



# REVOLUTION

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

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The angry militancy and spirit of the people of Africa rising up for freedom is shown on the faces of demonstrators in Soweto, South Africa. In the U.S., the African Liberation Day Coalition has mobilized people from all over the country to march on the White House, May 28, in solidarity with African liberation struggles.

## All Africa Is Rising Up!

Soweto—the virtual concentration camp where over one million Azanians are forced to live as they are driven to labor for a pittance to produce wealth for the racist South African ruling class and its imperialist backers in the U.S., Britain and Western Europe. It stands for the misery and exploitation inflicted on the peoples of South Africa and Rhodesia by the reactionary, police state governments in those countries. But more, it has come to stand for the burning anger and hatred of the peoples of southern Africa for their oppressors, and the massive uprisings and intensifying guerilla wars that have sounded the death knell for those regimes. Soweto has come to symbolize the mounting pressure of liberation that is pounding down the barricades of the last remain-

ing white settler, minority-ruled governments on the African continent.

The last 25 years have witnessed the rising up of the peoples of Africa to throw off the rapacious rule of the European powers which looted and pillaged Africa for more than 300 years. From the revolt of the Officers Movement in 1952 that spelled the end of British domination in Egypt, the struggle for liberation and national independence has swept through country after country.

But while the old colonial empires are gone, the legacy of 300 years of European rule and the economic domination of the countries of Africa by the former colonial masters and the U.S. imperialists continue to burden and obstruct the struggle of the people of Afri-

ca for freedom and economic development. And now a new imperialist power, the Soviet Union, is moving forcefully and rapidly to assert its hegemony over the continent in the guise of aiding the people in their struggles against the western imperialist powers and the white minority governments.

In an ugly twist of the "white man's burden" line so arrogantly flaunted by the British imperialists, the Soviet imperialists and their Cuban agents are running all over Africa proclaiming that it is their "socialist" and "internationalist" duty to intervene in the struggles of the African people and tie them to new colonial overlords. Just as the U.S. imperialists said after World War 2 that their economic and political "support" were crucial in helping African countries to be free of Europe, the Soviets and Cubans are now saying that the only way to achieve freedom and independence is to rely on the Soviet Union.

But three centuries of plunder of Africa have shown that the imperialist promises and "aid" bring only bondage and exploitation. The promises of new imperialist powers to aid in the struggle against older enemies can only bring new enslavement. It is the struggle and self-reliance of the peoples of Africa themselves that threw off the chains of colonialism.

### Colonization of Africa

The development of the people of Africa, which gave rise to proud and powerful civilizations in the Middle Ages, which gave birth to important centers of commerce and learning, as well as mining and production, was impeded and distorted by centuries of colonial rule. The British, Portuguese, Dutch and French ships that sailed down the coast of western Africa enslaved tens of millions of Africans, killing and driving from their homelands tens of millions more. The slave trade triangle that brought substitutes for the then-developing African handicraft industries in return for slaves to be taken to the new world and exchanged there for goods for sale in Europe deprived African societies of millions of their best producers and undermined the local production of cotton goods and metal products. It was a significant factor in retarding development in Africa. The slave trade which dominated western Africa, and to a lesser extent, eastern Africa, from 1620 to 1800 paralleled the era of capitalist development in Europe, and as Marx pointed out, this slavery was a cornerstone for the industrial development of the capitalist countries.

By the late 1800s and the early 1900s capitalism had  
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### Salt Talks No. 197...

## U.S., USSR Each Out To Disarm—The Other

In early May the latest round of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT 2) opened up between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. But U.S. negotiator Paul Warnke and his Soviet counterpart were reduced to dickering over secondary issues—such as the technical verification of multiple warheads—right from the beginning. At a higher level, the superpowers were at loggerheads, despite official proclamations of "progress."

A week after the "official" talks opened, U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance met with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in Geneva to struggle out some sticky points in SALT. This was where the real action was. Vance and Gromyko had met in Moscow a month and a half earlier where Vance had laid out the U.S. proposals for disarmament and the fallout from this conference still holds up progress on SALT.

The Moscow meeting, which was the first SALT initiative by the Carter administration, was preceded by a big campaign to put the Soviets on the hot seat. Unlike earlier discussions, where initial negotiating positions were communicated in secret months before any face-to-face talks, to give the other side a chance to examine the proposals, this time the U.S. held its cards close to its chest. At the same time, Carter launched his "human rights" attack on the Soviets, bringing pressure and world opinion to bear on an enraged Kremlin.

Then, shortly before Vance's departure, the U.S. played its hand in the world press, leaking portions of the main proposal. Still the New Czars did not know what they were going to be hit with. The main "comprehensive proposal" of the U.S., one of two they would offer, began getting billed as a "genuine move towards

disarmament." Finally, adding insult to injury, practically as Vance was boarding the plane, Carter asked Congress for \$22 million to build bigger transmitters for the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe so that they could better broadcast U.S. imperialist propaganda into the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Even if Vance's briefcase carried a "reasonable" proposal, Carter's maneuvers made it tough for the Kremlin leadership to swallow. But the Soviet rejection is even less of a surprise when the content of the "comprehensive proposal" is clear. This proposal, highly touted by U.S. spokesmen as a "genuine move towards disarmament," was a case of the U.S. imperialists proposing that Soviet social-imperialism do most of the disarming.

The first flush of press reports around the Moscow meeting enabled Vance to come home empty-handed—as far as "arms limitations" go—but with a fistful of propaganda about the "peaceful" intentions of U.S. imperialism. All in all, the Vance trip to Moscow was a big U.S. victory on the diplomatic front, with the image left of the Soviet Union stubbornly holding on to its mis-

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## Central Committee Report

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# Plan For New Workers Group Picks Up Steam

The Coordinating Committee of the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization held an important meeting at the end of March in which it mapped out its plans and methods for building towards the founding convention of the national workers organization on Labor Day weekend. Although organizing will be going on continuously up until the founding convention on Labor Day (and afterwards) the committee broke the national campaign into three major "waves": 1) until May Day; 2) from May Day until July 4th picnics; and 3) from mid-July until Labor Day weekend.

May Day, of course, is a powerful working class holiday in its own right, when the working class marshals its forces, reaffirms its declaration of war on the bourgeoisie and resolves to fight for a brighter tomorrow. This year, an important part of these celebrations was getting out the word about the national workers organization and bringing together many workers all around the country who will be the core in building it.

Shifting gears following May Day, the Organizing Committee in this second phase has focused on the one hand on taking out the call for the national workers organization broadly and, on the other hand, initiating and helping to build a few key struggles, like around these union busting conferences.

In other words the Coordinating Committee has mobilized for two tasks in the present period: building the national workers organization in its own right, and rooting the Organizing Committee in some particularly sharp battles and in the course of that bringing out the value of and need for a national workers organization.

Some initial experience shows that where the question of building a national workers organization has been taken out boldly and linked to the questions many advanced workers have about how to move things forward, it has been received with a lot of enthusiasm.

In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania for example, the Organizing Committee took the question of a national workers organization out to a local rubber workers union where the workers had recently won a sitdown strike. The committee was invited to speak at a local union meeting, which they did, laying out how the Organizing

Committee supported the recent struggle at the plant and going on to explain why joining the national workers organization would help consolidate the advances and link the rubber workers up with workers across the country. The speech really hit home to some of the burning questions on the minds of the workers, the audience giving a standing ovation at the end.

Building the national workers organization in its own right will really start to pick up momentum with a planned national speaking tour to major cities across the country. Accompanying this tour will be the soon-to-be-completed movie about the July 4th, 1976 "Battle of the Bicentennial," showing in practice the power and decisiveness of the working class mounting the stage in political struggle, fighting under its own class banner.

Also during this "wave" of activity, the question of affiliating with a national workers organization, as well as continuing to build struggle in the industry, will be getting discussed among the workers in existing plant and industrial groups. Mass leafletting of plants and setting up of meetings at taverns to discuss building this national organization will be organized in each local area. Many larger areas plan to fan out, sending teams to smaller cities to leaflet plants and set up local meetings. The Cleveland Organizing Committee, for example, has made plans to send a team to Akron, Ohio for several days of organizing. July 4th picnics are also being planned across the country. And all this is being supplemented by a poster, a recently produced national workers organization button, T-shirts, and the first two issues of a newsletter, *The Organizer*.

## Building Key Struggles

The Coordinating Committee also made the decision



Work towards a national workers organization took a big stride in the course of building May Day. In the weeks following, the campaign has accelerated to raise the need for such an organization among the broadest number of workers possible. Tens of thousands of "Seize the Time in '77—Build a National Workers Organization" posters are being put up in working class areas throughout the country.

# Workers Move To "Bust The Union Busters"

In the last month workers have torn the cover off what was supposed to be strictly a private affair—a series of seminars openly dedicated to busting unions and "preserving nonunion status." Attending these affairs are representatives of many of the biggest corporations in the country, shelling out hundreds of dollars each in registration fees. But workers, in actions spearheaded nationwide by the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization, are giving these magnates of industry a lesson for free. It's a foretaste of the kind of organized struggle they can expect from the organization when it is formed this coming Labor Day weekend in Chicago.

As part of their drive to squeeze ever more out of the labor of the workers, the capitalists have payrolled an outfit called Advanced Management Research (and another called Executive Enterprise) to sponsor a traveling roadshow featuring as ringmaster Dr. Charles Hughes, infamous former head of Texas Instruments, whose claim to fame is having kept it nonunion and the workers at near starvation wages. The company representatives attending these seminars hope to keep their presence a secret to avoid bad publicity. But

much to their discomfort the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization has pulled a switch and made them do the sweating for a change.

For example, just outside Seattle two days after May Day, 25 workers, who had only heard of the meeting at the last minute, picketed and a delegation barged into one of these conferences confronting the executives and reading a statement denouncing their union busting tactics.

One of the fatcats tried to act brave and yelled at the spokesman for the Organizing Committee, "Where do you work?" "I work for Bethlehem Steel, where do you work?" responded the worker, at which point not one businessman had the courage to answer. The working class is proud of its struggles, but these representatives of the owning class cowered in a corner rather than openly associate the names of their companies with their union busting plans. They were forced to call the cops to extricate themselves from their sorry situation.

On May 12 a two-pronged attack was launched simultaneously in New York City and Detroit. In Detroit when the seminar rolled into town a group of 15 workers picketed outside, then grabbed the bull by the horns and marched inside. They had planned to take the meeting over but finding the executives filling their fat jowls with lunch they confronted them and raised hell. A Ford Motor Company representative was found hiding in the corner to keep his presence unknown—and this in Motor City, the heartland of the UAW!

At the same time this action was taking place, 25 other workers stormed into the New York headquarters of Advanced Management Research and staked a "Warning" to the wall. As the plaster fell to the plush carpet the leeches who run this scab herding outfit read the ultimatum from the workers declaring war on their activities. In part it read: "You are the lowest of the low life, no better than the lousy Pinkertons of the '30s that made the workers' blood flow in the streets in our great unionizing drives. Goons in fancy suits are goons just the same. Wherever you go around the country workers will be demonstrating, responding to the call

to link the Organizing Committee up with some particularly sharp struggles, in order to give workers a real sense in practice of what the national workers organization will be once it is formed.

Their decision to build a struggle against the union busting seminars has started to gain momentum as an important struggle in its own right (see accompanying article) which, because of the broad unity among workers around this question, has begun to involve even some local union officials and so far blunted any significant attacks by the labor traitors.

This has not deterred Victor Reisel, a top reactionary commentator for the bourgeoisie, from attacking the moves toward a national workers organization. Unlike some of the radical movements of the last few years which petered out, he says, the movement to form a national workers organization is dangerous (to the ruling class) and is "something to be watched."

Looking to the future, starting in roughly mid-July, the Organizing Committee will shift gears again, this time into overdrive, going all-out to build for the founding convention on Labor Day weekend. This will be a period characterized by consolidation of contacts made during the first and second "waves," while continuing to reach out broadly. Leading up to the Chicago national convention there will be meetings in local areas where the key questions facing the working class are struggled over and the program and structure begin to get hammered out.

All this will climax in the weekend convention in Chicago, September 3 and 4, where the final program and plans for action will be set. Then, of course, it will become a question of transferring the momentum accumulated in the buildup period into the key battles facing workers. ■

put out by the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization. You may intend to use these conferences to help drive us down into the dirt but we will never permit this. Wherever you go working people will be there."

## Taken into Unions

In many areas mobilization around these union busting seminars has been brought into the unions. Just outside Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the UAW local at Latrobe Die Casting (owned by Mr. Rogers who peddles that trash to our kids on his morning TV show while he tries to enforce speedup and job combinations in his plant) where the workers are waging a hard fought strike, the Organizing Committee united with the local union in holding a meeting attended by 45 workers around how to build the strike, the union busting conferences and the national workers organization. Later, when these local union officials attended the UAW convention in Los Angeles, AWUF and the Organizing Committee again linked up with them, putting out a joint leaflet to the convention and some of the auto plants in the area about the strike.

In Milwaukee at the Allied Industrial Workers Local 232 (Briggs and Stratton), the biggest local in the city, the "Bust the Union Busters" offensive was taken up by the rank and file, jamming the local officials into giving the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization space for an article in the local newsletter, with the Executive Board promising to introduce a resolution against the seminars at the next union meeting. The Steelworkers Local 1208 in Seattle and Local 3669 at Wyman-Gordon in Chicago have gone on record condemning the union busting conferences.

It is clear that the union busters are starting to feel the heat as the Organizing Committee swings new sections of workers into action around this particular outrage. These beginning actions also make clearer the ability a national workers organization will have, once it is formed, in focusing the strength of workers mobilized nationwide in major campaigns around abuses like this and others perpetrated by the owning class. ■

# Excerpts From C.C. Report (Part One)

## Revolutionary Work In A Non-Revolutionary Situation

*Editor's Note: In the latter part of 1976, at its most recent meeting, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA held discussions summing up the work of the Party and the development of the workers' movement and the overall struggle against imperialism in the period since the formation of the Party, including the battle around the Bicentennial and the July 4th "Rich Off Our Backs" demonstration in Philadelphia, and made an extremely important analysis of the objective situation, the laws and features of its development and the role of the Party as the vanguard of the working class in relation to this. On this basis the Central Committee issued a report for study and discussion by the whole Party.*

*Because of the importance of the analysis made by the Central Committee, we are publishing here major parts of this report, excerpts from a paper and a speech presented to the Central Committee by its Chairman, Bob Avakian, and discussed, deepened and developed in final form by the Central Committee in its report. These excerpts from the report have been edited for publication in Revolution and will be presented in two parts, the first in this issue of Revolution and the second in next month's paper.*

*These sections deal mainly with the situation in the U.S. The Central Committee also discussed the international situation at length, deepening the basic analysis in the Programme and the Revolution articles recently reprinted in the pamphlet War and Revolution. For a further understanding of the Party's line on these questions, we suggest people study these publications.*

*The study and discussion of this and next month's articles by the broadest numbers of workers and others involved in the revolutionary struggle will play a significant part in advancing the development of the revolutionary movement of the working class and the united front under its leadership, and in building its Party as a crucial part of that process.*

### Objective and Subjective

The objective situation sets the stage on which the Party plays its role. There is a dialectical relationship, however, between objective and subjective conditions. What is objective for the Party—for example, the mood of the masses—is *subjective* for those same masses (another way of applying what Mao says in "On Contradiction," "What is universal in one context becomes particular in another," and vice versa). Due to this same fact—the dialectical relationship between objective and subjective—there is an interpenetration between them, they react upon each other and therefore the objective situation can be changed by the action of the conscious forces on the basis of grasping not only the general laws of development, but also the particularity of the conditions (contradictions) that you are immediately confronted with (in this process the subjective changes, too). Hence Lenin's statement that the "living soul of Marxism is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions."

It is in this light that the statement by Mao in "Oppose Book Worship" has to be understood—"Communists should create favorable new situations through struggle." They cannot create these favorable new conditions out of thin air—or out of the mere subjective desire to see more favorable conditions, or the will to create them—but by concretely analyzing the objective conditions, the immediate contradictions that have to be moved on to push everything forward, and on that basis developing lines and policies to advance. In the same article Mao stresses that, "Without Investigating the Actual Situation, There is Bound to Be an Idealist Appraisal of Class Forces and an Idealist Guidance in Work, Resulting Either in Opportunism or in Putschism." As opposed to this, he puts forward in this same article the method of making a "correct appraisal of class forces, and then to formulate the correct tactics for the struggle."

The point, then, of analyzing the objective conditions, of making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, is to be able to determine how to change those

conditions, in accordance with the laws of development of society (and nature), and the revolutionary interests of the working class—which in turn are determined by and in accordance with these same laws of development.

### The Development of the Crisis

What are the objective conditions we face today and how will they develop? At the time of the founding Congress of the Party the basic analysis of this question was made:

"The present crisis is a world-wide crisis of the imperialist system, the first such crisis since—the first world economic crisis of the '30s and the war and redivision of the world among the imperialists that followed it. The conditions of the crisis in each capitalist country react upon each other due to the interdependence of the whole imperialist system. This crisis will continue to deepen—although it develops unevenly in different countries—both within the U.S. and within the imperialist system as a whole. The options and maneuvering room of the U.S. imperialists are lessening and will continue to do so, despite ups and downs in the situation . . . U.S. imperialism, together with the whole imperialist system, world-wide, is enmeshed in a deepening crisis—a real crisis and not simply a 'downturn in the business cycle.' And the direction is *down*, despite whatever temporary and partial 'ups' there may be within this."

. . . Competition among the capitalists and anarchy in the capitalist system as a whole will continue to be all the more sharply felt in the period ahead, according to the principle Marx noted:

"So long as things go well, competition effects an operating fraternity of the capitalist class . . . so that each shares in the common loot in proportion to the size of its respective investment. But as soon as it no longer is a question of sharing profits, but of sharing losses, everyone tries to reduce his own share to a minimum and to shove it off upon another . . . The antagonism between each individual capitalist's interests and those of the capitalist class as a whole, then comes to the surface, just as previously the identity of these interests operated in practice through competition." (*Capital*, Vol. 3, p. 253)

This is the economic basis for the ever-fiercer in-fighting and "dirty politics" of the bourgeoisie and its political representatives. . . .

But what does it mean that this is a major crisis, not just a "cyclical downturn" and that it will continue to deepen, despite temporary and partial "ups" within this? It means that, as opposed to earlier times in the post WW2 period, when the U.S. economy was hit by recessions, things have entered into a specific *downward spiral (not a straight line down)* which will only give way to another spiral through a major change in the relation of forces in the world—redivision of the world through war among the imperialists, revolution, or—most likely—both, on a world scale.

This fact, of the depth and severity of the crisis, is revealed in new features that the imperialists themselves are forced to comment on, for example the combination of inflation and "recession," and is reflected in the mood of the masses. It can be gauged, especially in the thinking of older workers, who have been through previous post WW2 "recessions" and do not look at the present crisis in the same way at all, but—especially those who also lived through the '30s depression—see things more heading in that direction. This feeling is fairly widespread, and many comrades have commented on this. But . . .

### Beginning of a New Spiral

We need to understand much more deeply the actual mood of the masses, how they see things, what kind of changes they think are necessary, how they think changes will be made, how they see their own role in this, etc. As stressed before, for the Party, this, too, is a part of the objective conditions—and we must analyze them with the science of Marxism, through investigation, heart-to-heart talks, and the application of the mass line, in order to determine the correct policies and tactics to move things forward, to take the next, necessary steps along the road to proletarian revolution.

Objectively the working class and the masses of people need to make revolution, but it is clear that at this

point, subjectively—in their own thinking—this is not a felt need, not something that, as weighted against the alternatives the bourgeoisie is promoting, the masses are ready to make the necessary sacrifices for. This, in turn, is related to the objective situation they are in, which includes, as a significant factor, the remaining reserves of U.S. imperialism, despite its decline.

This stresses the need to keep firmly in mind the principle Mao sets down: "All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases we should wait patiently. We should not make the change until, through our work, most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out." ("The United Front in Cultural Work," Vol. 3, p. 186)

This is a difficult period—for the masses, and for the Party. It is not a period like the '60s and early '70s, a period of high tide of struggle, mainly based among non-proletarian forces and mainly based on expectations of some vague notion of "radical change" (sometimes even posed as "liberation" or "revolution") which, ultimately, would leave the foundations of imperialism unaltered and which, therefore, proved in the end illusory. This is not to negate the real advances made in that period. Without that development, things would not be where they are now—for example our Party has its roots in that period, though it represents a qualitative leap beyond it. And where things are now is an advance, because it is the spiral that will lead to a major change in the relation of forces and will lead to the real prospect of proletarian revolution in this country as well as others.

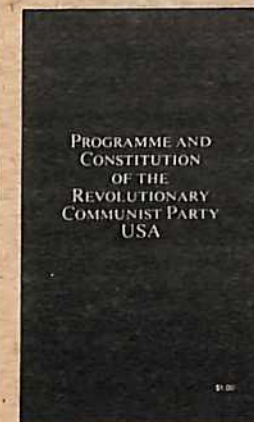
But it is the *beginning* of this new spiral—and so the fact that it is an advance is not always immediately so evident. It is a period marked by struggle, including growing working class resistance, especially to attacks on living standards, but of scattered struggles, and of a great deal of confusion. To take stock of this is not to say "not much can be done, wait until conditions are more favorable," but to lay the basis for determining *how to make* conditions more favorable, in the way discussed before, in accordance with actual conditions and the actual laws of development. . . .

### Qualitative Leap

It is necessary to say it again: due to the objective situation the masses face, they are not in a revolutionary mood—though there is widespread and deepening discontent and increasing lack of faith in the rulers of the country and their institutions. We must start from the actual conditions and break through the actual contradictions to advance toward the revolutionary goal, not in isolation from, but together with, ever greater sections of the working class, ever broader ranks of the masses.

On the other hand, the development of the situation must not be viewed simply in *quantitative* terms—a

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## Programme and Constitution of the RCP, USA

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## Revolution

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# Atlanta City Strikers Stabbed By "Friends" In Government



The bitter strike of Atlanta city workers for wage and benefit increases was crushed by the combined efforts of the Black bourgeoisie, the local big capitalists, the AFSCME leadership and Black hucksters and opportunists like Mayor Maynard Jackson and Martin Luther King Sr.

City workers went on strike Monday, March 28, for a 50 cents an hour raise and better working conditions. The strike was an uphill battle from the beginning, the culmination of almost two whole years of struggle for a raise. The mostly Black workers—members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1644—were up against a Black mayor, Maynard Jackson, who is out to prove to the big capitalists that he and other Black politicians can "run" Atlanta.

Almost immediately Jackson fired the more than 1000 striking workers, and called for the unemployed to scab on the strike (Atlanta's unemployment rate is near 9%). In response, members of the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) along with 25 strikers picketed the City Personnel Office. But over 1000 people showed up to apply, and many were hired—a clear example of how the capitalists are often able to pit one section of the working class against another.

Rank and file city workers built their struggle in many ways. They held mass picket lines, several times trying to block driveways at installations such as the water works. On Sunday, April 24, strikers confronted Mayor Jackson at an awards ceremony at Grant Park. They surrounded him as he got out of his limousine, plastered "Maynard's Word is Garbage" stickers on his back, and shouted him down when he tried to speak. Only his bodyguards and police escort got him out of there with his skin.

Two days later 50 workers sat in at the Mayor's office. A cop struck one worker who refused to move. Another worker shouted, "You treat him like a human being!"—he was hit in the face by a cop, breaking his glasses and bloodying his eye. All hell broke loose. Six cops and four workers were sent to the hospital; five strikers and three union officials were arrested. One worker was dragged away by four cops, with his head and back bouncing along the marble steps of City Hall.

These two actions frightened AFSCME officials. Afraid of the growing militancy of many of the strikers and unable to win any concessions from the city, the union officials recommended that the strike be called off at a meeting that night, and the city's terms accepted. These terms were that the remaining available jobs be filled with strikers and the rest be put in CETA

jobs—with no guarantee of seniority, pension or anything else.

The 250 workers at the meeting overwhelmingly rejected this—but the next day, April 27, AFSCME International officials withdrew their support, and cut off strike benefits. AFSCME Area Director Leamon Hood said the strike was a losing cause—because, he said, there wasn't enough solidarity among the workers and no community support for the strike. In the face of all this the remaining strikers decided to accept the city's terms. (As we go to press, many workers still haven't gotten any jobs at all.)

## Who's to Blame?

The strike raises many questions that are important to get answers to, so that the struggle of city workers can begin moving forward again and so that all workers can understand what happened. Is it true that the strike's defeat can be blamed on the workers and the "community," like the union officials are trying to do? Who in the "community" supported the strike and who didn't, and why? Can workers really fight to win these battles?

As vice-mayor in 1970, Maynard Jackson marched with city workers during that strike—but today he is Atlanta's No. 1 strikebreaker. On April 4—the anniversary of the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. in Memphis where he was building support for striking city workers—Martin Luther King, Sr. (King's father) declared "fire the hell out of them [the strikers in Atlanta]!" The Urban League supported Jackson and condemned the strikers at a press conference organized by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the NAACP came out against the strike. Where are all these so-called Black "leaders" coming from?

The mass movements of Black people in the 1960s and early '70s were a powerful force destroying many forms of oppression and discrimination. As this movement advanced and as the need for revolution began to stand out, some forces, particularly among the middle classes, began to waver. During this same period, the ruling class, panicked by this powerful upsurge (and bringing down more savage repression against it) also rushed

to build up the forces of the businessmen and professionals within the struggle in order to put a brake on it. They promoted misleaders who pushed dead-end schemes.

For their part, many of these people saw a chance to gain careers and positions for themselves by subverting the struggle. Such a man was Maynard Jackson.

Such people viewed the mass movement as a battering ram, whose purpose was to knock down the wall and allow them to assume a high and mighty spot inside the castle. Today, having won official posts, the objective position of these people in society has changed, so their class interests in opposing the people's struggle stand out even more clearly.

Maynard Jackson sees the strikes of these mainly Black workers as a direct threat to his own position and the system he is hired to protect and administer. He and people like him try all sorts of deceitful tricks, to undermine the struggle, willing to use their remaining influence among the masses of Black people to buy their own way even higher. If Jackson can show the Rockefellers, Carter and the like what a "good job" he can do controlling Atlanta, he may advance even more. If he can't, he's had it.

But pimps of this type—Jackson, Martin Luther King, Sr., and the others—do not represent the masses of Black people—city workers, factory workers, teachers or whoever. Many Black students and professors organized support for the strike. They held a support rally at Atlanta University, held a press conference denouncing the mayor, collected food and helped to picket. A group of students dumped two tons of garbage at City Hall, boldly challenging the media's lies that the strike had no community support.

It is true, however, that public support for this strike was less visible than it was in 1970, when the city workers struck, won some gains and won their jobs back. In 1970 the mass movements of Black people and students were still strong, and able to come out in support of the strikers in an organized and militant way. But those movements have ebbed since 1970, because in part there was no organized workers' movement to give leadership to their struggles and direct them at the capitalist enemy.

Today, though there was much sympathy and support for the city strikers among workers in Atlanta, the organized movement of the working class is still at a beginning stage—not yet able to sustain large-scale support. Even in defeat, the city workers strike did make contributions to the development of such a movement, especially by helping to expose Jackson and his ilk as enemies.

## Union Hacks

Another major problem this year was that the union leadership had over the last couple of years continuously sabotaged the city workers' struggle, leaving them in a weaker position to carry on the strike. They pushed reliance on Jackson's "promises" of a raise, and not on the struggle of the workers themselves.

During the strike the union leaders pushed a pacifist approach: Don't worry about fighting, don't get militant—because your cause is just and you'll win just because you're right. Since when have working people won anything in this system without a fight? Is that how Black people have won the victories against discrimination and oppression?

The AFSCME leaders wanted to use the strike to build a campaign as a springboard to organize workers in other Southern cities in order to get more dues money and further their own careers. They see the rank and file as a "pressure group" against the government to gain their own ends and used pacifism to hold back real struggle—they don't want to rock the boat so much that the rank and file rolls them right out of the boat!

The city government is attempting to consolidate its victory, but there will be more battles in the future. Summing up the lessons of this strike can lay a basis for the city workers to move forward. ■

## Publications

- War and Revolution. Seven articles from *Revolution*. 50¢.
- The Mass Line. Three articles from *Revolution*. 25¢.
- Elections '76: Capitalists' Desperate Deceit vs. Workers' Growing Struggle. 15¢.
- Auto and the Workers Movement. 75¢.
- CUBA: The Evaporation of a Myth. Reprinted from *Revolution*. In English and Spanish with footnotes in English. 50¢.
- Our Class Will Free Itself and All Mankind. Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA on the occasion of the founding of the Party. 75¢.
- Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. \$1.

(The following publications were originally published by the Revolutionary Union and adopted by the Party)

- How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle. \$2.50.
- The Chicano Struggle and the Struggle for Socialism. \$1.

The following reprints are in both English and Spanish:

- Revolution: Only Road to Women's Liberation. 25¢.
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The pamphlets *How Socialism Wipes Out Exploitation*, *The Party—Invincible Proletarian Vanguard*, *Classes and Class Struggle*, and *Correct Line Achieved Through Study, Struggle and Criticism* are temporarily out of stock and will be made available shortly.

## AWUF Confronts International

# UAW Convention Steps Up Treachery

May 15th marked the opening session of the week long UAW Constitutional Convention held in Los Angeles. This convention, held every three years, is supposed to be the most important meeting of the union, where the top officials are elected and major policies set. It is supposed to be the epitome of the democratic process "that has kept the UAW strong." Nothing could be further from the truth. This "democratic" convention was set up to be one big rubber stamp for the International officers and their class collaborationist stance.

While some auto workers might have thought the convention would deal with their most pressing concerns, on the contrary, the UAW International was primarily concerned with using it as a springboard to draw national attention to its lobbying efforts in Washington.

Railing against imports and how Carter's "gas tax" will spur increased import sales, rallying support behind the B-1 bomber, calling for action to be taken against illegal aliens, featuring speeches by Teddy Kennedy and Jimmy Carter—these are some of the International's main concerns. In the lobby outside the convention stood huge displays encouraging people to "fly McDonnell Douglas" with Local 148 (the McDonnell Douglas Local) representatives peddling T-shirts, buttons, car stickers, all extolling the virtues of "their" company's products, including the Air Force YC-15.

### Woodcock's Successor

The really "big business" of the convention, choosing Woodcock's successor, was settled several months ago—by Woodcock personally polling the members of the International Executive Board. Fraser was chosen without even the formalities of a vote at the top level. Fraser, in his dual capacity as UAW Vice-President and Democratic Party bigshot throughout Michigan, was long ago groomed by Reuther for top UAW office. Widely hailed by the media for his "labor statesmanship" and ability to "relate" to the rank and file, Fraser, if anything, has served as a trailblazer in forging new paths of UAW class collaborationism. From organizing a 1000 man goon squad to bust up the '73 Mack Avenue Chrysler wildcat, to shortly thereafter serving as chairman of the Detroit Police Commission, to engineering the '73 contract sellout, and helping to smash the 11 day wildcat at Indianapolis in April—all this and more is the legacy Fraser will be taking to office with him.

Fraser has spoken out several times about the shorter work week—calling it a historic inevitability to be realized in the next couple of contracts. One of the International's resolutions at this convention spells it out more clearly what he's talking about, calling for the 4-day work week through "greater productivity." This, coupled with Fraser's remark last August as he was putting the clamps on the Chrysler Trenton Engine strike, saying it's "better in a bargaining situation to have absolute peace in the industry," should make it real clear what lies ahead for auto workers. More of the same outrageous productivity drives with a leadership which, if it even acknowledges the fact, refers to it as "eliminating inefficiency." This company/union productivity

drive which has already eliminated over 100,000 jobs in the industry since 1973 is now being encouraged supposedly to make the 4-day week possible and thus create more jobs. While Fraser has a well-earned reputation as being slick, there's no amount of slickness that can cover the treacherous logic of this stand.

When it came to any of the key issues, the convention was run with an iron hand, with Fraser making it absolutely clear where his administration stands. The next order of business after his coronation speech was resolutions.

The heart of the International's machine at these conventions is the 1000 International staff members who obediently tail after the top officials. Most resolutions reflecting real rank and file anger don't even reach the convention floor, as they require the backing of 435 delegates beforehand. For example, at one point during the convention a large group of delegates tried to get a resolution onto the floor putting a freeze on any future dues increase, but despite the support of hundreds of delegates the resolution failed to get the necessary 435 votes (according to the chair of the convention) as the International moved in to squash it.

But around those that did reach the convention floor the International revealed even more its vicious dictatorship. The first one up was a resolution aimed at slapping down the resistance of the skilled trades workers. In reaffirming that the skilled workers do not have a right to vote down a national contract, the resolution contained a bill of indictments including one condemning skilled tradesmen for rejecting contracts over issues not "on the bargaining table." The resolution also reaffirmed a little known provision of the UAW constitution which gives the Executive Committee the right to approve a contract *even if it's been voted down by the rank and file.*

All the other resolutions went the way the International wanted them to. Despite very widespread opposition among the delegates, the UAW voted to hold a special convention to consider reaffiliation with the AFL-CIO, whose leaders are seen by many as the sell-outs they are. Fraser and other UAW hacks were voted a big pay increase, and a myriad of resolutions demanding direct election of top UAW officers were beaten down, once again to the disgust of a large percentage of the delegates present.

Of course boozing, playing around and generally living it up on the more than ample expenses provided through union dues to each delegate characterized most of the rest of what went on at the convention. In fact, local sellout officers who the rank and file hadn't heard of since their hard sell around the '76 contract, popped up all over the place before the convention promising heaven on earth to the rank and file if only they'd elect them to go to L.A.

But this charade is no joke. This carrot and stick routine that the convention represents—on the one hand encouraging delegates to live it up in high style off the backs of the membership, showing them how grand it is to be a UAW bigshot, and on the other hand working tirelessly to thwart any real opposition—is part and parcel of building and tightening up the International's machine.

This convention is being held in the shadow of the '76 contract sellout. Despite no real improvement in wages (11 cents new money over three years) or cost of living, with less restrictions on the company around mandatory overtime and a weakened SUB fund, the attempt was made to sell this contract to the rank and file as "a new breakthrough for labor." There was a tremendous amount of struggle on the part of the rank and file against this sellout, with AWUF becoming a real center of resistance, exposing the International's pro-company schemes and putting forward the real demands of the rank and file. At the same time the companies have tried to push up their rates of profits, continuing to press their attacks on the workers. If anything, harassment, job combinations and eliminations, deteriorating health and safety conditions have become worse, exposing even more clearly the '76 sellout. For these reasons the sparks haven't stopped flying off that contract battle.

Significant wildcats have taken place in three locals in the last three months (Chrysler's Indianapolis Electrical plant [see May *Revolution*], GM Fremont, Ca., and Kalamazoo, Michigan Fisher Body). Many locals rejected their local contracts, some even several times. The International has been having a harder time holding down the rank and file, and in some cases workers have dealt sharp blows to the companies over these contract battles.

Scores of local contract strikes have taken place in the industry. At Chrysler Sterling Stamping, an eight day strike caused the closing of many Chrysler plants, won some concessions from Chrysler and threatened to shut down the entire Chrysler empire until the local agreement finally passed by only 88 votes. At Chrysler's Trenton, Michigan chemical plant, after striking the workers still rejected their new contract the first time around and when the second vote was called, the contract barely passed by four votes. Two important local contract battles continue to this day at the Dearborn Stamping Plant of the Ford Rouge Complex and the Livonia, Michigan Fisher Body plant. In both locals the union leadership would have the workers continue working without a local agreement, but the rank and file haven't given up. On May 5, over 100 workers from the Livonia plant picketed their regional union headquarters, demanding a strike deadline.

Also much struggle has developed in UAW locals outside of the major automakers. At Allis Chalmers, an agricultural implements and electrical and construction equipment company centered near Milwaukee, workers struck for six weeks over job eliminations. Although that strike was eventually sold out by UAW officials who had resisted it in the first place, the rank and file put up quite a fight and are determined not to allow the company to throw them out on the streets one by one.

At Ohio Crankshaft, UAW Local 91, the 800 workers there have been battling job eliminations and a proposed major attack on their right to strike for over three months now. At the Latrobe Die Casting, UAW Local 1984, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, workers have been wildcatting for over six weeks in response to heavy systematized harassment coming down from the company in the form of a disciplinary point system.

Through these and other battles, many in which Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF, a rank and file organization born in the 1976 contract fight) played a strong role, workers are seeing through the International more and more. The UAW generally enjoys a "corruption free," liberal image—compared to their counterparts in trucking and steel for example. Often, workers perceive of their problems with the union as due to lazy bought-off and/or stupid local officials. While most times these perceptions are certainly on target, by themselves they are not enough. The role of

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## Support the Party and Its Press!

In the over one year and a half since the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party, beginning but important strides have been made in building the struggle, consciousness and unity of the working class and the masses of people in this country. The Party has deepened its ties and influence with the struggling masses, helping to push these struggles forward, exposing the class relations that lie behind them, and learning from the masses in the course of battle.

From large demonstrations like the demonstration in Philadelphia on the Fourth of July that flew in the face of the capitalists' hopes to rally the masses in celebrating 200 years of capitalist exploitation or the march on African Liberation Day in the spirit of fighting national oppression from the USA (United States of America) to the USA (Union of South Africa), to battles in basic industries and in struggles in cities all across the country, the Party has been in the forefront of battle. This year will see important advances in the organization and struggle of the workers. It will also see the formation of a nationwide young communist organization, including both working class youth and the Revolutionary Student Brigade.

Our Party's press has expanded, publishing a theoretical journal, numerous pamphlets, leaflets to serve particular battles and, of course, *Revolution*, the organ of the Party's Central Committee. In the period ahead plans are underway to take bold steps forward on the publications front, including expanding the role of the *Worker* papers, which are guided by the line of the RCP and published in more than twenty different localities.

But all of this requires money, lots of it. Members and supporters have contributed from their hard earned paychecks to aid in the revolutionary tasks of the Party. But for the Party to continue to carry on and expand its work, more is required.

For these reasons the Party is calling on its supporters to aid the Party by contributing financially to its press. There is no way that the sale of periodicals alone can cover the cost of putting them out without making them prohibitively expensive. Bourgeois publications solve this contradiction by making advertising their main source of income. For the Party, it is only the contributions of its members and sympathizers supplementing sales earnings that enable it to carry out this important task.

To aid the Party's fundraising drive we encourage people to donate to RCP Publications and/or to join the *Revolution* sustainer program. Write:

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# UAW ...

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the International, their sugar-coated company stand, is the question more and more being brought to the fore in these struggles.

## AWUF Campaign

All of this shows that the International is on thin ice over deep waters, and points out one reason why the convention was so important to them as a means to keep their bourgeois apparatus well oiled and as tight as possible.

But just as the rank and file has had to struggle against their sabotage when directly fighting the companies, the attack the convention represents did not go unchallenged.

Many locals sent in resolutions on a number of issues challenging the International. In several locals, candidates with a history of militant struggle against the companies and International scored victories.

The industry-wide campaign organized by AWUF around the convention was especially significant. Altogether 80 AWUF candidates ran in 28 locals around the country; 28 of those candidates running as slates in seven Detroit area locals. Two alternate positions were won at the Chrysler Sterling Stamping plant outside Detroit and in most other local elections, AWUF made a strong showing. Altogether, well over five thousand workers voted for the AWUF candidates and program around the country, in elections which are not usually marked by high turnout.

AWUF's program exposed what the convention was all about and called on the rank and file to cut through the business-as-usual politicking and use their votes to make a clear-cut stand against the International's collaboration with the companies. In sharp contrast to the usual phoney pie-in-the-sky promises most local hacks run on, the AWUF program promised "Nothing will happen unless we the workers unite and



*Begging the Bosses Ain't Our Style, Our Real Strength is the Rank and File—Auto workers, mainly from the West Coast, took the fight of auto workers to the UAW convention in actions called by Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF).*

struggle to make it happen." The issues AWUF took up around the convention fell into five categories: 1) Break the International's Pro-Company Dictatorship, which included a demand over the local right to strike on majority membership approval, a one man—one vote procedure on contract ratification, getting rid of receivership (where the International comes in and completely takes over a local union), and a demand that union dues be spent serving the membership, not greasing the flunkies' machine; 2) Build the Fight for Jobs—calling for the formation of Employed/Unemployed committees to mobilize the membership in the fight against layoffs; 3) Build the Unity of Production and Skilled; 4) We Don't Accept Woodcock's Hand-picked Successor; and 5) Stop Using Our Union to "Pin the Tail on the [Democratic Party] Donkey."

As much as possible, these struggles were built not

as narrow election campaigns pitting one slate against others, but as workers' campaigns, using the convention as a means to articulate the sentiments and anger most workers feel.

## Demonstration in L.A.

The International had hoped that the Los Angeles location of the convention would remove them from any face-to-face confrontation with the rank and file, since California is far from the center of the auto industry (although there are some important plants there). But AWUF chapters in the West Coast auto plants organized a demonstration, putting out AWUF's convention program and also raising a demand against a pro-B-1 bomber proposal passed by the 18th UAW Aerospace Bargaining Convention. About 35 auto workers took part in the militant picket line, chanting slogans like "Begging bosses ain't our style, the real strength is the rank and file!" Workers spoke from aerospace, a UAW Alcoa local in L.A., and from the L.A. Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization.

AWUF set up a photo display of the struggle around the '76 auto contracts and leafletted delegates, calling on them to make a stand with the rank and file at the convention. Many delegates stopped and checked out the demonstration and got into discussions with AWUF members, especially around the Fraser appointment and the B-1 bomber issue. The demo picked up some good news coverage in L.A. The workers present summed it up as a success, both the demonstration itself and the work that went into building it, especially serving to strengthen AWUF in the L.A. area.

Before the demo a meeting was held of UAW members from L.A., the San Francisco Bay Area, and several auto workers from the Midwest who took the long drive out, including the AWUF delegates elected from Detroit. These workers discussed and struggled out some important questions like why are the numbers of activists among the rank and file small at this time and how can these small numbers have a big impact among the broader ranks of workers and grow larger? How can union elections be used to serve the struggle? What's the importance of building a national workers organization at this time? The meeting did much to point the way forward and specifically served to unify their ranks which made for a more powerful demonstration outside the convention that same afternoon.

After the demonstration AWUF members spent time together with delegates who also wanted to struggle with the International's treachery. As we go to press AWUF has made plans to put out leaflets around specific issues coming down at the convention and to work to unite with whatever resistance can develop at this time on the convention floor.

AWUF at no time had any illusions of what kind of terrain the convention floor itself would be for struggle at this time—it's the International's ball park. The rank and file movement in auto is not yet organized enough, strong enough or unified enough to force any significant breakthroughs in an arena like the floor of the Constitutional Convention. But a lot of important struggle did go on on many fronts around this convention which has helped strengthen the rank and file movement among auto workers.

## October League

AWUF was not the only force demonstrating. In recent years conventions of big internationals like the UAW have become a favored stomping ground for various Trotskyite, revisionist and opportunist sects to strut their stuff. In the forefront of the crowd this time was the October League (OL) which had made the upcoming UAW convention the target of its "main blow" for several months, plastering the *Call* with front page articles, columns and a four page special section which predicted "hundreds of auto workers, their fami-

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# Carter's UAW Convention Speech Picketed

With what was billed as a major speech on domestic policy, Jimmy Carter appeared at the UAW convention on May 17 in Los Angeles. His presentation was aimed as usual at uniting people around the continuing attacks from the ruling class. Although he was aided in this by Woodcock, Fraser and the other UAW hacks, and despite the "everybody loves Jimmy" aura of the media coverage of Carter's activities that day, a militant demonstration and rally was held outside the convention that exposed the mask covering Carter's act.

The demonstration drew 90 people and was organized by the local Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization, AWUF, UWOC, and VVAW. Workers from several plants in the area came out as well as a number of unemployed workers including a few members from UWOC chapters in the San Francisco Bay Area. For a number of the workers present it was the first time they had participated in a political demonstration. VVAW had a strong contingent in the demonstration in addition.

The demonstration was built intensively in a week's time. One thousand posters were put up around town. Several people came to the demonstration after seeing these posters. Every major plant in the area was leafletted with a call to "demonstrate while Carter blows hot air."

In his speech, Carter credited his administration with the fact that 800,000 people had gone off the unemployment rolls since December. This is at least partially true. According to *The Wall Street Journal* 500,000 people were cut off unemployment in April as a result of cutbacks in unemployment insurance. The demonstration hit this attack with the demand "Jobs or Income Now!" "Union Jobs at Union Wages!"

This demand hit a nerve in Los Angeles, where official unemployment is over 9%, and people are being forced into low paying jobs.

UWOC members building for the demonstration earlier in the day leafletted one man at an unemployment office. He was on his way in to pick up his check. The man got to the front of the line where he was informed that he would have to apply for work at a job paying \$2.50 an hour before he would be able to pick up his check for that week. Boiling mad, he started raising hell in the office. State police that guard the place moved in to subdue him. "What do you think," the man demanded of the cops, "do you want to work for \$2.50 an hour?" "No comment, no comment," the police responded. "No comment... that sounds like something the damn president would say." He held up the UWOC leaflet and shouted "What this is saying is right on! I'm going to the demonstration!"

Conspicuously missing from Carter's speech was any mention of military spending, and in particular spending for the B-1 bomber. The UAW has been out in front in the campaign to build the B-1, making "Keep America First" arguments and generally promoting the B-1 as *the thing* that will put Southern California back to work. But even though the man who promised to cut military spending, but recently raised it by \$10 billion, didn't mention the B-1, the working class did. "No to the B-1 Bomber and All Other War Preparations," was the second demand of the demonstration. The action and VVAW's participation in particular cut into the attempts of the ruling class to unite workers around their plans for another imperialist war.

The third demand of the LA action was "We Won't Sacrifice for their Profits! No Gas or Utility Price Hikes! No Cutbacks in Public Services!" Carter came to town to promote the equal sacrifices line. Among other things, he promised to balance the national budget by 1981. People are starting to see just how he plans to do this with more cutbacks, more attacks and more suffering for the people. But everywhere old Jimmy goes these days, he is running into the working class prepared and organized to fight these attacks head-on with militant actions like the LA demonstration. The leaflet distributed for the demonstrations said "All these rich and powerful men... are looking for smooth sailing so they can grind us down even more. We can't afford to allow Carter to come to LA without a powerful response from us, the working class of people. This calls for an organized militant action of the employed and unemployed."

The LA Carter action, in which the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization was a leading sponsor, illustrates what will be an important task of the national workers organization after it is founded: confronting the political representatives of the ruling class on key occasions (like a presidential speech to a UAW convention) and raising demands of the working class in opposition to the policies of the bourgeoisie and its government. ■

## Draws Hatred of Masses

# Ghost of Nixon Haunts Bourgeoisie

Last month TV fans were delivered an unusual package: The Nixon/Frost Interviews. Mr. Frost was much classier than had been predicted. Most U.S. viewers are more familiar with the English actor's work in hosting the occasional ABC Guinness Book of World Records specials. The interviews gave him a chance to try on a more dramatic role and he handled it superbly.

On the other hand, for those who remember Mr. Nixon's memorable performance in that *tour de force* of early television, "The Checkers' Speech," the show was nothing but disappointment. Even those who caught parts of his six-year run as "Mr. President" just a few years back could not but notice that this aging star has reached the end of a long career. Before too long—and especially after these interviews—it is safe to say that Mr. Nixon will slip forever from prime time into that oblivion of supermarket grand openings and midafternoon reruns, with a periodic spot guest-hosting the *Tonight Show*.

Nixon's television appearance created quite a stir, especially among his old buddies in the ruling class. Ever since his tearful departure from the White House Rose Garden three years ago they have prayed that Nixon would remain where they sent him, in the political graveyard. They've worked to close the whole Watergate chapter—which gave a bit of a peek behind their carefully constructed facade of bourgeois democracy. Not only does Nixon bring back ugly memories of crisis at the very center of government, a crisis that damaged the bourgeois system far beyond the destruction of a single politician, but as long as Nixon is alive there will be the lingering fear that the veteran mudslinger will search the dark corners of his little mind for interesting bits of information about the ins and outs of administering U.S. imperialism.

But Nixon, pursuing his own interests like a good bourgeois, could not be stopped. Frost was offering him money, up to a cool million, for his soul-searching, and the opportunity to "set the record straight." Nixon hopes to use the interviews as a way to recoup his shattered dream to become recognized by history as a great statesman, even entertaining the notion that he might live out his golden years as a sort of "senior statesman," whose cherished advice on foreign affairs would be freely given out for the benefit of the American "people." Poor Richard, of course, has a lot of answering to do around the Watergate crisis, one of the few times when his career interests ended up not at all meshing with those of the rulers he so faithfully served.

The Nixon/Frost Interviews almost never made it to national television. ABC, NBC and CBS refused to touch it, adhering to their policy of not "buying" their news. But Frost, with large amounts of liquid assets beckoning to him, was able to pull together an ad hoc network of over 150 TV stations and so the show went on. At press time, two shows had been aired.

In the week preceding the first telecast the operation was greeted with a lot of pious crap from commenta-



*As if driven by some obsession to make sure he'll always be there to be kicked around, Nixon disgusted and bored viewers with yet another pathetic attempt to justify himself.*

tors about the money Nixon would be raking in, "crime shouldn't pay." True, but then, if "crime shouldn't pay" then the Rockefellers, DuPonts, Kennedys and their ilk should be stripped of their wealth, as well as the Eric Sevareids, who are paid quite well for spouting criminal drivel.

### Watergate

The first of the shows was on Watergate. (Originally, this show was to be shown third in the series until Frost and Nixon's aides convinced him that until the subject of Watergate was aired no one would believe so much as the time of day from him.) As he has in the years since his resignation, as he did during the affair itself, Nixon stoutly maintained his air of injured innocence. Frost and Nixon spent two-thirds of the show debating who said what when to who how. Frost, later applauded for his "tough questioning" ("No, Mr. Nixon, it was two days earlier and Haldeman was in the bathroom with Erlichman, you were talking to Dean"), bored in at the end and allowed Nixon to spend a full thirty minutes crying in his beer.

In an obvious play for sympathy, Nixon admitted that he had "thoroughly botched everything," which is about as close to the truth about Watergate that he is likely to get. He continued, however, to draw a weak distinction between "impeachable offenses" and the "technical legality" of his actions. Public reaction to

these "true confessions," that he acted too much from his heart and not his head, indicates that this great tragedy will never make it to Broadway.

Behind Nixon's words lurked his long-standing feeling that he was treated unfairly during the Watergate scandal. Part of what he did, in agreeing to and then covering up dirty tricks, was to save his own career and personal power, but as president, Nixon did many things in the fields of foreign and domestic policy, that served the ruling class well. Clearly, he still doesn't fully understand what happened to him. He even made some dark hints about the role of the CIA.

The following show, on foreign policy, emphasized the good services President Nixon performed for the bourgeoisie. At a time when U.S. imperialism was beset with difficulties, it makes an impressive list: heating up contention with the New Czars within the framework of detente while moving to reestablish firmer U.S. control over its own bloc; gearing up the policy of playing on both sides of the fence in the Middle East while continuing to arm Israel to the teeth; etc. And Nixon even tried to turn his opening to the People's Republic of China, which reflected the failure of U.S. imperialist policy of trying to encircle and isolate China, and withdrawal from Vietnam, a colossal defeat, as great acts of vision and statesmanship.

It's not surprising that this aging politico should feel ripped off at having his career cut short. He was a ruthless representative of imperialism, he attacked the masses of people at home and abroad with consistent vigor and enthusiasm, he was a capable administrator of bourgeois reaction. All this and yet Nixon was forced from the Oval Office with, as he put it, "so much more to do."

But the Watergate scandal, taking place in a background of capitalist infighting, beginning with a "third-rate burglary" and spiraling outward from there, took on a life of its own, undercutting the very real contributions Nixon made to the bourgeoisie. Part of the blame for the breadth of the Watergate crisis must be assessed against Nixon's personal quirk about preserving his "historical role." Any clear-thinking imperialist politician would have done as Barry Goldwater said he'd have done in the same situation: as soon as the tapes' existence became public build a bonfire on the White House lawn and invite hordes of reporters to watch.

### Nixon's Resignation

As we said in the March 15, 1975 *Revolution*, commenting on Nixon and the fruits of Watergate: "His [Nixon's] 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 of our enemy became clearer."

But all along through Watergate, and right down to today, the bourgeoisie has fought for its interests in this affair. Although now they'd rather have the whole thing quietly forgotten, once it was clear the Nixon/Frost shows would make the airwaves, the ruling class worked to turn this into a good thing for them, cranking up their commentators to discredit Nixon and push their own summation of Watergate.

Nixon, who had earned the widespread hatred of millions through the Vietnam War, the wage freeze and other attacks, became during Watergate, more than any other president since Herbert "Great Depression" Hoover, the "man you love to hate."

For this country's rulers this feature of Nixon's had a dual nature. On the one hand it made it easy to build off the legitimate hatred of Nixon and imply that he alone was to blame for all of society's problems since 1969: Nixon prolonged the war, Nixon caused double-digit inflation, Nixon and the energy freeze, and so on. On the other, exposing the president for a crook—at the least—discredited the bourgeois system and gradually paralyzed the presidency. If the time had come to make a "hard" decision for U.S. imperialism, Nixon would have been totally incapable of winning mass support. He had to go and, finally, he did.

As the attention eventually and perhaps grudgingly showered on him proves, while Nixon is a ghost that haunts the bourgeoisie he is also still a potentially useful tool. He remains a handy object of mass hatred, used by the ruling class as a kind of lightning rod to divert the full fury from them. He fits the part perfectly. He has the look of the habitual liar that he is—the flabby jowls, the moist upper lip, the thin smile. Nixon makes Jimmy Carter's people's pal image stronger by comparison. And for as long as he vainly tries to rehabilitate his place in history, with his pasty face ghosting along the airwaves, he will remain a good servant of imperialism: like it or not, the ruling class will still have Dick Nixon to kick around. ■



*Over 1000 people demonstrate in front of the San Francisco City Hall on May 13 in defiance of judges' efforts to suppress support for the struggle of the International Hotel by prohibiting demonstrations at the courthouse. Called jointly by the Workers Committee to Fight for the International Hotel and Victory Building, the I-Hotel Tenants Association and the IHTA Support Committee, the demonstration demanded the City exercise eminent domain to take the hotel from the Four Seas Corporation, which wants to tear it down, and turn it over to the people as low cost housing and community centers. The local ruling class is beset with contradictions among themselves over how to deal with what is now a large social issue. The victory is still to be won and the bourgeoisie has not given up its eviction efforts, but every one of their moves has been met by I-Hotel residents and supporters with counter-actions to build even greater strength and support.*



Over 1000 people protest the construction of unsafe nuclear power plant in New Hampshire. Many demonstrators were jailed for over a week. Their action raised the issue to millions of people across the country.

## Safety Sacrificed to \$\$\$

# Thousands Say No To Nuclear Plant

On April 30, over 1800 people organized by the Clamshell Alliance occupied the construction site of the nuclear power plant in Seabrook, New Hampshire. Their goal was to halt construction and force the Public Service Co. of New Hampshire to cancel the project.

Over 1400 people were arrested, but this has only backfired in the State's face. The demonstrators refused to post bail and together took the stand of "release us on personal recognizance or we all stay."

This has cost New Hampshire \$50,000 a day in expenses and great embarrassment. The bare-faced attempt of the courts to crack down hard on the demonstrators with immediate jail sentences *before* appeal and get back the money and face they've lost with big fines has only further exposed the courts as tools of big business and increased the support of the demonstrators.

Since the occupation the media has portrayed the demonstrators as "young freaks out for a good time" or "idealistic fools" or "misguided." Or they portray the thrust of the demonstration as going backwards in time a la "Split Wood Not Atoms."

But the fact is the main thrust of the demonstration was correct and deserves support.

### Unsafe Design

The facts are that nuclear power plants are being developed with very little regard for the safety of the masses of people that live in the area in which they are located. In 1975, for example, there was a serious incident in Brown's Ferry nuclear power plant in Athens, Alabama when the system's cooling system was damaged by fire. Without cooling, the core of the reactor will heat up to 5000 degrees at the rate of 400 degrees every ten seconds.

This immense heat eventually will turn the core of the reactor into a mass of molten uranium, steel and concrete. If the core breaks through the reactor wall, it will send radiation in every direction. When the reactor at Brown's Ferry was finally shut down the top of the radioactive core was just 48 inches away from breaking through the reactor. \$100 million damage was done.

Three high-level engineers working on nuclear plant design for General Electric quit in protest, charging the plants were not safe and a potential hazard.

Other problems, including safely disposing the radioactive waste, and the disruption in the marine life in the oceans adjacent to the plants as a result of the increase of water temperature, are also present with the nuclear reactors.

The forces making up the anti-nuclear movement are primarily students and professional people. Around Seabrook itself, though, the issue has engulfed the whole town. In fact the town of Seabrook voted to keep the reactor out but was overruled by the state government.

While the movement's demand to stop the building of these unsafe plants gives it an overall progressive direction, there is much confusion as to what are the main reasons for these problems with nuclear generating plants and what is the way forward, especially in the light of the energy crisis.

Some argue that nuclear energy is not only danger-

ous today but that it can never be made safe and should never be developed regardless of which class is running society and developing energy production. Their slogan "Split Wood Not Atoms" is extremely reactionary. It would have us go back in time to the "simple days" where each of us goes out and cuts our own wood for warmth—before the industrial revolution!

Many others in the anti-reactor movement recognize that the capitalists and especially the big energy monopolies are behind the problem. But they are not clear why—they buy the capitalists' own line that a "hard choice" must be made between "economic progress and jobs" vs. "environmental and safety issues." This in turn means accepting the hysterical visions that the world is running out of energy sources fast so we must develop nuclear power at any cost.

They fail to see that it is the same never-ending drive for profit behind the energy crisis that pushes the capitalists to develop nuclear energy with little regard to safety. This view also sees the working class as passive stooges for the capitalists, willing to do anything for the bosses as long as there are jobs involved. Some narrow thinking construction union hacks in the area have unfortunately gone along with this which adds to the confusion, but this is not the interests of the working class.

These limitations in the political lines inside the anti-nuclear movement arise from the position in society most of these people occupy—oppressed by the actions of the rulers of the country yet divorced from the fundamental battle shaping up in the U.S.—between the capitalists and working class, which runs through and strongly influences every battle in society including the issue of nuclear power.

The working class position, which many of these forces can be won to take up, is to unite with the main thrust of the anti-nuclear movement—its opposition to building these unsafe reactors, and at the same time to clarify who the enemy is and what is the road forward.

It will not do to point the finger at nuclear power itself. While the technological answers of how to produce nuclear energy safely are not fully known today, they are not unknowable. In fact nuclear power is a potentially very useful form of energy for the development of society and it is the capitalist system itself which is mainly holding back the development of nuclear and other possibly better and safer forms of energy production.

The rulers of this country bring out doomsday reports of how we are running out of fuels. They say we must expand nuclear energy production to avert national disaster—even if the result is environmental disaster. They are really describing the limits of their profit system to provide for the rational growth of the economy based on the people's needs. The answer is not to go backwards—"burn coal, not oil" or "freeze don't starve" as Carter says or "split wood not atoms."

Under socialism, with the working class in power, research can and will be done to solve these problems because profit will be subordinated to the overall needs of the development of society, which, of course, includes the safety of the people. ■

# University Of Miami: Stop Tuition Hikes!

When administrators at the private University of Miami (UM) at Coral Gables, Florida jacked up tuition another \$200 for the coming school year, they had a real battle on their hands. This was the sixth year in a row of \$200 increases in tuition, and students refused to have their pockets emptied one more time. On April 20, over 1000 demonstrators marched to the UM President's office to demand an explanation for the tuition hike but UM President Henry Stanford was conveniently "out to lunch."

Further angered by his refusal to meet with them, about 150 students took over Stanford's office to wait. The UM President never showed up, but he did send his trusty servants, the campus security force and used, for the first time in ten years, the city police to do his dirty work.

The police cleared the building and dragged off 31 students to jail where all 31 were frisked, stripped and eventually charged with trespassing and threatened with suspension from the university. Dozens of other students signed lists which said they would stand with the 31 against university and police charges.

Having read a three line article on the demonstration in a Tampa newspaper, the Revolutionary Student Brigade dispatched two members to the Miami campus, only to find that the sudden police repression and university maneuvers had shaken the students' unity and channeled their leaders into legal hassles with only a week of classes left. The demand to roll back tuition was lost in the shuffle.

The RSB struggled with the arrested students to rely on the masses of students, not on the lawyers and courts, helped them sum up that they had already won a big victory in building resistance to the hike, and drew on the Brigade's experience to show this hike is part of a general attack on education. The students agreed to call for a further protest at a meeting with Stanford on April 25 and despite some nervousness about communism, invited the Brigade to take part. When Stanford came to the meeting over 100 students put forward their demands, "Roll Back the Tuition Hike" and "Amnesty for the 31." The students kept Stanford hot and bothered by demanding answers to one angry question after another.

Uptight and isolated, Stanford suddenly played his ace in the hole—he stopped answering questions and asked if there were outsiders present at the meeting. There was a brief moment of silence and apprehension and then an RSB member from Tampa jumped up, identified herself and turned Stanford's divisive tactic into its opposite. She explained that she wasn't a student at UM and that she was on campus to help build the struggle and that the RSB was organizing petition drives in support of the UM students at three state universities throughout Florida. When she announced that 300 students around the state had already signed the petitions in little more than an hour of petitioning, the UM students broke into thunderous applause.

The following week the trespassing charges against the 31 were dropped and the students continued to organize to roll back the tuition hike, to demand an education they and their parents could afford.

This powerful struggle and the statewide student solidarity which pushed aside the public-private barrier shows the kind of struggle that will be coming as more and more students sense and then understand that capitalism has no real future to offer them. ■



Students jam offices of University of Miami president demanding no tuition hikes.



# Students Defend Memory Of Kent Martyrs

Neither the masses of people nor the U.S. ruling class will ever forget the murder of students at Kent State, Ohio, and Jackson State, Miss., in May 1970. The large-scale struggle which broke out at Kent State on May 4, 1977—the seventh anniversary of the Kent shootings—is a testament to this.

It wasn't enough for the rulers of this country to murder four students and wound nine others at Kent State for protesting when Nixon announced the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in May 1970. For seven years they have heaped abuse after abuse on the families of the dead and wounded students and upon the students at Kent as a whole.

In the courtrooms the murders have been whitewashed. Ohio Governor Rhodes, who came to Kent two days before the murders, called student protestors "worse than the Nazi brownshirts" and stood proudly behind the shootings in the aftermath, was acquitted by a federal court in August 1975. All the high officials in the Ohio National Guard who were on the scene at Kent on May 4th have gone scot-free.

To add insult to injury, last year the KSU administration officially divorced itself from the annual May 4th memorial rally at Kent State and refused to cancel classes so that students could attend as in the past. They also refused to recognize a two year old demand that four unnamed buildings on campus be renamed after the four fallen students. To top it off, the administration announced plans to build a new gym on the site where the students had been gunned down.

It's not hard to understand. These administrators, acting as hired help for the rich, are terrified of what Kent State symbolizes. They want the students to go about business as usual on May 4th with their noses buried in their books. The last thing they want people to remember is that on May 4th, 1970 students were fighting with their heads up, refusing to be dragged into a war they never asked for and standing on the side of the people of Indochina saying *No* to imperialism. They don't want students to remember that the power of the demonstrations, office takeovers and draft card burnings they organized in the '60s helped make it impossible for the rulers of the U.S. to continue the war.

Even in the classrooms of Kent State the bourgeoisie tries to turn the lessons of May 4th upside down. May 4th is referred to as "the tragedy"—as if the united, militant struggle of students can only bring tragic results.

The administration obviously felt it could get away with sweeping the memory of Kent State under the rug. After all, most Kent students today had been in junior high school when the students rose up in 1970.

But the attempts to bury May 4th exploded in the face of the would-be gravediggers. Things got started two days before the anniversary, when 100 students held their own ceremony to rename the four buildings after the dead students. One of the students cut a ribbon in front of the library, declaring, "Whether the administration likes it or not, from now on to students at Kent this is the Jeffrey Miller Library."

On May 4th thousands boycotted classes and about 2000 came to a mass rally called by the May 4 Coalition, a broad united front of campus organizations including the Kent chapter of the Revolutionary Student Brigade. Among the speakers were people who had been wounded in 1970 or indicted for "inciting" the wave of struggle then. As speaker after speaker hit the May 4th whitewash and talked of what the students were fighting for, the crowd became more angry. When speakers talked of continuing the struggle for no classes on May 4th and blocking the bulldozers if they come to build the gym, the crowd came to its feet.

Another high point of the rally was when a Cambodian resident in the U.S. came to the podium. She said, "The people of Cambodia will never forget how Americans rose up against the U.S. invasion of their country." She told of how the bloodshed at Kent and Jackson State had cemented the bonds of solidarity between the Cambodian and American people. The crowd gave her a big ovation as she presented the flag of her liberated country as a gift to the students of Kent State.

After the rally most of the students marched out together in a demonstration around campus and into town. When it was learned that the Board of Trustees had been in a meeting throughout the May 4th activi-



School administrators and the state of Ohio have made a concerted effort to eradicate the memory of the murders of Kent State students. Over 2000 people showed the memory will burn forever, a symbol of the atrocities of the ruling class and militant resistance to these crimes.

ties, 300 students headed for the administration building and took it over. Filling the halls, they sat down and demanded to see President Olds and the Chairman of the Board. Although the trustees were able to weasel their way out, the students held the building and the President from 5 PM until 1 in the morning.

President Olds got the daylight scared out of him, but refused to back down to any student demands. So the students used the time to figure out demands around which to continue the struggle and organize themselves to carry it on. Victory was in the air when the students marched out of the building at 1 AM of their own free will with a list of eight demands. The demands are: 1) That the administration officially acknowledge the injustice of the Kent State massacre; 2) No classes on May 4th; 3) Don't build the gym on the site of the murders; 4) Officially name the four buildings after the dead students; 5) Stop cutbacks in the Center for Peaceful Change (a study program built after the students were shot); 6) The University must reopen negotiations with the faculty for their contract; 7) No punishments for students, faculty or staff that boycotted on May 4th; 8) Amnesty for students involved in the takeover.

The news of the takeover spread like wildfire. People getting involved in struggle for the first time were among the most enthused. One girl said, "I walked into the administration building and it changed my life."

The next night a mass meeting of about 400 people was held to unite people around the eight demands and make plans for marching on the next Board of Trustees meeting. When the meeting ended late at night, about 200 people led by the RSB decided to march through the dormitory areas of campus "to let people know that

this movement is growing." As the demonstrators marched around campus chanting, "Support the 8 Demands!" and "The People United Will Never Be Defeated!", clenched fists appeared in dorm windows and people began pouring out. The march stopped at the "Victory Bell" on the Commons where the students had marched on May 4, 1970. Demonstrators rang the bell which the students had rung to begin their rally seven years ago and the crowd broke into wild cheers. By the time the march had wound its way back to the Student Center, where it had begun, it had swelled to 2000 people. Everyone was chanting, "We Will Win!" and "Long Live the Spirit of Kent and Jackson State!"

The administration tried to regain the offensive. A big model of the proposed gym and its attractions was placed in the student center. Several members of the Brigade started agitating in front of it and for hours a changing crowd numbering up to 80 people stood and struggled over the issues. Throughout the week following the 4th hundreds of students took up the battle and became involved in leafletting, dorm raps and other activities.

A trustee's meeting Thursday, May 12 was met by a thousand strong demonstration although school was almost over. A tent city with 150 people residing in it has been set up on the site of the killings to prevent the gym from being built. The important thing now is retaining and building on the fighting spirit the students developed in the course of the mass rallies and actions. It is this spirit that is the spirit of Kent State and Jackson State and nothing the ruling class can do can bury that spirit! ■

## Building Seizure Hits Apartheid

The campus struggle against university complicity in the *apartheid* system and U.S. imperialist plunder in southern Africa is reaching the proportions of a mass movement. A high point this year has been the battle at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California, which in the late '60s and early '70s was the scene of major battles against the school's involvement in the Vietnam war.

Now hundreds of students have swung into action protesting the \$120,000,000 Stanford has invested in the stock of corporations with big investments in South Africa. The militant steps they have taken have sparked enthusiastic response in schools all over the area and the Stanford students have themselves learned a lot in the heat of battle. This is particularly important because the leadership of the mass organization, the Stanford Committee for Responsible Investment Policies (SCRIP), has, even while calling for and building the struggle, displayed a tendency to narrow and shackle it.

For example, their main demand has been that Stanford use its stock holdings to vote at shareholders' meetings that the corporations should liquidate their business in southern Africa. This spreads the illusion that these companies can somehow act as a force for progress and liberation, an illusion the corporations themselves are promoting to justify their interests in southern Africa. Likewise it serves to obscure the fact that the university administration and its wealthy trustees are part and parcel of the same imperialist system they invest Stanford's money in.

The approach has had an influence on the committee's practice, too.

A rally SCRIP called in early May drew 400 students who were down for action against the administration, but the leaders opted to break it up peacefully. Pressure from active students for a firmer stand grew irresistible, and when 700 students showed up at another rally May 9, well over half of them marched into the Old Union administration building and occupied it. Riot equipped police moved in six hours later and busted most of the students who remained in the building—294 strong, most of whom spent the night in jail.

This battle really set the stage for further struggle. The next day 1200 students rallied in support of the arrested students and several hundred of them re-occupied the Old Union building for five hours, holding workshops to sum-up and debate the road ahead, including such questions as the role and nature of the trustees, voting the stock versus selling it, and so on.

The Revolutionary Student Brigade, which took part in the Stanford struggle, also helped to spread its lessons and inspiration to other California campuses, where the news of the takeover was received with interest and enthusiasm. At Berkeley, for instance, the Brigade collected 600 signatures of support on a hundred foot long banner which was taken to Stanford as a symbol of solidarity with the students there. At several campuses students met to figure out how best to hit their administrations and trustees over South African investments in the few weeks of class remaining. ■

## Class Consciousness, Organization Growing

# May Day Celebrated In 24 Cities

This year thousands of workers in over a score of cities in the U.S. joined millions of workers from around the world in celebrating the First of May—the international day of celebration and struggle of the world's workers. The day in which class conscious workers amass their forces, take stock of the development of their movement, map out the key arenas of battle in the year ahead, and once again declare their intention to be free of the bonds of wage slavery.

It is the day when the working class that holds power in the socialist countries celebrates their victory and extends the hand of solidarity to the oppressed throughout the world. And in all countries it is the day when the workers not only advance their fight against the rulers they face most directly, but also reaffirm that the workers of all countries have a common interest and a common goal in opposition to the exploiters of all countries who try to pit the workers of every nation against each other and against the toilers in the Third World, and who prepare to use the workers as cannon fodder in their wars of plunder.

This year's May Day activities in the U.S., held in over 20 cities, were a step forward in the class struggle in this country and reflected real advances that had been made in the past year. The main advance of this year's May Day activities over those of previous years was the growing number of workers, employed and unemployed, who participated in the celebrations and who are coming out of the thick of the class struggle and out of battles involving thousands of workers and more. As one worker in Detroit put it, "May Day is the day that we tell the rich to go to hell," and this year more workers, in a more organized and powerful way, were determined to make such a statement.

This year the workers who rallied on May Day not only celebrated and assessed the progress of their movement—especially the fact that over the last year significant advances have been made in waging a more organized and protracted struggle on several key fronts—but left the demonstrations more determined and with great enthusiasm to take a vital step in both consolidating these advances and laying the basis for much greater advances in the future: the building of a national workers organization.

The May Day demonstrations—consisting of a variety of activities including marches, rallies and car caravans—ranged in size from a few dozen in cities where the class conscious struggle of the workers is just beginning to develop, to 450 and 500 in New York and the San Francisco Bay Area respectively. In most cities, attendance ranged from 125 to over 200.

The turnout and the composition of the May Day events were closely connected with the overall stage of development of the class struggle in this country, and were an important indication of the pressing tasks facing those workers determined to be in the forefront of the struggle against the class enemy. On the one hand the numbers were small, compared to the class as a

whole. But more importantly, those who saw the need to participate and build May Day were, in their majority, those workers who are deeply involved in the struggle of the masses, in many cases in new rank and file organizations, linked in struggle with hundreds and thousands of workers, and determined to build each and every battle of the workers as part of the overall class struggle of the workers against the capitalist tormentors.

### Increased Organization

Since May Day 1976 several important class battles have taken place in which organization of the rank and file, and a core of active and advanced workers has developed. In many cities these workers provided a solid basis for building May Day and greatly added to its overall working class character. In several cities, especially Detroit, numbers of auto workers came out for May Day who had been actively involved in the battles around the 1976 auto contract, and who, in the course of this and subsequent battles, had helped to make that struggle more than simply a fight around a contract but, in the eyes of a great many auto workers, an opportunity to hit back at their oppression and increase their ability to fight on.

Similarly the past year saw increased organization and rank and file resistance in the steel industry—both in the course of using the Sadlowski election campaign to further the struggle against the union machine and in the struggle that is gathering steam now against another sellout being rammed down the workers' throats. In many of the celebrations steel workers came to bring out their own experience in struggle and join together with workers of all industries.

A particularly strong showing of unemployed took part in this year's May Day events, which reflected the upsurge in the struggle of the unemployed over the last period. Led by the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC), one of the national sponsors of May Day, unemployed have waged a sharp fight against Carter and the capitalists' cutbacks on unemployment insurance. Speakers from UWOC spoke out forcefully against the ruling class attempts to further drive down the unemployed and use them as a reserve against those workers still on the job.

The participation in the marches and from the speaker platforms of people active in many different battles going on in the various cities helped give life to the slogan hoisted at May Day: "Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression." In the Northwest, workers and others have come forward in the battle to free Bornson and Davis (two imprisoned workers jailed for taking over a food stamp office and demanding food for their families).

In Honolulu two of the tenants of Waihole-Waikane valleys, scene of a protracted battle against eviction, spoke out about that struggle and how in the course of

it the face of the enemy has become clearer to themselves and others. In the San Francisco Bay Area activists from the battle to save the I-Hotel participated, and in Cleveland quite a few people joined in as a result of the battle against police enforced gas cutoffs.

Also significant this year was the celebration of May Day in several areas where no such activities had taken place in recent history, and the big advances in size in a few of the celebrations.

In St. Louis fifty people, including a significant number from industry in that city as well as a good turnout of unemployed, held the first May Day demonstration in that city in decades. Pittsburgh, Pa. and Norfolk, Va. were also the scenes of May Day activity for the first time in recent memory. In El Paso, Texas a significant advance took place when 70 workers gathered in a park for a May Day rally and defeated an attempt by some opportunists to try to disrupt the rally and provoke an incident. Seattle's May Day also marked a big step ahead when 175 (over twice the size of last year's crowd) attended a dinner and program.

The celebration of May Day in new cities, including some important industrial centers, is further evidence of the growth of class consciousness among a still small but highly significant section of workers rooted in the battles taking place in their shops and industries and determined to advance the overall struggle of the working class.

In the course of building May Day hundreds of thousands of leaflets were distributed across the country, thousands of buttons were worn, tens of thousands of posters were put up. All of this, coupled with countless discussions, helped to make May Day a big question among broad groupings of workers.

In New York a "May Day float"—a flatbed truck equipped with a giant cutout of the May Day symbol and broadcasting fighting working class music by Prairie Fire—toured New York City and northern New Jersey, and rallies were held outside factories. In the coalfields a similar effort was made to bring out May Day to the mines through mini-rallies held in many locations.

A great many workers who are not yet ready to take the step that participating in May Day signifies, expressed their agreement with the demands and slogans and lent their support to the demonstration in various ways, from buying buttons to signing banners carried in the marches.

### A Part of Ongoing Battles

Efforts were made to bring out May Day as part of the overall battle of the working class; not only in its overall role as a summation and concentration of the class struggle as a whole, but by linking it closely to particular battles now in progress. In New York, for example, UWOC brought May Day into the fight against Carter and the bourgeoisie's attacks on the unemployed. After UWOC's "Carterville" (tents set up to dramatize the plight of the unemployed) was attacked by police (see graphic on page 19), UWOC went throughout the New York City area using a flatbed truck to expose the attack, and point the way forward in continuing the battle, including calling on the unemployed to join in the May Day march.

At each of the May Day celebrations speakers from the Revolutionary Communist Party presented the Party's view of the development of the workers struggle as well as the goal of revolution, socialism and communism. At the rallies these speeches were met by great enthusiasm, and they increased workers' desire to know more about communism and the RCP.

The RCP's role in the May Day celebrations, as well as May Day itself, sparked quite a bit of discussion about communism, not only among those who participated but also among the far broader numbers of workers who read the May Day literature and actively discussed the question of May Day.

In the decades after World War 2 the bourgeoisie launched a frantic anti-communist campaign which was aided by the betrayal of the CPUSA and the fact that the working class had no vanguard for two decades. The legacies of this are still present today and a weight on the growth of the working class struggle. Coupled with the attacks of the bourgeoisie on communism, has been the relatively strong position of U.S. imperialism in the post World War 2 period. And while this position is eroding and crisis growing deeper, still the bottom has not entirely fallen out of U.S. bourgeois society, and revolution does not yet appear as a burning necessity and a real possibility to many workers. Not only are even many of the more advanced workers affected by all of this to one degree or another, but these workers immediately come up against the fact that in participating in May Day they themselves are likely to come under attack as "reds" by employers, reactionary union officials and even some misinformed fellow workers.

In some of the working class organizations, the question of whether to participate or not was hotly debated. In the coalfields area the bourgeoisie launched a wave of red-baiting. In several factories in upstate New York, workers building for May Day came under particularly sharp attack, including firings and an instance of a foreman ripping off May Day buttons from people, declaring it "illegal" etc. The capitalists tried to say that May Day was something that only communists celebrated

Continued on Page 11



Four hundred and fifty march in May Day '77 celebration to New York City's Union Square. From Seattle to Norfolk, Va., from Hawaii to Boston, thousands of workers rallied under the blood red flag of the working class to commemorate past martyrs, struggles and victories and to chart the course ahead.

# Statement on May Day, 1977

## By the Central Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Fellow workers, brothers and sisters:

Today we are celebrating as our class celebrates—in militant and determined action, rallying and marching in unison, showing to those who have not joined us that there is a way forward and declaring to those who block that way forward, the capitalists, that we will gather the strength of our class to go through and over them, for they will allow it no other way.

And we are not celebrating alone. While thousands in this country are once again raising the bright banner of May Day, in open defiance of the capitalists and all other keepers of the past, literally hundreds of millions, in all parts of the globe, march in the same spirit and proclaim a common future that we will bring about together—a world without exploiters and tormentors of the people, where all oppression has been ended.

Nearly 100 years ago the struggle of our class in this country for the eight hour day gave rise to this great international holiday of the working people. And to our class in this country today falls a great task—to strike at and finally pound to dust the chains of capitalist enslavement that bind not only the great majority in this country but many millions more throughout the world. History and the development of human society places this responsibility squarely on the shoulders of the working class here and throughout the world, and the working class will not and cannot fail to carry out this historic mission, for only in this way can the evils we face be eliminated and human society advance.

Today we face many difficulties. Our rulers, and those like them in every country, on the verge of their extinction, lash out like wounded beasts. At the same time they call on us to sacrifice still more for them, to wound ourselves so they have more blood to suck. Everywhere among our class there is anger—but there is also confusion, and the ranks of those who have recognized the real face of the enemy, and have come to know real friends, are yet few.

Still these ranks are bound to swell, because every attack finds many more with no choice but to fight back, to question "does it have to be this way?" and to seek the means to make a better way.

Ten million today are denied a job. That is ten million whose frustration can and will become a hammer striking at the capitalists who have torn the means to live out of their hands.

Tens of millions more still with a job are driven harder every day, forced to

spend up their lives to enrich those who are rich only because they do not work but hold the whip to make others work for them. That is tens of millions more whose anger will become a battering ram pounding at the fortress of these modern day tyrants.

The great majority of people in this country, the workers and all others oppressed, are forced to live amidst the decay and rot of this system—cities falling apart, desperadoes and police making the streets unsafe to walk, filth and corruption lurking everywhere, discrimination and injustice like a deep-cut wound, and the prospect of war looming on the horizon, a war in which millions would be murdered by rival gangsters in their contest to rob and plunder throughout the world. The great majority of people have no way out of this but to rise up, join ranks, turn their fear and outrage into the concentrated strength of millions, against which no force on earth can stand, and direct that strength against the source of every outrage, the capitalist rulers.

The road forward is the road of hard struggle, and only through struggle comes progress. Out of all the battles that rage wherever there are oppressors and oppressed will be forged step by step the unity and understanding to wage and win the decisive battle, to tear down the capitalist prison-house and then continue the struggle until mankind has been freed from all forms of slavery.

Increasingly at the head of the oppressed must and will march the organized ranks of the working class, raising its own banner and rallying millions into a mighty force. A great step toward this is being taken this year in the formation of a national workers organization on Labor Day weekend in Chicago. The Revolutionary Communist Party hails the development of this organization and will work, together with many other workers, to build it as a tremendous weapon of the working class in the fight against all oppression.

As thousands all over the country hold these May Day celebrations, joining together people out of many battles and demonstrating our common desire and determination to carry forward the cause of the working class, we are not only strengthening our movement today, drawing the battle lines and exposing the face of the enemy more clearly, we are also planting the seeds of a more powerful movement in the months and years ahead. There is much work to be done and a world to win.

*The future belongs to the working class—we must dare to make it!* ■



Workers from Cincinnati, Dayton and Louisville, Ky. joined forces for a May Day march and rally in Cincinnati. Carrying banners from numerous plants and industries, they expressed the determination of the working class to battle the capitalists' attacks.

## May Day...

Continued from Page 10

and was alien to the working class. All-in-all the role of communists in May Day heightened what is a general feature of the workers struggle in the U.S. today: that the stakes are higher, that struggle is not entered into lightly but when workers do come into battle they do so with all the more determination and perseverance.

### Question of Communism

The main way that the anti-communism question was answered was by bringing out the purpose and nature of May Day, how its demands and its thrust are entirely in the interest of the working class, how May First itself originally grew out of the struggle of the broad masses of workers in this country and around the world, and how it both reflects and advances their struggle. In many of the celebrations efforts were made to bring out May Day's historical sweep, as well as its international character, by raising some of the important battles of the past. In Detroit, for example, a car caravan went to a cemetery in the shadow of Ford's River Rouge plant, where four workers were murdered in the famous Hunger March in the early years of the Depression, and laid wreaths at each of the grave sights where the martyrs are buried.

Among those workers who were won to participate in May Day, and many others as well, the fact that communists were involved in building May Day as part of the struggle of the working class laid the basis for furth-

er discussion about the final goal of the working class struggle.

### Working Class Internationalism

May Day is the *international* holiday of the working class, an important weapon for building the solidarity of the class worldwide. This, too, was reflected at the May Day celebrations. This year's celebrations took place as the flames of revolutionary struggle are sweeping southern Africa and the U.S. bourgeoisie is scurrying frantically about and using all sorts of tactics to try to protect their sources of pillage there.

At the rallies speakers spoke to the demand raised: "U.S. Out of Southern Africa, Superpowers Hands Off!" and laid out the stand of the working class in this conflict: resolute opposition to the robbery and aggression of our own rulers and their mirror-image competitors in the Soviet Union, and full support for the struggling masses in southern Africa. In many cities numbers of foreign students, active in the struggles of their peoples in the fight against their domestic exploiters and the imperialist powers that prop them up, took part in the demonstrations, helping to lend them an internationalist character.

Workers left the rallies with a deeper understanding of the need to stand shoulder to shoulder with workers and the oppressed worldwide. And many are preparing to go to Washington, D.C. to participate in the African Liberation Day demonstration.

On the Monday after the May Day activities, newspapers in many cities across the country headlined the May Day activities that were viciously attacked by the ruling classes in several countries. They were hoping to try to portray May Day as a day of fanaticism and pointless violence. But what the facts really underline is that

throughout the world May Day is the day that the working class raises the banner of its class—a banner which will spell doom for the bourgeoisie's "paradise" of exploitation. As they see the threat to their rule mount, there is no crime they will not stoop to—including gunning down people in some countries, and mercilessly beating hundreds in Spain even as the rulers there piously declare they are returning to "democracy."

May Day was also a battle internationally between revolutionary forces of the working class and the revisionists and social democrats who try to gut the revolutionary heart out of May Day and turn it into a "socialist" version of Labor Day in the U.S. In the Soviet Union and their revisionist satellites, this was exactly what May Day was—a lifeless affair where the forms of the revolutionary past are perverted into revisionist extravaganzas. Not only did the revolutionaries have to contend politically with the revisionist versions of George Meany, but in some countries clashes resulted as well, as revisionists tried vainly to stomp out the flames of revolutionary May Day.

Elsewhere in the world great demonstrations also took place where, in most places, workers unfurled the red flag and pointed to the future of the workers struggle throughout the world—revolution, socialism and communism. In this country May Day brought together both workers who are already fighting with the final aim in mind and those who do not yet see the necessity or possibility of completely remaking the world.

Workers left the May Day demonstrations with a clearer understanding of the task which falls on them. Though only a few thousand in all, these more class conscious workers play a critical role in moving the entire class forward. Workers came from many different arenas of struggle and out of battles big and small, but they came determined to further the immediate battles they face and still more to take up the battles against all oppression and aim it squarely at the heart of the problem—the capitalist exploiters.

The struggle to build the May Day demonstrations as well as the events themselves, brought to the fore active and advanced workers and brought out sharply the key role they play. In those areas where rank and file organization has taken a firmer hold, bringing together a core of workers increasingly at the head of the rank and file and seeing the face of the enemy and the basic nature of the struggle against it, the workers were better able to bring out May Day as part of the struggle they are waging. In speeches by the RCP in many cities, the Party strongly emphasized the role of this active minority of workers, who must continue to be in the forefront of the struggles of the broad masses of the workers and the oppressed, struggles that will increase in size and strength as capitalism falls into further decay intensifying the exploitation of the workers and pushing the level of oppression further down on the backs of the masses.

In this spirit workers returned to the factories and mills able not only to report on the May Day activities to their fellow workers, but more importantly to fight even harder around the tasks that May Day focused, especially the key battle to seize the time in '77 and form a national workers organization in Chicago on Labor Day weekend. ■

# Not Guilty! Framed Warrior Freed

Not guilty! Not guilty! Nine times the words rang out in the small courtroom in Price County, Wisconsin. The State of Wisconsin's felony case against Menominee Indian militant Quil Chevalier, two years in preparation, went up in smoke. The courtroom rocked with the cheers of Quil's supporters, including twenty-five students from the local high school wearing "Free Quil" pins.

This is another victory for the continuing struggle of the Menominee Indians, a struggle which erupted into public attention two years ago when the young men of the Menominee Warriors' Society armed themselves and seized control of an Alexian Brothers monastery on tribal lands. Their action was a protest against the large-scale sellout of Menominee interests to various capitalists in the real estate, banking and timber industries by a handful of traitors in tribal leadership.

It was this incident that led to the felony charges of armed robbery, burglary, false imprisonment and so on that the state brought against Quil and some of the other Warriors. When his court appointed lawyer said there was no defense and he should plead guilty, Quil jumped bail and hid out for about a year, protected by the people on the reservation. This move may have saved his life. One of his codefendants, John Waubanasum, was murdered in April 1976 by Menominee sheriff "Paddo" Fish.

Fish and his boss and fellow sellout, tribal leader Ada Deer have suffered real defeats recently, battered by the struggle of the people, who voted Fish out of office, struck the Deer-run tribal lumber mill for a living wage, fought for a new high school, defended the indicted Warriors and waged other battles.

The government went all out to put Quil away in an effort to put a damper on this struggle. They moved the case to a courtroom distant from Quil's supporters on the reservation and in cities like Milwaukee. Carefully coached witnesses tried to place Quil in the Abbey caretaker's cottage where the "crimes" allegedly took place, although he had been nowhere near. It didn't work though—one woman who testified that she had talked face to face with Quil for three quarters of an hour, had somehow never noticed that two of his front teeth were missing!

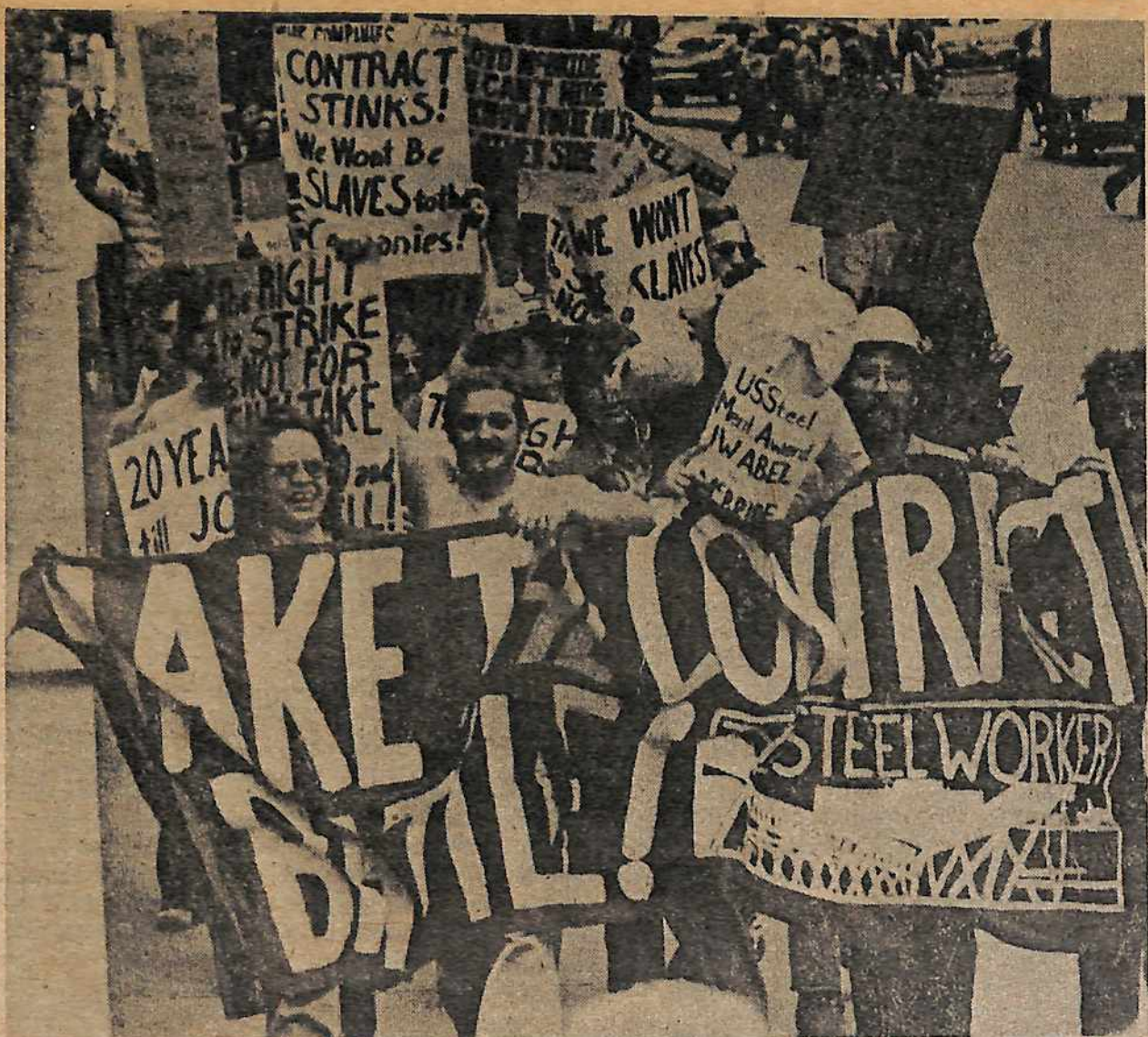
All the state's schemes failed. Supporters and defense witnesses took off work and travelled long distances to pack the courtroom. And the local people were not stampeded by the bourgeoisie's publicity about "savage Indians" and all the prosecution's lies and table thumping. High school students organized support for Quil and the jurors declared him innocent of all charges. Quil's stand as a fighter for the Menominee people and against the rich and powerful was a just one. Even with this victory he still faces bail jumping and other federal charges, but if these are not dropped, Quil and his supporters are perfectly prepared to fight for his liberation.

*The Worker* for the Milwaukee Area and Wisconsin and the Madison chapter of the Revolutionary Student Brigade joined with and built this struggle. *The Worker* has been distributed widely on the reservation ever since the abbey takeover two year ago. It has agitated around key focuses of struggle on the reservation, especially against court and police repression of the Warriors. It has analyzed the forces behind the brutal cops and the sellout tribal leaders. And it has brought a broader picture of the many struggles against a common enemy.

## Support On and Off the Reservation

In the course of the battle, Party members and others came to better understand the relationship between the main force in the struggle, the Menominee themselves, and the broader support among students, urban Indians, as well as workers and others in the cities.

The Menominee people rallied very strongly behind Quil. They broadly distributed Free Quil literature and buttons, traveled in car caravans to benefits in Milwaukee and Madison, and they packed the court for most of the trial. This determination and unity was the main force in the fight. The strength of this core inspired



Steel workers march in front of the union's Pittsburgh International headquarters. The demonstration called by *The Steelworker* newsletter denounced the latest sellout contract handed down by I.W. Abel and his gang of traitors.

## Contract Battles Continue

# Angry Steel March In Pittsburgh

Well over 150 steel workers held a demonstration April 22 in Pittsburgh, Pa., in front of the United Steelworkers (USWA) headquarters to denounce the new steel contract signed by USWA President I.W. Abel and ten major steel companies. The action was called by *The Steelworker* national rank and file newsletter, and endorsed by some USWA locals. Also taking part was a contingent from RAFT (Rank and File Team—a steel workers' organization from Briar Hill Youngstown Sheet and Tube in Ohio), including the acting local president.

The demonstrators met at Pittsburgh's Mellon Square (named for the owner of U.S. Steel), marched to the union headquarters and threw up a picketline, demanding that the International heads come down and defend the sellout. At the head of the march was a giant banner reading, "Make the Contract a Battle," showing the intentions of the rank and file not to sit back and accept the sellout. The International was forced to admit a five man delegation—something they never would have done had they not known very well that the demonstration reflected the feelings of many thousands more steel workers across the country.

The workers in two Pennsylvania locals overrode their local presidents and voted to denounce the contract and endorse the demonstration. In two more locals in the state, workers voted through resolutions demanding Abel's immediate retirement—they even tore his picture off the wall and destroyed it on the spot. In other cases, some local presidents and vice-presidents supported the action.

In the first few weeks after the contract settlement was announced people around *The Steelworker* passed out their own "ballots" at the gates of the mills and

broader numbers to take up the fight. But also the building of broad support, especially the benefits and literature, helped to spur on and encourage the Menominee in this fight.

Only by understanding this relationship could the defense be built in the most powerful way. Without the mobilization of the Menominee people the struggle would have been extremely weak. But also without the sense of organization and united struggle beyond the reservation, the main force would have been isolated. By having a grasp of this relationship, Party members were able to help wage a big battle with few forces. By trying to assist in mobilizing the Menominee on the one hand and students and others on the other hand

in the locker rooms inside. At U.S. Steel's giant Southworks in Chicago, in one day alone, 494 workers turned in their "ballots" and only 16 voted in favor of the contract. At U.S. Steel's Lorain, Ohio plant, the biggest in the state, workers lined up 20 and 30 deep to hand in their "ballots" at the gates. At Youngstown Sheet and Tube in Campbell, Ohio, workers held an all-day protest ratification vote, with their own elected tellers (vote counters), despite the opposition of local officers who voted for the contract.

Steel workers who came to the Pittsburgh demonstration from the major steel areas of the East and Midwest brought with them thousands of ballots from every city, nearly all of them marked "no" to the sellout deal the USWA is trying to ram down the membership's throats. Steel workers from Seattle and Los Angeles sent petitions of support.

After the Pittsburgh demonstration steel workers gathered for a meeting to plan out how the rank and file can defend itself in this situation. They discussed further developing the role of *The Steelworker* as a nationwide force, as well as hearing of plans to build the national workers organization.

One of the demands of the Pittsburgh action was that the International give strike authorization to every local that asks for it. In addition to getting more locals to pass resolutions against the national contract, the steel workers at the Pittsburgh meeting decided that workers in these locals should not have to face up to the companies alone. Key struggles around these contracts will be built nationally, as part of the overall fight of all steel workers against the companies and their friends in union office. ■

and by trying to unite these two forces, *The Worker* and RSB contributed to the overall strength of this struggle.

They avoided the simple "support group" method which one-sidedly stresses educational "consciousness raising work." Instead, through trips to the reservation, a solidarity benefit in Madison, and actually mobilizing for the trial, the RSB/*Worker* forces tried to unite with people in struggle and make a fight of the case.

Out of the fight that freed Quil gains were made in the strength of the Menominee cause and in the unity and consciousness of all who took part in and supported the fight. ■

# Africa ...

Continued from Page 1

fully flowered in the countries of western Europe and had developed into its imperialist or monopolist stage. The capitalists were driven to find new, profitable outlets for their investments and new sources of raw materials. This resulted in a mad scramble as the European imperialists rushed to carve up the rich African continent for their plunder.

Like so many vultures they swooped down on Africa. Britain claimed huge sections of east Africa, including Egypt, Kenya, Uganda and Sudan as well as almost all of southern Africa and Nigeria and Ghana on the west coast. The French planted their claws in most of northern Africa, the Sahara region and much of the northern part of west Africa. The Portuguese took Angola and Guinea-Bissau on the west coast and Mozambique on the east coast. Italy demanded Libya in north Africa and parts of Ethiopia and Somalia. King Leopold of Belgium proclaimed his personal domination over the tremendously wealthy central African region of the Congo. Germany dominated southwest Africa and parts of west and east Africa.

The cutthroat competition and contradictory claims to exploit Africa led to vicious squabbling and at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 all these imperialist gentlemen sat down in a civilized manner and carved up Africa "equitably" on the basis of what territory they could effectively control. Of course these thieves were not long satisfied with their portions and a few years later, in World War 1, Germany moved to get a greater share. Defeated on the battlefield, Germany's colonies were divided between England and France at the Versailles Conference in 1919.

Even at this early date there was a significant, although little noted event that gave voice to the new stirrings of the African people for control of their own lands and foreshadowed the anti-colonial struggles that were to come. During the Versailles Conference in Paris, the first Pan-African Conference was held, brought about by the work of W. E. B. Du Bois. It was attended by a small number of Africans and Blacks from the U.S. and the West Indies, and voiced demands against colonialism in Africa.

The territorial claims of the imperialist powers in Africa were followed up and enforced by waves of soldier, missionaries and colonial administrators sent to organize and enforce the theft of African resources and the exploitation of African labor. This they called "the white man's burden" that was described by that poet of imperialist plunder, Rudyard Kipling, as bringing civilization to the native populations, "half devil, half child."

## Legacy of Colonialism

In fact it was the black man's burden, a burden carried at a tremendous cost by the people of Africa as they were driven into the colonialists' mines and onto the plantations. The magnitude and murderous effects of this imperialist pillage of Africa can be seen in the report of an official Belgian commission in 1919 that determined the population of the Belgian Congo had been reduced by half since the beginning of the European occupation in the 1880s. In addition hundreds of thousands of Africans were dragooned to fight in the front lines of the first World War. Some 46,000 Africans from Kenya are estimated to have lost their lives in British military service. The French forced over 200,000 west Africans into their army. Du Bois described the Senegalese troops that saved France from the first armed German onslaught as the shock troops "brought to be slaughtered in thousands by the climate and cannon of Europe."

The colonization of Africa by the modern industrial nations in the 19th and 20th centuries brought little or nothing of the advantages of their more advanced stage of development to the masses of the African people. Africans did not learn the skills of the European industrial system. Rather they were used for unskilled labor under color bars that prevented them from learning anything but how to use a pick and shovel.

After 40 years of British rule in Tanganyika (now Tanzania), a country of more than 10 million people, there were only 300 pupils in high school level education. In the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, fewer than one percent of the people had ever seen the inside of a school. Official figures from Rhodesia in 1958 showed that exactly 13 African students got through high school.

No matter how imperialist propagandists and politicians tried to glorify and cover the real nature of their "civilizing efforts," the real character and purpose of their plunder stands clear. Lenin quoted a revealing statement by the leading British imperialist in Africa of the late 19th century, Cecil Rhodes, whose odious name the imperialists have imposed on the people of Zimbabwe, "Rhodesia": "I was in the East end of London" (working class quarter) "yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread, bread!' and on my way

home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism . . . My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e., in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists.'" (quoted in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, FLP, p. 93)

## Rise of Anti-Imperialist Struggle

Despite the fond dreams of the imperialists, however, they cannot prevent the masses of working people in the imperialist countries themselves from rising up against their exploitation and oppression any more than their "peace conferences" can prevent the imperialists' wars for the division and redivision of the world. In fact, imperialist plunder of the countries of the Third World gave rise to new forces of national liberation and brought the working class of the industrial countries a powerful ally in the struggle against imperialism. The force of nationalism directed against the imperialist powers that percolated in Africa and other colonial countries during the early decades of the 20th century exploded into a mighty struggle for national independence in the years after World War 2. The slogan raised by Mao Tsetung, "Countries want independence, nations want liberation, people want revolution," speaks powerfully to the tasks facing the people of Africa today.

The current claims of imperialist countries like Britain and France that they were led to "grant" independence to their African colonies out of some new enlightened view of a changing world are exposed as a lie by the tremendous effort they made to crush and vilify the liberation struggles. The French waged a bloody war for years to hang onto Algeria, only to be finally defeated by the armed struggle of the Algerian people and the massive opposition to their imperialist war from the masses of the French people.

Similar struggles forced the British to give up their colonial claims in Kenya, Nigeria and their other African territories. The Belgians were forced to accede to the demands of the people of the Congo for national independence in 1960 but then immediately tried to hold onto the rich mining area of Katanga province by recruiting a band of Katangese mercenaries (the same mercenaries, now Soviet-backed, who recently invaded Zaire from Angola) and instigated a bloody civil war for the secession of a Katanga still under Belgian domination.

For the most part the revolutionary struggles in Africa have not been led by proletarian parties and their leaders have not reflected the outlook of the working class, representing rather the petty bourgeoisie and the aspiring national bourgeoisie. Nonetheless, they can and have played a progressive role when fighting colonialism and in resisting imperialism.

After achieving independence, the national bourgeoisie in many of the countries have taken steps to safeguard national independence, to develop the national economy and attempt to overcome the legacies of hundreds of years of colonial and imperialist plunder. But the class position of these forces makes it impossible to fully mobilize the masses of people for the monumental tasks of economic and industrial development and defence against imperialist economic and military assaults.

The development of Africa can only be fully accomplished by unleashing the revolutionary role of the masses of people. But the initiative of the masses, their de-

sire and ability to remake the face of Africa is choked by the fetters of exploiting class relations built up by the imperialists. Therefore, in the long run, it is impossible to talk about the development of Africa without revolution leading to socialism, without the masses of people, led by the working class, holding political power and the destiny of their nations in their own hands.

## Neo-Colonialism

History has shown that the national bourgeoisie, while it has conflicting interests to imperialism, easily falls prey to the efforts of the old colonial powers and the imperialists of the U.S. and Soviet Union to maintain or assert their domination of Africa. This continent of 200 million people is a rich and strategically important prize and is the object of intense rivalry between the old colonial powers, who still have huge investments, and the two superpowers, who are stepping up their efforts to subvert and co-opt the African revolutions.

After World War 2, with the European powers weakened, the U.S. imperialists saw their chance to make a grab for their colonial territories. Raising an anti-colonial banner in the same way that the Soviets now raise an anti-imperialist banner, they pressured the European countries to relinquish their African territories and tried to wear the mantle of protector of the independence of Africa. They tried through economic investment and military aid to force the countries of Africa into dependence on yet a new neo-colonial master. And the U.S. and European imperialists have all worked with economic and political pressure and not infrequently with outright military intervention and subversion to insure that there are governments in power "friendly" to their interests and investments. So it was that the CIA worked for the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo (now Zaire), thus bringing to power a series of regimes subservient to imperialism.

South Africa and Zimbabwe however have remained particularly important bulwarks for the U.S. imperialists' domination of Africa. They have propped up the white settler regimes of these areas with vast economic and military support, while in Angola and Mozambique they tried to maintain Portuguese rule.

As recently as 1969 Henry Kissinger could declare that "The whites are here to stay and the only way that productive change can come about is through them."

Now that the fires of liberation are beginning to burn down these racist regimes, and Zimbabwe is close to being liberated, they are trying to hedge their bets by sounding like great promoters of majority rule and even talk sometimes of the "illegal government" of South Africa and Rhodesia. The U.S. has almost \$2 billion worth of investments in South Africa and for the British, with several times that amount invested, hanging on in South Africa is almost a life and death question.

If the imperialists cannot protect their interests with the police state governments of white minority rule, they will try to see that governments pliable to their demands come to power in their place. But with their whole system of plunder built up on the foundation of white minority rule, finding a way to shore up the Vorster South African regime remains a key component of western imperialism's southern Africa policy.

They have Andrew Young running around Africa bad-mouthing South Africa and trying to open new inroads for the U.S. imperialists with the black African nations. All the while he promotes U.S. investment and U.S. business as the best modernizing force for all of Africa and a powerful force of moderation to bring about a "peaceful solution" in South Africa.

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1975: The people of Mozambique joyfully celebrate their victorious liberation struggle that ended 300 years of Portuguese domination. Today the U.S. and USSR maneuver to redivide and impose new colonial rule on the people of Africa, who continue to step up their revolutionary struggles.

# Editorial

# Hail African Liberation Day!

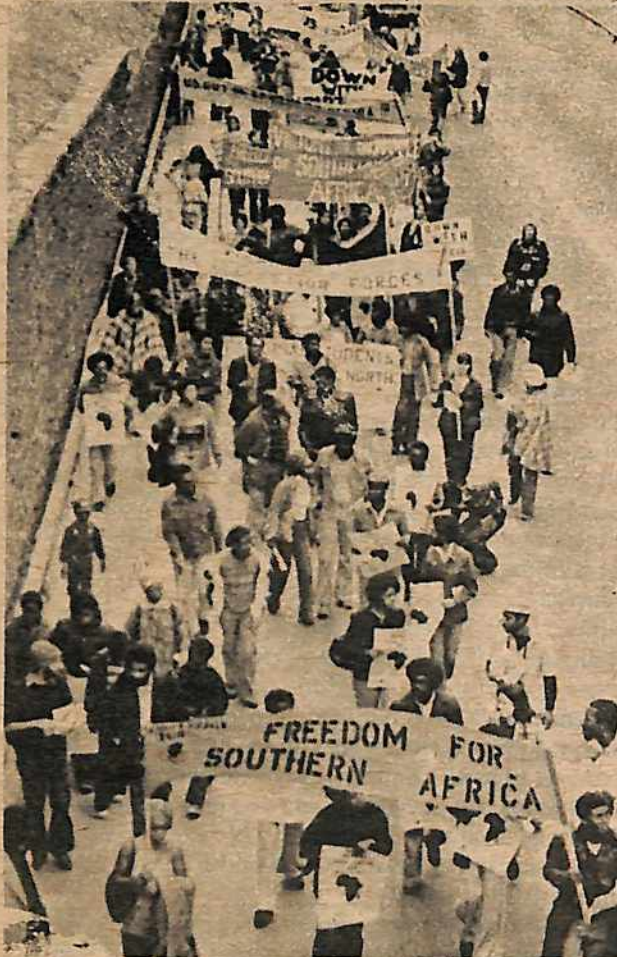
May 28 this year marks the sixth celebration of African Liberation Day by the American people. In past years, tens of thousands of Americans have come out around the country to show their support for the freedom fighters battling to overthrow the imperialist backed system of *apartheid* and white minority rule. Black Americans, who not only share historical roots with the African peoples but suffer discrimination and national oppression here, have been the strongest force in African Liberation Day and other battles in support of African freedom. Workers, students and others of all nationalities have taken part as well, fighting at the same time injustice and a common enemy of the people of this country and the people of southern Africa, the U.S. ruling class.

These struggles have given concrete aid to the fighters in southern Africa, exposing and damaging the capitalists here who back the white minority regimes, from Ford to Chase Manhattan, from International Harvester to General Electric. Support for African liberation is not only an internationalist task for the working class and other enemies of imperialism, it advances the revolutionary struggle against the U.S. ruling class.

African Liberation Day this year comes at a critical time. The flames of liberation are spreading through Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia, and in the front ranks of those getting charred—and trying to put out the fire—are the rulers of this country. The heroic uprisings in Soweto, the despicable maneuvers of the doomed white minority regimes have put inspiration and outrage in the hearts of many people in this country. Battles against the South African Krugerrand coin, university complicity and corporate investment in *apartheid* have been growing. All this is the backdrop of this year's powerful ALD.

There are problems—a wide variety of African Liberation Day celebrations and events have been called in different places and some fall far short of upholding the proud tradition of ALD and building the kind of struggle the situation demands. The contrasting methods and aims are clearest in Washington, D.C., where ALD will be centered this year. Stokely Carmichael and the Pan-Africanist organization he heads,

the All African People's Revolutionary Party, are holding a rally which is primarily a recruiting drive for the AAPRP (an outfit which holds the defeatist line that any fight against national oppression in the U.S. is entirely dependent on fighting for an Africa which is "united under a socialist government"). The rally will probably have in large part the character of a festi-



RSB regional demonstration in Atlanta, Ga. to build support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

tical independence. Cuba itself is the best proof of the "benefits" of Soviet aid, still tied to a one crop economy and totally dependent on the Soviet Union for its economic survival almost 20 years after the U.S. imperialists were driven out. The people of Egypt, whose main export, cotton, is in hock to the Soviets for years to come, can testify to the benefits of "help" from the social-imperialists.

Because the Soviets' interest lay in seeing the U.S. imperialists and reactionary regimes driven out of Africa, they can seem to support and serve the interests of people fighting for national independence. But they serve no interests but that of the new capitalist rulers of the Soviet Union. They are no more protectors of African liberation than were the U.S. imperialists who tried to "unite" with the struggle of the African people to throw off European colonial rule.

### No Shortcut to Liberation

Of course the U.S. is not about to fold up their tents in the face of the Soviet competition and they still have plenty of muscle, particularly economic, which they bring to bear. Even in Angola, for example, the Soviet-backed government is forced to maintain and protect, at least for now, the huge investments of Gulf Oil in Cabinda province which brings in a lot of money to the coffers of the Angolan treasury.

While the Soviets offer their shortcut to the people of Africa struggling for independence and liberation; reliance on Soviet military aid and Cuban troops, the U.S. offers its economic aid and investment as the shortcut to rapid development. Because of the class character of most of the African governments, which are faced with real economic and military difficulties, these "shortcuts" seem enticing and find buyers.

These "shortcuts" are in reality snares laid by the superpowers. Africa is tremendously rich in natural resources, it has a potential market of over 200 million people, and geographically it is of very great strategic importance, particularly in the superpowers' contention for control of Europe. Politically it is becoming a central focus of the efforts of the two superpowers to line up countries in their blocs.

Despite the difficulties faced by the countries of Africa, the road forward does not lead through submitting to new imperialist control in the effort to break the



val of African culture—AAPRP literature has made little mention, let alone analysis, of the struggle in southern Africa.

The mock Marxists of the Workers Viewpoint Organization have essentially the same view of ALD as Stokely—a recruiting ground to snare "advanced elements." Workers Viewpoint is trying to pull together some kind of activity in which to push its contention that support for African liberation should focus mainly on doing propaganda about why the USSR is the main danger to the people of southern Africa—thus letting the U.S. ruling class off the hook.

In sharp contrast stands the demonstration called by the African Liberation Day Coalition which carries on the fighting tradition of ALD and serves as a starting point in working for ever more powerful, more conscious and more united support for the heroic fight of the African people to control their own destinies. Its heart is a militant march on the White House, clearly and directly in support of African liberation struggles and in opposition to the white minority regimes, their backers on Wall Street and in Washington, and Wall Street's imperialist rivals in Africa—the USSR.

The Revolutionary Communist Party hails this year's celebration of African Liberation Day and has worked to help build the Coalition's demonstration as a battle in the war against the ruling class, as a beacon for the many thousands who will take part in ALD activities this year, and as a step in mobilizing still greater support for and solidarity with the African peoples' struggle. Powerful actions like the march on the White House, aimed at the U.S. ruling class and hampering their freedom to act, are the best material support we the American working class and people can give our brothers and sisters in southern Africa.

The African Liberation Day demonstration is being built in the best possible spirit—of mobilizing everyone possible on the basis of linking the struggles of the southern African and the American people. As the general theme of ALD proclaims: Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from the Union of South Africa to the United States of America! ■

## Africa...

Continued from Page 14

### Soviet Union on the Prowl

The long-standing U.S. commitment to the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, as well as their earlier support for Portugal, have caused some real material problems for the U.S. imperialists in their intensifying rivalry with the Soviet Union for control of the African countries.

The Soviet Union has been quick to try to take advantage of the resistance to U.S. and western European imperialism in Africa and to exploit the national striving of the African countries to their own advantage. While they gave little aid to the Angolan people during their long struggle to drive out the Portuguese, as soon as the Portuguese had been defeated and the various Angolan liberation forces began maneuvering to try to establish a new government, the Soviets landed with millions of dollars of tanks, missiles and other military equipment, as well as 15,000 Cuban troops to play a giant role in whipping up a bloody civil war between the MPLA and the UNITA/FNLA forces, with the U.S. and South Africa pumping guns and money to other groups.

And what are the fruits of this Soviet aid? Far from winning independence, the MPLA regime stands by the force of Cuban arms alone, its economy being tied more and more tightly with the Soviet bloc with Cuban and Soviet technicians everywhere. In Ethiopia the Soviets have tried to get a foot in the door by extolling the "revolutionary leadership" of the Marxist-talking butchers of the military junta. In Zaire they praise the "liberation" force of the Katangese mercenaries who fought against the independence of the Belgian Congo and fought with the Portuguese against the Angolan liberation struggle until they were hired by the MPLA.

The Soviets have some advantage over the U.S. imperialists at this point because their role has not been as clearly exposed to the masses of people. They parade about as socialist defenders of national liberation and offer arms and economic aid in the battles against the regimes propped up by the Western imperialists. But they are enslavement rather than economic and poli-

chains of the old colonial domination that still bind Africa to enforced backwardness. The victories that have been won in Africa are a result of the revolutionary struggles and aspirations of the African people. Fully mobilized on all fronts, these are the key forces for further development and national independence. And they are pushing forward the revolutionary advance, together with the working class and oppressed the world over, to socialism and communism.

In opposition to the sham internationalism and opportunist aid from the Soviet Union and the continued efforts to dominate Africa by the U.S. imperialists, the people of the U.S. have an important task to expose the role of the two superpowers and in particular to oppose and fight the U.S. imperialists' backing for the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. Building concrete support for the African liberation struggles is an important task in its own right, but it is also part of the battle to oppose and eventually get rid of U.S. imperialism right here at home. ■



Troops of the Guinea-Bissau Patriotic Armed Forces. The people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde mobilized to drive out the supposedly superior forces of the U.S. backed Portuguese.



The Civil Rights movement caused a tremendous upheaval in the U.S. as millions of Blacks rose up against generations of Jim Crow segregation and racial discrimination. In the '60s, as rebellions exploded in hundreds of urban areas and was even more squarely aimed at the imperialist system, the Black liberation struggle became the main force at the time pushing ahead all other struggles against the capitalist rulers.

## What Is the Road Forward?

# Black Liberation: A Mighty Force

The civil rights and Black liberation movements of the '50s and '60s were tremendous struggles involving tens of millions of people. Not since the Civil War had there been an uprising of such social magnitude and force against the oppression of Blacks, with the masses of Black people, joined by significant numbers of whites, battling for democratic rights and an end to the misery and repression they suffered.

Many victories and advances were won in the course of these struggles. They spread a revolutionary spirit among the masses of the American people and were an inspiration and spark for the struggle of other oppressed nationalities in the U.S. and the working class as a whole.

In the '70s there has been an ebb in that massive wave of struggle. Many of the gains won have been snatched back by the rulers of this country and its overall goals, full equality for Blacks and the end to their oppression as a people, have yet to be achieved. Black people, together with other oppressed minorities, are still subjected to "discrimination, the denial of democratic rights, violent police repression, suppression and mutilation of their cultures, exploitation and oppression as members of the working class, with the lowest positions, constantly high unemployment, the lowest paid jobs, the worst housing, the worst of bad health care and other social services." (from the *Programme* of the RCP)

This ebb in the Black liberation movement has not been because the oppression of Black people has been ended or because the masses of Black people have ceased to hate and struggle against it. The struggle for the emancipation of Black people came squarely up against the need for proletarian revolution to emancipate all the people exploited and oppressed by capitalism. Again to quote the *Programme* of the RCP: "The struggle of Black people can and does deal powerful blows to the monopoly capitalists and to the various forms of discrimination and racist trash they foster to make profit and maintain their power. But by itself it cannot end Black people's oppression because the source of this oppression is capitalist rule. The Black people's struggle alone cannot resolve the basic contradiction of capitalism—between the working class and the capitalist class—the contradiction from which all of its evils arise."

### Change from '60s

The struggles of the '50s and '60s helped expose the nature of capitalist rule. With the deepening of the crisis of the capitalist system, bringing intensified attacks by the imperialists on the masses of people of all nationalities, and developing resistance, the battles of Black people today are taking place in a context where it is easier to see how everyone is getting messed over by the same forces, by the same rulers who grow rich off the labor of others and who benefit from keeping people down. Many of the struggles Black people are engaged in today involve workers of all nationalities.

The struggles of the '50s and '60s did open up some opportunities for a few Blacks. More Black people were able to enter professions, larger numbers of Black students were able to get into college and the general economic situation at that time in the country, combined with the bourgeoisie's desire to divert the struggle away

from a revolutionary direction, made it more possible for some Blacks to open small businesses and enterprises. "During this period, the ruling class, panicked by the powerful upsurge of the Black people and bringing down more savage repression against them, also rushed to build up bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces among them to put a brake on their struggle, and lead it into a dead-end. But because this could in no way change the basic conditions of the Black masses, it has mainly served to intensify class contradictions among Black people, as it becomes all the more clear that the Black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie cannot lead Black people to liberation." (*Programme* of the RCP)

In an effort to buy off the Black liberation struggle, a lot of money was thrown into poverty programs and an effort was made to build up some Black politicians. Some of these programs, which were won through bitter struggle, did improve conditions for some Black people temporarily, and for a while they seemed to hold open the possibility of new opportunities. But on the whole, the conditions of life for the masses of Black people have gotten worse.

For instance, while the standard of living of working people overall has been under attack, the average Black family income fell from 62% of the average white family income in 1970 to 58% in 1974. Black unemployment has been twice that of whites. Housing is becoming a bigger problem for all working people, growing more expensive and harder to find. Ghetto stores, services, and housing add up to \$1000 a year more for a Black worker than a white with the same paycheck. And for the majority of Blacks there is increasingly

less hope for escaping the ghetto as housing becomes more segregated every year and in most cities the ghettos are getting more crowded and broken down.

In the drive to protect and maximize their profits the capitalists are forced to cut back on all areas of expenditures that benefit the masses of people, and to step up their exploitation of the working class. The capitalist crisis has meant that their ability to spend money to cool out struggle has greatly diminished. The ability for some Blacks to get a little better deal by becoming professionals or going into business has by and large proved to be a limited and temporary phenomena, while in general it is increasingly difficult for others to follow in their footsteps. And many of those who made an advance in their standard of living are being pushed back down.

### Sharp Questions

These developments and the continued oppression of Blacks has given rise to some sharp questions. What is the cause of this oppression and how can it be ended? Who are the real friends of Black people in their struggle for emancipation and who are their enemies? Most people recognize that when people of different nationalities get together to fight they have a lot more strength and ability to win and most people would like to see such unity between Black and white, but can it happen and if so how?

There are a lot of people around to put forward phoney answers to these questions. First and foremost is the bourgeoisie and their open spokesmen.

According to the line they run, slavery and racial discrimination are a terrible thing, but they are due to the selfishness and corruption of human nature. They claim that great advances have been made, because most of the legal barriers that kept Blacks down have been removed. According to them, Blacks can now make it—if they want to and work hard at it. The only limits to Black achievement, according to the capitalists, the only real obstacles, are the racism of white people, particularly white workers, and the lack of motivation and perseverance on the part of Blacks. In other words, the oppression of Black people is on the one hand the fault of Blacks themselves, and on the other, the fault of whites.

The *Programme* of the RCP takes on these lies and exposes the material basis for the oppression of Blacks in the U.S.: "... the ruling class cannot afford to give up the superprofits it has wrung from the labor of Black people. So today, with the history of Black people's oppression as the foundation, the imperialists have built up a structure of oppression of Black people to fit the new conditions. This oppression hits all classes of Black people, though it is rooted in and is maintained fundamentally for the purpose of enforcing the super-exploitation of Black workers."

At the same time they try to pit people to fighting against one another for a diminishing share of the pie. The capitalist system has long since entered a stage of stagnation and decay. The organization of society on the basis of capitalist relations of production resulted in a life that people in earlier stages of society could not dream of. But the rise of capitalism brought new suffering and exploitation for the masses of people as well, and its continued existence holds back the further development of society to a stage where production and the use of nature will not be based on the exploitation of man by man.

Wracked by continual upheavals and the anarchy of production, capitalism can offer no real, long-term advances in the conditions of life of the masses of people. To the extent that the capitalists are able to engineer temporary upswings in the economy or limited bursts of

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# Mighty Force...

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prosperity, the steps they take only lay the basis for worse crises.

On the international scale, as they maneuver to get some advantage over their rival capitalists in the cut-throat competition that goes on between them, it has led to inter-imperialist wars where workers of different countries have been forced to fight and kill one another for the profits of the capitalists. And it always means greater exploitation of the working class and increased national oppression, of the people of the underdeveloped countries of the world as well as Blacks and other minority nationalities in the U.S.

## Capitalism the Source of Division

There is no denying that there are many divisions between Blacks and whites in the U.S. But the basis for this is the capitalist system itself, which requires the capitalists to rip off and grow rich on the labor of the working class. In pushing down the whole class, they maintain particularly heavy exploitation of Black workers, keeping them at the bottom, using them as a reserve of cheap labor while maintaining the systematic discrimination against all Black people.

The capitalists keep Blacks and whites divided in order to get them to focus their struggles at each other and to keep the class as a whole weak and divided. Among white workers, they promote myths and racist ideology which say that Blacks are inferior and not fit to live with whites and don't want to unite with whites. Because Blacks are forced to live in overcrowded ghettos, for example, in the most run-down and dilapidated buildings, because the city governments often don't even bother to clean the streets or pick up the garbage in many areas of the ghettos, because there is tremendous unemployment and poverty in the ghettos and banks refuse home improvement loans and slumlords refuse to make repairs, they say to white workers, "Look at how these people live!" They imply that whites are better than Blacks and that Blacks have "no desire to improve themselves."

At the same time they try to get over among Blacks by promoting narrow nationalism, saying that whites have no interests in ending the oppression of Blacks and that in fact they benefit from it. This narrow nationalism, "my nationality first," pushes Black people to see whites as responsible for their oppression, to ignore the fact that the masses of Black and white people are confronted by the same enemy and to turn their anger against whites, especially white workers, to fight them over the crumbs the capitalists throw out. Narrow nationalism leads to struggling around things that do not even get at the heart of the real cause of the oppression of Blacks.

But while narrow nationalism and white chauvinism (racism) are flip sides of the same bourgeois outlook, white chauvinism is the main obstacle among the masses to exposing the common enemy of Blacks and white workers and building a unified struggle against it, because it leads directly to uniting with the ruling class in maintaining the system of national oppression that enslaves the masses of Black people.

In the context of worsening conditions and in the course of struggle against continuing attacks against Blacks, numbers of Blacks, primarily from the petty bourgeoisie, seeing their hopes of "making it" fade, are radicalized and come forward in the name of fighting oppression. Some of these people, who were able to make some advances in the past, have taken up a subjective and self-serving line and aim the main thrust of their attacks against whites. They are essentially defeatist, both around waging the struggle against the real enemy and around building unity among Blacks and

white workers.

## Pan Africanism

One of the forms this takes is Pan Africanism, which has attracted some politically active Blacks who argue that Blacks in the U.S. are an "African people" and should consider their struggle as part of the struggle in Africa, which should be the central focus for people of African descent worldwide. (For a fuller treatment of Pan Africanism see "Communism Not Pan Africanism Is the Guide to Socialist Revolution and Black Liberation," by John Henry, in *The Communist*, Theoretical Journal of the Central Committee of the RCP, Vol. 1, No. 2.)

This Pan Africanist line takes into account the common roots in Africa shared by Blacks in the U.S. and it seeks to solve the question of who are the allies of the Black struggle in the U.S. by pointing to people who share these ancestral roots everywhere. But it ignores the real material differences that separate Black people in the U.S. from the various African peoples—differences of language, culture, historical development—and denies the objective unity U.S. Blacks have with workers of other nationalities as part of a single U.S. working class.

It ignores the material facts that make it plain that people of African descent throughout the world are not one nation in any sense of the word that has any scientific meaning. It ignores the fact that Black people in America, kidnapped from various tribes and areas in Africa during the 16th and 17th centuries and brought to America as slaves, developed into a distinct and separate nation of people after the Civil War, during Reconstruction and its betrayal by the Northern bourgeoisie in alliance with the old aristocracy of the South. In their great majority Black people were chained to the land as sharecroppers in the Black Belt area of the South (the old plantation area, which got the name "Black Belt" because of the color of the soil), excluded from the mainstream development of the rest of society and segregated by Jim Crow laws and systematic terror and violence. In this way Black people in the U.S. were forced into a course of national development that was different from the rest of U.S. society as well as obviously different from the peoples of Africa.

But this does not deter Pan Africanists who, despite their claims to oppose imperialism, actually deny its objective effects. They even deny the reality that black people in Africa have not developed as one nation, but numerous nations, based largely on the colonial division of Africa over decades of imperialist domination.

From these real differences of development flow very different conditions of struggle. The people of Africa face struggle principally against neocolonialism and white minority rule. For the countries and peoples of Africa the main immediate objective is national liberation and independence. For Black people in the U.S., who face both oppression as a people and exploitation as members of a single multinational working class, the immediate objective of struggle is the overthrow of the U.S. capitalist ruling class and the establishment of socialism. And the struggle against national oppression takes place in this context.

## Part of One Working Class

Beginning after World War 1 and accelerating after the Second World War, the conditions of exploitation and oppression of Blacks were radically transformed. Southern agriculture was increasingly mechanized and many sharecroppers were driven off the land to become wage laborers in the industrial cities of the North and the South. This transformation didn't mean that Black people had achieved equality or that their oppression had ended, any more than the previous transition from slavery to sharecropping did. But it did mean that Blacks became, in their vast majority, part of the U.S. working class, though still facing the whole system of national oppression, discrimination in hiring, on the job and in all aspects of life.

As the RCP Programme states: "The tens of millions of these nationalities who suffer discrimination and other forms of oppression as peoples are, in their great majority, workers, part of the single U.S. proletariat. Their fight for equality and emancipation is bound by a thousand links with the struggle of the working class for socialism, and lends it great strength."

Pan Africanists like Stokely Carmichael, once an activist in the civil rights movement, argue that this is false and that attempts to build the unity of Black and white to fight national oppression cannot happen, at least not at this point, and lead nowhere. Instead he calls on Black people in the U.S. to struggle to go back to Africa and to make the main focus of their struggle support for the people of Africa. But how the hell are Blacks and white workers going to be united around the demand Blacks go back to Africa? About the only people he will unite around demands like these among the white masses are reactionary and backward elements who would like to see Blacks go anywhere—Africa, the Black Belt, or the moon. Anywhere that is, that would further divide the working class.

This line is not taken seriously among the broad masses of Black people, but it has gained some influence as the Black liberation movement in this country ebbed and the liberation movement in Africa exploded into massive proportions, dealing mighty blows to the imperialists and their allies and offering fresh inspiration to the struggling people everywhere. Within the U.S. it has led to an upsurge of interest in Africa and a militant and growing support for the African liberation movements.

In essence Pan Africanism limits the revolutionary potential of the Black liberation movement by drawing people's attention away from the real basis of national oppression and class exploitation suffered by the masses of Blacks. And it not only turns people's eyes away from the struggle here, it even obscures the key way Blacks and whites in the U.S. can give real support to the liberation struggles in Africa: by exposing and fighting the U.S. imperialists who oppress the people of the U.S. and the peoples of Africa.

## Self-Determination Main Thrust?

Another line that has surfaced to misdirect and create obstacles for the struggle of Black people for liberation puts forward that the main thrust of their struggle is and should be for self-determination, the right to form a separate country in the Black Belt area of the South. These people, usually found in various dogmatist and reformist groups calling themselves revolutionaries and "communists," try to base themselves on the fact that Black people are a nation and that this nation was forged and its people once lived primarily in the Black Belt. They too try to distract people from the real basis and conditions of the struggle.

The Revolutionary Communist Party upholds the right of self-determination for Black people, the right to establish their own independent state, which is a key aspect of equality among nations, in order to unite workers of all nationalities in the common struggle against imperialism. Black people were formed into a nation, and though now dispersed, that nation has not been eliminated and the right to self-determination in their historic Black Belt homeland in the U.S. remains.

But the RCP does not advocate such separation now or under foreseeable circumstances, and to do so now would be to advocate a step backwards. That does not rule out the possibility that such advocacy might become necessary for the development of the proletarian revolution. But support for a national movement for self-determination is contingent on whether it helps to weaken and overthrow imperialism. And it is certainly not the main demand raised by the masses of Black people today.

The fact that the demand for self-determination is not the central thrust of Black people's struggle today reflects the fact that the majority of Blacks are workers, scattered from the Black Belt and concentrated in cities across the U.S. where they daily face discrimination, violence and exploitation. The demands of the Black masses are those that arise from this situation. The answer to these demands is not some updated call for "40 acres and a mule" in the South, but proletarian revolution and socialism and fighting to end national oppression and inequality in that context.

The road forward to Black liberation and the struggle of the whole working class for emancipation are indissolubly linked together. But the development of this unity in struggle against the common imperialist enemy will not happen spontaneously or automatically. At each stage of the struggle the working class and its Party must isolate the main enemy to the greatest possible degree and unite all who can be united against it.

The material basis for building the unity of struggle is that all exploitation and oppression stems from the same source: the capitalist system, and, still more, the fact that the majority of Black people are members of a single, multinational U.S. working class.

## Unity Built Through Struggle

The ruling class recognized this potential for a powerful revolutionary alliance between the masses of op-

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From the beginning the struggle of oppressed nationalities has been closely linked with the overall class struggle. Today that link can be forged all the more firmly because Blacks are, in the main, members of the single U.S. working class, together with workers of all nationalities.





Philadelphia, April 9—In a demonstration called by Driving Force and receiving community support, members of the Transportation Workers Union march demanding: A Decent Contract, Restore All Cuts in Services, No Fare Hikes!

## Workers Go Back Bitter, Determined

# 43 Day SEPTA Strike Sabotaged

In early May workers for the South Eastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) voted to end their strike. They had held out for 43 days, five thousand strong, against the combined forces of SEPTA, Philadelphia's notorious Mayor Rizzo, the Philly capitalists acting under the signboard of the Chamber of Commerce, and the treachery of their own union officials. But after one and a half months on strike, the majority of workers, members of the Transport Workers Union—by a vote of 2129 to 1592—felt that they could no longer continue the battle at this time.

Workers are near unanimous in denouncing the contract which doesn't keep up with inflation, bring back the laid off workers or do anything about the high pressure working conditions. While the defeat of the strike is a setback for the SEPTA workers, no one can take away from them the strength they displayed in struggle, the blows they dealt the capitalists of Philadelphia, or the growing unity and organization forged in the course of the strike. They went back to work bitter but determined. As one old-timer put it the night the contract passed, "This is only the beginning."

The strike began in March when the rank and file smashed through a sellout plan agreed upon by SEPTA, Rizzo and their union "representatives" with a resounding *No* vote that beat the contract by over 800 votes. Impetus for the *No* vote came from the Committee for a Decent Contract (CDC) and Driving Force, an ongoing rank and file organization that had been involved in leading many of the battles of SEPTA workers and helped to initiate the CDC. (See article, *Revolution*, May 1977, p. 7)

From the beginning the strike hit hard at SEPTA and the whole class of exploiters in Philadelphia. Down-

town merchants had their business slashed 50 to 70%, the strikers cost the City millions of dollars and neutralized the threat of a court injunction by their militance. And from the beginning the authorities in Philly attacked the strike with a vengeance.

The capitalists tried every trick in the book to demoralize the strikers and try to divide the transit workers off from the rest of the people of Philadelphia. There was even national TV coverage that accused the SEPTA workers of being overpaid and blamed them for everything from the decline of downtown to the energy crisis (because of the increase in auto traffic!).

In the face of these attacks the union officials sat on their hands. They talked out of one side of their mouths that "we're standing firm" while waiting for the rank and file to be starved back to work. This sabotage was one of the biggest weapons in the hands of the enemy. The head of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce put it this way: "We see this as a chance to draw the line because the union is divided." It was divided all right—between the rank and file who wanted to fight and the leadership that didn't.

### Rank and File Stands Up

A demonstration initiated by Driving Force united some community groups and others behind the strike and pointed the finger of blame directly at the authorities for the strike and the deterioration of the public transportation. Two weeks later, rank and file anger was mounting so sharply that the union leadership was forced to endorse a car caravan called by the rank and file drivers from one depot. The caravan of 70 cars tied up traffic all along the main streets, then parked

white workers was built in the course of mighty struggle. The working class, led by the Communist Party when it was a revolutionary party of the working class, took up the fight against discrimination, against lynching and other terror the capitalists used against Black people in the North and the South.

In the famous case of the Scottsboro boys in the '30s, nine Black youths falsely accused of raping two white women, a struggle was built which became a symbol of the national oppression to which Blacks were subjected to. Hundreds of thousands of white workers, themselves suffering from the blows of the great Depression, rallied under the leadership of the CP to demand their freedom.

Today as millions are being drawn into struggle against the capitalists, and millions more are certain to come forward to fight for their lives, their families and their future, this revolutionary alliance between the struggles of Blacks and other oppressed minorities and the working class movement as a whole will be built through the course of struggle, based on people's common experience of exploitation and oppression and the work of class conscious revolutionaries. These struggles are bound to merge. It is in this way that the proletariat as a whole and the masses of Black people will, at long last, win complete emancipation. ■

## Mighty Force...

Continued from Page 16

pressed Black people and the working class as a whole and they do everything in their power to drive a wedge between these struggles. But their system forces them to plant their boot ever harder on the necks of the people. As the crisis of their system worsens they are less and less able to bribe or buy off sections of the people. More and more people are brought into struggle against them and, as this happens, it becomes more obvious that it is the same forces that are responsible for the oppression of Blacks and the exploitation of the working class.

Building the fight against national oppression as part of the overall class struggle requires working "from two sides." This involves mobilizing the masses of Black people in the fight against their oppression and mobilizing the working class as a whole to take up this fight. In the process the working class and its Party must bring forward its own ideology and its common interest in fighting to end all oppression and exploitation.

Historically in the U.S. unity between Blacks and

three lanes wide around city hall, forcing the police to try futilely to reroute traffic in the center of town. 250 union members marched around City Hall calling the mayor out, forcing the mayor to concede to sending his right-hand man to the negotiating table.

Union President LeDonne was forced to call a mass march on City Hall three days later. Angry workers made him change the time of the march from 9 AM to 7 AM so they could tie up rush hour traffic. By all of a sudden acting militant the union officials were able to reassert some control over the strike they had tried to prevent in the first place.

But LeDonne's backbone was shown to be jelly when Rizzo confronted him in the lobby of the Sheridan Hotel, over a caravan and the proposed march. LeDonne went running after him to apologize and cancelled the march. He had stuck his head a little way out of Rizzo's back pocket and the mayor shoved it back in.

The rank and file reacted with disgust at this act of spinelessness and the failure of the union officials to take up other tasks like building a strike fund (they even refused money offered by other unions). But while many rank and file workers responded to this treachery with more determination to build the fight, the overall effect of this, coupled with divisive activities of some opportunists aspiring to union office who tried to red-bait Driving Force and CDC, was to disorganize the struggle. For these reasons the rank and file was unable to carry through with the march after the union hacks had caved into Rizzo and stabbed it in the back.

Many of the workers who voted to return to work did so because, as some put it, "we've got to regroup, throw out the old union leadership and vote in some new guys who will be in a better position to fight." But while the upcoming union elections will be an important field of struggle and plans are underway for a rank and file slate, Driving Force has stressed the importance of not tying the struggle of the rank and file to the outcome of the election or relying on individual leaders.

SEPTA workers took some great steps forward in taking matters into their own hands and waging a blow for blow struggle against the enemy inside and outside of their union. No matter how hard the bosses try to sum up the strike as a dead loss, the workers can see the growing unity that grew up in the battle to vote down the contract and in the strike itself. Before the strike workers knew only those in their same depot. Only the hacks in union office had contact throughout the SEPTA system. Now ties have been built between workers in different locations. Fighters have stepped forward and have identified each other.

SEPTA workers have also gained new insight into the nature of the enemy they fight. SEPTA workers saw how their enemy is organized far beyond the confines of one company or even one city, how that enemy is backed up by the politicians and the press. In the course of this important battle many workers have come to see the need for the working class to organize and stand together, across industry lines and nationwide, as well as continuing to organize within their industry.

In this spirit, some SEPTA workers joined with Driving Force to participate in the May Day march. SEPTA workers are also taking up the call to form a national workers organization.

The SEPTA strike was an important face-off between the workers and those who profit from their labor. It ended in a temporary defeat, but the sense of strength and common cause that grew in the last few months has not been eradicated and is bound to reassert itself. ■



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# Wages Cut, Benefits Slashed, and More 'Drop' in Unemployed Covers Real Attacks

"Unemployment at 7%, Lowest Level in 29 Months! 90 Million Hold Jobs—Highest Number Ever!" This is how the headlines in the newspapers trumpeted April's decrease in the unemployment rate. But two things stand out about these figures. First, although the government reports claimed that the "decline in unemployment was not only substantial but also widespread," the truth is that it was neither substantial nor widespread. Second, although there undeniably has been a relative and temporary upturn in the economy, there has been no fundamental turn for the better, and the very fact that the present upward bounce was achieved on the basis of sharpening the underlying contradictions driving the economy into crisis insures more than ever that the overall direction for the economy will be down, and the attacks on people's living standards will grow.

The unemployment statistics released in April of "only 6.7 million unemployed" are bad enough, but even so they are not exactly what they are made out to be, because they conceal rather than take into account the actual extent of unemployment. The government only defines a person as unemployed if they have not worked at all during the week the figures were compiled and had applied for jobs during the last four weeks.

The semi-employed who are doing day labor a few days a week until they can find a decent job, those working part-time because it beats not working and those who've found that the expense, trouble and useless frustration of searching from factory to factory isn't worth it—all these millions are uncounted in the unemployment figures. In fact, according to one government study that the newspapers, of course, didn't spread around, one third of the men and one half of the women on the unemployment rolls eventually give up searching for a job without ever finding one and are also dropped out of the statistics.

Even the figure of a record number of people working is the opposite of what it seems. The percentage of adult men working has declined significantly in the last few years, as many older men have been forced to retire early since no one will hire them, despite their long experience, and many young men are forced to give up since no one wants to hire a man with no experience. At the same time, the percentage of women working has shot up—60% of the increase in people getting jobs has been women, and a very large number of these women have been forced to take the low-paying positions open to them, because their husbands are out of work or just can't support the family on one paycheck anymore.

Yet another aspect of the employment picture which these figures do not reveal is the extent to which people who were formerly employed in better paying, union jobs have been forced to take other work. In the last two years the number of people working in many relatively higher paying and unionized industries such as auto and steel has dropped, while the increases have largely been in generally lower-paying service jobs.

## Productivity Forced Up

What has been the basis for this relative upturn? Since the big round of layoffs of the winter of 1975-76, the actual number of workers in manufacturing is down, while the amount produced is up again. By not calling back everyone laid off on the one hand, and speedup, job combinations and overall harassment on the other, the capitalists have boosted productivity by almost 16% since then, without an increase in the rate of investment in new plants and machines. Furthermore, for those who are working, not only has the amount they produce per hour been increased, but also the average number of hours worked, as more and more workers find overtime has been made manda-

napolis wildcat or the Ohio Crankshaft strike into area-wide or nationwide campaigns in the industry and wherever possible building united campaigns around industry-wide issues like this convention.

The more developed chapters of AWUF, along with the more class conscious fighters in all AWUF chapters, are also working to organize auto workers in the struggle around more political battles—such as the federal unemployment insurance extension cut fight, May Day, and the building of a nationwide workers organization—in general educating and mobilizing auto workers to the broader aims of the struggle of the whole working class. Through all this activity, AWUF has been gaining broad recognition among auto workers, has come under sharp attack by local and International union officials in places, and overall is developing into a clear working class center in the industry that class fighters can rally around. ■

## UAW...

Continued from Page 6

lies and "supporters" would turn out. In fact, despite the OL's extremely high priority on this demo, at the convention the "hundreds" turned out to be one hundred and twenty-five, a great number of whom obviously fell into the category of "supporters."

OL's whole approach was not based on any of the actual battles that auto workers are engaged in or how to use the convention as an opportunity to advance the struggle of the rank and file. Instead, the October League, in their typical fashion, concocted "some fashionable means of helping the workers"—this time a set of demands that, for the most part, are in the interests of the workers but neither concentrate, serve, nor lead ahead the present struggle of auto workers. Especially they didn't concentrate on the battles focused at the convention. OL threw into its hodge-podge several political demands from freeing Gary Tyler to an end to deportations to maintain its revolutionary cloak while playing the same game as many other opportunists out of union office—promising all sorts of great things if only the workers fire their present "leaders" and hire on the October League.

Besides diffusing the struggle over the particular questions faced by auto workers in the context of this convention, their method leads to nothing but slogan shouting over the broader political demands they raised. Of course it was never the intention of the OL to mobilize a real battle around any of these questions. Instead we have here another "left in form" example of OL's rightist do-nothing approach of reducing the class struggle to a struggle to take over the unions.

One example is that part of OL's slogans that amount to contract demands, some misleading, some correct, but all a little late—the UAW hacks pushed through a three year sellout amidst a storm of resistance in which the OL was conspicuously inert (no doubt finding the UAW Convention a more fertile ground than the contract battles involving hundreds of thousands for pursuing their "main blow" strategy).

## Growth of AWUF

AWUF's main present activity is on the local level, uniting with and building struggle on the shop floor, spreading the sparks of key battles such as the India-

## UWOC National Meeting Set

The 2nd National UWOC meeting is being held on the weekend of June 25-26 in Detroit, Michigan. The conference is being built on the great advances in developing organization and struggle among the unemployed made over the last year, especially in the fight against the cuts in federal extensions.

The meeting will be addressing the following questions:

1) How is the bourgeoisie attempting to foist the burden of its crisis on the backs of the workers at this particular time and how do the unemployed develop the struggle for union jobs at union wages in this context?

2) How to continue to develop UWOC as a leading social force among the unemployed?

3) How can unity be built in this period between employed and unemployed and what is the necessity for this in the current crisis?

4) How can the level of organization be raised, both locally and nationally?

The conference represents an important opportunity to consolidate the advances made in the past period, better sum up the present situation, and make plans for the struggle ahead. It is being built among all UWOC members and all other workers seriously interested in building UWOC and the organized struggle of the unemployed. ■

tory by rising bills if not by decree.

The fact that the capitalists are now squeezing more work out of fewer workers is a big part of what has made production somewhat more profitable for them. In other words, to a large extent it has been on the basis of conditions after the last round of layoffs, the simultaneous increase in the exploitation of workers due to speedup, etc., that the capitalists have now found it profitable to reduce the ranks of the unemployed a bit.

The basic contradiction in the economy and in society—the contradiction between the tremendous productive power of the workers and all the means of production and the fact that under capitalism production can only take place insofar as the capitalists can profit from it—this contradiction is sharper than ever exactly because the capitalists have upped production while continuing to push down the standard of living of the masses overall, and thus their ability to buy what's produced. This sets the stage for yet another pileup of unsold goods, another crisis of overproduction, and therefore yet another round of layoffs, this time on top of an increasingly huge army of those who've yet to "recover" from the last round.

What we're in today is supposed to be a "recovery." But the number of unemployed is almost twice as high as in any other previous "recovery"—and in fact is higher than in most of the previous "recessions" since World War 2. All this makes it clear that far from just passing through alternate good times and bad times, the economy is in an overall downward spiral, whatever bumps up there may be on the way down.

Each shock to the U.S. economy has left it weakened for when the next shock comes along. And the very things that the capitalists have used to achieve temporary upturns within that overall downward spiral have weakened the economy further in terms of anything but the short run.

Although profits are up relative to the last two years, they are still below their pre-1974 level, in terms of total dollars (compensating for inflation), and still on the sharp downward course begun in the mid-1960s in terms of rate of profit—their return on their investment. On top of this, the return of double-digit inflation signals not only a greater drop in the buying power of the average paycheck, but also even more economic disruptions for the capitalists.

Given the fact that the imperialist system is in crisis worldwide and the position of the U.S. is under attack within that, there is no way that the U.S. ruling class can reverse this downward spiral, short of a new redivision of the world through war.

## Downward Spiral

The fact that this "recovery in unemployment" is taking place in the context of a downward spiral, not a deep-going capitalist expansion, has real consequences for workers, both employed and unemployed. First, it means it is largely a phoney recovery. Secondly, it means the capitalists are moving with extra desperation and viciousness to use unemployment as a club to strengthen their attack on the wages and conditions of workers as a whole, and to weaken the working class for more attacks to come. The growing reserve army of unemployed and the fear few workers can escape of being the next out the door is a major weapon in the bourgeoisie's arsenal.

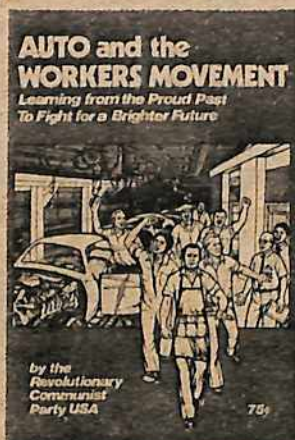
They used this weapon to slash away at the working class many times before. During the first few years of

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**AUTO AND THE WORKERS MOVEMENT**  
Learning from the Proud Past to Fight for a Brighter Future, by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

# Unemployed ...

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the Great Depression, with unemployment in this country at its highest point in history, the bourgeoisie drove the average worker's wages down by 45%.

During the last few years, plants have been closing down, some to reopen elsewhere with no union and lower wages. Workers who've lost union jobs have been forced to take lower paying nonunion jobs. Many have gone back to work for less than they were making before. Some workers—especially in the construction industry—have been forced to take outright pay cuts. Thus unemployment has worked to the advantage of the bourgeoisie, even while it is an incurable plague of their system. While they are glad of any decline in the number of the unemployed because unemployment is such an explosive political problem for them, and unemployment benefits expensive, they can't do without unemployment. In fact, they are trying to use the unemployed in a more systematic and organized way to further cut away at the rest of the working class.

While each capitalist is in cutthroat competition with each other, all agree that it's the workers who must carry the growing weight of the economic crisis. One way to do this is by increasing the competition between workers for jobs (including cutting off unemployment benefits) and by trying to drive down the terms of this competition by forcing people to compete over even the worst possible jobs.

### Whole Class Driven Lower

For instance, many adult workers have been forced to take jobs previously held by teenagers—such as waitressing, for example—at the pay teenagers usually make, while teenagers looking for their first job can't find a thing. The capitalists would like us to believe that the problem is simply that there are too many kids looking for work, but the truth is that the high unemployment among youth is largely a reflection of the overall growing problem of unemployment.

This competition for jobs is going on at all levels of the working class, with the increasing desperation of the unemployed acting to undercut and in many cases actually worsen the wages and working conditions of the whole class.

Important factors in the battle between workers and capitalists over wages and conditions are summed up clearly by Marx: "Industry leads two armies into the field against each other, each of which again carries on a battle within its own ranks, among its own troops. The army whose troops beat each other up the least gains the victory over the opposing host." ("Wage, Labour and Capital," Vol. 1, p. 155, Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*)

This has been going on mainly spontaneously, through the workings of the economy itself. But exactly because of the inherent weakness in the economy as it has been revealed by the current extremely weak "recovery," the capitalists are more and more driven to try to increase the competition within the working class in an organized way.

One important form that this has taken has been the cut in unemployment benefits, Carter's so-called "jobs program" and the barrage of propaganda in the press and TV about how there's plenty of jobs if only the unemployed wouldn't be so "finicky" and take what's offered them. As explained in the April '77 issue of *Revolution*, by cutting the number of weeks unemploy-



April 21, front page, The New York Post: cops attack UWOC's tent city. The more than seven million unemployed have not vanished, despite the latest round of "recovery" statistics. Unemployment is a growing battleground with new rounds of attacks coming from the capitalists. After this outrage, "Carterville No. 2" became the talk of the town in N.Y. UWOC's phone started buzzing as workers and other sympathizers called from all over to give their support.

ment benefits can be collected from 65 to 52, the bill Carter signed into law last month was designed partly to save money on unemployment benefits. But even more importantly it was designed to cut away at the unemployment benefits program which has allowed many workers who've been laid off from relatively better paying union jobs to wait to be called back, or until a similar job is available, instead of taking a much worse job which won't pay their family's bills.

Furthermore, in order to get the federal extension which pays unemployment benefits from 36 to 52 weeks, according to Carter's new law, and, in a growing number of states, in order to collect any benefits at all, unemployed workers have to accept any job offered to them that pays more than their benefits or minimum wage, whichever is greater. An example of what this means is shown by what's going on in St. Louis, one of the first places where this program has been implemented. There, a number of unemployed union workers searching for work through their union have reported being cut off from benefits for not looking for and accepting nonunion work at nonunion wages.

### Carter's Jobs Bill

Carter's "jobs program" is just the opposite of what it's billed to be. In part it's sheer fraud—rather than

provide new jobs, at least 60% of the public service jobs provided for in the Carter jobs bill are to be used to shift city and state workers over to the federal payroll, bolstering up the local governments hit by the crisis and providing no new jobs at all. According to figures for Chicago, half the "new" money is simply to continue present CETA jobs.

But in part the program is a real attack, because the portions of the program disguised as "job training" are meant to "get the unemployed working" by using them to replace other public and private workers at wages about equal to what their unemployment benefits would be, thus weakening the unions and driving down wages. The fact that so much of this program is directed towards youth—the so-called conservation jobs, for instance—has another purpose as well—to separate out from the rest of the unemployed the youth who are called "social dynamite" by the bourgeoisie. This is aimed at cooling out youth, and holding back the general fight against the capitalists around unemployment.

The situation of the unemployed, the way the bourgeoisie is trying to use the unemployed against the rest of the working class and the overall downward direction of the economy that this situation reflects point with extreme urgency to the necessity of building the fight against these attacks as a united fight of the whole working class.

To deal with the specific ways that the bourgeoisie and its political representatives such as Carter are attacking the unemployed and trying to use the unemployed against the whole class, the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) has put forward the slogans "Down with Slave-Labor Jobs! Fight for Union Jobs at Union Wages!" Coming off the three month campaign against the Carter unemployment bill, including the march of 1000 in Washington, D.C. in early March, many unemployed workers who came forward in this campaign have deepened their understanding and determination and are building this fight as a real battle against the ruling class.

As a poster which is being put up at unemployment centers proclaims, "We say we will not be crushed down by the forces that have caused the crisis in this country. We call on all unemployed workers to join the fight for *Union Jobs at Union Wages* and carry this fight—

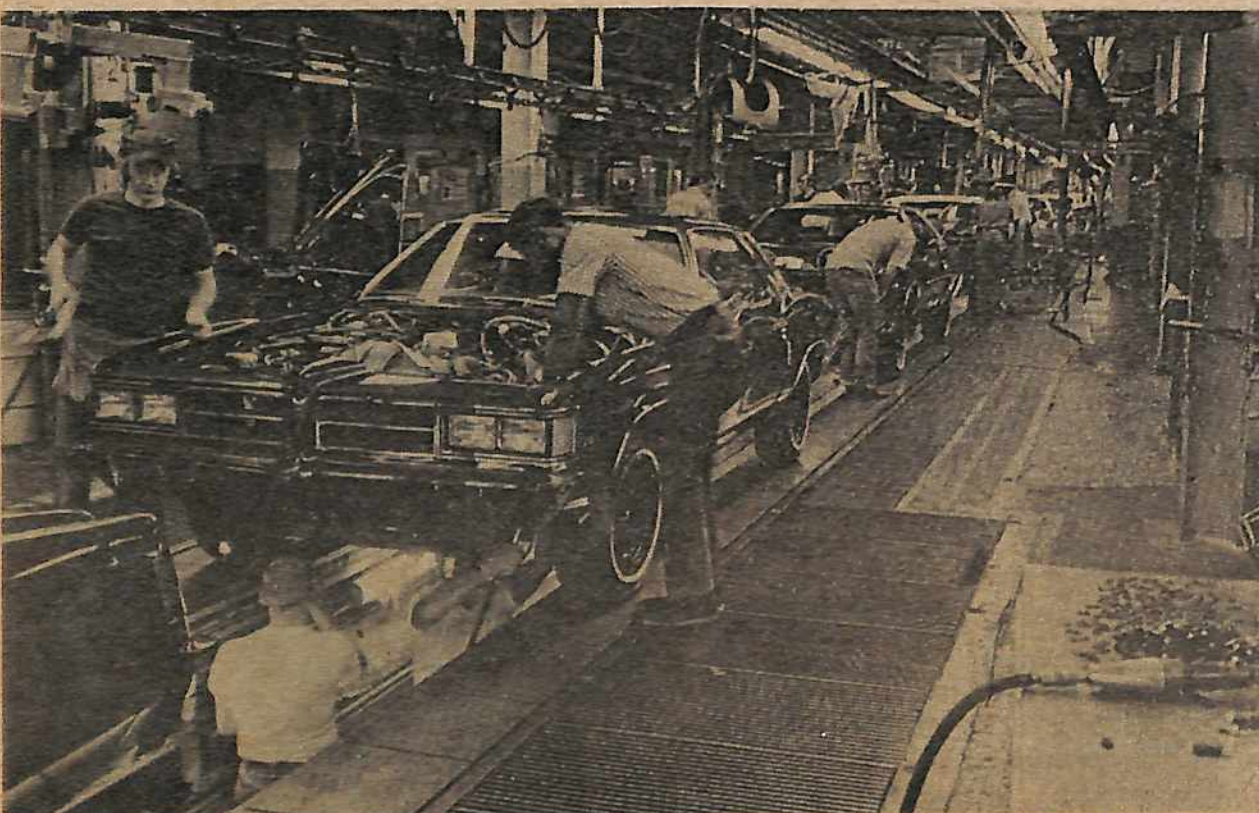
"Into every unemployment center where workers are being forced into slave-wage jobs;

"Into every jobs program they set up at below union wage;

"Onto every picket line in unity with workers who are fighting wage cuts and union busting;

"Into the offices of any politician, newspaper editor, or union official who supports the bosses' drive to cut our benefits, lower our standard of living and increase their profits at our expense."

This is a fight in the interests of the whole working class, and one to be fought on many fronts by workers employed and unemployed. ■



The partial recovery in unemployment statistics ballyhooed by the bourgeoisie has been accomplished by cutting people off unemployment and forcing them into low paying jobs, while those who are employed are pushed into greater speedup and forced overtime. Auto production is almost up to '73 levels with 114,000 fewer workers.

# SALT...

Continued from Page 1

siles and the U.S. loftily offering up "disarmament." In an unprecedented move, Gromyko angrily denounced the U.S. proposals in a press conference to try and regain some lost ground, insisting that it was up to the U.S. to formulate new positions, but the Moscow round clearly went to the U.S.

Following the U.S.'s diplomatic gains there was a big hullabaloo about "Is SALT at a dead end?" with some U.S. ruling circles worrying that perhaps they pushed the New Czars too far. For their part, and for all their bluster, the Soviets quickly indicated that they wanted the talks to continue. On the U.S. side, Carter took the position that Nixon and Ford, when they headed things up, had been too anxious to get an agreement with the Soviets, softening U.S. positions every time the "comrades" said "Boo!" This is only half true. U.S. imperialism, still quite crippled from its recent Vietnam defeat, had to make some concessions to the Russians. But an impartial look at the previous agreements shows that U.S. imperialism was certainly not taken for a ride.

So new Vance and Gromyko talks opened in May with both sides sticking to their guns in public but with U.S. officials reporting that in private they've heard "some elaborations... some amplifications of views... ideas that were not proposals..." from the Soviet side. It is not surprising that both sides are continuing to work for an agreement that they can offer to the world as another step toward "peace and stability."

The SALT negotiations have been both necessary and beneficial to the two superpowers in a variety of ways and both are loathe to abandon this arena for the time being. SALT is an important part of the smoke-screen of detente, under which the superpowers seek to hide all manner of crimes.

Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union make a big deal about how negotiations between the two offer the only realistic possibility of "world peace" and lessening tension, hoping to lull or paralyze the real struggle against the source of war—the struggle against the imperialist powers.

At the same time as they spread illusions about peace, the ongoing SALT talks focus attention on the vast nuclear arsenals of the two, enabling them to spread terror and fear of nuclear destruction and assist them in their efforts to practice nuclear blackmail.

Within this the superpowers use SALT to contend fiercely to wear the mantle of "bulwark of world peace" all alone while tarring the other with the label of "warmongers and aggressors." This is what the U.S. tried to do with the first Vance trip.

## Disarmament—Part and Parcel of War Preparation

Besides the political struggle, the SALT talks have been a way for the U.S. and the Soviet Union to put certain limited parameters on the strategic weapons race. The negotiations have never led to an overall reduction of either's fundamental military power and in this sense "arms limitation" is a total farce. The superpowers' massive nuclear arsenals have swelled after each "disarmament agreement."

What the superpowers have done is to agree not to compete on particular weapons systems and in doing so they also strive to gain some military advantage, as the U.S. tries to do when it pressures the Soviets to give up their numerical superiority while keeping the U.S. technological edge. The urge to "disarm" or put ceilings or limits on particular weapons systems, aside from the propaganda value, has nothing to do with a "desire for peace," but rather is totally bound up with preparations for war.

Strategic weapons systems are extremely expensive—in the first ten years of operation the proposed B-1 bomber force would cost an estimated \$70 billion. And nuclear forces are only one side of the imperialists' military expenditure needs. Each side's conventional forces must be maintained and increased. The SALT 1 agreement limited deployment of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) system (mainly because it would have had limited military effectiveness) and saved the superpowers billions of dollars they could spend elsewhere on war preparations.

Within whatever limitations and ceilings the SALT agreements have set, none have interfered with the current strategic parity between the U.S. and the Soviet Union or their overwhelming superiority over other nations or seriously interfered with any deployment plans in the works. And there has always been a wide latitude within the SALT framework for developing newer and more destructive weapons, like the new generation of U.S. cruise missiles. Both superpowers hope to score a technological breakthrough that will enable them to gain a decisive edge in strategic weaponry.

There have been two SALT agreements so far, SALT 1 and an *aide memoire* from the November 1974 Vladivostok summit between the U.S. and USSR. The *aide memoire*, an informal agreement that has not been officially ratified, was generally considered "cosmetic" at the time, to show that the "momentum of detente" was still rolling, but since then it has been



The cruise missile, a recent technological breakthrough by the U.S. threatens to upset the framework—such as it is—of the superpowers' arms limitation charade.

treated as a real SALT-type understanding. A closer look at the *aide memoire* shows something of what these "arms limitations" really involve.

## Vladivostok Agreement

The Vladivostok understanding limited each side to 2400 strategic offensive launchers (land and sea-based missiles and intercontinental bombers), of which 1320 could be fitted with multiple warheads (MIRVs). The accord did not attempt to take up the U.S. cruise missile vs. Soviet Backfire bomber controversy.

Since 1967 the U.S. has had 1710 missile launchers in their inventory and since this was considered quantitatively adequate there have never been any moves to go above this figure. Including long-range bombers, in mid-'74 the U.S. had 2147 launchers; two years later the U.S. was down to 2097, as aging B-52 bombers were retired. The 2400 *aide memoire* figure was set much higher than any U.S. deployment plans and so had little meaning. At mid-'74 the Soviet Union had 2435 launchers. Presumably, the Vladivostok understanding meant the Soviets would have to dismantle at least 35 systems. But by mid-'76, the Soviet total had risen to 2507.

But even during this period when launchers were supposedly being limited to 2400 the real arms race action was elsewhere. There were no limits placed on the number of warheads each of the 1320 MIRVed launchers could carry and over the past three years there have been big increases in this area. As of mid-'76 the 2400 launcher figure concealed the fact that the Soviet Union had 3250 warheads and the U.S. had 8530. And these warheads do not represent stockpiles but warheads actually riding missiles and bombers, ready to go.

In addition, during this period the Soviet Union began deployment of the Backfire bomber and the U.S. went full steam ahead with the cruise missile system, a development that threatens the entire structure of "arms limitation." (See *Revolution*, April 1977 article on arms race.) Both the U.S. and the Soviets are trying to gain advantage in SALT by defining each other's new weapons in an advantageous way—subjecting them to heavy restrictions.

The main U.S. proposal Vance made in Moscow, the "genuine move toward disarmament," was a comprehensive plan that included a proposal to reduce the number of offensive launchers from 10 to 20% from the 2400 limit in the Vladivostok *aide memoire*.

This would have meant a Soviet reduction from two to five times greater than that of the U.S. One proposal called for a limit of 150 "heavy" ICBMs. The U.S. would have been unaffected while the Soviets would have to dismantle nearly 150 missiles.

The U.S. imperialists called for a total ban on developing and deploying mobile ICBMs, to prevent the Soviets from taking advantage of their lead in this area. In the same breath the comprehensive plan called for severe restrictions on new ICBMs and modifications of existing ICBMs as well as limiting tests of existing ICBMs. All of this would virtually guarantee that the U.S. would keep its technological superiority over the USSR for a long time.

Finally, the U.S. tried to trade a limited deployment on the "strategic" Backfire bomber for a totally bogus ban on "strategic" cruise missiles, leaving the door wide open for deploying "tactical" cruise missiles as fast as they come off the production line. "Tactical" cruise missiles would have the ability to strike the Soviet Union from Western Europe, but not from the U.S.

The U.S. imperialists' comprehensive plan was, to say the very least, bold. The New Czars, nobody's fool in imperialist rivalry, refused to surrender.

The second U.S. proposal called simply for the ratification of the Vladivostok *aide memoire* by both sides, leaving the problem of the cruise missile and the Backfire for later. Because the cruise missile is far and away more dangerous to the social-imperialists than the Backfire is to U.S. imperialism, this "fallback" position was also vetoed by the Russians.

For the Soviet Union there are three main areas they want some motion around. The first is the cruise missile, which they either want knocked out entirely or made subject to the same restrictions as any regular ICBM. Secondly, they want SALT to include "forward based" U.S. nuclear forces, those in Europe and other areas close to the USSR, to which the U.S. replies that they are tactical and so out of the scope of SALT. Finally, the Soviets want the nuclear arsenals of Britain and France considered, the "Eurostrategic" weapons, which together total an additional 248 launchers. The U.S. replies that as far as Britain and France go, they're just good buddies of U.S. imperialism and the Soviets will have to take up "Eurostrategic" forces with them.

Even though there are major roadblocks on the way to SALT 2 it is unlikely that they will prevent

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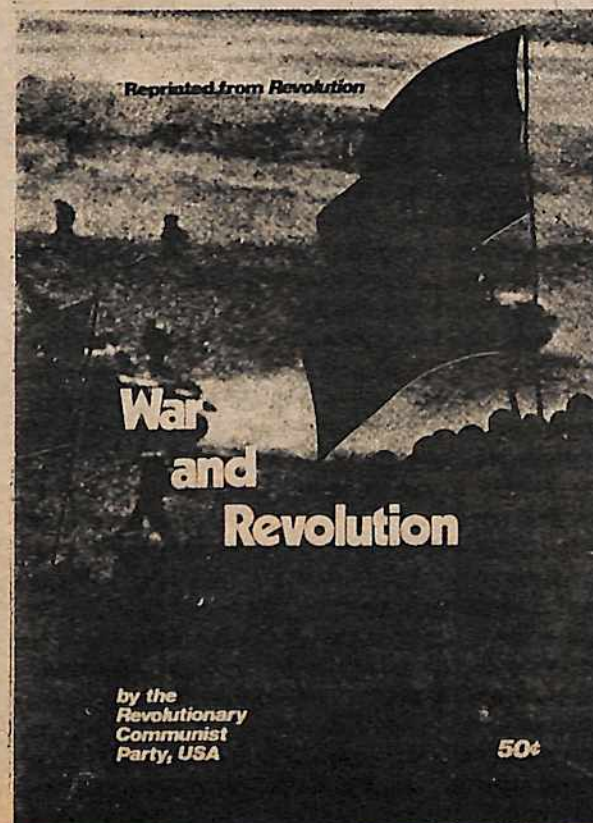
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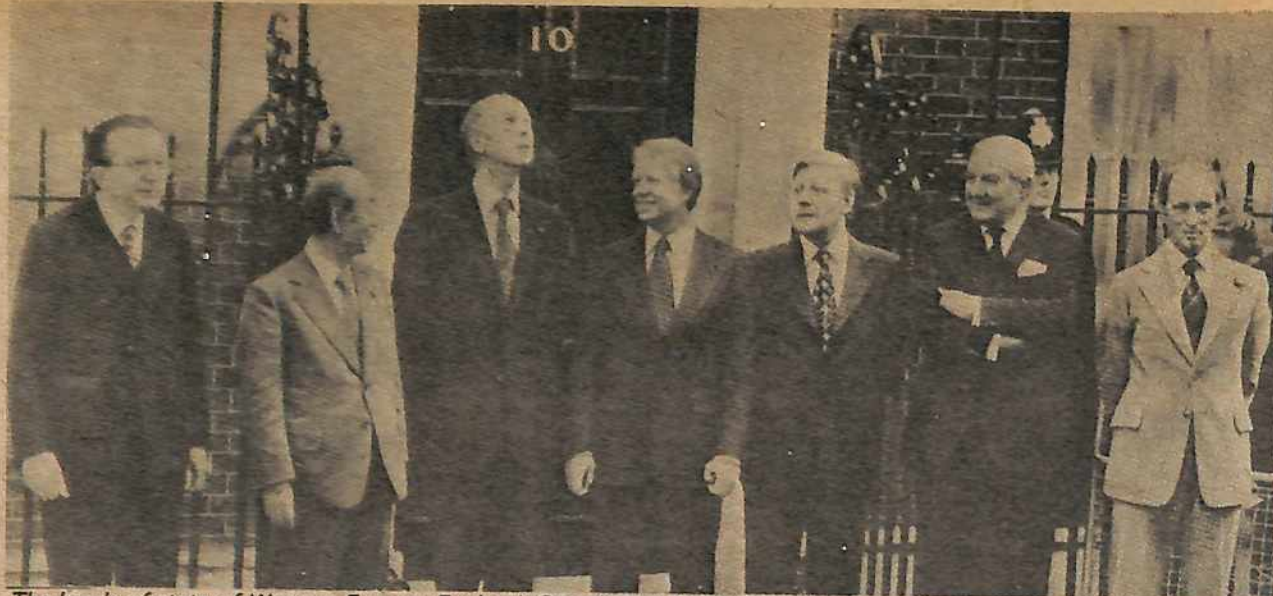
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The heads of state of Western Europe, England, Canada and the U.S. met in summit conference amidst much back patting and optimistic pronouncements about the future. But they failed to convince one another to be the first to stick their head in the oven and heat up their economy. The real prospects that confront Western capitalists are revealed in the stance of Italy's Andreotti (far left in picture).

## Can't Solve Contradictions

# Western Leaders Talk Unity

In early May Jimmy Carter took his first trip outside the country as president. He attended an important summit conference in London with the heads of government of many of the lesser imperialists, as well as meeting with President Assad of Syria and dropping in on a NATO summit. By far, the most important meeting was the first, an international economic conference, also attended by Britain's Callaghan, France's Giscard, West Germany's Schmidt, Italy's Andreotti, Canada's Trudeau and Japan's Fukuda.

The gravity of their discussions is evident in the lead paragraph on an article in the May 9 *New York Times* analyzing the summit. It is worth quoting in full: "The summit meeting of the world's major non-Communist [i.e., Western bloc] industrial nations has brought another step in what all have come to recognize as the necessary reorganization of the world's economic system. Slowly, painfully, the leading economic powers have begun a stage-by-stage effort to reconstruct what they concede is the shattered format of a generation of prosperity that had no precedent in history. Again and again, the government leaders recalled the 1930s and the economic warfare provoked by the Depression, conflict that not only worsened that Depression's effect for all countries but also brought the social and political upheavals that led to World War 2."

And later, after describing some of the major shocks to these capitalist economies like the breakdown of the post World War 2 Bretton Woods monetary agreement and the steep rise in oil prices, the *Times* pointed out that "These events have come to be seen not just as passing developments that could be accommodated within the existing system, but rather as the signs of a watershed that marked fundamental change."

Some commentators in the U.S. press described the summit, in the words of one, as a meeting for "preserving their islands of democracy in a world of tyranny." The realities of the present day world are the backdrop for the new relationship between the U.S. and the other Western bloc imperialists. The theory of "trilateralism" basically reflects this reality. It recognizes that the U.S. bloc faces a common threat from the social-imperialists, who are on the rise and becoming more aggressive all the time. It also recognizes that as imperialists, the Western countries are tied by a thousands and one threads of economic interpenetration and that a shock in one nation cannot stop at the border. (This is one reason why the U.S. and West Germany, for example, pour billions of dollars into the Italian bourgeoisie. From the narrow economic view some of it is a bad investment but because of imperialism's multi-national exploiting grounds, Italy's business is everyone else's, too.)

Trilateralism also recognizes that vis-a-vis Western Europe and Japan the U.S. is no longer the economic steamroller it once was and its domination of the bloc must be somewhat tempered by the strength of its allies. All this boils down to the U.S. promising to embark on a course of greater consultation with its bloc before making moves that will surely reverberate throughout it.

While the theory is nice, and the U.S. is attempting to pursue it, international cooperation runs into the contradictions of capitalism. Each imperialist bourgeoisie must look out for itself, first, last and always. Even within the agreements struck by the Western allies there is wheeling and dealing by the separate bourgeoisies to gain the most at the expense of their partners. The main factor pushing them into greater cooperation is the grave threat posed by the ambitious designs of the New Czars.

The U.S. went into the summit with some strikes already against it. In the first 100 days of the Carter presidency the U.S. had made abrupt changes in its SALT negotiating stance, enflaming the Soviets, with only 24 hours advance notice to NATO before putting the proposals before the Russians; Carter took a tough stand on the spread of nuclear technology and proposed limiting sales of enriched uranium to Europe; he proposed an energy policy that threatens to subsidize American-made small cars at the expense of European and Japanese imports, a policy that could drastically affect these countries' lukewarm recovery; and the administration has dropped its \$50 tax rebate, which had also been promised (to the other imperialists) as the U.S. contribution to heating up the world economy.

### Fanfare Covers Conflict

In private, these U.S. initiatives and other questions of policy would be the source of a dog-fight. In public, however, Carter was greeted with much applause and fanfare. Throughout the European and U.S. press Carter was lauded as the great leader of the Western World. At one airport reception Carter unblushingly returned such a compliment to host Prime Minister Callaghan, dubbing him and Britain the leaders of Europe (which is more than just stretching the truth).

After the summitry, the issue that supposedly caused the biggest disagreement was the nuclear technology issue. The U.S. was forced to back down a bit. The other countries are much more "energy poor" than the U.S. and Carter's proposal to restrict the development of nuclear technologies, such as breeder reactors, would have been a blow to countries like West Germany and France. They not only need the advanced technology more but they are also far ahead of the U.S. in developing this field, offering them the prospects of increased billions in nuclear sales to other nations. In spite of Europe's refusal to toe the line the U.S. hopes to have the last word. They have a lock on enriched uranium in the West.

But the summit was not as successful as first pictured, at least as far as formulating a general line for the U.S. bloc. A week later *The Wall Street Journal* summed up that "perhaps the true success of the summit is that its very sunniness more sharply defines the shadows in the world below."

In addition to the growing strength of Soviet social-imperialism, key problems these nations face are the overall crisis of the imperialist system, the general stagnation of their economies. They focused on two areas, stimulating growth and trade.

Going into the summit the U.S., and the countries in the worst economic shape—Britain, Italy, France and Canada—were proposing that Japan and West Germany, along with the U.S., heat up their economies by government spending as a spur to everyone else's. But artificial expansion has proved in the recent past to be a powerful factor in runaway inflation, a risk no one wants to take. Japan and West Germany particularly didn't want to take a dive for everyone else since Carter had unilaterally backed out of the \$50 rebate.

The summit communique wishfully announced that the "world leaders" had agreed on more growth, 5.8-6% for the U.S., 5% for West Germany and 6-7% for Japan. But this is almost no change from the current upswing and barely a week later a high German official even began hedging the bets by saying that a 4.5% rise would be all the same to him as 5%. As *The Wall Street Journal* commented, "That left the weaker country leaders with only the suspenseful hope

that somehow, moderation will pay off before they, or even their democratic systems, are toppled by public anxiety over unemployment."

### Trade Conflicts

World trade is a very sensitive subject. Some of the countries, Japan and West Germany, fuel their growth with large amounts of exports. Others have a widening negative trade balance, importing far more than they export with the imports cutting into the markets of domestic manufacture. The balance of payments problems, in part caused by trade imbalances with foreign investment playing a role, can cause damaging fluctuations in the relative valuations of national currency.

In response to these pressures there has been a rising trend of protectionism in the world, efforts to protect the national market by raising tariff barriers against imports and efforts to break down opposing tariff barriers through state subsidies to exporting companies facing barriers. On the one hand, this trend scares the industrialized West because a similar situation in the '30s led to trade war and a contraction of world trade that deepened the damage of the Great Depression. But on the other hand, each nation wants to protect itself, especially against competitors like Japan, which has a huge volume of exports as well as tariff barriers and restrictions against foreign investment. It also weighed heavily on the minds of the assembled Western government heads that in such trade conflicts lie the seeds of political and even military fights.

The solution the countries arrived at is agreement to continue to work out Orderly Marketing Agreements (OMAs). These are, in effect, world trade cartels in various commodities where exporting and importing nations "voluntarily" agree to set quotas restricting trade. And since they are "voluntary" (even the bourgeois press uses quotation marks) and multi-lateral they are supposedly far better than unilateral protectionism. In reality, these agreements are only "voluntary" to the extent that all know if the OMAs fail then tariffs and subsidies are sure to follow. Even so, some of these "voluntary" restrictions are simply imposed by the stronger imperialists on their weaker partners. In steel, for instance, the U.S. negotiated quotas with Japan but imposed quotas on the Common Market, Sweden and Canada.

For all the talk about how the summit rejected protectionism and saved "free trade," it was in fact a step in the opposite direction. According to aides of France's Giscard, he said that free trade was fine but "this liberty must be organized." This kind of talk indicates that for all the appearance of mutual benefit, relations between-imperialists are characterized by conflict and governed by naked power—economic and military.

### Strengthening NATO

After a short jaunt to Geneva to see how well Syria's Assad was getting along (in selling out the Palestinians) Carter returned to London for a NATO meeting, which in some ways was the military continuation of the economic summit. The key task facing the NATO summit was simply how to gear up war preparations. The current momentum of the Soviet Union in war preparations could easily take them to a position of military superiority in a few years unless this growth is more stoutly matched by NATO.

The U.S. proposed that all the countries increase their defense expenditures by an annual rate of 3%, which still falls short of the 4% annual increase in Soviet expenditure. Even cash-starved Britain agreed to it. In addition, Carter made a plea for greater standardization in weaponry, the lack of which costs NATO an estimated \$11 billion a year in unnecessary duplication of effort. Standardization has been a popular subject of talk for years but progress has been slow because the main producing nation is also the main profiting nation—once again capitalist competition undercuts bloc cooperation.

For the U.S. the summit was overall a success. But more was gained in appearance than in substance. President Carter's image as a world statesman was beefed up, his status in the world increased. The U.S.'s leadership role was publicly reasserted by the leaders of the biggest Western industrial powers. Most importantly, these imperialists were able to sit down and come to some common conclusions about their joint problems.

But there are two contradictory phenomena at work, the tendency toward greater cooperation in the face of the social-imperialist threat and the tendency toward greater competition within the bloc as each country's imperialist nature asserts itself. As Japan's Fukuda said, "Reaching conclusions is only half the game—how we implement them is the other half." Britain and Italy's economies continue to teeter at the brink, Canada and France face serious troubles and the fragile upturn in the U.S., Japan and West Germany is jeopardized by this state of affairs. Even as these imperialists take steps to unite more closely to try to patch up their economies and prepare for war, the conflicts and contradictions sharpen, making conditions still more favorable for the growth of revolutionary struggles. ■

# Students In Moscow Hit Ethiopian Regime

One hundred and seventy bodies were piled near the French embassy in Addis Ababa. When parents came to claim the remains of their children they were forced to pay a ransom (\$100 U.S.), to reimburse the military for the bullets they expended in slaying their sons and daughters. Reports from the Ethiopian capital, verified by statements from the government, described a scene of carnage as soldiers opened fire on a demonstration of hundreds of youth and students demanding an end to the repressive measures of the reactionary butchers of the Ethiopian military junta led by Colonel Mengistu and their new efforts to crush the struggle of the Eritrean people.

The same weekend in late April in the southern Ethiopian province of Sidamo, 280 people were killed by a junta-organized "peasant militia" for being "anarchists." These were fighters against the regime's bloody rule, many of them were members and supporters of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP). All of this came on the heels of the African safari by Fidel Castro and Podgorny of the USSR, when Castro stopped in Ethiopia to bless the reactionary regime.

In the wake of these latest atrocities Mengistu trotted off in early May to visit his new patrons in the Soviet Union where he was hailed as a great anti-imperialist fighter and revolutionary, welcomed with open arms by Brezhnev and promised increased military and economic aid. But this shabby burlesque was exposed when over 60 Ethiopian students in Moscow, members of the Worldwide Ethiopian Students Union, sat in at the Ethiopian embassy to denounce the military junta and the backing they are receiving from the Soviets. In a scene reminiscent of the force exerted to break up a similar demonstration when Emperor Haile Selassie visited Moscow in 1973, scores of ambulances and riot equipped Soviet cops surrounded the embassy, ready to smash heads.

The viciousness of the junta's attacks reflects the intensifying struggle of the revolutionary forces in Ethiopia and the military advances made by the people of Eritrea in their 15 year battle against national oppression.

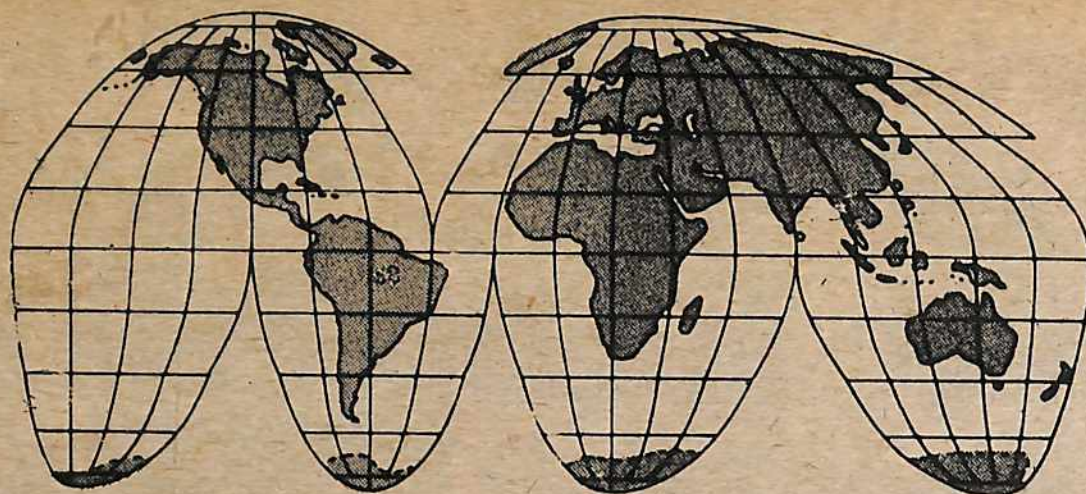
In a move to dig their hooks deeper into the strategically important Horn of Africa, the Soviets and their Cuban front men have jumped in, seeking to establish their hegemony in Ethiopia. The junta, which overthrew the semi-feudal regime of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, in the name of anti-U.S. imperialism has opened their arms to the Soviets in hopes that the social-imperialists will quell the conflict with the neighboring Soviet-backed government of Somalia and help stamp out the Eritrean struggle.

As part of their campaign to win some support among the masses of the Ethiopian people, the junta has coupled their outright rule of terror and violence with claims to being Marxists embarking on building a socialist society.

As part of their maneuvers to get Soviet aid, the junta in early May closed down several Western European embassies and ordered all Americans, along with their top secret CIA spy installation in Asmara, capital of Eritrea, out of the country. They are now bringing in hundreds of Cuban advisors, including "experts" in guerilla war, i.e. anti-insurgency troops, to help them put down the opposition to their government. They are particularly intent on wiping out the EPRP and reversing the tide of the Eritrean struggle.

The U.S. imperialists have by no means given up on maintaining their long domination of Ethiopia and are stepping up efforts, directly and through their allies in surrounding countries, to make things hot for the junta and exploit some of the difficulties confronted by the Soviets. *U.S. News and World Reports* expressed the hopes of the U.S. imperialists: "The jockeying for power in the Horn of Africa is just heating up." Through Saudi Arabia they are trying to win the government of Somalia (which has sharp contradictions with Ethiopia and doesn't like the Soviet moves to prop up the junta) away from Soviet influence. The U.S. is also now giving support to a wing of the Eritrean forces and arming the remnants of Haile Selassie supporters (see *May Revolution*).

But despite all this superpower jockeying the revolutionary masses of people in Ethiopia who fought to throw off the oppressive foot of U.S. imperialism and bring down the old monarchy are not about to be crushed by Mengistu's bloody crew and their new social-imperialist backers. ■



## 4000 Attend Nationwide

# International Conferences Conclude on West Coast

The series of conferences on the subject of war, revolution and the internationalist tasks of the American people, which was initiated last fall in New York, is over. That original conference drew 2200 registered participants from all over the East Coast, the South and the Midwest (see *Revolution*, December 1976). During the course of the Winter and early Spring three additional daylong conferences were held in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle where 500, 850 and 500 people registered, respectively.

The total turnout of over 4000 people is very encouraging and shows the tremendous interest and concern with which more and more people from all sections of the American masses are viewing the international arena today. Many people made important contributions to these successful events. All four conferences were characterized by lively debate, analysis, and discussion over what is really going on in the world and what the internationalist tasks of the American people are.

In formal debates and many workshops focusing on particular questions and areas of the world, RCP and RSB members and others presented the Marxist-Leninist line of building the broadest possible international united front against imperialism aimed at the rulers of both imperialist superpowers, whose rivalry for world domination is leading toward a new world war. This line, including the special task of the American people

to oppose "our own" ruling class, was highlighted in clashes with the major erroneous analyses of the world situation put forward by self-proclaimed revolutionaries: that of the *Guardian* newspaper and others who are blind to today's facts and see only the U.S. ruling class as the enemy while presenting the predatory efforts of the USSR to swallow up struggling people and nations as "socialist aid"; and that of the October League and others in the U.S. who paint a frightful picture of the Soviet "main enemy" to push capitulation to the American bourgeoisie.

The conferences were not focused merely on discussing and understanding the world situation. Many speakers and participants emphasized the importance of using the knowledge gained at the conference to build *struggle* against the schemes, maneuvers, aggression and war preparations of both superpowers and particularly the U.S. ruling class and government which we are in a position to materially affect. The present movement on the campuses and elsewhere in support of the liberation struggles in southern Africa is a crucial expression of this task.

Although these conferences are now over, the rapidly changing and developing world situation can only call for continued study, discussion, debate to deepen understanding of what is happening and what we must do to advance in the course of it. ■

## SALT ...

Continued from Page 20

some kind of agreement from taking place. SALT 1 expires in October and if the superpowers do not conclude an agreement it will appear, especially given the propaganda smokescreen around SALT, as if the gloves are off and that the U.S. and USSR will be going for broke on war preparations. The truth is, of course, even with an agreement the arms race will still roll right along, though with some limitations that will not in any way affect their real muscle as superpowers.

Along with SALT, though less publicized, talks are going on over reducing the superpowers' conventional forces (troops, tanks, etc.) in Europe. Like SALT, they are part propaganda and part jockeying for position to get set for war. Here the superpowers can't even agree on a name for the talks. The USSR is partial to "Mutual Force Reduction Talks," implying a one for one cut in troop strength which would maintain their numerical advantage and increase their proportional edge. For its part, the U.S. is putting forward proposals for "Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction," that is, for the USSR to give up more than the U.S.—a position the New Czars have unsurprisingly not leapt to embrace.

### Imperialist "Disarmament Talks" an Old Sham

SALT negotiations and force reduction talks are nothing new under the sun, no matter how bad the two superpowers want to make it seem that there is something unprecedented going on. They have always been a farce, a reflection of inter-imperialist rivalry, and as such, a part of war preparations. After World War 1, the "war to end wars," the Great Powers of the time tried to place restrictions on armaments. These were aimed at establishing the dominance of some imperialists at the expense of others. One such agreement was the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922. This pact put limitations on the number of strategic weapons, battleships, that each country could have in their fleets. The three

major naval powers, the U.S., Britain and Japan, worked out a ratio of 5:5:3 for the number of battleships each country could have. This was designed to prevent Japan from becoming a naval power strong enough to challenge either the U.S. or Britain in the Pacific. In order to bring their fleets in line with the 5:5:3 ratio, a number of obsolete battleships had to be scrapped. Bigger and more powerful battleships continued to be built, the treaty ratio was maintained, but there was no ceiling on numbers. (The treaty, among other things, also "guaranteed" the independence of China.)

Obviously the Washington Naval Treaty didn't work. For nearly fifteen years Japan, the U.S. and Britain found it politically opportune to adhere to the treaty, though even this did not prevent Japan from beginning her invasion of China in 1931. In 1934, when the Japanese imperialists began to see that their drive for empire would eventually come hard up against U.S. imperialism, they announced they would abrogate the treaty and began building the kind of naval power necessary to take on the U.S.

The SALT negotiations and force reductions talks are destined to come to nothing in the end. Whatever agreements the superpowers arrive at can only be temporary and unstable. Their imperialist contention forces them to seek military superiority and eventually to settle their rivalry and redivide the world by the sword. Only as long as each side finds the talks politically or militarily useful will they continue to meet and follow or pretend to follow the guidelines of their agreements.

As soon as one superpower or the other or both decide that their drive for world hegemony is hampered by contending within the SALT framework, negotiations and their accompanying lies about "world peace" and superpower "cooperation" will die away and the war machines will fully gear up, without the benefit of the smoke of "disarmament."

As we go to press: At the close of the recent meeting between Vance and Gromyko it was announced that a "negotiating framework" had been agreed upon but that serious disagreements still existed. This "agreement to agree" merely reconfirms that the superpowers continue to find the SALT context useful for their unabated contention. ■

## Chicago and Louisville, Ky.

# Workers Take On Police Repression

For Black people in the U.S. brutal racist attacks by the cops are a daily occurrence. People have always fought back against them and on numerous occasions police terror and brutality against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities have become the center of massive social protest. Two recent attacks by cops on Black workers in Chicago and Louisville have been met by an upsurge of outrage and opposition which, while not as massive as some anti-police repression campaigns in the past, are very significant because workers have come forward in an organized way in the plants to spearhead the mobilization of broad sections of people against the cops and the ruling class whom they serve.

On January 31 Bennie Lenard, a Black worker at International Harvester plant in Melrose Park, Illinois, near Chicago, was savagely beaten by Melrose Park cops. He had been involved in a minor traffic accident with a white woman as he was leaving the plant. She didn't want to call the cops because she didn't have a driver's license, but Lenard insisted they be called to make sure that insurance would cover damages to his new car.

When the cops arrived they talked to the woman first and she accused Lenard of assaulting her. Then without a word, they walked over to Lenard, grabbed him, handcuffed his hands behind his back and started beating him. He was hauled off to jail where he was beaten almost beyond recognition, stripped of his clothes and thrown into a jail cell with the windows open in subzero weather. The cops threw water on him, leaving him unconscious for seven hours. When his family was finally notified that "he had been involved in an accident," and came to bail him out, they heard the cops yell that "someone has come to get Chicken George."

As a result of the brutal beating and lying in two inches of water and blood in freezing temperatures, Lenard was hospitalized for 39 days with a fractured cheekbone, permanent damage to his eye and severe lung problems. His arm is still partially paralyzed. When he was taken to a Melrose Park hospital, the doctors and administrators tried to cover up for the cops, saying there was nothing really wrong with him and released him. His family then had to take him to another hospital.

In addition to these outrages and to try to cover up the cops' vicious brutality, Lenard was charged with assault, resisting arrest, driving while intoxicated and numerous other offenses. International Harvester, one of the dominant economic forces in Melrose Park, at first refused to pay him disability benefits. It took talk of a work stoppage by his fellow IH workers to make the company come across to this man who has worked there for 13 years.

In the face of cover-up attempts by the cops, city officials and the court system, and efforts to exonerate the cops by sending Bennie Lenard to jail, workers from IH and other plants in the Chicago area, as well as people from surrounding communities, have rallied to Lenard's defense.

The workers at Harvester voted unanimously at a

union meeting to form an official defense committee in their UAW local and have put forward the demands: Drop All the Charges Against Bennie Lenard; Indict, Jail and Drop from the Force the Cops Responsible; Full Compensation to Bennie Lenard and His Family for All Damages. Right away IH workers contributed over \$1000 from their own pockets for Lenard's defense.

To build support and mobilize people around the demands, workers have taken out petitions and leaflets and have distributed thousands of "Justice for Bennie Lenard Buttons" at IH and in several other plants. In the predominantly Black suburb of Maywood adjoining Melrose Park, small businesses up and down the main street have taken petitions and leaflets to give to their customers. At a nearby community college a teacher and his students, who were subjected to vile racist remarks when they called the Melrose Park Police Station to get the cops' story as part of a class project, have taken the campaign out to the other students on campus.

At Lenard's court hearing on April 15th almost 100 people, including workers from IH and other plants, demonstrated outside the courthouse to drive the point home that Lenard is not standing alone in this fight and that people are not going to tolerate this murderous railroad they are trying to engineer. A number of IH workers had taken off from work without pay to be there. "Justice for Bennie Lenard" rang out in front of the courthouse.

Inside, while the judge was busily denying all defense motions to see the evidence that the state allegedly had against Lenard, the cops and court officials tried to create an atmosphere of total repression. Everyone entering the courtroom was searched, including the family and lawyers. One of the defense team was even prohibited from taking notes during part of the proceedings. Cops were stationed in the courtroom, the halls and on the roof of the building. But the workers present were not intimidated. If anything, they were even angrier at what was coming down.

Bennie Lenard's trial will probably be scheduled for sometime this summer as the cops and the members of the local ruling class continue their efforts at a cover-up and try to show people that they can get away with any acts of violence they level against the masses of people. But their attempts to intimidate support is not working and they are very uptight over the fact that support for Lenard is being built in factories throughout the area. In the course of building support in the plants a number of workers have quickly seen the relationship between the harassment and garbage they are forced to take from the bosses every day, the attempts to keep them divided by nationality, and the attacks from the cops that are always coming down on people like Bennie Lenard. The union hacks at IH and the UAW International have also jumped in to cool out the workers' activity in Lenard's behalf. They have tried to dissolve the defense committee at IH and absorb it into the union's Fair Employ-



Dozens of workers came to demonstrate and fill the courtroom during a hearing for Bennie Lenard. Workers spearheading the defense is an important development.

ment Practices Committee where rank and file initiative can be buried under a ton of bureaucratic do-nothingness.

### Louisville

In Louisville the campaign that was mounted in defense of Jeffries Moody, a 26 year employee of American Standard, showed the impact of workers taking up and leading a mobilization against police attacks. Moody was charged with first degree felonious assault in the self-defense shooting of a Louisville cop.

The police and the "city fathers" went all out to make an example of Moody. They tried to say he was a paid assassin carrying out a vendetta for illegal tavern operations. Thus, playing on peoples' hatred for crime, police tried to whip up anti-Black feelings and support for their own terroristic activities. But in the end it was the cops, their lies, their treachery and the class they serve that was exposed. Moody's January trial ended in a hung jury with nine of the twelve jurors voting to acquit him.

Faced with the full weight of the rich man's legal system, their threat to drag him through another long and expensive trial, the tremendous financial burden already endured, the strain on his family and personal health reasons, Moody accepted a deal after the verdict, whereby he plead guilty to a misdemeanor and was placed on two years probation in exchange for the guarantee that the courts would not put him through another trial. But the outcome is a victory for the working class. Without the mass support built for him, Jeff Moody would probably be in jail today, as many workers are who came up against the capitalists' system of "justice."

The Moody case stirred the anger of people throughout Louisville. From the day he went on TV to combat police lies, and put his case before the people, defense work was organized. Petitions circulated in communities and plants throughout the city demanded that all charges against him be dropped. Black and white workers at Standard formed the Committee to Defend Moody, and in their leaflets called on all workers to fight back against "the rich rulers of the land, who use the cops as their shock troops to spread fear and terror as a lesson that we'd better stay in line or be crushed."

The workers' committee held a public speak out and picket lines in front of the courthouse, raised money and went on radio talk shows. They brought out how the oppression of Black people is especially vicious and used by the rulers to divide working people by the color of their skin. They talked about the importance of Black people fighting these attacks, but also that white and Black workers together had to take up the struggle against discrimination. As a Black worker said at a rally, "Moody's fight is everyone's here. The rich men don't care about us. Next time it could be you or your children. We got to stick together and fight for ourselves." This was the same sentiment expressed by workers who have come forward to defend Bennie Lenard.

But even more significant for future battles is the fact that workers have taken up the defense of their fellow workers and members of an oppressed nationality as a class, and begun to take up the task of organizing factories as workers' fortresses in the fight. Although the level of class conscious action by workers around the Moody and Lenard cases is uneven, it reflects the developing material basis for the building of a revolutionary movement of workers that will take up and lead the fight against all the oppression that is suffered by the masses of people under capitalism. ■

"The starting point for developing the strategy for revolution in any one country must be based on a correct assessment of the world situation and the general strategy for advancing proletarian revolution on a world scale. Without such a correct view, inevitably we will make errors in analyzing the particular contradictions existing in any one country, fail to fully understand the present general crisis of imperialism, and not be able to correctly prepare the working class and the masses of people for the struggles looming ahead of us.

"The transformation of the Soviet Union from the leading country in (what was then) the socialist bloc to an imperialist superpower has profoundly affected the alignment of class forces on a world scale, and hence the worldwide strategy and tactics for making revolution."

Red Papers 7, page 125

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**HOW CAPITALISM  
HAS BEEN RESTORED  
IN THE SOVIET UNION**

**AND WHAT THIS  
MEANS FOR THE  
WORLD STRUGGLE**

Originally Published by the Revolutionary Union  
Adopted by the Revolutionary Communist Party,  
USA, October 1975.

# C.C. Report...

Continued from Page 3

series of small changes, added together over time, will somehow lead to a revolutionary situation and a revolutionary mood among the masses. At a certain point, there must be and will be a *qualitative leap*, in the objective situation, in the mood, and—*if we do our work right*—in the consciousness of the masses. Lenin wrote, at the early stages of WW1, "A sudden change in the mood of the masses is not only possible, but is becoming more and more probable." Why? Because, in that case, "the objective war-created revolutionary situation, which is extending and developing, is inevitably engendering revolutionary sentiments."

In that case, the qualitative leap in the objective situation was the inter-imperialist war and the increasing hardships it placed on the masses of people. We cannot say now what will cause a similar qualitative leap in the development of our situation, whether a "crash" and major depression like the '30s, the outbreak of WW3, or a combination of severe economic crisis and war—a war which, over time at least, would add to the strains and hardships on the masses. Nor can we say when this will happen. But we do know just as surely as there is not now a revolutionary situation, one will just as certainly develop in the future.

Lenin summed this up, too: "The same holds true for the working-class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Today there is no revolutionary situation, the conditions that cause unrest among the masses or heighten their activities do not exist," but tomorrow—in the figurative sense, of course—such conditions will develop, because of the basic contradiction of capitalism and its very nature, especially in the stage of imperialism.

And, as Lenin vividly pointed out, the development of the objective situation, the emergence of the objective conditions for revolution, the sudden deepening of a crisis and all the strains it puts on bourgeois society, make the contradictions of that society stick out all the more sharply and call into question the right and ability of the bourgeoisie to rule. As Lenin expressed it, "The masses who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in 'peace time' . . . in turbulent times are drawn by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the upper classes themselves into independent historical action." (from "The Collapse of the Second International," Vol. 21, p. 214, emphasis Lenin's; earlier quotes from Lenin are from the same article, pp. 258, 257, 253)

## Prepare in the Course of Today's Struggles

As stated before, we do not now have such a revolutionary situation. In the situation we do face, we must deepen our understanding of how to carry out the principle set down by the Chinese Communist Party in the polemic on the General Line:

"Even in ordinary times [non-revolutionary situations] when it is leading the masses in the day to day struggle, the proletarian party should ideologically, politically and organizationally prepare its own ranks and the masses for revolution and promote revolutionary struggles [mass struggles that attack and expose the system] so that it will not miss the opportunity to overthrow the reactionary regime and establish a new state power when the conditions for revolution are ripe. Otherwise, when the objective conditions are ripe, the proletarian party will simply throw away the opportunity of seizing victory." (Words in brackets ours)

In this light it is crucial to carry out the policy of making every possible connection with mass struggle against the enemy and making every effort to fulfill the three objectives in these struggles—"to win as much as can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy; to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the struggling masses and instill in them the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat; and to develop the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists, recruit them into the Party and train them as revolutionary leaders." (*Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA*, p. 102) And we have to pay special attention, within this, to training our own ranks, and advanced workers who come forward in struggle, as class-conscious revolutionaries.

The importance of this can be grasped from what has been said previously about the development of the objective situation and the mood of the masses—including the inevitable qualitative change. Listen to what Lenin wrote, in summing up the main lessons of the 1905 revolution in Russia:

"Prior to January 22 (or January 9, old style), 1905, the revolutionary party of Russia consisted of a small group of people, and the reformists of those days (exactly like the reformists of today) derisively called us a sect. Several hundred revolutionary organizers, several thousand members of local organizations, half a dozen revolutionary papers appearing not more frequently than once

a month . . . such were the revolutionary parties in Russia, and the revolutionary Social-Democracy in particular, prior to January 22, 1905 . . .

"Within a few months, however, the picture changed completely. The hundreds of revolutionary Social-Democrats 'suddenly' grew into thousands; the thousands became the leaders of between two and three million proletarians. The proletarian struggle produced widespread ferment, often revolutionary movements among the peasant masses, fifty to a hundred million strong; the peasant movement had its reverberations in the army and led to soldiers' revolts, to armed clashes between one section of the army and another. In this manner a colossal country, with a population of 130,000,000, went into the revolution; in this way, dormant Russia was transformed into a Russia of a revolutionary proletariat and a revolutionary people."

This, of course, did not happen independently of, but in accordance with the development of the objective situation, and in particular with the immediate crisis and widespread discontent accompanying the war of Russia with Japan—and the defeat of Russia in this war.

But why were these conditions able to be utilized to develop a revolutionary movement, an actual uprising aimed at overthrowing the Tsar, in that case? Because the revolutionary party, the Bolsheviks, had linked itself with the struggle of the Russian masses—first of all, but not exclusively, the proletariat—and, in the course of this had kept in mind the revolutionary aim and paid particular attention to raising revolutionary consciousness and training the class-conscious section of the proletariat.

Lenin summed it up this way:

"The task is to keep the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat tense and train its best elements, not only in a general way, but concretely, so that when the popular ferment reaches the highest pitch, they will put themselves at the head of the revolutionary army [i.e., the masses of proletarians and their allies—B.A.]. The day-to-day experience of any capitalist country teaches us the same lesson. Every 'minor' crisis that such a country experiences discloses to us in miniature the elements, the rudiments, of the battles that will inevitably take place on a large scale during a big crisis." (These quotes are from "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution," Vol. 23, pp. 238, 246—this whole article is rich in lessons and is worth studying repeatedly.)

How is this different than the Trotskyites, dogmatists and others who talk about "training the advanced" and take the stance of waiting until the situation, and the masses, are developed enough for them to "step in" and "assume leadership"? The difference—and it is crucial—lies in the fact that we must link ourselves with and build mass struggle, concentrating now in the day-to-day struggles of the workers around wages, conditions, etc. and *in the course of carrying out this process* strive to fulfill the three objectives and develop the class consciousness of ever broader numbers of workers and find and train revolutionaries, especially those who come to the fore as leaders of the actual struggles of the workers and masses. Lenin, in addition to what he stresses in *What is to be Done?* and other places in combatting economism, also stresses that the Party must lead the day-to-day struggle of the workers, or it cannot act as their political vanguard . . .

If we don't carry out our work in this way, and "keep the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat tense and train its best elements, not only in a general way but concretely" (to repeat Lenin's formulation, and underline "concretely" to stress "in the course of struggle"), then there is no way they will be able to put themselves at the head of the revolutionary army when the revolutionary situation and the mass upsurge does occur.

## Hard, High Road

But there is another, overall much greater, danger. And that is abandoning the hard road—and the high road—of persevering in the class struggle, and making every possible link with all struggles against the enemy, striving to fulfill the three objectives and preparing our own ranks and the masses for revolution when conditions are ripe. The temptation is great to abandon it, exactly because it is hard, exactly because there is no revolutionary situation—and none clearly on the horizon, already visible at least in the outline of its features.

Without building a deeper and firmer foundation in the revolutionary science of our class, while establishing ever deeper ties in the struggles of the masses of workers, it will be impossible to keep to this hard but high road. We will then fall into "easy accommodation with imperialism" and "chase the wisp of painless progress" (to quote from the front page of *Revolution*, Vol. 1, No. 1, announcing the Party's formation). We have seen this phenomenon in groups like the October League in this country and a similar tendency in some groupings in Europe, to put down the banner of class

struggle and take up, in one form or another—generally in the form of "national defensism" and opposition to Soviet social-imperialism on a bourgeois basis—the banner of class collaboration.

These forces forget the fundamental difference between an imperialist country and an "underdeveloped country" or oppressed nation; they blur over the differences in the nature of the bourgeoisie in these two different kinds of countries, and along with this generally blur over the nature of imperialism and the nature of the state and throw out the fact that the nature of a country at any given time is essentially determined by the forces—class forces—that rule it and the level of development of the productive forces and the contradiction between them and the relations of production. This, and not subjective idealism, fundamentally determines the actual character and tasks of the revolution and the revolutionary party in any country.

Along with this, these forces fail to recognize crucial distinctions between the development of a revolutionary situation in an imperialist country and in the countries of the Third World. . . Making these basic errors goes hand in hand with saying, "Well there is no revolutionary situation in these (imperialist) countries, and none is on the horizon, so let's find some other way than persevering in the class struggle to 'win the masses to our side.'" This "other way" is, as noted, to compete with the bourgeoisie—or even in some cases outright tail behind it—in appealing to the bourgeois (democratic) prejudices of the masses. "The masses may not be with us now, but when the Russian tanks roll across our borders, then they will rally to the 'national flag,' so let's scurry now to raise it"—this is generally how the line goes.

We must learn from this—by negative example. We must learn even more thoroughly that there is no easy road to winning the masses, that such roads are illusions—"the wisp of painless progress" that can only lead to "easy accommodation with imperialism." And, on the basis of deepening our scientific understanding of this, let's deepen our determination to stick to the hard road, to the high road that will lead to revolution and the eventual emancipation of mankind!

## Economic, Political and Theoretical Struggle

As said before, this high road, this road of persevering in the class struggle, means that we must take up and lead the day-to-day struggles of the masses of workers—or we cannot act as their vanguard Party. The analysis in the *Programme* on where the movement is at now, and based on that, the analysis on the "center of gravity" is correct and must guide our work now. I have dealt with the relationship of this to the revolutionary goal in the article in the May 15 (1976) *Revolution*, and it is worth noting that in that article I quote Lenin who stresses the importance of "participation in the daily struggle for existence" of the masses of workers.

But Lenin also points out that "a borderline exists here" between waging, and leading, the economic struggle and falling into economism, and that to avoid this error it is essential to carry out "strictly Marxist propaganda and agitation in ever closer connection with the economic struggle of the working class" and—as also stressed in that article, and by Lenin in many places—to apply this same "strictly Marxist propaganda and agitation" in every major struggle, of all sections of the people, against the ruling class.

Lenin, especially in *What is to be Done?* lays special stress on exposures—analysis of "living examples" that "follow close upon what is being discussed, in whispers perhaps," among the workers about key events in society. Exposures of this kind serve the purpose of helping the workers to grasp the nature and relation of the different classes in society and enabling the workers to "respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected" and to respond from a communist point of view and no other.

"The consciousness of the working masses," Lenin insists, "cannot be genuine class-consciousness unless the workers learn from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events to observe every other social class in all the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical and political life, unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata and groups of the population."

It goes without saying, of course, that in order to train the workers in this, we must train ourselves—and this emphasizes the importance of political education and generally waging the theoretical struggle, which, Lenin emphasizes, is one of the three main forms of working class struggle, together with the economic and political. (Quotes from Lenin are from *What Is To Be Done?*, Chapter 3, Part C, emphasis Lenin's.) We need to sum up how our Party press carries out its part in all this—*The Worker, Revolution, The Communist*, etc.

Lenin argues in *What Is To Be Done?* that economic exposures are extremely important, but that they are not the "most widely applicable" means of raising the class consciousness of the workers, that "of the sum total of cases in which the workers suffer (either on their own account or on account of those closely con-

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nected with them) from tyranny, violence and the lack of rights, undoubtedly only a small minority represent cases of police tyranny in the trade-union struggle as such. Why then should we, beforehand, *restrict* the scope of political agitation by declaring only *one* of the means to be 'the most widely applicable,' when Social-Democrats must have, in addition, other, generally speaking, no less 'widely applicable means?' (*What is to be Done?*, Chapter III, Part A, emphasis Lenin's)

Yet the same Lenin wrote in *Draft and Explanation of a Programme for the Social Democratic Party*, that the main activity of the communists must be to "develop the workers' class-consciousness by assisting them in the fight for their most vital needs." (Vol. 2, pp. 114, 116) How can we reconcile all this, and how does it relate to the "center of gravity" and its relation to the Central Task<sup>1</sup> of our Party today and the overall revolutionary goal? *By concrete analysis of concrete conditions—Marxist analysis of course—and to sum up what has been written before here, and elsewhere, it is correct now to concentrate our work at this "center of gravity," but:* (1) we must carry out our work around this by conducting "strictly Marxist propaganda and agitation" and we must do the kind of exposures Lenin calls for in *What is to be Done?*; (2) we must not restrict our work to this "center of gravity" but must build the political as well as the economic struggle of the workers (and wage the theoretical struggle, too, together with these) and we must work among all strata, all social movements, fighting against the ruling class, while concentrating our forces in the struggles of the masses of workers; and (3) we must conduct all our work, in every struggle, among all social forces and movements, as part of building toward the revolutionary goal.

The Battle of the Bicentennial makes very clear the importance of political struggle, and of mobilizing and relying on the workers as the main force in this struggle, too. What was the greatest significance of the July 4th demonstration? It was that, for the first time in many decades, the *working class* was mounting the *political stage*, challenging the bourgeoisie, waging a concrete struggle against two particular running sores (unemployment and the threat of war) as well as the thousand outrages of life under capitalism and challenging the whole way the country is run, while pointing the finger clearly at the class that runs it (and must run it) in this way. (The revival of May Day as a working class celebration in recent years in this country and the development of this over the past several years has been, of course, a very significant political battle waged by the working class against the bourgeoisie. But it is correct to say that the Battle of the Bicentennial, bringing together several thousand workers, together with their allies, from all across the country to the very site of the bourgeoisie's celebration of its birthday, to demonstrate *openly in the name and in the interests of the working class* against the capitalists in such circumstances, represented a mounting of the political stage by the working class in a more profound and significant way than even the May Day celebrations of the past few years. Thus the Battle of the Bicentennial was a qualitative advance for the working class movement.)

And another lesson of the Battle of the Bicentennial is that as the working class does mobilize its ranks for such political struggle, it is able to give impetus to many other forces and groups and to rally them behind its banner, not through a declaration or command to "follow us," but through the very "strength, discipline, and revolutionary outlook" that characterize the proletariat as a class.

In the "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution" Lenin notes the great change that took place among the mass of peasantry—and in Russia at that time the peasantry made up the great majority of the laboring people—due to the tremendous upsurge of the workers' strike movement and the development of political as well as economic strikes throughout Russia. The term "revolutionary," Lenin noted, changed from calling to mind a student—an intellectual, alien to the mass of working people—to calling to mind a worker.

Philadelphia, 1976 was not the same as Russia, 1905, and we must be careful not to exaggerate its importance—while taking note of and building off the real advances it did represent. It can honestly be said that, in a beginning way, some of the same phenomenon occurred—that to many, many working people in Philadelphia, and even other parts of the country, a "demonstrator,"

<sup>1</sup> "The central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party today, as the Party of the U.S. working class, is to build the struggle, class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and develop its leadership of a broad united front against the U.S. imperialists, in the context of the worldwide united front against imperialism aimed at the rulers of the two superpowers. As this is developed, together with the development of a revolutionary situation, the question of mobilizing the masses for the armed insurrection will then come to the fore as the immediate question." (*Programme of the RCP*, pp. 101-102)

a "revolutionary," came more to be identified with "worker," instead of "student" or "hippie," etc. And this represents a real step forward—if only one step in the many that must be taken in building the revolutionary movement.

## Our Strategy—United Front Against Imperialism

The strategy of the proletariat for revolution, the strategic line of our Party for leading this revolution, is the united front. It is important to go back to what we say in the Party *Programme* about the united front:

"Forces, representing different classes and class viewpoints, come together around particular struggles—against imperialist aggression, cutbacks in social services, police repression, rising prices and other questions . . . Millions of people have become involved in these struggles, entering them for various reasons, with conflicting class viewpoints, and with varying degrees of understanding of the source of the problems and the links between the struggles. Millions more will continue to do so.

"The policy of the proletariat and its Party, in building the united front against imperialism under its leadership, is: to unite with those engaging in every such battle; to make clear through the course of these struggles the common enemy and the common cause of the masses of people; to develop fighters on one front against the enemy into fighters on all fronts; and to show how all these contradictions arise from and relate to the basic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and can only be finally resolved through the revolutionary resolution of this basic contradiction . . ." (pp. 96, 98)

Our Party's *Programme* analyzes the *solid core* of the united front as "the revolutionary alliance of the working class movement as a whole with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities against the common imperialist enemy." It stresses and explains why the fight of the oppressed nationalities "for equality and emancipation is bound by a thousand links with the struggle of the working class for socialism and lends it great strength." (p. 99) How do we build the fight for equality and link it with the fight for emancipation of the oppressed nationalities together with the whole working class—guided by the stand of the working class to "end national oppression by ending its source, capitalist rule" (Party *Programme*, p. 117) together with ending all the evils of capitalism? What today is the *content* of the fight for equality, and how to correctly build this fight and link it with the revolutionary goal of the working class—merge it with the movement for socialist revolution and not *submerge* it under the *present level* of the workers' movement, which is largely concentrated in the economic struggle? . . .

To carry out this work in this period is difficult. The situation, as noted earlier, is not the same as that in the late '60s and early '70s. There are not the same kind of mass movements of the oppressed nationalities, nor can there be, *in the same way*, because conditions have changed. But it would be a very serious error to think that there will not be any more upsurges of struggle of the oppressed nationalities against their national oppression. Right now such struggles flare up, and we must learn how to apply the Party's line—and the mass line which must be the underlying method in all our work—to building these struggles.

Furthermore, exactly as the overall struggle against the imperialists grows, and especially as the working class movement develops in strength, numbers and consciousness, it will give further impetus to the struggles of the oppressed nationalities and to all other social movements against the ruling class—again Philadelphia gave us a glimpse of this. And again, without exaggerating the events in Philly or the comparison with the 1905 revolution in Russia, we can learn from what Lenin notes in his "Lecture" on that revolution—that with the upsurge of the workers' movement, "a movement for national liberation flared up among the oppressed peoples of Russia." (Vol. 23, p. 249)

The forms and character of these movements in this country will differ from those in Russia: the essential thrust will not be for self-determination, for all the reasons analyzed in the *Programme*—and in much greater detail in the polemics against the Black Workers Congress and other Bundists (these old polemics still have much relevance). This question of self-determination—in its scientific sense, that is, the right of secession—may arise, among Black people in particular, and the Party's line on this question provides the correct basis for dealing with this, in accordance with the actual conditions, should it arise.

But what will be of greater importance then, and is already today, is the question of how to link up with and lead toward the aim of socialist revolution the fight against the main forms of oppression of the minority nationalities in this country: "Discrimination, the denial of democratic rights, violent police repression, suppression and mutilation of their cultures, exploitation and oppression as members of the working class, with the lowest positions, constantly high unemployment,

the lowest paid jobs, the worst housing, the worst of bad health care and other social services—this is daily life for the masses of these nationalities in the U.S. today." (*Programme*, p. 116) And, the *Programme* states, "this is what gives rise to the militant struggle of millions against the system that is responsible for it."

If today there are not millions in this fight, there certainly will be, as the contradictions of the imperialist system, and the struggle of the working class and others, intensify. And, especially if we do our work right, this fight will not, as in the past, be separate from, but linked in a revolutionary alliance with the overall working class movement . . .

To fail to take up this fight, or to fail to build it correctly, could only be part and parcel of a general rightist, economist trend, that narrows the working class struggle and aims to keep it at its present level, and which treats national oppression and the fight against it, not as a key force to be directed back against its source, the ruling class, but as something to be avoided as a "detraction" from building the—trade-union—unity of the working class.

Once again, instead of taking the hard, high road of figuring how to expose and unite masses in struggling against the bourgeoisie, and specifically how to build the fight for equality, and persevering to break through the obstacles the bourgeoisie places in the way, this would amount to looking for the easy road of trying simply to establish some notion of "peace" among people of different nationalities—an illusory aim that will be, and already is, smashed on the hard rocks of reality of life under capitalism. Instead we must build *revolutionary unity* among the masses of people of all nationalities, and as a key part of this unite the masses of all nationalities in the fight against the oppression of minority nationalities.

There are no easy answers to this, or any other, question involved in building the revolutionary movement to overthrow capitalism and build socialism. But there *are* answers—answers which the study and application of Marxism and the application of our Party's line in particular enable us to forge in close connection with building mass struggle and uniting all who can be united against the imperialist ruling class. National inequality—or any other evil of capitalism—cannot be *eliminated* under capitalism. But neither can the fight against these evils be put off until "the revolution comes"—or there will not be any socialist revolution.

In conclusion, our Party's general line is correct. Our specific analysis of "the center of gravity" at this time is correct. But our Party's line and policies, and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought generally, tell us that we must apply the mass line and conduct all of our work—in building the economic struggles of the workers, and their political struggles, and in all social movements, of all strata—so that it contributes to the revolutionary aim and prepares our own ranks and the masses to seize the opportunity to make revolution when the conditions ripen.

As Lenin so powerfully expressed it: "Communism 'springs' from positively every sphere of public life; its shoots are to be seen literally everywhere . . . If special efforts are made to 'stop up' one of the channels, the 'contagion' will find another, sometimes a very unexpected channel. Life will assert itself." ("Some Conclusions," "Left-Wing" Communism, *An Infantile Disorder*, FLP edition, Peking, 1965, p. 107) And with this understanding—not religious "faith" but scientifically based understanding—firmly in mind, let us continue to stay on the high road and prepare to seize the time, no matter how hard it may be or how much time it may take in coming. ■

[To be continued next month.]

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