from Perth Amboy and Newark and merged for a rally in Linden, New Jersey.

In this state the ruling class doesn't even make a pretense that unemployment is decreasing. In fact the *New York Times* reported in early March that unemployment had reached 13% in the state. Plant after plant has been clearing out of New Jersey for years. GE in Newark is gone, Western Electric has laid off thousands and rumors of a closing continue. Now RCA in Harrison plans to shut down on July 1, and Otis Elevator has announced a layoff of 600. Ronson in Woodbridge and American Smelting and Refining in Perth Amboy have also just announced plant shut-

downs.

Unemployment is a big social issue on everyone's mind. It is a question which speaks to the way this whole society runs. Whole towns have been wrecked—30 year men with no chance of finding work and high school kids with no jobs in front of them. "We want jobs," that's what workers are saying—we don't have to live like this.

It's time to build up the fight. Time to gather our forces, employed and unemployed to fight for every job. This was the message taken out by UWOC and the United Workers Organization in building for the convoy. Over 20,000 leaflets were distributed at plant gates and unemployment centers and everywhere the response was the same: "it's time that we did something about this!"

On the way to Linden the convoy stopped at the National Lead plant in Sayersville to show support for the one thousand striking workers who have been out since February 2 to defend 300 jobs, and at the Budweiser Brewery in Elizabeth, N.J., where striking workers have raised job security as one of their main demands. Cheers and clenched fists of support greeted the convoy all along the route.

Fight Against Forced Overtime—Part of Jobs Fight

Speakers at the rally said it again and again: the fight for jobs is a fight of all working people! Workers from steel and auto plants took the mike and talked about the fight against speedup and compulsory overtime as part of the campaign for jobs. A speaker from UWOC denounced the government's threat to cut out unemployment benefits and force workers into minimum wage jobs, while the bosses use unemployment to drive wages down and divide our class.

The massive plant closings and layoffs in New Jersey are only part of the attacks the capitalists are leveling on the working class in every part of the country. The UWOC slogan, "Employed/Unemployed, Same Crisis, Same Fight," sums it up. And UWOC nationally and organizations like the NY-NJ United Workers Organization in other areas are building a movement that will meet these attacks of the capitalists head on.

The recent rash of runaways and plant closings is a major attack, but the plan is to throw it back at the capitalists and use it as a launching pad to spread the fight throughout the whole working class. The campaign is being taken out broadly among all working people in every industry, in the unemployment centers, communities and union halls. Further plans include plant gate rallies and public meetings in the towns hard hit by the closings.

As one speaker at the New Jersey rally put it in taking on all this phoney recovery talk, "There is only one thing getting better, that's our ability to fight!" ■

Utility Rates Soar Masses Raise Hell

Seems like every time you open the daily paper there is another announcement that the public utility companies have just asked for or have just been given another 10, 20 or 30% rate increase. People have developed a burning hatred for the bloodsuckers with \$450 suits and million dollar profits who own these so-called "public" utilities.

In addition to layoffs, cutbacks in every kind of essential service, and all the other attacks the capitalist class is trying to heap on us, they are making it an almost unbearable expense for working people to heat or light their homes. It's not unheard of in the Midwest and the East for employed people to have to pay upwards of a quarter of their income for utility bills during the winter months. And these corporations have no hesitation to shut off service when people are unable to meet their bills. Several stories have appeared in recent years telling of pensioners or people on social security freezing to death in their rooms because they couldn't pay the bill.

"Raise the rate or cut back the service" is the cry of the ruling class these days. And in Trenton, New Jersey, they have been doing both. Public Service Electric and Gas company (PSE&G) is preparing to raise the rates another 25% (after last year's hike of 33%).

The Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) in Trenton has been mobilizing a campaign among the working class to fight this robbery. At a rally sponsored by UWOC and other groups in front of the state house in downtown Trenton recently, a member of UWOC said that "the rich folks always try to take the things we've won, especially during a

crisis. While the fat cats sit up there stuffing their pockets off what we produce, we work all our life and what do we have to show for it? We've got to build our movement to beat back these attacks on our living standards and fight for the things we need!"

The government is so uptight about the rising anger against the rate increases and service cutbacks that the Governor announced several days before the rally that the cuts would be restored until June 1. But as one woman at the rally said, "This is just the very beginning. If we don't continue to fight, they'll cut us back in June again. We've got to build this thing big."

In Hamilton Township, just outside Trenton, things are hotter than a blast furnace in hell. At a recent public forum that included a member of the Public Utilities Commission and a representative of the PSE&G, 400 workers and others showed up to put both the PUC and PSE&G on notice that they wouldn't stand for any increase.

One man told of paying a \$325 gas and electric bill last month. He pointed to the PSE&G man's shoes and said, "You see those \$50 shoes, well, mister, I paid for them. Wear them well, 'cause you're not going to get another pair!"

A middle aged Black worker was greeted with thunderous applause when he shouted out, "We can't afford to heat our homes. We can't afford to eat. We can't afford to live. We can't afford to die. And we can't afford to pay your bills!!" People began to jump out of their seats and for several hours one worker after another went to the microphone. There were petitions from local plants, and stories of having heat shut off,

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1,500 March Through Honolulu

Hawaii Eviction Fight Builds

1500 people, mostly workers and their families marched over a mile through the streets of downtown Honolulu on February 14, their chants of "Stop All Evictions Now" resounding off the sides of the buildings that lined the march route. Traffic came to a halt as the demonstration swept by, stretching three lanes wide and five or more blocks long.

There were contingents of hotel workers, pineapple workers, bus drivers and public workers, as well as marchers from construction, longshore, and many other industries. Residents came from at least half a dozen working class neighborhoods facing evictions. There were also contingents of unemployed workers and welfare recipients, working class youth from local high schools, GIs, members of a prisoners support group, students organized by members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade, and many others.

The march and the rally at the state capitol building that followed, was the latest skirmish in a battle that has been raging throughout Hawaii for the last five years. Thousands and thousands of people have stood up to the island's big developers and land owners, refusing to let their homes be leveled to clear the way for highly profitable hotels, expensive housing complexes, and other developments. Step by step these struggles have exposed and weakened the ruling class, while winning support from ever larger sections of people.

People Evicted to Make Room for Profits

The masses of people have faced the threat of large scale evictions since the very beginnings of capitalist development of the islands. Many native Hawaiians were driven from their homes in the late 1800s and early 1900s after their water supply was channeled off to irrigate the expanding sugar and pineapple plantations, turning their small subsistence farms into dry wastelands. Tens of thousands of others have been evicted over the past 40 or 50 years to clear the area for light industry, the state highway system, the downtown financial center and other developments.

The threat of evictions intensified in recent years as large numbers of capitalists invested tremendous amounts of capital in the then booming high cost housing and resort industries. There was a tremendous surge of investment in this sector of the economy, especially during the last 10 to 15 years.

At the same time evictions are threatened, it has become even clearer that the capitalists can't provide decent housing for the masses. As the capitalists have poured their money into high-priced developments, land prices have rapidly increased and the costs of building materials has spiraled. This has made investment in housing for common people even less profitable for them and further aggravated the already severe housing crisis.

Hawaii already faces one of the worst housing crises in the country with 85% of the population unable to afford the cheapest home for sale in the housing market. Tens of thousands of families live in overcrowded, dilapidated, unsafe units. Hundreds of families are losing their homes to the banks every year as they fall behind in mortgage payments. Nearly everyone is having a difficult time paying the skyrocketing rents, including 7,000 welfare recipients who had their rent subsidies slashed as of the first of the year. Meanwhile 10,000 houses and condominium units are standing unoccupied because nobody has the money to afford them.

These conditions have left the masses of people no choice but to fight.

Many Years of Anti-Eviction Struggle

Five years ago some of the people living in Kalame Valley, a rural community of working class families and small farmers just outside of Honolulu, refused to move when the landowner announced plans to convert the area into a massive high-cost housing complex. The police were eventually called in to clear everyone out, but the struggle—the first such organized resistance to evictions in recent years—became a spark that quickly ignited similar resistance throughout the state. Following this area after area began refusing to obey the landowners' and developers' eviction orders.

Through the course of some of these early fights against evictions, people's understanding of the situation grew. For example in some of these battles some tendencies held sway, pushed especially by some lawyers and poverty pimps, which tended to narrow and defeat the struggles. They portrayed the struggle as one between "local people" and the big developers who "only serve the needs of Haoles (whites) from the mainland," as a fight of the "rural life style" vs. urbanization; or as a struggle confined to only Hawaiian, Filipino or some other particular nationality. There was also a tendency to view the courts and legislature



The February 14 demonstration was a big step forward in the struggle against evictions with organized contingents of workers from many of Hawaii's industries.

as neutral bodies, standing independent from both the masses and the bourgeoisie, which led many struggles to get channeled solely into the courtroom and legislative arenas, relying on lawyers or politicians.

But in the course of this struggle, more advanced leadership has come forward and many people have learned that these views lead to a dead end. So as the fight against evictions has continued to grow and advance over the last few years many people are developing a much clearer and more accurate understanding of the fight, and have been able to aim their blows much more directly and forcibly at the enemy. In the past, for example, most communities let the lawyers take care of anything having to do with the courts. Today most of the struggles respond to court hearings by setting up picket lines outside the courthouse, putting heat on the court and making clear their determination to fight no matter what decision the judge makes.

Another example of this was last year when the Hawaiian Electric Co. sent eviction notices to one community in order to clear the area for construction of a major power plant, needed to serve the millions of dollars worth of new development slated for the surrounding area. The people demanded a meeting to discuss the evictions, but the company officials ignored their requests. So they barged into the company president's office one morning, blocked the exits and forced him to talk.

Eviction Struggle Broadening into Class-Wide Fight

People are also learning the importance of taking word of their fight out to the broader masses of people. With the tremendous crisis in housing on the island, people discovered there were strong ties that could be built between their struggle against eviction and the fight against the housing crisis. Residents in one area gathered 25,000 signatures on petitions op-

posing their evictions in less than a month's time, forcing the State Land Use Commission to turn down development plans for their neighborhood. Another community of less than 50 residents mobilized nearly 300 people, most of them workers, to come to a support rally on only six days' notice, by building for the event at job sites and other workplaces near the community. The eviction struggles have also helped spark other skirmishes, ranging from resistance on the job to a recent strike by inmates at the state prison.

One example of the growing support for the struggle has been the change in attitude of many construction workers. There have been active attempts by the bourgeoisie to pin the blame for high unemployment among construction workers on the people fighting evictions. This view was pushed by the hacks in the building trades and other unions. But today nearly 2,000 of the state's 7,000 carpenters are on the bench and unemployment is running 40% or higher in some of the other building trades. Many of the very workers who built the high rise complexes and resorts are themselves out of work and many face evictions or foreclosure too.

As a result, although the divisions are still far from completely overcome, many construction workers have joined with and helped to build the eviction struggles. For example, over a period of a year, over 30 bulldozer operators have refused to do any work in one of the areas up for eviction.

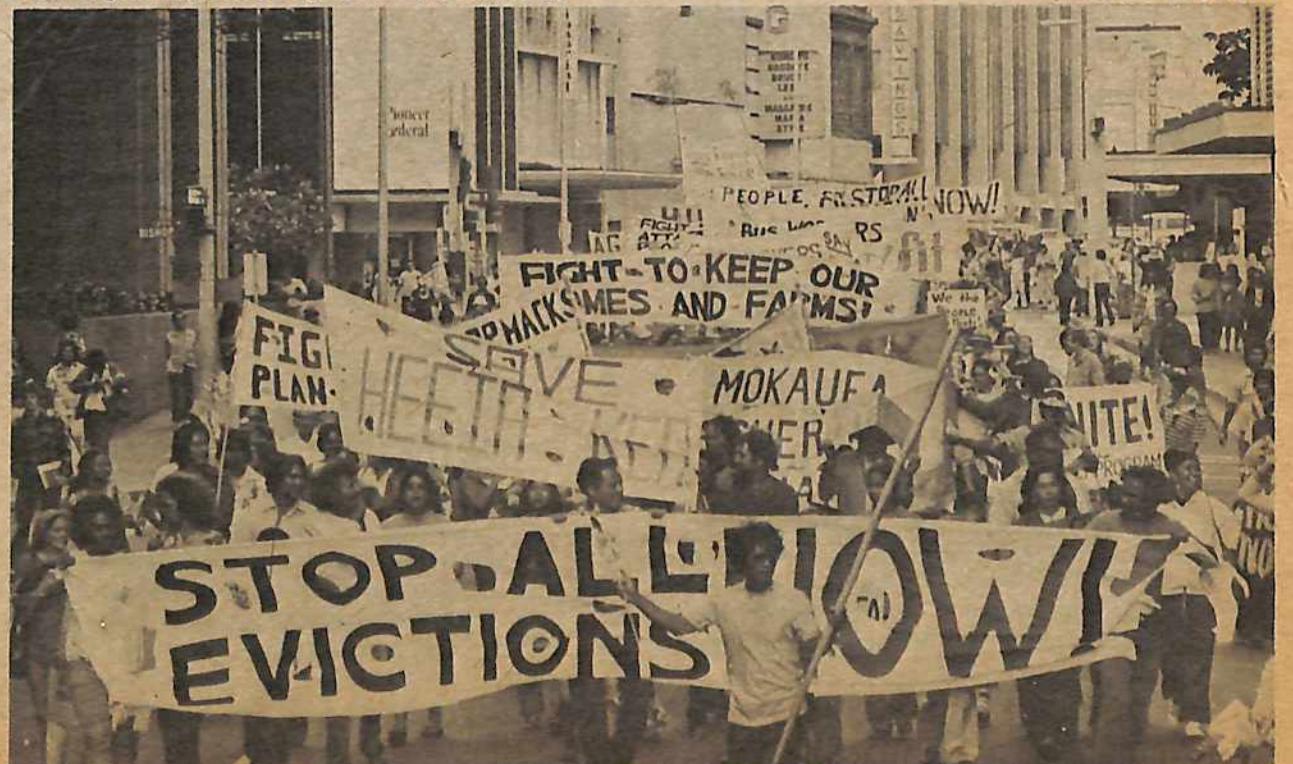
Plans for the recent march and rally grew out of all these developments—the growing strength and understanding of the masses in the communities facing evictions; developing leadership pointing to the common class enemy and links between the battles; the steadily widening support for their struggle among the masses of workers and other people; increasing unity between eviction fights and the other main fights the class has been fighting recently; the growing economic and political crisis of the ruling class.

Broad Coalition Formed

To begin planning for the demonstration two of the eviction areas put out a call for the action in the middle of November. Members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, together with other workers and fighters, actively took up this call and began to help to plan the campaign. A coalition of nearly 25 groups and organizations was formed, reflecting most of the key struggles being waged in the islands today, and everyone enthusiastically got down to the task of mobilizing people to turn out for the demonstration.

From their past experience, the overwhelming majority of people came together because they wanted to build a fighting demonstration that attacked the enemy, not one that crawled on its knees begging for mercy. But throughout the two and one half months put into building the demonstration people had to struggle against a handful of backward forces, including some with political ambitions, who wanted to drag the struggle back, negating the advances that had been made through the years. For example people had to defeat the view that "community people" should make all the decisions and the "outsiders" (everyone else in the coalition) should simply follow orders. In response to those who put forward this view, one woman, who herself faces eviction, answered this by telling the coalition, "we need all your support now, to show the profiteers that the people are fed up and will not stand

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The working people of Hawaii are rising up against efforts to rip down many of their homes to make way for profitable resort developments and high cost housing for the rich.

Face-lift for Repression Law

Rulers Haggle Over S-1

Under the cover of dumping laws that "show more concern for the criminal than for the victim" and enacting new laws that protect people from the criminal element, the bourgeoisie has in the works Senate Bill 1 (S-1), a massive revision of the entire Federal criminal code, which is nothing but a big attack on the masses. S-1's main purpose is to protect the biggest criminals of all time, the capitalists, from the struggle they see growing against them. The bill goes a long way to systematize laws that restrict the freedom of the masses and to make the bourgeois state more "free" to repress the mass struggle. (See article in *Revolution*, Dec. 15, 1975)

Although it is not a widely known bill, S-1 has met opposition whenever people have heard about it. And in spite of the fact that it is tailor-made for the capitalist class as a whole, S-1 has even come under fire from this and that bourgeois interest. They feel that some of its provisions could be directed against them, and have some disagreements over how to best maintain their rule.

So in a renewed effort to get the legislation passed, some important Washington powerbrokers have gone to work. Senate leaders Mansfield and Scott have recently recommended cutting a number of the sections which might threaten some of their cohorts and making a few other changes to remove S-1 from the public eye. This maneuvering is aimed at making the bill easier to swallow for more of the bourgeoisie, and getting it passed. Since the capitalists and their political henchmen heartily approve of most of S-1, the proposed changes leave the important parts of the bill nearly intact.

Much of the capitalist media has opposed S-1 up until now. In the old bill there were eight sections, the so-called "Official Secrets Act," that place restrictions on the press around printing "secret" or "classified" information. The *New York Times* jumped on the bill, calling it "a grave danger to freedom of the press..." The *New York Times* was the first to print the Pentagon Papers and if S-1 had been in effect the *Times* could have been up a creek.

Beyond the few sections that had certain capitalists uptight, all the attention devoted to S-1—even if only hitting at a few sections, like "Official Secrets"—ended up shining a spotlight on a bill the bourgeoisie would rather see passed quietly. All this made passage of S-1 during an election year more difficult. One of the bill's original sponsors, liberal and recent drop-out from the presidential race, Birch Bayh, was forced to back away from the bill because of mounting protests over its repressive nature.

S-1 Face-Lift

To grease the rails for S-1, two of the bill's backers, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Minority Leader Hugh Scott, sent a letter to the Judiciary Committee on Feb. 11 with a plan to get 98% of S-1 passed, saving the other 2% for later. Stating that S-1 was "in a great deal of jeopardy" but that everyone on the committee was "extraordinarily sensitive to the urgent need to revise and reform the Criminal Code," they proposed two things: to change S-1's number in order "to diminish the focus on that number which has become a source of pain and controversy," and to delete from S-1 the "very sensitive and highly controversial" sections that are causing most of the steam among the bourgeoisie.

The proposed changes include: cutting the "Official Secrets Act," the death sentence, provisions on wire-tapping, unlawful entrapment and exercise of public authority, and to "shape up" the provisions on sentencing procedures. Mansfield and Scott pointed out that the sections they propose cutting "could be offered, of course [!], either in the form of separate vehicles or separate bills or as amendments to other legislation." President Ford, hardly missing a beat, has already tacked "Official Secrets" onto his proposal to "reform" the CIA and other intelligence agencies.

Most of the sections of S-1 that aim directly at the mass struggle go untouched in the Mansfield-Scott face-lift. It would still be a crime to obstruct government functions "by any means," including noise. "Tumultuous conduct" by ten or more people would still be a "riot." Wildcatting or slowing down the "production, repair or delivery" of "any property particularly suited for national defense," which could cover everything from coal mines to transistor plants, would be illegal. And the like-new reconditioned S-1 would still try to outlaw communists, making it illegal

to "engage in conduct that then or at some future time would facilitate overthrow or destruction of [the U.S.] government."

These areas of S-1 nearly all capitalists and their politicians agree on. It's not surprising. The system is in deep trouble. The capitalists are aware of the growing numbers of people are fighting back, both spontaneously and with increasing organization and leadership. Tens of millions of people are not buying any part of the election year traveling road show. As a Sioux City, Iowa, Democratic Party hack put it: "Half the people in this town don't even know there's an election this year. And most of those who know don't care. No one gives a -----." This is not a good sign for capitalism. The ruling class needs to build up its forces to diffuse and suppress opposition to bourgeois rule.

Fighting Among Thieves

The fact that Mansfield and Scott have had to back off of parts of S-1, in order to save it as a whole, shows how in the face of growing crisis the bourgeoisie cannot even unite their own ranks. The "Official Secrets Act" is a case in point. The purpose of this was to make the bourgeois media more responsible, less likely to run stories damaging to the bourgeois state and to

the capitalist class as a whole.

But the scandals of government and all the "leaking" and counter-leaking of "secret" information are part of the lifeblood of bourgeois media. More than simply a way to sell the product, these hot news stories are used as weapons by one set of bourgeois interests against another. As it turns out, while they may all agree that publishing such scandals "undermine the confidence of the American people in their elected officials," none of them are willing to put down the club.

The move by Mansfield and Scott could go a long way to silence most of S-1's bourgeois critics. The press will likely breath a great sigh of relief, editorialize in favor of the face-lifted S-1 and proceed to oppose efforts to tack "Official Secrets" onto other bills. Of course, as the mass struggle goes on the capitalists will continue to steam and argue about it—fighting over how best to repress it and preserve the system of wage slavery.

S-1—Example of Bourgeois Democracy

Some critics of S-1 have called the bill "fascist" or "pro-fascist." They try to expose the so-called "anti-democratic" content of the bill. But S-1 represents no qualitative change in the way the capitalists rule the U.S. In fact, the S-1 bill further exposes that "democracy" in the U.S. is nothing more than democracy for the capitalists and a dictatorship over the masses, masked by the charade of popular rule. These current maneuverings are yet another exercise in this "democratic process." Even the most liberal of S-1's opponents in the House just want to rewrite the law so that it's okay to talk about ending capitalist injustices—just as long as nobody tries to do anything!

No matter how the politicians wheel and deal, no matter how much they try to paint a pretty face on S-1, it all comes down to slicking up what is horrible and ugly—the dictatorship of the capitalist class. And the fight of the working class is not a fight to pretty it up. It is a fight against their rule—to end it and beat back every repressive measure that stands in the way. ■

Paris Commune: They Dared to Storm Heaven

One hundred and five years ago, on March 18, 1871, establishment of the first proletarian revolutionary political power in human history—the Paris Commune—was proclaimed amidst thunderous cheers and shouts of "Long Live the Commune!" It was the proletariat's first great onslaught on the citadels of capital, its first armed and organized attempt to overthrow capitalism. When the bourgeoisie counterattacked and the Commune faced defeat, Marx pointed out, "But even if the Commune is crushed, the struggle will only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are eternal and cannot be destroyed; they will declare themselves again and again until the working class achieves its liberation."

In the 19th Century the life and death struggle between the two antagonistic classes grew more and more acute. The proletariat experienced a growing awakening as it grew in strength. In an heroic effort which Marx described as "storming heaven," the workers of Paris seized political power and made a great attempt to establish the rule of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism the Commune had the support of class conscious workers the world over. It proclaimed that "the flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic."

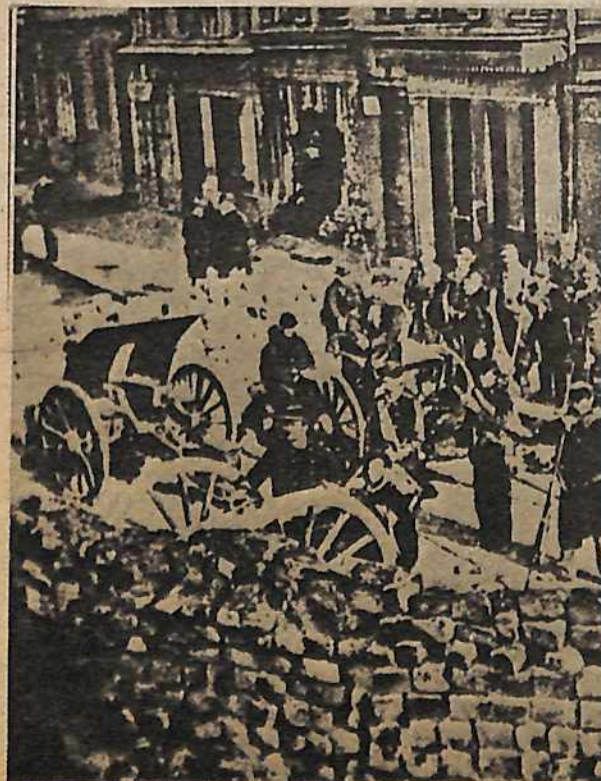
On May 21, the bourgeoisie launched a counterattack. The men and women of the Commune fought street by street, house to house in defense of their revolution, but on May 28, the last of their barricades fell to the capitalists' army. Thousands laid down their lives in the battle. The failure of the Paris Commune left invaluable lessons to the proletariat worldwide—once the proletariat has toppled the bourgeoisie it must ruthlessly suppress the capitalist class, thoroughly smash its state apparatus and continue to carry on class struggle in order to strengthen and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In June 1871, shortly after the brutal suppression of the Commune, Eugene Pottier, a worker and participant in the Commune, wrote the *Internationale*. On the 25th anniversary of Pottier's death, Lenin wrote: "The Commune was crushed—but Pottier's *Internationale* spread its ideas throughout the world, and it is now more alive than ever before."

*Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.*

Refrain:
*'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place.
The international working class
Shall be the human race.*

*We want no condescending saviours,
To rule us from a judgement hall;
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty,
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.*



Defending the barricades on the Rue des Abbesses.

Festival of Oppressors

New Tsars Hold Party Congress

The 25th Congress of the Soviet "Communist" Party was recently concluded in early March. There was once a time when the convening of 5,000 delegates from throughout the Soviet Union and from 103 foreign parties and groups would have heralded the great advances of the Soviet working class and struck a note for unity and struggle against capitalism throughout the world. Instead the Congress took place at a time of growing internal crisis and war preparations for the Soviet rulers. Highlighted by the results of the 1971-75 Five Year Plan and the announcement of the 1976-80 Five Year Plan, it was a further exposé that capitalism has been fully restored in the Soviet Union and that its ruling class and the ruling class of the U.S. stand as the two main enemies of the peoples of the world.

The recent Congress and the new five year plan adopted there provide even further insight into the workings of capitalism in the USSR. The rulers of the USSR, of course, do not call themselves capitalists and imperialists. Far from it, they go out of their way to hide capitalism behind fine sounding words about socialist construction and hide imperialist aggression and war preparations behind the banner of "proletarian internationalism." This makes it all the more important for the ugly features of imperialism to be exposed and the veil of socialism ripped off the face of the Soviet bourgeoisie.

The rulers of the Soviet Union used the occasion of the Congress to paint a rosy picture of their country. In his five hour opening speech Brezhnev bragged about the "crisis-free, steadily growing economy," one that has "boundless horizons of continued all-round progress."

Soviet Economy a Mess

But the fact is the Soviet economy is a mess. Agricultural production is a disaster, decreasing in seven of the last eleven years since Brezhnev came to power in 1964. Last year total grain output was 80 million tons short of the planned target. As a result the Soviet Union has had to import increasingly huge amounts of wheat and other grain, especially from its arch-rival, the United States. *The per-capita grain output in 1975 was even lower than in 1913 in tsarist Russia.*

There is a real scarcity of consumer goods, with production in this area coming to only 89% of the target of the 1971-75 plan. At the same time the people's standard of living remains low, with the Soviet press reporting that one-quarter of the total population now lives below the level "guaranteeing the lowest standard of material life," figures strikingly similar to those from the U.S. bourgeoisie which also show one fourth of the population living below the "official poverty line." Like the U.S., prices have been steadily rising and the Soviet workers have been shouldering increasingly heavy taxes. According to published statistics from Soviet authorities taxes have risen 87.4% from 1960 to 1973.

Debts are piling up. Since 1964 the country has borrowed more than \$20 billion from Western countries, more than 80% of it coming in the last five years. Forced to seek capital from abroad, the USSR has entered into agreements with Western corporations allowing them a share in managing Western financed enterprises and a percentage of the product produced. This means that increasingly Western capital is exploiting Soviet workers.

Unemployment, alcoholism, crime, prostitution, the oppression of different nationalities within the USSR and the oppression of women have all been on the increase.

Arming to the Teeth

This is what the "crisis-free, steadily growing economy" of the Soviet Union looks like. But while the production of agriculture and consumer goods has generally been stagnating, the production of military hardware and related heavy industries has been skyrocketing as the Soviet ruling class, like their U.S. counterparts, makes preparations for a new world war.

One result of this huge arms expansion and preparations for war has been to create great contradictions in the Soviet economy. There is a modern and expanding heavy industry section, especially machine building, while agriculture and light industry remain very weak. Investment and technology in arms, computers, instruments, etc., is developing rapidly while investment in industries producing goods for Soviet consumers is stagnant. Like in the U.S. there are many nuclear weapons, but the people's standard of living is on the decline.

This growing crisis and militarization of the Soviet



Bossman speaks at Soviet Party Congress.

Union is a little different than what was promised to the Soviet people at the last Congress in 1971. At that time Brezhnev promised a radical improvement in the living standards of the Soviet people. A five year plan was approved then setting a target for industrial growth of at least 42% and promising that the main thrust of economic policy would be to raise the people's standard of living.

And despite Brezhnev's bald-faced lying at the Congress when he stated that "The Soviet Union has no need of war. The Soviet Union is not increasing its military budget. It is...continuously increasing the allocations for raising the well-being of the people," facts are quite the opposite. The Soviet Union spends more each year on armaments than the U.S., although the gross national product is only half as large. Fifteen to twenty per cent of the Soviet economy is production for war.

Both the economic shambles in the Soviet Union and the huge growth in war spending are closely related, and both are the result of the laws of capitalism which lead, in the Soviet Union, like in our own country, to stagnation and war.

Socialism Destroyed in USSR

Socialism once existed in the Soviet Union when the working class was in power and, facing great obstacles, was able to implement an economic plan that was truly based on the overall needs and development of society and follow a foreign policy based on defending the workers' state, opposing imperialist war, and supporting world revolution. Despite constant encirclement by hostile capitalist countries and the devastation of first a civil war following the revolution and then World War 2, the Soviet Union under socialism developed from a backward, mostly agricultural nation to a powerful industrial country, and overall the standard of living for the masses of people improved considerably. The Soviet Union stood as a bright hope to working people around the world, as an example of what the working class could achieve once it had thrown off the yoke of capitalism.

But all that has changed today. With the rise to power of Khrushchev in 1956, the capitalists managed to seize control of the Communist Party, once the political vanguard of the working class. From this position they turned the state into an instrument to enforce their rule and began to restore capitalism.

Khrushchev launched a systematic attack on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and began the process of replacing working class fighters in the Communist Party with bourgeois elements. Under his leadership the new capitalist class proceeded to wreck the achievements of socialism, breaking up the centralized rule of the working class and dismantling

socialist enterprises. Profit began to figure prominently in determining the direction of the economy. For example, the 1961 new program of the CPSU (in one of the first and most shameless proclamations of capitalist principles) stated that, "the Party attaches prime importance to more *effective investments*, the choice of the most profitable and economical trends in capital construction, achievement of maximum growth of output per invested ruble, and the reduction of the time lapse between investment and return." (emphasis in original)

But Khrushchev's wrecking of socialism and unleashing of the spontaneous forces of capitalism only brought chaos to the economy, leading to his replacement, in 1964, by Brezhnev and Kosygin. Centralized state and Party control was reasserted. "Discipline" and "control" re-emerged as watchwords of the day. Only this time the political power was consolidated in the hands of new finance capitalists consisting of high Party and state officials. The economy was systematically restructured according to consistent monopoly capitalist principles, with profit firmly in command.

State Monopoly Capitalism

Today the Soviet economy is one of state monopoly capitalism. The economy is organized into large-scale Production Associations—huge trusts or syndicates merging industrial or production enterprises with different state ministries. Like any capitalist society, profit is the key motive force in the economy and the profitability of different areas of the economy regulates the relationship between them and the extremely important state credit institutions.

Restoring the rule of profit has led to huge dislocations in the Soviet economy. Most dramatically, it is behind the monumental failures of Soviet agriculture, which hasn't proven to be a profitable enough area of investment.

This kind of state capitalism has allowed the capitalists of the Soviet Union to achieve a high concentration of capital and a relatively high degree of unity in their actions. However, competition between the different monopoly capitalists is developing rapidly. While competition takes place among all the capitalist elements in Soviet society, it takes place primarily between different high Party and state officials who control different Production Associations and ministries.

All this sharpens the growing exploitation of the Soviet working class. Capitalism is based on the creation of surplus value by the working class and its appropriation in various forms by the capitalist class. The competition between the different capitalists forces them to speed up and in other ways intensify the exploitation of the working class in order to achieve the highest rate of profit. That is exactly what the Soviet capitalists are doing. In the 1971-75 Five Year Plan "productivity" increased 23%. However, this was not enough according to the Congress. Brezhnev criticized the "violation of planning and labor discipline," in particular saying there was "disrespect toward the land, bad use of machinery and fertilizer and irresponsibility." The Congress voted unanimously that the 1976-80 plan should lay heavy emphasis on more "efficiency."

For example Brezhnev praised the Gorky and Minsk automobile works for setting "an example in raising labor productivity based on the personal production plans of every worker." And when the Soviet bosses talk about "productivity" and "efficiency" they mean the same thing that the exploiters in this country do—squeezing more out of the labor of the working class.

And, like in this country, the reward for many workers when an enterprise achieves greater "productivity" is being laid off. In 1971, a Soviet paper reported how every day two hundred people are turned away from jobs at Kama, where the Soviets were building the world's largest truck plant. And who did the Soviet paper blame for this? "The thoughtlessness of those who come unbidden." (Quoted in *Red Papers 7: How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union And What This Means For The World Struggle.*)

Anarchy Reigns in Soviet Economy

With profit in command, the Soviet bourgeoisie, like the capitalists everywhere, cannot possibly develop the Soviet economy efficiently, rapidly and in a balanced, all-round way. Anarchy reigns. In last year's harvest, for example, a large number of harvesters, trucks and tractors were unusable because there was a shortage of spare parts. The result was that for the potato harvest, which was an all-round disaster, potatoes had to be hand-loaded onto trucks in many places, which meant much of the harvest rotted in the ground. This is because the production of spare parts is not as profitable as the production of machines.

Moreover the anarchic, disorganized and competitive way that capitalism works not only distorts what is produced but also affects how much is produced. Since 1928 the Soviet Union has carried out nine Five Year Plans for economic development, including the

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Defeats Slave System

Civil War Opens New Era of Class War

During this Bicentennial, as the ruling class tries to build up its theme of "national unity," of "common interests" between the exploiters and exploited, it points backwards to earlier times to try to prove these lies and play on the just pride workers and the rest of the masses feel for everything they have contributed to this country. They look back, for example, to the Civil War when, they say, "Lincoln freed the slaves" to prove they are the source of all progress, all that is good in society.

Well, even then, things weren't that way.

The American revolution of 1776 was a great step forward because it broke the chains of English colonialism that had been restraining the full development of capitalism in the colonies. And at that time capitalism was the only system that could unleash the productive forces of the new land. It laid the basis for the development of the American working class.

But great conflicts sharpened within the new country. Even as a bourgeois revolution the American revolution was incomplete. While capitalism developed rapidly in the Northern states, the slave system held sway in the South. Increasingly these two systems, wage slavery (work for a capitalist or starve) and chattel slavery (where slaves are outright property), could not co-exist. The class of wage slaves, the working class in the North, was also in direct contradiction with the system of plantation slavery. As long as Blacks were enslaved, the working class could never throw off its chains. These contradictions exploded in the Civil War of 1861-65. The interests of the working class and the capitalists temporarily came together in this great war that propelled the bourgeoisie to play out the end of its progressive role in American history: the defeat of the slavocracy and the completion of the bourgeois revolution.

By the time of the first American Centennial in 1876 the capitalists stood for absolutely nothing but reaction and exploitation. The Centennial really marked the full emergence of two large warring classes, two hostile camps—the working class and the bourgeoisie.

Class Struggle Right from the Start

And this great conflict had existed right from the beginning. A man named Fisher Ames, a representative to the first American Congress put it squarely: "I understand, sirs, that the present Constitution is born from commercial causes. Wise people foresaw long ago and the patriots who were interested in the general welfare pointed out that it is necessary to have a government which would protect the industrial interests and increase our commerce." And that it did.

Millions of European immigrants driven by poverty and starvation flooded into America dreaming of a better life. One million between 1790 and 1845 and three million in the following ten years. They worked 12 and 15 hours a day in the textile mills of New England. They were forced to labor as beasts of burden for less than \$1 a day on the railroads and in the mines. Crowded into the slums of Boston, Philadelphia and New York, the dreams of prosperity in the new land were shattered by the reality of capitalist wage slavery.

But the ink was barely dry on the capitalists' constitution when workers began to strike back. Organized resistance occurred first among the more skilled workers. In 1806 in Philadelphia shoemakers struck, and according to a contemporary account, "Enraged strikers beat the scabs and smashed windows of factories." By the 1830s workers in city after city were waging bitter struggle for the 10 hour day. A militant general strike started by coal heavers was fought in Philadelphia in 1835 for the shortening of the work day. An account from that time reports "a great demonstration was organized. Thousands of workers marched through the street. Employment ceased, business was at a standstill. Shirtsleeves were rolled up, aprons on, working tools in hand were the order of the day...the blood sucking aristocracy, they alone stood aghast; terror stricken, they thought the day of retribution had come."

Capitalism and Slavery on Collision Course

But despite the rapid growth of industry and the development of the working class, the young capitalist class had still not consolidated its hold on the whole country and its government.

The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 made the growing of cotton immensely profitable for the South-



Thousands of revolts and rebellions chronicle the resistance of slaves to the degradation and atrocities inflicted on them. In 1831 Nat Turner led an uprising in Southampton, Va. that struck terror into the hearts of the slavemasters. Turner and 30 slaves executed 55 slave owners and their families in one night. Over 100 slaves were murdered in retaliation, but the Southern ruling class lived in continual fear of such revolts.

ern slaveowners and accelerated the expansion of slavery. They demanded new territories. Slavery had been a foundation for capitalist fortunes in trade, in the textile industry and in other ways. The basis of Northern industrial wealth was laid in great part by slave labor. But the expansion of slavery became a direct obstacle to the expansion and consolidation of capitalism.

Twenty million slaves died in chains in the passage to America. Those who survived were nothing more than property, like the hoes they wielded or the sacks they dragged through the cotton fields. In absolute degradation they were bought and sold like so many cattle in the market. The production of slaves itself became a profitable enterprise in several of the Southern states. Worked from sun up to sun down they were beaten and murdered at will when they did not please the slavemaster.

Far from being suited to any form of capitalist production, slave tools had to be extremely heavy, unwieldy and inefficient, so that the slaves could not break them. A fundamental characteristic of the slave system was the fact that the laborers' only incentive to produce was brute force, and this consistently led to resistance and sabotaged production.

But this system ran into conflict with capitalist wage slavery. "Free" labor was essential to capitalism because the factory system and capitalist production requires a much higher level of initiative and cooperation from the workers. They must be free to sell their labor power to the capitalist, and be "free" to be thrown out into the street without the means to live when they do not produce adequately or are no longer profitable to the capitalist.

From this basic contradiction between two forms of enslavement of labor, chattel or plantation slavery and wage slavery, came an every sharpening conflict between the rulers of the Northern states and the slavemasters of the South.

For example, Northern capitalists demanded trade tariffs to protect them from the competition of the English manufactureres. These were bitterly opposed by Southern planters who exported most of their cotton not to the New England textile factories, but to England, in exchange for many English manufactured goods.

It became a battle over which system of production would predominate within the rapidly expanding boundaries of the U.S. Political struggle raged in the Congress, and armed struggle broke out in such places as Kansas, over whether new states would be "slave" or "free." Some political spokesmen of the slaveowners such as

John C. Calhoun even went so far as to speak of the need to make slavery the "universal condition" of laborers in the country.

Revolution or counter-revolution—the extension of the bourgeois revolution or the extension of the slave system—that was the central issue of the Civil War. It was a fight to the finish between two social systems that could no longer co-exist within the same country.

Pushing this conflict forward was the heroic resistance of the slaves themselves. Daily life in the South was a story of constant rebellions by individual slaves and increasing numbers of organized revolts. One Southern newspaper raised the spectre of the slave revolts in Santo Domingo at the beginning of the 19th century that resulted in the establishment of a Negro republic in Haiti: "We of the South," it warned, "are emphatically surrounded...by a dangerous class of beings...who would repeat Santo Domingo if they were made to believe that death would not follow their insurrection." But the fear of death did not stop slave uprisings against their oppression. Hundreds of slave revolts are recorded, including a planned insurrection involving 9,000 slaves led by Denmark Vesey, which was only thwarted by a cowardly betrayal, in 1832. These rebellions pushed the whole struggle against slavery ahead and gave a big impetus to the abolitionist movement in the North.

But the Northern bourgeoisie itself was far from united against the Southern slaveocracy. The capitalists who owned the New England textile factories wholeheartedly supported slavery in the south. And the likes of Cyrus McCormack, who had invented the mechanical harvester in 1834 and by 1860 was mass producing them at his Chicago factory, openly agitated for appeasement and reconciliation with the slavocracy.

These sympathizers and agents of the Southern slaveowners had some success in stirring up sentiment in support of the Confederacy among Northern workers, especially by playing on the hatred of the working class for their own exploitation. Many of these people argued that nothing could be done about Southern slavery until "the system of wage slavery was abolished in the North." In the early years of the war they took advantage of the animosity of workers for the capitalists who were making profits hand over fist off the war and against the rich who could buy their way out of the draft for themselves and their sons. Posing as friends of labor, they denounced the provisions of the 1863 draft law "which allowed all who possess \$300 in greenbacks filched from the people to escape military service."

Lincoln Half-Steps

Lincoln himself stated clearly on numerous occasions that he issued the Emancipation Proclamation during the war as a "last resort." His goal initially was to keep the Southern states in the Union—under the domination of Northern capital—and choke off the further expansion of the slave system.

But the interests of the working class were clear. The masses of workers and small farmers in the North took up the cause of abolition. The bourgeoisie wanted to abolish chattel slavery only to impose wage-slavery on a broader number of people. But the masses fought to emancipate their fellow men from bondage. They raised the banner of freedom for the toiler. "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin," wrote Karl Marx, "where in the black it is branded."

As far back as 1846, a convention of workers in New England put forward the resolution: "Whereas there are at the present time 3,000,000 of our brothers and sisters groaning in chains on Southern plantations; and whereas we wish not only to be consistent but to secure to all others those rights and privileges for which we are contending ourselves; therefore be it resolved that...we will not take up arms to sustain the Southern slaveholder in robbing one-fifth of our countrymen of labor. Resolved that we recommend our brethren to speak in thundered tones, and let it no longer be said that Northern laborers, while they are contending for their rights, are a standing army to keep three millions of their brethren and sisters in bondage at the point of a bayonet."

The Fugitive Slave Law, passed in 1850, that required runaway slaves to be returned from the North to their slavemasters was met with fierce resistance by workers in the North. On one occasion a large crowd in Boston tried to free a slave who was being sent back to his owner. They did not succeed, but it took a battalion of U.S. artillery, four platoons of marines, and the sheriff's posse, to get him out of town. As one historian put it, "it cost the United States some \$40,000 to return that slave to his master; and he was the last to be returned from Massachusetts." Workers in other states waged similar battles against slaveowners and the authorities.

When the war broke out whole unions in the North enlisted in the Union Army en masse. Workers constituted nearly half the Northern army, a number far greater than their percentage in the population. Northern small farmers made up the great bulk of the rest of the Union forces. And when Lincoln finally issued the

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New Era...

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Emancipation Proclamation and allowed Blacks to join the Northern army close to 200,000 enlisted. This was the decisive factor in tipping the military balance in favor of the North. Former slaves who had escaped to freedom on the underground railroad returned to the South, gun in hand, to fight for liberation. Harriet Tubman, who herself had helped over 300 slaves escape, became a scout for the Union army.

Communists and socialists played an important part in mobilizing for the war. Thousands of German immigrants, whose fathers or who themselves had left Europe after the defeat of the revolutions of 1848, signed up immediately. Active communist workers, such as Joseph Wedemeyer, a friend and correspondent of Karl Marx, held important positions in the Union Army.

International Class Solidarity

The attitude of the English working class towards the war will always stand as a great monument to international class solidarity. The Northern blockade of Southern cotton shipments to England caused massive unemployment among British textile workers. Thirty to forty percent of the proletariat in the mill towns of England were forced to subsist on public charity. Yet despite all the efforts of the British capitalists to blame their plight on the Union cause and stir up support for the Confederacy, English workers staunchly opposed the war and played a major role in blocking an intervention by the British. Marx and Engels played a major role in mobilizing the support of the English working class for the abolitionist cause.

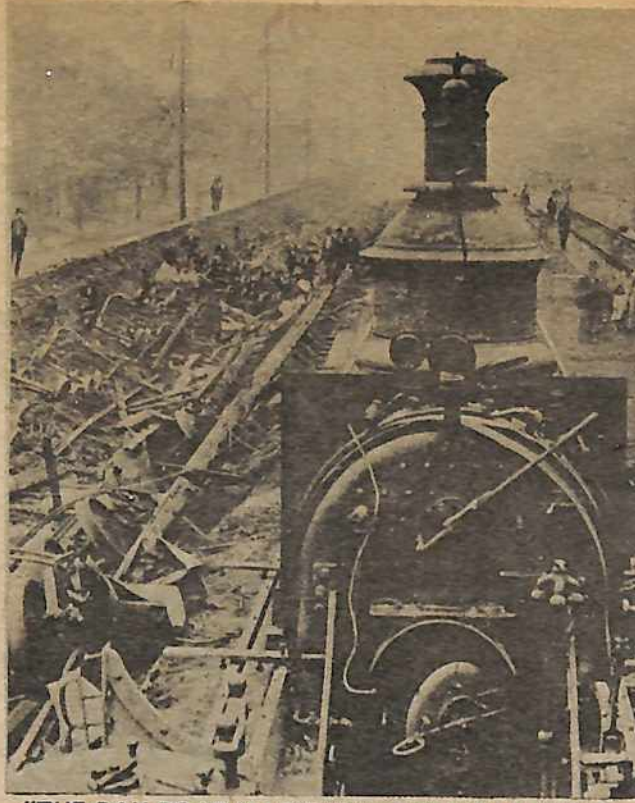
The defeat of the slavocracy and the freeing of the slaves, brought about by the heroic efforts of the American working class, thousands of small farmers and the slaves themselves, was a great victory. Years later Lenin, in a letter to American workers, hailed the "immense, world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War of 1863-65!"

The power of slavery in the U.S. was broken. During the short period of Reconstruction that followed from 1866 to 1877 real gains were made by former slaves and poor whites in the South. It is an exaggeration to say there was Negro rule in the South, but for the first time Black people were able to vote and participate in governing. Reconstruction governments made real achievements.

Capitalists Strike a Deal with Old Slavemasters

But the Northern capitalists had accomplished what they needed in the South: the opportunity for expansion, investment and new markets. They had broken the political stranglehold the slavocracy had held on the nation and subjugated the South to the domination of Northern capital. They had no real interest in the emancipation of the millions of Black laborers of the South.

By 1876 they were ready to strike a deal with the former slave masters and plantation owners to return the reigns of control over to them. Blacks were stripped of their rights and the South was turned into an underdeveloped preserve for Northern capital. Southern industrial development was controlled by the bourgeoisie in the North, and semi-feudal agriculture forced Black people and many whites into a new form of bondage to the plantation system—sharecropping. Federal troops, which had been stationed in the Southern states to insure the development of Reconstruction and offer (however reluctant) protection for the former slaves, were withdrawn and sent to the North, where they were used to attack the growing outbreak of workers struggles. The Civil War ended like all revolutions led by exploiting classes must end—substituting new forms of



"THE RAILROAD WAR." "BLOODY WORK INAUGURATED AT BALTIMORE." "GROWING WARM AT BUFFALO." "THE GREAT STRIKE SPREADING IN SEVERAL DIRECTIONS." "ROLLING MILLS, MACHINE SHOPS AND FACTORIES CLOSED." "MOB DISPERSES THE MILITIA ON GUARD." "THE CITY WILD WITH EXCITEMENT." "SIXTH DETACHMENT FIRES ON MOB." So went the newspaper headlines that reveal the panic of the capitalists as thousands of railroad workers joined the great strike of 1877. Fighting off Federal troops and, in many cases, winning over the state militias, the workers paralyzed the nation's railroads. Millions of dollars of railroad equipment was destroyed in the course of the fighting. Here, photo shows the wreckage of the Pennsylvania Railroad equipment in Pittsburgh.

slavery for old.

The temporary unity that had existed between the capitalist class and the working class in the fight to abolish slavery evaporated in a new eruption of class struggle after the war. In fact, even during the war this struggle never really ceased. Northern workers had been forced to wage numerous strikes against the ruthless attacks of the capitalists. William Sylvis, a leader of the workers and a strong abolitionist, expressed the sentiments of the Northern workers when he said: "If the capitalists will persist in their efforts to drive us to the wall, and reduce us to beggary and want to deprive us of the rights due to every citizen, and their persistence leads to open war, upon them must rest the responsibility."

At the very moment this great war was ending, the now dominant bourgeoisie was confronted with the mounting hatred and struggle of the rapidly growing proletariat. As Marx wrote in 1866, "After the Civil War phase the United States are really only now entering the revolutionary phase." The Civil War had cleared the decks for the war between a still growing but already decadent capitalist class and the working class.

Two Camps—Two Powerful Classes

The power of capital which had grown rapidly during the war advanced with great leaps in the aftermath of the bourgeoisie's consolidation of power. The 40 years between the Civil War and the beginning of the 20th century witnessed one of the greatest periods of industrial development in history. This tremendous industrial growth, that by the turn of the century made America the most awesome producer in the world and propelled the American ruling class into the front ranks of the imperialist powers, was generated out of abundant raw materials by the labor power of the working class. Women and children slaved away and 15 million immigrants poured into the U.S. during those four decades.

Even while Northern workers and Southern slaves were dying on the Civil War battle fields, the rapacious scum who were to become the "great families" of U.S. imperialism were amassing great fortunes by the crudest forms of banditry. Their very names became curse words in the mouths of generations of workers: J.P. Morgan, who sold defective arms to the Union Army; Cornelius Vanderbilt, richest man in America and owner of the Erie Canal, who leased a rotten steamer to the Union Army to transport troops at \$900 a day; Jay Gould, who once boasted that he could hire half the working class to kill the other half; Philip Armour, who made millions selling salt pork to the Northern forces for more than double what he paid for it. During the '50s and '60s state and Federal governments turned over more than 300,000,000 acres of public land to the Vanderbilts, Stanfords, Crockers, Huntingtons and others of their ilk.

The working class had no sooner put down the gun against the Southern slavemasters than they were forced to take up the battle against the capitalist wage slavers. One of the main struggles of the class in the immediate post-war period was the fight for the eight hour day. As the capitalists intensified their exploitation trying to force more hours of toil from the working class, this movement "ran with express speed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California" (K. Marx). Many new labor unions and secret societies of workers were formed. In the spring of 1871 a three month strike of a hundred thousand workers in New York won an eight hour day for workers in ten building trade unions.

Class War Marks First Centennial

But the economic collapse of 1873 wiped out many of these early gains and organizations of the workers and gave vivid example of what the capitalist system meant for the working class. Over three million were unemployed and thousands of families were starving. By 1877, the crisis had driven the working class into abject misery. Wages of those who still had jobs were continuously being cut.

Yet in the face of this vicious attack by the capitalists, American workers arose in mass uprisings that demonstrated to the world the potential power of the U.S. proletariat and put fear into the rotting hearts of the ruling class.

In 1877, when the railroad barons tried to impose a 10% wage cut after wages had already fallen 25%, the workers in the Martinsburg, W. Virginia yards walked out. Federal troops forced them back, but the strike spread as fierce battles were waged between workers and soldiers in scores of cities, shutting down the nation's rail lines. Dozens of workers were killed, but in many places they temporarily gained the upper hand. Troops were routed in Baltimore and Pittsburgh. And for a while workers controlled the city of St. Louis.

Such was the picture of American capitalism as it celebrated its first 100 years in 1876—an industrial giant, built by the back-breaking labor of millions of workers who lived in poverty and suffered massive unemployment while a few parasites controlled all the wealth. And, as a part of this, the oppression of nationalities, including the Black people, was a continued fact of life. The class war of the American workers against the exploiters, which grew in intensity during the first 100 years, has characterized the real history of the U.S. during the last 100 years.

Any progressive role of American capitalism, like its role in the defeat of slavery and the unleashing of the productive forces of society, was finished by the time the ruling class celebrated its first centennial. At that point, as Marx said, the struggle in this country entered its really "revolutionary phase": the revolutionary struggle of the working class to rid itself of wage-slavery and their capitalist slavemasters. And this revolution—a revolution not of new exploiters, but of the exploited majority—will carry the struggle through to the historic task of freeing mankind from every form of oppression. ■



1871—New York City. Hundreds of workers, members of the American section of the first International Workingmen's Association, led by Karl Marx, march in a demonstration meeting. After the Civil War the working class grew in size and class consciousness. Socialism was a big influence.

Mass Line...

Continued from page 3

consciousness and sense of organization, now they become confused, demoralized and divided.

Of course, there will be ebbs and flows in the struggle due to objective conditions and the relative strength of class forces, and we cannot avoid altogether making mistakes in the struggle, because we—the Party together with the class as a whole—must learn how to wage this class warfare in the course of waging it. But the more thoroughly and all-sidedly we apply the mass line at each step, the more we discover and deepen our grasp of the laws governing the struggle through the study of Marxism-Leninism, and return concentrated, correct lines, policies, tactics, etc., to the masses, the more we can learn to avoid mistakes and to correct them more quickly when they are made.

Isolating Enemy Agents at Close Quarters

Another lesson that must be summed up is that the class enemy does not only oppose the struggle in one form, nor does it have only one face. The enemy not only uses every means to openly oppose the struggle but tries by every way it can to sidetrack and sabotage it. It is bound to happen that, in any decisive struggle agents of the bourgeoisie surface and work to wreck the struggle from within. It does not matter whether such people are directly in the pay of the bourgeoisie or not—though in many cases they are, and where this can be clearly demonstrated it is important to expose it—but the key thing is that they have the same *class outlook* as the bourgeoisie and on this basis represent and actively promote their interests within the struggle.

Therefore the Party, representing the outlook and interests of the working class, must be good at not only formulating general policies for a given struggle, but for developing at each decisive point the correct tactics, that indicate the next step forward, based on correctly concentrating the real needs and interests of the broad masses. Again, Mao Tsetung has summed up a very important lesson in this regard: "In a situation when the class struggle grows increasingly acute and is waged at close quarters, the proletariat has to depend for its victory entirely on the correct and firm tactics of struggle of its own party."

Sometimes this means entering into some form of compromise or agreement with opportunists—who claim to stand with the working class but actually represent the capitalist class—and at other times it may mean refusing to enter into any such compromise or agreement. This depends on concretely and all-sidedly analyzing the actual situation, what the particular tactics of the enemy—including enemy agents within the ranks of the masses—are, how exposed they are, what the level of understanding of the masses is, etc.

But, at all times, as the *Programme* of our Party states, in referring to the policy of jamming the union officials—which has broad importance for all our work—"To carry out this policy, the rank and file workers must at all times fight to keep the initiative in their own hands and build the struggle in their own class interests, never relying on the union leadership to carry the struggle—even those who can be won to stand with the working class—or allowing them to set the terms and limits of the struggle, reducing the rank and file movement to a 'pressure group.'" And the Party must lead the masses, the rank and file, in this, and must grasp that this is a process that requires repeated experience and comparison.

To sum up this point, the exposure and isolation of opportunist, enemy agents within the ranks of the masses must be done on the basis of applying the mass line to constantly develop and deepen not only correct general policies but concrete tactics to advance the struggle according to the interests of the masses and step by step toward the aim of proletarian revolution, educating the masses as to the nature of the enemy—open and disguised—and the long-term aim of the struggle, in the course of the actual battles. And, at the same time, the Party must constantly arm ever broader masses with a scientific understanding of the role of opportunists, of their *class nature*, and within that pay special attention to training the advanced who come forward as revolutionary leaders, so that they are increasingly armed with the science of the working class.

Advanced Actions

All that has been said, emphasizing the importance of uniting with and constantly winning over and deepening ties with ever broader numbers in struggle, does not mean that the advanced forces, led by the Party, should not take advanced actions. On the contrary, communists and advanced workers must play a vanguard role in the practical as well as the theoretical sphere. In other words, when it corresponds to the needs and desires of the masses, the advanced forces

must be bold in taking action, action that will bring the rest of the masses into motion themselves, and must not wait until absolutely everyone is willing to "start things." Again, a principle summed up by Mao Tsetung is very important here: "Communists should create favorable new situations through struggle."

This, of course, does not mean that a handful of communists and advanced forces should try to take on the enemy all by themselves or to act as "individual heroes," substituting their own actions for the struggle of the masses, or initiating struggle that the masses do not yet see the need to take up. But simply because an action of the advanced forces may create controversy and struggle about whether it's right or wrong, should be supported or opposed—this does not in itself make the action incorrect. In fact, in many cases just such controversy and struggle is what is needed and is a very good thing, not a bad thing.

Advanced, Intermediate and Backward

We must never forget, once again learning from Mao Tsetung, that "The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts, the relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward. The leaders must therefore be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements and to win over the backward elements."

Whether or not a particular advanced action should be taken depends on whether or not it will accomplish the above goals summarized by Mao Tsetung. In short, it is absolutely correct, and necessary, for the advanced forces to initiate bold, determined action, when in fact it will *galvanize* broad numbers in struggle, will act as a spark to set them in motion and give play to their own initiative in fighting the hated enemy. There are, both in the past and more recent history of the workers' movement, many positive examples of this kind, as well as negative ones where the communists deviated from the mass line, and we must go deeper into these by applying Marxism-Leninism to learn more from them.

Repeated Experience and Comparison

To summarize the main points in this and the previous article on the mass line, a point from the previous article is central: "as also stressed before, the experience of the masses is governed by the internal contradictions of capitalism and the laws of development of nature and society. The understanding of the masses of the need to overthrow capitalism grows together with the sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism and the development toward a revolutionary situation."

And that article further stressed that, in order to become convinced of the necessity and inevitability of socialist revolution and to learn the means for making that revolution "requires repeated experience on the part of the masses of workers and their Party, and the constant summation of that experience by the Party to forge and illuminate the revolutionary road." To that it must be added that not only repeated experience, but *comparison* is required for the masses to gain this understanding, comparison—in the course of the actual struggle—of the lines, policies, tactics, etc., of the two fundamentally opposed forces, the proletariat, represented by its Party, and the bourgeoisie, with all its various representatives, in their various forms, open and concealed.

It is through this repeated experience and comparison—and the leadership of the Party in both the practical and theoretical spheres as summarized earlier—that the masses will step by step and more and more deeply grasp and embrace the outlook and the lines and policies representing their own highest interests, the interests of the only revolutionary class in modern society, the working class, representing the majority and the future, the emancipation of mankind.

Question of Revolution Comes to Fore

Socialist revolution, the seizure of state power by the working class and its transformation of all of society to abolish classes is inevitable. When we say this we do not mean it is automatic—that it will happen through a mere "collapse" of capitalism, or that the masses, without conscious leadership will simply "grope" their way to communism.

To say this revolution is inevitable means that the development of society demands it, that capitalism stands as the direct barrier to progress for mankind and must be removed, and that the evils and ulcers caused by capitalism cannot be removed, except through socialist revolution. It means that therefore, capitalism will inevitably end up in crisis, will continually produce massive suffering and waste and destruction, until it is overthrown and eliminated.

It means that, even where the capitalist class is able, temporarily to resolve such a crisis its way and prolong its rule, to inflict momentary setbacks and defeats on the working class, it cannot escape the laws of its own system. It will yet again find itself faced with resistance and a tide rising toward revolu-

tion, until this revolution is finally achieved and carried through completely. It means that, until this occurs, the question of revolution, the need for revolution to do away with capitalism will continually assert itself, despite anyone's will, or any actions of the capitalists.

It is the role of the Party of the working class to enable the working class to build its struggle against the capitalist class as powerfully as possible at each stage and to ever more consciously build it toward the aim of revolution. The mass line and the concrete methods of developing the struggle that flow from it are mighty weapons that the Party can and must wield on behalf of the working class in this great cause. ■

Rubber...

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sealed and delivered, Akron's Local 5 met and voted to demand that the contract be rejected and negotiations reopened.

The contract struggle of 1973 stands as another example that the bosses can't just push rubber workers around. There is a proud history of resistance to these kinds of attacks, dating from the famous 1936 sitdown strike at Goodyear in Akron, the first major sitdown in the U.S., up to the present day. This struggle and the experience gained from it has laid a tremendous basis for resistance to the companies' increasing attacks.

Top Officials Under Fire

One of the things many workers have learned, especially in 1973, was that the International union leadership is in partnership with the companies, doing all it can to shackle the struggle. They are sure to attempt further sellouts this time, too. But there has been a growing ferment against the International leadership.

President Bommarito, for example, was voted down in a bid for election as a voting delegate from his home local to the 1975 URW convention (although he eventually pulled some strings and presided over the meeting, by virtue of his union office, and was reelected President). This struggle against the International traitors includes even some leaders of the local unions. This ferment within the union presents the rank and file with a good opportunity to advance its struggle. For example, even if the national agreement gets sold out, the possibility exists for local strikes or other struggles at the local level taking place.

But there are some who would play on the fact that the International union sells out to try to spread divisions among rubber workers and to further their own careers. The leaders of the International Society of Skilled Trades (ISST) are one such group of opportunists. They tell the skilled rubber workers that the URW International leadership is selling them out, which it is, in an attempt to pull skilled workers out of the union and play skilled workers off against unskilled workers. But the fact is that splitting the union would only hurt all rubber workers and aid the companies in their attacks.

The upcoming contract provides an opportunity for the rank and file to take the scattered and uncoordinated struggle and ferment among all rubber workers and build it into a more unified, powerful struggle directed both at the rubber companies and the URW International leadership. By beginning to build up some communication and links between the different struggles that break out around the country, rubber workers will be better able to seize the initiative in the struggle and begin to break the stranglehold the International leadership, in cooperation with the companies, has on the rank and file. In doing this rubber workers have a chance to win some important battles, throw some fat on the fires brewing in the auto, electrical, construction, garment and other industries, and strengthen their own ranks for future battles. ■

Notice

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Angola...

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gle by force wherever it can, and trying to buy up bourgeois African forces to front for it where it has to.

In Zimbabwe, for instance, the U.S. is trying to build up some African forces to rule the country for it if the white regime falls, while the USSR is also trying to pervert the revolutionary struggle in order to bring Zimbabwe into its own sphere of influence. Meanwhile, the threat of intervention grows from the Soviet-led army in Angola and the U.S.-backed army of South Africa. Both superpowers are working day and night spreading their contention throughout Africa.

The very advances which the African people have won are bringing new questions to the fore. The same question which faced the liberation struggle in Angola also faces the people of other countries—whether to rely mainly on their own efforts or to swallow the bait of imperialist "aid" hook, line and sinker, and get caught. At stake in each country is whether it will truly liberate itself from foreign imperialist domination or simply change masters.

This is a question for the people of many countries as events of the last few years have increasingly shown. Everywhere that the people's struggles have come to a boil—in Portugal, the Middle East and Bangladesh, to name only a few examples—the superpowers have done everything they could to turn these advances into their opposite, to use the people's struggles against one imperialism to conquer countries for another imperialism and keep the masses in slavery. And the Soviet rulers as imperialist "up and comers" challenging U.S. imperialism's "old order," have used this trick with special success—hiding behind their mask of "socialism."

U.S. Ruling Class Appeals for Patriotism

Especially as the superpowers move to form blocs of countries for war, bourgeois forces which have resisted superpower domination are tending to fall in line behind one or the other. This sharpens the class struggle within these countries. While uniting all who can be united to move the struggle forward through this storm, the working class has to rely on the masses of people in

each country, who are the only force that *can* really stand up to the rulers of the two superpowers and carry forward the struggle against all exploitation and oppression.

The Angolan war raised the question of superpower contention and their drive toward war sharply in the U.S. The American people want no part of any U.S. intervention to prop up colonialism, white rule and imperialism in Africa, but already the U.S. bourgeoisie is trying to use the Soviet victory in Angola to hide its own efforts to hang on in Africa under the guise of opposing Soviet expansionism. Under this slogan, they even got loyal flunkies like Roy Innis of CORE to take advantage of high unemployment among vets to recruit mercenaries to fight and die for them in Angola. And while in fact recognizing the USSR as the imperialist rival that it is, they didn't miss the chance to take advantage of the Soviet's phony "socialist" cover to spread anti-communism by declaring that "communism" is a system just as bloodthirsty as their own, and denying that there is an alternative to their rule anywhere. They are trying to use what's happened in Angola to bring the American people into line behind them for war.

During the Vietnam War the ruling class also attempted to justify its aggression on the grounds of opposing "communist aggression" and rally the people around the flag. But as the war dragged on and as the tremendous movement of the American people against that war gathered steam, more and more people saw through their lies. But while large numbers of people came to see the so-called "enemy" we were supposed to fight was none other than the common people of Vietnam, by and large the bourgeoisie was able to prevent the masses from coming to a clear class understanding of the nature of that war.

Both directly and through the bourgeois agents leading the anti-war movement (including the revisionist Communist Party and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party) they tried to turn the hatred of the masses for the Vietnam War into bourgeois pacifism (opposition to all war in general) and, especially, promoting the view that the Vietnam War was a "mistake" because the Vietnamese didn't present a serious enough danger to U.S. interests to justify the war.

But today the Soviet social-imperialists are rapidly becoming the biggest immediate threat to the interests of the U.S. ruling class. And the USSR, as everyone knows, is armed to the teeth and capable of engaging in world war with the U.S. The ruling class is making use of these facts to try to overcome people's resistance

halls just as the opening ceremonies were beginning. Hundreds of people who were there for the ceremonies broke into applause as the demonstrators entered, and some joined the protest themselves.

The action clearly upset the politicians and their big business pals who were there to enjoy the opening day festivities, for suddenly the capitol security guards and city cops attacked the group, arresting five people on charges of "disturbing government operations." But the attack, which was meant to intimidate people and smash the growing fight, had just the opposite effect.

Nearly a thousand people witnessed the attack, booing the cops and shouting, "Let the people go!" while hundreds of thousands more saw the action on TV or read about it in front page stories of both daily papers. It became the number one topic of discussion in shops and neighborhoods throughout the city, as tens of thousands of people talked about the eviction struggles and the government's complicity with the big landowners and developers.

Right after the arrests, nearly 75 of the demonstrators moved to the police station, picketing and chanting until the five were released. The cops were visibly shaken and the officer in charge even offered to speed things along if the people took down their picket line. They didn't. The coalition began planning further actions at the State Attorney General's office, keeping the issue in the public spotlight for days, and by the end of the week the government had been forced to drop all charges.

March a Big Advance

By the time February 14 rolled around people were ready to roll over anybody in their way and turned out in large numbers for the march. The march itself, its size, spirit and discipline, brought out the potential strength of the working class. This was reflected in the powerful slogans: "Stop All Evictions Now," the main slogan; "Unite to Fight, Decent Housing is a Right;" "People Not Profits, Make the Bosses Take the Losses;" and "Stop Ruling Class Attacks on Working People's Communities." As one of the marchers, a resident of one of the eviction communities, said afterward, "I've never before felt so powerful as I did walking down the street with all those people behind me."

This campaign was a big step forward, both for the fight against evictions and for the overall worker's movement in the islands. It was the first time all the many eviction areas joined forces to build a single, united campaign against their eviction and the first time in many years that workers from industries throughout the state came together as a class to take up important battles against the bourgeoisie. ■

to another war, and get over with their appeals to patriotism.

Both spontaneously and through the work of various opportunists who've hitched their star to one imperialism or another, many people fell into confusion around the war in Angola. Some, mainly petty bourgeois radical forces, fell into supporting the Soviet rape of Angola out of hatred for U.S. imperialism, while far more commonly, people were led to believe that U.S. aggression there was necessary to stop the Soviets.

Efforts to create a climate of public opinion that will give the imperialists a freer hand to contend with the Soviets have already begun to take a concrete and systematic form. While some Congressmen opposed the U.S. throwing its money away in Angola because it was too late and the Soviets already held most of the cards, almost all of the politicians, the news media and the bourgeoisie's other mouthpieces are united on saying that the Soviets may have caught us with our pants down this time but next time we'll fight. Presidential candidates are falling all over themselves to denounce American "weakness" in the face of the "Soviet threat." Ford himself has taken the opportunity of the Soviet victory in Angola to announce that he's no longer using the word "detente," but rather "peace through strength"—a truly magnificent piece of doubletalk accompanied by a bigger war budget than ever and cries for even more weapons and troops.

The "liberation" the Soviets have brought to Angola is a crime rightly hated by the masses of this country. But the U.S. rulers have long proved themselves to be equally an enemy of the people of Angola and the masses everywhere, and everything about their interference and aggression is reactionary, no matter how it might be dressed up as "liberation" from social-imperialism.

The Soviet rulers sing a similar song, telling the exploited workers of that country that they have to line up behind their masters to fight off American imperialism which already is squeezing the life out of hundreds of millions around the world. But neither superpower is liberating anyone—all they can do is grab and grab. And because the battle between them today is, as Lenin called World War 1, "a war between slaveholders for the purpose of consolidating slavery" under one or the other, both are aggressors no matter which one moves first.

The Angolan people, having overthrown one set of imperialist masters, have tragically been set upon by another. While the U.S. imperialists mourn these losses in their opportunities for plunder, the working class has other reasons to be outraged by this crime. It is still another indictment of the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression worldwide.

And while our capitalists seize this opportunity to beat their war drums for further aggression, which they demand that we fight for them, it is becoming clearer daily that our fight is here, against them. And as the class nature of the enemy becomes still clearer, the working class will become even more determined to build that fight, together with the fight of the people of the whole world against the imperialist system and the two superpowers that head it up, until these great robbers and murderers are overthrown. ■

Nixon...

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of our enemy became clearer.

The Chinese, too, know well who Nixon is. In their dealings with heads of capitalist governments—even negotiating with Chiang Kai-shek, a gangster and flunky for foreign imperialists who ruled China for years—they have had to set down good food in front of human garbage many times. To the Chinese leaders and people, Nixon is not all that much different from Gerry Ford. It's six of one and a half dozen of the other. Both sat or sit in the Oval Office, heading up the government of one of the two superpowers, who talk "detente" while they prepare for world war, who talk of "prosperity" while they ruthlessly exploit millions.

The Chinese are doing all they can to help the struggle on the world scale. And today, for them, this includes giving special emphasis to placing all sorts of obstacles in front of the new capitalist rulers of the Soviet Union, who are even more on the offensive these days than the U.S. and who pose a special military threat to China. This even includes making use of the contradiction that exists between the U.S. rulers and the Soviets to help in this.

If inviting a low-life like Nixon to China can throw some turmoil into the U.S. ruling class and put the heat on them for a useful goal, so much the better. Obviously, none of this changes the fact that our struggle in this country, just as it was in the Watergate affair, is directly against these ruling exploiters and can only have the goal of throwing them off our backs once and for all.

Bringing the Bum to Peking has worked so far. The commentators are commenting, the analysts are analyzing, the politicians are fuming. The *Wall Street Journal* called Nixon's visit a "rebuke" to the U.S. government and a "diabolically clever ploy for making their point." Aides to Ford called it an "embarrassment" to the President. Let'em stew! And let's us turn up the heat! ■

Hawaii...

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for rip-offs anymore!" Other people came forward and exposed how this proposal would not only split the coalition but would also leave the eviction struggle greatly weakened in the face of the enemy's attacks.

The line of relying on "liberal" politicians and slick lawyers was also defeated as person after person stood up to expose that "the developers, bankers and politicians are all in on this thing together," to denounce "ruling class people who are causing all our problems" and to sum up their experiences in struggling against the capitalists.

As a result the demonstration was built very broadly among the people in Hawaii. People took leaflets to work with them, and workers in many shops sold "Stop Evictions!" bumper stickers and circulated petitions supporting the struggles. The Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) had leaflets on its table at the unemployment office. Altogether over 100,000 leaflets and thousands of bumper stickers were passed out.

The *Worker* newspaper carried a number of articles on the eviction struggles during the course of the campaign, and it also sponsored a successful evening program of speeches, songs, and a skit, attended by over 200 workers and others. Working class youth at one local high school, some of whom are also involved in a growing fight for jobs, drew over 200 students to a rally they held on campus to build for the larger event. Members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade united with other students on the University of Hawaii campus to hold a similar rally.

Preliminary Skirmishes Build Demonstration

About three and one half weeks before the march nearly 100 people went on a "roving demonstration" held on the opening day of the state legislature, to help build for the main demonstration. The demonstration marched through town, stopping to picket a half dozen of the main forces responsible for the evictions, including the banks, big landowners and the courts.

The demonstration wound up at the State Capitol building, marching into the central courtyard with banners waving and chants echoing through the legislative

Congress...

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recently concluded plan. Up to 1955, when the working class held power and was building socialism, the gross value of industrial output grew at an average annual rate of more than 13%, the highest growth rate in the world. However, in the period from 1971-1975 the industrial output grew only 7.4%, a further decline from the 8.4% growth rate of 1966-70. The decline in non-military production growth has been much steeper.

Brezhnev Calls for "Class Struggle"

As in all imperialist countries, the drive for maximum profit is at the root of the Soviets' economic planning. And, similarly, it is the drive for maximum profit that also determines Soviet foreign policy and relationships with other countries.

At the Congress Brezhnev said a lot of fine words about "proletarian internationalism" and the peace-loving nature of the Soviet Union. While continuing to spread the smokescreen of detente, Brezhnev provided a new twist when he said, "Detente does not in the slightest abolish, and cannot abolish or alter, the laws of class struggle. None should expect that, because of detente, Communists will reconcile themselves with capitalist exploitation or that monopolists become followers of the revolution." This goes hand-in-hand with other proclamations at the Congress about giving full support to the national liberation struggles.

None of this means, of course, that the Soviet party has abandoned revisionism and has returned to Marxism-Leninism. Rather this increased use of talk about "proletarian internationalism" and class struggle is to serve the purpose of the Soviet's increased contention with the U.S.

A recent article in *Peking Review No. 6*, in 1976, commenting on the Soviet's aggression in Angola sharply exposed the difference between these fine sounding words and the Soviet's foul smelling deeds:

"When the Algerian people fought for national independence, the Soviet revisionists stood by with folded arms, saying that they would not interfere in another country's internal affairs. At the crucial juncture of the Egyptian people's war against aggression, they stopped arms supplies to get a stranglehold on them. When the Cambodian people waged a punitive war against the Lon Nol clique, they sided with the traitors. Is your criminal record of being betrayers of internationalism still not long enough? Take the case of Angola. You never extended any real support to the Angolan people during their protracted and arduous struggle to free themselves from the Portuguese colonial yoke, but right after the collapse of the old colonial rule and the attainment of independence by the Angolan people, you become most 'generous' by sending a great amount of lethal weapons of the latest type to stir up and aggravate the civil war. Can a real socialist country do a thing like this?"

The answer, of course, is no. As each new Soviet "internationalist" power play comes to light, it becomes ever clearer that they wrap themselves in the red flag for one reason only—to compete with U.S. imperialism in the name of "anti-imperialism," to seize colonial possessions in the guise of liberating them.

Soviets Seek New Division of World

At the Congress Brezhnev stated, "We are opponents of the division of the world into military blocs and also the arms race. Our position on this is well known." When Brezhnev said that Soviet policy is "well known" he blurted out one of the few truthful statements made by him at the entire Congress. Events in the world repeatedly show that the Soviets, like our own ruling class, are going all out to shore up and expand their military bloc for the purpose of world war, and it is "well known" that the Soviet's talk of opposing the arms race and military blocs is pure deception.

The fact is the Soviets, late-comers to the imperialist dinner table, are driven by the laws of capitalism to try to challenge the existing division of the world into "spheres of influence," which still reflects, to a large degree, the period following World War 2 when the Soviet Union was still a socialist country, and hence had no need to dominate and exploit other countries, and the U.S. was the dominant imperialist power in the world.

While the U.S. has grown weaker relative to the USSR and its other imperialist rivals, the Soviet capitalists have turned the USSR into an imperialist superpower and are overall on the offensive, everywhere contending with the U.S. for raw materials to be seized, for markets for the export of capital and for workers to exploit. For its part the U.S. is desperately trying to maintain the "status quo" and, in the long run, to further expand its exploitation and plunder. It is this contention that is increasingly threatening

to embroil the peoples of the world in another world war.

It is the necessity to challenge the U.S. that forces the Soviet ruling class to engage in such feverous war preparations and devote such a large chunk of the national wealth of the USSR to arms production.

The Soviets have had to build up a new kind of army. Inheriting a socialist army, based on defending the homeland, they have had to remodel it into a modern, imperialist army, able to operate overseas and at distances far away from the USSR. To serve imperialist gunboat diplomacy, for example, a huge amount of capital has been poured into developing an offensive navy, one which can threaten other countries and challenge U.S. naval forces and shipping far out at sea. In building up their military, the Soviets have also discovered, like the U.S. imperialists, that the export of military hardware to other countries is a good way to make big profits, and an important form for the Soviets to bring other countries under their control.

International Division of Labor

In Brezhnev's speech at the Congress he talked about the "particular importance" of the "long term program of economic integration," with the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or COMECON) countries of Eastern Europe and Cuba. This is just the same old program of "international division of labor" that the Soviets have long used as a justification for trying to dominate and plunder other countries throughout the world.

For the CMEA countries the "international division of labor" means they must recognize the "leading role" of the Soviet Union and not "develop certain industrial departments" because the Soviet Union already "has built up such industrial departments." The Soviet Union has used this kind of junk to justify turning these countries into dependencies, supplying her with certain materials at a low cost: Czechoslovakia—machine tools, Cuba—sugar, and Bulgaria—cheap imported labor to work in the Soviet Union, in a Soviet-style "bracero program." At the same time the Soviet Union has monopolized their supply of fuel and critical raw materials, forcing them to import from the USSR almost all their oil, 80-90% of their iron ore and timber, three-quarters of their rolled metal and phosphate fertilizer, etc.

The key area for both superpowers, at present, is Europe. As it says in the *Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party*, "it is in Europe that vast economic, political, and military power is based, which the superpowers must seek to control." Both are clutching what they have and stretching out to grab more. The U.S. imperialists have tremendous investments in Western Europe and this has increased in recent years. But the Soviets, who despite difficulties, still have firmer control of Eastern Europe, are going all out to put the western half under their control too.

Soviets Use Revisionist Parties

As an important part of the Soviet's efforts, they are trying to turn the revisionist Communist Parties in Western Europe into "trojan horses." This was one of the subjects the Soviet Congress really emphasized. In an attempt to tighten up on its control of these parties the Congress made a big deal about "Party unity" and "proletarian internationalism." As Brezhnev put it, "communists of different countries follow each other's work with interest and understandable attention. Differences of opinion and approach to some questions may arise among them from time to time... Certainly, there can be no question of compromise on matters of principle, of reconciliation with views and actions contrary to the Communist ideology. This is ruled out." But these fine words are meant to describe the opposite of real proletarian internationalism. For the Soviet rulers, "proletarian internationalism" means the West European revisionist parties should recognize the Soviet Union as the only leader of the "communist" world and aid in her efforts to expand into West Europe.

But on this point the Soviets met their greatest resistance at the Congress. The heads of the French and Spanish revisionist parties didn't even attend the Congress. The head of the Italian CP, Enrico Berlinguer, stood up and stated the aims of his revisionist party were different than Moscow's. The Soviets came under fire from the ruling parties in Yugoslavia and Romania, whose representatives gave speeches explaining their countries' differences with the Soviets. The leaders of the West European revisionist CPs clearly feel tugged from both ends in their search to become ruling capitalists: on the one hand to toe the line with the Soviets, and on the other hand to cooperate with the existing capitalist class in their own countries and get cut in on the action that way.

Another part of the Soviet expansionist plans is directed at China. At the Congress a short but sharp attack was directed at China, an attempt to turn reality on its head and blame China for increasing the danger of a new world war. The Soviet social-imperialists have not given up their attempt to extend their exploitation to the Chinese laboring people by war or other means. Politically this kind of threat and black mail is

also a feeble attempt designed to shut China up or at least undermine the effectiveness of her exposures of the imperialist nature of the Soviet Union.

Resistance to Social Imperialism

There is a growing struggle against the domination of the Soviet Union throughout the world. Large numbers of Soviet secret agents have been exposed and expelled from various parts of the world in the last few years. Since the October War in the Middle East, the imperialist features of the Soviet Union in betraying the liberation struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people have been more and more recognized. Their agitation for the establishment of an "Asian collective security system" aimed at dominating Asia has met with little response. Soviet occupation of several Japanese islands has aroused the indignation of the Japanese people. And numerous countries have established a 200-mile offshore limit in an attempt to keep Soviet fishing fleets, as well as fleets from other imperialist powers, from exhausting their fish resources.

There has also been a growing struggle of the great Soviet working class and masses of Soviet people against the restoration of capitalism in their country. This growing resistance is taking place despite a whole network of spies in every corner of the country and the establishment of "psychiatric" hospitals" and concentration camps for political persecutions. It is reported, for instance, that underground organizations and secret publications have emerged continually over the last five years. In Kiev, Vitebsk, Tbilisi and many other cities, workers strikes and demonstrations have taken place, while slowdowns are common throughout the country. There has even been struggle within the concentration camps, where, according to *Peking Review No. 10*, 1976, over one million people are imprisoned, with hunger strikes, refusals to work and occasional prison riots taking place.

One area where resistance has become particularly sharp is among the various nationalities of the Soviet Union. In Tsarist days Russia was known as "the prison house of nations," for its vicious oppression of nationalities. Under socialism great strides were made toward eliminating all national inequality. But with the restoration of capitalism all this has been reversed and there have been increasing attacks on the rights of nationalities throughout the Soviet Union. In many places, for instance, the revisionists have attempted to wipe out the native language, not allowing them to be spoken in school. The result has been powerful protests from among these peoples and from the Soviet people in general. In the three republics along the Baltic Sea, for example, there is widespread reluctance to use the Russian language. In Kiev, Odessa, Ivankovsk and other major Ukrainian cities, there have been mass demonstrations for equality between the Ukrainian and Russian languages in the Ukraine.

The U.S. ruling class would like us to believe that the current mess in the Soviet Union, and its intensifying war preparations, are an example of "socialism" or "communism." But the suffering of the working class of the Soviet Union is a result of capitalist exploitation, and it is imperialism that threatens world war. Toward the end of his speech Brezhnev allowed himself to dream out loud about the "unbreakable unity of all our country's classes." But there will never be unity between exploiters and exploited, and the working class of the Soviet Union, like our class in this country, will never give up struggling until the rule of capital is dumped once and for all. ■

Utilities...

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people freezing and going without light.

A member of UWOC was given loud cheers when she spoke about the campaign to fight the hike and expressed strong support for the people of Sayersville, N.J., who have stopped paying their utility bills to force PSE&G to roll back the rates.

Similar developments have taken place in other cities around the country as working people are forced to fight on still another battle front to defend their standard of living.

In the Bay Area the May First Workers Organization called a picket line and demonstration on February 20 to oppose rate increases by the Pacific Gas & Electric Company (PG&E). Workers marched right into the Public Utilities Commission (PUC) hearing. "Present rates are already too damn high," they said. "And it's even worse if you're unemployed or retired. It's intolerable that the PUC is even considering approving another \$485 million increase—15% on gas and 5% on electricity."

Even in the temperate Bay Area \$40, \$50 and even \$80-a-month utility bills are not uncommon. A young Bay Area couple with two children said PG&E cut them off because they could only pay \$30 of a \$46 bill.

Heat and electricity aren't luxuries.... They're necessities and our families won't be without! ■