

# Coal Miners Say: "No Contract, No Work!"

--from a correspondent travelling in West Virginia and Kentucky

At midnight December 6, the United Mineworkers contract expired and 175,000 miners stopped production in the vital coal industry. During the first weeks of the strike, miners picketed in the freezing cold, jumping out of their cars to stop any scabs trying to work the union mines in West Virginia. Caravans of armed workers roamed through several states shutting down non-union mines and dumping coal out of non-union trucks. After local residents picked up the coal to fuel their homes, one miner noted: "That makes us just like Robin Hood. We took the coal from the companies and gave it to the poor folks."

The capitalist class is pushing for a showdown in this strike. Coal is a vital energy source for the capitalists. As the US and USSR prepare for a new imperialist war, they must have secure sources of energy. The turbulent Middle East is an unsteady supplier of oil; so Carter proposed

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# Superpower Scramble Sadat Meets with Zionists

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's visit to Israel surprised and shocked the whole world. The Palestine Liberation Organization, various Arab countries and even members of his own cabinet immediately condemned the trip. Sadat's trip, his Cairo Conference and other "peace efforts" have strengthened the hands of the superpowers and weakened Arab unity. For the first time since 1967 a major Arab leader has tacitly recognized the Zionist government as legitimate. Both superpowers are jockeying for control in this complex Middle East situation.

#### SUPERPOWER MANUEVERING

There are a number of fundamental questions which, if settled, would guarantee a just peace in the Mid-East: return of all occupied Arab land stolen by Israel in the 1967 War; the recognition of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the destruction of Israel and establishment of a Palestinian homeland with full democratic rights for Christians, Moslems and Jews. But the superpowers oppose these legitimate demands. Both superpowers voted for U.N. Resolution #242 which calls for establishing "secure borders" for Israel and refers to the Palestinian people as a "refugee problem". In early October both superpowers issued a joint statement which called for recognition of Israel and completely failed to mention the PLO. The superpowers oppose a just peace because genuine

self-determination for Palestine would mean less superpower control over the vital oil resources, Suez Canal and vital military bases of the Mid-East. After imposing a peace settlement in 1973, both superpowers have been calling for a Geneva \_ peace conference. In particular the USSR the main war danger to the world's peoples, hopes to use a Geneva Conference to gain control in the Mid-East. The entire purpose of the joint statement was to convene that conference before 1978. But Israel refused to make any compromises; even refused to meet in the same room with the PLO. In the meantime, support for the PLO was growing

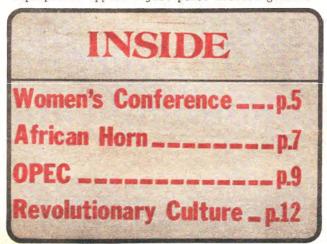
ORGANIZE

both inside Israel and internationally. Veryclearly the hoped-for Geneva Conference was not to be.

"President Carter was in almost daily phone contact with President Sadat," admitted White House Press Secretary Jody Powell shortly after Sadat's visit to Israel. Whether initiated by Sadat or Carter, Sadat's diplomatic manueverings clearly had the blessing of US imperialism.

Secretary of State Vance made a special trip to the Mid-East. He unsuccessfully tried to convince various Arab leaders to attend the Cairo Conference, attempting to split Arab unity against Israel. The US depends on Israel for a military based in the Middle East and for protecting the US interests in the vast resources of the region. Israeli Zionist rule would fall in a day without US aid and military support. In the comming year, the US government will give \$785 million in economic aid and \$1 billion in military aid. Any unity the Arabs develop, then,

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## J.P. Stevens Drive Picks Up

**BLACK BELT** 

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The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) plans to step up its boycott of JP Stevens Company in early 1978. The boycott is in support of efforts by Southern workers to unionize this second largest textile manufacturer in the US. Claiming a growing success in the worldwide boycott, union officials plan nationwide speaking tours for two JP Stevens workers and leafleting of East Coast stores during January white sales. Union officials say that there are active boycott workers in 50 cities, Malta, Canada, France, New Zealand and Japan.

As part of their stepped-up publicity campaign, the ACTWU called a rally of JP Stevens workers in Spartanburg, South Carolina on Nov. 20. Over 1500 JP Stevens workers from throughout the South attended. Under the leadership of the ACTWU bureaucrats, workers passed-four resolutions: Unionize JP Stevens; call on Congress to pass legislation to punish anti-union employers; give thanks to ACTWU and the AFL-CIO for their organizing efforts; and demand that JP Stevens negotiate a master agreement for all their plants.

The ACTWU bureaucrats see the growing support for the JP Stevens workers, and the growing demands of both Black and white workers in the



J.P. Stevens workers demonstrate in Spartanburg, South Carolina in a rally organized by the Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers. (The RC received a written criticism of our article in RC II, #6 "Courts Justify Rape". In the article we point out that the bourgeoisie has historically used the issue of rape to fan national chauvinism e.g. the Scottsboro case in the 1930's where young Black men were falsely accused of raping two white women. Below we reprint excerpts from a letter criticizing aspects of the article.)

#### To the RC:

...While it is true that the bourgeoisie uses rape to stir up national chauvinism, by saying that reactionaries are clamoring for a stiffer sentence, it seems as though the individual is not responsible for his actions at all. Rape is still a serious crime and we have to take a position on how we would treat men who are proven guilty of it.

Friends of the RC in Chicago

#### ATM RESPONDS:

The article focused on rape as a <u>social</u> question. The rise in rapes is a result of the decline of US imperialism. The bourgeoisie uses the dual tactics of blaming the woman for causing rape or demanding harsher treatment of rapists. They use both tactics to divide the working class. Under socialism, rapists would be punished. A socialist system of justice would try to rehabilitate the individual through study, self-criticism and productive labor.

Under capitalism, we also oppose rape. As the RC #6 article stated "rape is a criminal act of assault; no woman volunteers to be raped." Your letter asks "how would we treat men convicted of rape?" Our attitude towards rapists, as with any criminal, is a class question. Our attitude towards a rapist from the bourgeoisie is differ-

### Down with the Brezhnev Clique!



ESUNA (Ethiopian Student Union of North America) recently led demonstrations against the USSR and US support of the fascist junta in their country. The first, November 6, was against a 'Communist' Labor Party event featuring a spea-ker who had recently been a guest of the junta. The program, "Socialist Construction in Ethiopia", supported Soviet social-imperialism and aggresion. A militant multi-national crowd of Ethiopians, Iranian, and Americans chanted for an hour and threw leaflets into the program through windows, until the CLP called the police. But the police were too late--The program had been forced to close and the demonstrators celebrated their victory by singing the International.

The second demonstration was held at the recent USSR National Exhibition in Los Angeles. Pickets marched, chanting "USSR-US OUT OF ETHIO-PIA!", "CUBAN MERCENARIES OUT OF ETHIOPIA", and DOWN WITH SOVIET REVISIONISM". People learned of the Ethiopian people's revolutionary struggles and of the traditional scimitar-like weapon historically used to deafeat invaders. It ended with the beheading of an effigy of Brezhnev by the scimitar.



ATM (M-L) P.O. BOX 32026 L.A., CALIF. 90032

ent than one who is a worker. The first question would be was the man really guilty, or simply railroaded by the capitalist courts? What were the circumstances of the crime? If really guilty, is the working class better off with him in jail or would some form of rehabilitation program be more productive? Capitalism induces crime, but individuals bear responsibility for their actions as well. Some criminals jailed under capitalism will remain there under socialism. But capitalism can never provide true justice either for the criminal or the victim. Neither police crackdowns nor stiff jail sentences will stop rapes. Only a socialist revolution can end the oppression of women.

Queridos Companeros del RC: ...The R.C. is in the streets and developing a reading audience in the Fresno, California area. I have sold it to the Iranian and Chicano students at the city college and university, to city workers, office workers and campesinos (farmworkers--ed.) I was able to distribute the ATM leaflet against the Bakke Decision to striking students....

At this time I am having economic problems. My wife and I were fired from our jobs for taking a militant stand against Bakke and the tenant struggle against the Housing Authority. We had to apply for food stamps and aid, while job-searching. Both of us were refused unemployment. Times are hard for us, especially since we have a large family. I have thought about moving to another town, but I want to stick it out and work among the campesino workers and develop a RC/ATM distribution base here in Fresno. It's important that we devote time to this class and win them over to the revolution.

This decision of linking up to a proletarian paper also comes as a result from bad experiences that I have had with the Chicano Concilio de Arte Popular, the anarchist experiences I have had to go through in the Chicano bourgeois media circles, my disillusion with cultural nationalism and its limitations. I have also read the Guardian, since they have been sending me free copies as an effort to recruit me. But radicalism cannot satisfy my need for Marxist-Leninism and the intention of developing a proletarian party and organization. Meanwhile Sin Fronteras is becoming a typical Mexican nationalist cover, with clear reformist objectives. One only has to read their latest edition where they laid out their political program. The ATM would do a great service to the people in further exposing their opportunism, nationalism and social chauvinism.

A comrade in Fresno, CA

## cover for soviet imperialism Soviet Exhibit in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES--One US millionaire donated \$25,000 to make a film of the recent Soviet National Exhibit for distribution in L.A. public schools. The exhibit, held at the multi-million dollar LA Convention Center, was billed as honoring sixty years of "socialist construction" in Russia. Various local politicians and businessmen visited the exhibit and had nothing but praise for the USSR. Capitalists supporting socialism? Not exactly.

The exhibit itself was supposed to show how the people of the USSR lived. In fact, most of the exhibit was devoted to machinery and consumer products available for export. The exhibit was a not-too-thinly-disguised public relations gimmick for increased US/USSR trade. US trade with Russia reached a record high of \$1.4 billion in 1976. Ever since the restoration of capitalism in Russia, foreign trade no longer serves the mutual benefit of Soviet and foreign peoples. It is aimed solely at profiting the new Czars ruling Russia. In the present period, the USSR is buying grain, machinery, various means of transportation and agricultural equipment from the US.

Of course, the huge monopolies like Continental Grain profit enormously by the increased trade. These corporations have developed a vested interest in more trade, urging political "detente" with the USSR. They consciously ignore the growing war preparations of the new Czars, in fact they help shore up the USSR's war economy by supplying vital goods and services. American loans and trade dollars recently helped build the Kama River project in Russia, which will be the largest truck factory in the world. This factory will certainly be capable of providing the backbone for Russia's wartime transportation needs.

Before World War II there was a large movement in this country to oppose sending scrap iron to fascist Japan. The then revolutionary Communist Party, various democratic and anti-fascist groups held demonstrations and rallied longshoremen to refuse to load ships to Japan. Communists and class-conscious workers in the US must begin to build a similar movement to stop trade with the fascist USSR, the main war danger in today's world. We must expose the phony "socialism" of the USSR, while opposing the US bourgeoisie's plans for a new imperialist war. ATM attended a demonstration called by the Ethiopian Student's Union of North America to protest the Soviet National Exhibit. Demonstrations of this kind must continue in order to build a mass movement in this country to oppose superpower hegemonism.



Furs for the proletariat or the bourgeoisie? This exhibit shows how the Soviet economy is based on profit, not on the needs of the masses.



## ATM (M-L) - Who We Are

The August Twenty-Ninth Movement (M-L) is a multi-national communist organization formed in May of 1974. Our organization bases itself on the principles of proletarian revolution as summed-up by Marx, Engles, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. We strive to achieve proletarian dictatorship, socialism and ultimately a classless communist society. Th's can only be achieved through forging the unity of the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities of this country and the armed overthrown of the existing bourgeois state. This overthrow can only occur as a result of a long protracted struggle led by the proletariat under the banner of its vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party. The building of such a party is the central task of all communists and advanced workers of the United States. This has been our task since the treacherous betrayal of the working class by the revisionist "Communist"Party of the USA.

This new party and socialist revolution in general cannot be achieved without a consistent, relentless battle against any and every type of opportunism -- right opportunism and revisionism, and left opportunism and trotskyism -- but most especially against the main danger world-wide and nationally, revisionism and right opportunism. The "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union leads the revisionist parties, such as the "CP" USA in promoting revisionism and counter-revolution.

We stand together with all the world's peoples in recognizing the leading role of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China with Chairman Hua Kuofeng at its head, and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania and Enver Hoxha in the world-wide struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. As part of this struggle we are dutybound to uphold the right of nations to selfdetermination, and to give direct support to the national liberation struggles of the peoples against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. At the present time the storm center of this struggle is the Third World.

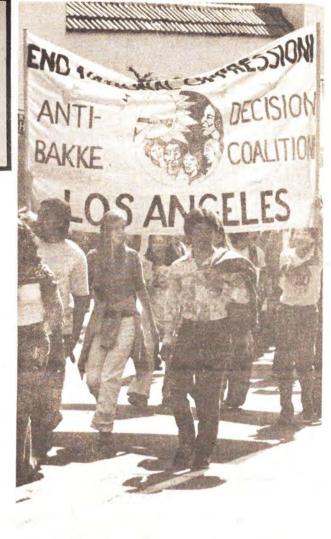
We pledge ourselves to unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninists to carry out our tasks and to fulfill our proletarian internationalist duty,

# Reform or Revolution Which Road for the Anti-Bakke Movement

On October 8 and 15, 1977 roughly 12,000 people nationwide demonstrated against the Bakke decision. This clearly shows the growing anger of students, oppressed nationalities and workers against the racist Bakke decision. But the demonstrations were split into two different coalitions with different sets of demands. Again the two coalitions are planning separate demonstrations for Spring, 1978. Why can't the anti-Bakke movement unite? Aren't we all fighting for the same goal? Both coalitions oppose the Bakke decision, but there are entirely two different views on how to defeat it. These differing views aren't just squabbles among left groups, but represent two fundamentally different lines on the future of the anti-Bakke movement. They represent the difference between victory or defeat.

Many honest individuals and groups have joined the National Committee to Defeat the Bakke Decision (NCOBD). They have worked hard to defeat the Bakke decision. But the leadership of the NCOBD have led that organization into reformism--that is into preserving the system. They liquidate the special oppression of the oppressed nationalities. To better understand these differences, we will examine the history, political line and practice of the two coalitions: the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision and the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition (ABDC).

California statewide MEChA's initiated the call to form ABDC in June, 1977. At the founding conference in San Jose, California there were 300 people and 70 organizations from all over the state. MEChAs, Asian Student Unions, and other student groups attended. Others attending included caucuses within the Steelworkers Union, within the United Autoworkers, and individual members from the Butchers Union, ILWU, glassworkers, culinary workers and many more. Representatives from several women's organizations and community groups came. What is significant is that through democratic discussion all of these groups UNITED on a single program to fight Bakke. The principles of unity developed at the conference upheld the firm principle that Bakke will be defeated only through reliance on the masses of oppressed people-rather than reliance on liberal politicians or lawyers. CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



4,000 rally against the Bakke decision in San Francisco October 15.

# End to National Oppression EDUCATION IN CHINA

As more and more people in the US take up the struggle against the Bakke decision, a question is frequently asked: is it possible to have an educational system that 'eliminates racism? The answer is yes. The Peoples Republic of China is made up of 55 different nationalities. China's socialist revolution eliminated the material basis for national oppression and racism. Before liberation less than 15% of Chinese youth completed three years of school. Those that did attend were the children of the ruling classes. Today it is still physically impossible for a developing socialist country like China to provide higher education for everyone. Still by this fall colleges will enroll more than 20,000 students.

Because the workers and peasants run China in their own interests, the educational system provides special treatment for national minority students (like Tibetans, Mongolians, etc.) The government establishes special quotas to guarantee enrollment for minority students. While college students from the majority Han nationality are limited by age requirements, there is no such restriction placed on national minorities. National minority students receive free room and board and are paid whatever wage they were making before entering college. The government gives special subsidies for education to the minority areas. This has made possible a higher than average speed of development in building schools and libraries.

In addition, specifically to help the political, economic and cultural development of the minority areas, 9 National Minority Institutes have been set up. These schools have 4 main areas of work. The political department trains national minority cadre in political theory so they may take an active part in leading the government and party and helping to solve the national problem thoroughly. The languages department trains translators and interpreters for all 51 spoken languages. It will be the job of these students to promote the unity of all nationalities by ensuing translations of all written material and help to develop or reform written languages (thus far only 20 languages exist in the written form). Teachers in the various departments teach in the language of the nationality concerned or through interpreters who simultaneously translate the 51 languages through headphones. The department of special prepatory courses helps train students of insufficient previous education before they go on to other universities. Students of the arts department give performances for the workers, peasants and soldiers in the style characteristic of one of the minority nationalities.

But the Chinese educational system is not a utopia. As long as classes exist, class struggle will continue. Under the leadership of the Gang of 4, the Chinese educational system suffered great setbacks. Some universities graduated students who were incompetent doctors, technicians, etc. Under the leadership of Chairman Hua, China is today struggling to produce proletarian intellectuals who are both red and expert. To prevent the development of privileged intellectuals, all students and instructors go to the factories and farms to carry out social investigation and practice. Specifically, they visit national minority areas to make sure what is taught in the classrooms serves the needs of the proletariat and national minority peoples.

In all these ways the Chinese socialist education system helps develop the unity of different nationalities. This was only possible after the armed Chinese masses overthrew their reactionary government and established socialism.

The struggle against the Bakke decision in the US is one important battle for democratic rights and an end to national oppression. But the US educational system will never eliminate its racist practices entirely; it will never teach the real history of workers and oppressed nationalities. Only by joining with workers and other oppressed peoples can students help make a socialist revolution which lays the basis for true equality

# **ABDC** Lays Plans

FRESNO, CA.--"Bakke's attacks reach far and wide; Build the struggle nation-wide!!" This was one of the chants shouted many times by over 80 people who gathered here December 18 for a meeting of the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition (ABDC) advisory committee. The purpose of the meeting was to develop the program of action that the coalition will follow in the first 6 months of 1978.

With an overwhelming show of unity the California state-wide conference agreed to formalize the coalition as a national organization. ABDC locals will be organized immediately in New York, Boston, and Atlanta, followed by El Paso, Chicago and other midwestern, southern and southwestern cities. Groups in New York, Boston and Atlanta have already expressed unity with ABDC's points of unity and demands. These groups held solidarity anti-Bakke demonstrations on October 15 at the same time that ABDC gathered 4,000 people in San Francisco for a militant, colorful anti-Bakke demonstration.

The ABDC plans to unite all groups and individuals who can be united around the points of unity and demands (see box), as well as to deepen its outreach among workers and women's organizations. To coordinate all of these efforts a national office will be immediately set up in the San Francisco Bay Area. A national conference will be held in San Francisco on February 11 which will bring in organizers from all over the US whose task will be to continue building for a national demonstration on April 29. Local actions to build for this demonstration will be held on February 25. The lively Fresno meeting heard solidarity speakers from the Fresno State Third World Student Coalition the MEChA Chicano student organization, the Iranian Student Association and the Fungston Tenants (a strong group of tenants fighting poor living conditions in Fresno.) All speakers expressed solidarity with ABDC. One of the things that the ISA speaker pointed out was that the "Bakke decision sets the basis for the intensification of national oppression" and that the struggle must continue under the leadership of the ABDC.

the equality of languages. They will provide among peoples.



A class in a factory-run workers' university in China.

The conference ended with chants and shouts to "build the struggle nation-wide and "down with Bakke!"

PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

1. Rely on the masses of oppressed people to defeat the Bakke Decision.

2. Oppose both the US Supreme Court and the UC Regents as equal targets.

3. Oppose the systematic oppression of Third World people.

4. Defend and expand all Third World programs, Affirmative action programs, and all special programs for women and working people.

# BLACK CAUCUS WRITES... A Worker's History of U.S. Steel

(The following article was written by a Black worker's organization at 33 Steel's South Morks plant in Chicago. The name of the group is Stop the Rampage of Unfair Treatment at South Works (STRUTS). We reprint the article from <u>Jihad News</u>, newspaper of the African Peoples Party.)

In 1976, U.S. Steel celebrated its 75th anniversary. In the anniversary issue of <u>U.S.</u> <u>Steel News</u>, Edgar Speer, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel, brags of U.S. Steel's contribution to "American economic and social progress."

He doesn't talk about the thousands of steelworkers murdered and maimed by U.S. Stee., or about U.S. Steel's abuse and degradation of foreign born workers, or about the cruel discrimination against Black and Mexican workers, or about U.S. Steel's extensive involvement in South Africa's system of apartheid, or about U.S. Steel South Works being fined recently for contaminating and poisoning the air in South Chicago and South Shore with 22 air pollution violations. S.T.R.U.T.S. would like to take this opportunity, on our first year anniversary to set the record straight about U.S. Steel's first 75 years.

In 1912, the majority of U.S. Steel's employees were foreign born--over half from Eastern Europe. The largest groups were the Poles, Serbs, Croations, Italians, and Slavs. All of the management, professional and clerical jobs, however, were held by native born, white, Protestant Americans. They held virtually all of the foreman and skilled craft jobs. Ninety percent of the "new immigrants" were employed in either the unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. The plight of the "new immigrant" and Black steelworker was miserable. In 1919, even though these steelworkers worked 72-hour weeks, two-thirds of the children of foreign born and Black steelworkers had no fruit, milk, or eggs in their diet, and a third had no meat. Some 15% of these children were suffering from bone defects due to inadequate nutrition.

Nearly 25% of the recent immigrants employed at U.S. Steel South Works were injured or killed each year between 1907 and 1910--3,723 in all! Even after U.S. Steel instituted a "safety movement," in 1920 U.S. Steel's accident rate was still <u>double</u> that of American manufacturing generally. In 1930, U.S. Steel killed 142 steelworkers, and permanently disabled another 1,200. Clearly, during its first thirty years, U.S. Steel wiped its feet on the backs of foreignborn workers, killed and crippled them wholesale, and starved their children.

what brought about the big migration of blacks from the South into the bottom levels of the steel industry? What caused the concentration of blacks in the foundries, furnaces and coke ovens? Was it that U.S. Steel wanted to "Get involved" and be a true "Equal Opportunity Employer"? Hell no.

Blacks were brought into the steel industry during World War I because of the desperate labor shortage. At Gary Works, for example, almost a quarter of all the workers were drafted. The war also cut off the flow of "new immigrants." So just as the slavers sent slave ships to Africa, for their human cargo, U.S. Steel sent its "recruiters" into the South, many of whom were paid "by the head", to bring back strong black bodies to fill the deadly jobs at the bottom of the occupational structure at U.S. Steel. Millions of blacks headed north hoping to escape the lynchings, low wages, and starvation in the South. World War II, similarly, was responsible for another huge inflow of black workers into the steel industry. Total black employment tripled between 1942 and 1944. But again, blacks were confined to the filthiest, lowest paying jobs, that no one else was willing to do.

Black people were driven from the southern



But what they found was the nightmare of risking their lives daily as the lowest paid of all minority workers. They found themselves thrown into a deadly conflict, instigated by U.S. Steel and other capitalists, between black and white workers, a conflict that has held back the entire labor movement. These "divide and rule" tactics have aided the steel companies in maintaining poor working conditions and low pay.

In the 1930's, while the skilled jobs were still dominated by "native-born" white Americans, the "new-immigrants" began to make significant inroads into these positions. But while opportunities opened for other workers, blacks were still contained at the bottom of the workforce hierarchy. As late as 1945, St. Clair Drake found a steel executive in this area who stated anonymously that:

"Negroes are nice, simple people. I don't approve of using them for skilled work--not that they couldn't do it, but we have enough competition within the skilled groups. Let the Negroes scramble for the unskilled jobs."

Has the situation changed today? Has U.S. Steel really gotten "Involved"? Hell no. In 1966 only 2% of the black workers at Gary Works held managerial or white-collar jobs! According to figures released by U.S. Steel, in 1968 only 22 of 1,011 foremen at the Gary Works were black, and these supervised largely or entirely black crews. And the Corporation has systematically favored whites over blacks for promotion, even to the extent of promoting whites over blacks even when they have less seniority and less education. This is an industry-wide pattern.... The 30% higher accident rate among black steelworkers is mute testimony to their differential assignment to the most dangerous production jobs. Throughout the country black workers are consigned to make up the large majority in the coke-oven jobs which are virtual death sentences: the lung cancer rates for these workers are ten times those of steelworkers as a whole.

Despite the lies U.S. Steel projects about being an "Equal Opportunity Employer," why are black workers confined at the bottom of the steel industry? Why aren't they allowed to advance into the crafts and management in the same proportions as the immigrants from Europe? The black worker worked as hard or harder than his European immigrant counterpart. He generally had a better understanding of the English language and frequently had a higher formal education. Why then, has the black worker been barred from significant advancement in steel? will to meet the needs of the industry. They need a stratum of workers to undertake the most hazardous, hot, and heavy jobs for the lowest pay. But why were blacks assigned to this role and not the Eastern European immigrant? Because the cornerstone of the massive wealth of this country has been the super-exploitation of black labor in the south. The owners of industry have used the color factor to continue the super-exploitation of black labor. They have used the color factor to block the full integration of black workers with other nationalities since they know they can only rule a work force that is divided against itself.

We of S.T.R.U.T.S. hope that by taking a critical look at U.S. Steel's "Roots" we will all begin to realize that the conflicts between black and white and Latin that the company and those serving the company have created, are designed to make us weak. The only hope we steelworkers have in this time of massive layoffs and firings, is to stand together as one. The story of U.S. Steel's "Roots" is yet to be completed. The beginning has been one of grief and suffering for us. But if we steelworkers fight together as one, we will write the conclusion--and in a powerful way.



East Coast Longshoremen

plantations to the northern plants, hoping to find a better life, and hoping to become integrated into the "American dream" of prosperity. a porte dirette dir e beedd

One important reason is that the steel industry, as all capitalist enterprises, needs a reserve force of labor, to be hired and fired at



18,000 striking iron ore miners and metal processors in Minnesota and Michigan ended the longest walkout in the history of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). On strike since August 1, the vast majority of the workers stuck to the picket line. They vowed not to return until their demand for parity wages with their brothers in the steel mills was met. Mill workers receive up to \$1 an hour incentive pay while miners make only 30¢-an-hour. The settlement won calls for 55¢-an-hour incentive pay.

Still, this pay plan does not meet the demands of the workers. It will not be effective until November 1979, and then will cover only 3/4 of the workers. The companies were able to shove this through only by relying on their friends in the leadership of the USWA. Because local negotiating committees had turned down similar proposals in the past, USWA bureaucrats disbanded them. Then they pushed through elections in 5 of the weakest locals.

During the strike, McBride announced an "improvement" to the strike breaking Experimental Negotiating Agreement. The ENA allows local (but not industry-wide) strikes over local issues - provided that McBride approves. The new amendment prohibits workers from determining what constitutes a local issue, turning the question over to arbitration. This is but one more step in taking power from the workers - and from the union.

#### Jellie

After a 2-month-plus strike affecting 50,000 longshoremen from Maine to Texas, the International Longshoremen's Association reached an agreement with the shipping companies. The new contract calls for an 80c-an-hour increase in each of the next three years and has better provisions for a guaranteed annual income (GAI). The GAI was the main issue as dockworkers have been losing hundreds of hours of work each due to containerization and automation of the ports. Previous GAI clauses had been weak and the companies had often managed to get around them so the strikers were determined to win stronger language.

As the strike dragged on, rank and file pressure forced ILA President Gleason to authorize general port strikes in Baltimore and New Orleans which, in contrast to limited selective strikes, he had earlier condemned. But even as the companies gave in to the pattern contract, dissident locals in Baltimore and New Orleans voted it down while members burned copies of the contract. ILA bureaucrats then stifled this militant initiative by forcing the strikers back to work. Gleason revealed his class thinking when he explained: "I happen to be the boss."

## Houston Women's Conference Growing Women's Movement

Throughout the country, the woman's movement is growing. In 1977 large numbers of women demonstrated against abortion fund cutbacks, for childcare and for women's rights as workers. Because the bourgeoisie recognizes this broad movement of workers, intellectuals, and petty bourgeoisie is a potentially strong force against imperialism, they have made every effort to divert it. If you were to simply read the capitalist press or listen to the politicians, women can join one of two camps: liberal feminism or conservatives trying to preserve the traditions of American womanhood. Both ignore the real interests of working and oppressed women. Nowhere was this better shown than in the Houston Women's Conference last year.

20,000 attended the conference which was an offspring of the UN International Women's Year. President Carter appointed a commission to head it and Congress gave \$5 million to fund it. The bourgeoisie wants us to believe that the conference represented a broad cross section of American women. Not exactly. The California delegation was a good example. Its officers included a vice mayor of Los Angeles, a State Health Education and Welfare administrator, and the state chair of the women's section of the Democratic Party. Out of 121 delegates, only four were labor women. The Mississippi delegation, from a state in the heart of the Black Belt South, was lily white.

The liberal feminists like former Congresswoman Bella Abzug and magazine publisher Gloria Steinem were firmly in control of the conference. They made sure that 25 resolutions were passed ranging from support to the Equal Rights Amendment, to abortion rights, to demanding more women be appointed to government posts. Rather than pointing to the real enemy, these feminists say its the male-dominated system. None of the resolutions spoke to the oppression faced by women workers. Even the resolutions passed mean little; they are only recommendations to Carter.

Reactionary forces like the KKK, Eagle Forum and various anti-abortion groups captured about 20% of the voting delegates. The masses of American women see the destruction of their families, the growth in decadent culture and a decline in education. These conservative and fascist groups are playing on the legitimate anger and fear of women to whip up a reactionary movement. They oppose all abortions and oppose the integration of schools.

### Lockheed Workers on Strike

In a union-busting effort to end the 3-month strike, Lockheed officials bypassed union negotiators to send enticing letters to each of the 19,000 strikers. While the company offer did include a 12% wage hike over three years (less than the recent Boeing settlement) and improved benefits, it also included a provision that would seriously weaken the seniority system. The International Association of Machinists and the rank and file have insisted that seniority is a priority item.

The scheme seems to have worked at one plant. In a move labeled by the international "an illegal back-to-work movement by a suspended group of dissident officers", Sunnyvale local president Bender succeeded in pushing through ratification. How many workers actually went back is unclear, but Lockheed is using it to divide and demoralize

In this time of imperialist crisis, the capitalists are cutting back funds for abortions, childcare and welfare. They use women as part of a reserve army of labor. When times are tough, women are among the first laid off. Both the conservatives and liberals consciously ignore these crucial questions. The conservatives aid the capitalists by convincing women that their place is in the home; the feminists tell women that "men are the enemy." But women across the country are learning that liberal reformism or fascist reaction are not going to end women's oppression. In the course of struggle women are discovering the real source of their oppression -- the imperialist system. With this knowledge they are organizing to fight for their rights, for the rights of their husbands, brothers and fellow workers. And no \$5 million sideshow will divert them from their fight.



Women have fought militantly for the ERA, abortion, equal pay, etc: Réformists at convention try to divert their struggle.

# Public Employees Fight For Right To Strike!

In Massachusetts a local school board jailed striking teachers for refusing to return to work. In Cleveland, the city government threatened legal reprisals if Cleveland teachers didn't return to work. The teachers walked out after the school system went bankrupt and the administration refused to pay them back wages. In California major corporations sponsored an amendment to the State Constitution calling for the firing of any public employee who strikes. The initiative measure failed to get enough signatures to qualify on the ballot. Throughout the country the bourgeoisie is stepping up its attacks on public employees--most often by attacking their right to strike.

The argument of the school boards, city, state and federal government goes something like this. Government workers are paid as well or better than their counterparts in private industry. (Public employees are overpaid and underworked.) They often get better benefits like pension plans. If public employees like teachers or garbage collectors strike, it causes an unfair burden on the public who have nowhere else to go for these vital services.

In fact government workers, taken as a whole, are among the lowest paid and least organized in the country. Before their strike last year Atlanta garbage workers made \$7,400 a year. New York City workers have been forced to take wage and benefit cuts in order to postpone that city's bankruptcy. While a few highly paid supervisors or skilled workers do all right, the vast majority of maintenance workers, hospital workers, clerks, etc. barely keep up with inflation. The lower sectors of the intellegensia (teachers, doctors, etc.) employed by the government are facing cutbacks in real wages and speedups in their work. While this strata generally earn more money than workers, they too are oppressed by imperialism and are direct allies in our common struggle.

When government workers strike, they do have the potential to cause major damage to the capitalists. But strikes by government employees are no more disruptive than major strikes by truck drivers or longshoremen. The bourgeoise is not concerned with "disruption to the public", they are only concerned with keeping up their profits and maintaining a divided working class. Increasingly public employees are linking demands for better wages and benefits to demands for better services to the public. Hospital workers and teachers in different parts of the country, for example, have demanded improvement in health care services and teacher/community relations.

Far from victimizing the public, it is the government employees who often face the brunt of the capitalist economic crisis. As New York City, the state of Pennsylvania or the Cleveland school system went bankrupt, it was the government workers who ended up with no paychecks and benefits cutoff. Government worker strikes are an essential weapon in the struggle against shifting the capitalist economic crisis onto the backs of the working class. All workers, oppressed nationalities and progressive people must support that right.

### **Coors: Brewed by Rocky Mountain Scabs**

GOLDEN, COLORADO -- In the face of growing national and community support, the Coors Company has initiated a harrassment campaign aimed at strikers and supporters. On November 29 a scab fired a shotgun at the strikers on the line. This scab is currently in jail for "investigation of criminal menacing." This incident follows by one week the acquittal of three supporters and one striker on charges of trespassing, harrassment and resisting arrest. Testimony of Golden police officers revealed they have "priority security information" on strike supporters. The one stri arrested was told by Golden police that his arrest was an "accident" and they only meant to get "coalition people". Through the course of the trial, the jury saw that police had singled out supporters for arrest and the jury acquitted them. These attacks come at a time when the boycott is having increasing effect all over the country. Sales in California are off as much as 25%. The union declared December 10 "National Boycott Co

Coors Day". The union and strike supporters held rallies all over the country to express support for the strike and to build the boycott. Coors bosses hope to use this strike as part of a national union-busting effort. The workers are demanding a return of the union shop, an end to harassment on the job and an end to racial discrimination at the plant. As the Coors company lawyer stated recently: "They (Coors) have become a symbol, a rallying cry for other employers." Coors is likewise a rallying cry for the working class. We must smash this and all attempts on the

the other locals.



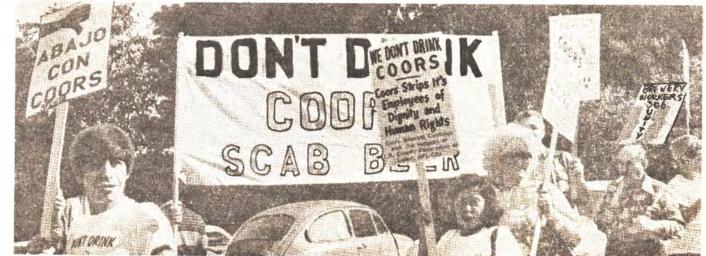
In this second issue of the Red Banner there is a major development in ATM's views on the international situation in exposing Carter's Human Rights campaign. There are major articles on superseniority and a commentary on ATM's agitation and propaganda. RB #2 also includes a polemic against the left opportunism of the League for Proletarian Revolution. Individual RED BANNER's are \$1.50; \$4.50 for a oneyear subscription. Please include 25¢ postage for each RB.

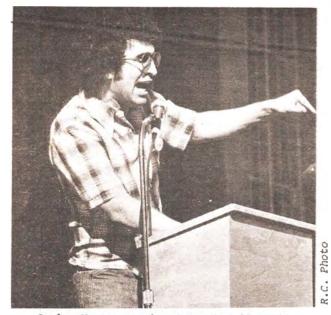
### **ORDER NOW!**

ATM(M-L) P.O. BOX 32026, L.A., CA 90026

part of the capitalists to deprive us of our rights.

Donations can be sent to the legal defense fund: 737 E. 17th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203. Copies of an excellent comic book supporting the Coors strike are available by writing: Coors Boycott Committee, 4510 Indiana St. Golden, Colo. 80401.





Carlos Montez speaks at October 15 anti-Bakke demonstration.

# Force the State to Free Carlos Montes

LOS ANGELES -- The Justice for Carlos Montes Committee (JCMC) announced plans to pack the courtroom January 6, Montes next court hearing. Montes was framed on arson and conspiracy charges for his activities in the Chicano National Movement in the late 1960's (See RC Vol. II, #5). Since JCMC started almost six months ago, support for his case has steadily grown. Hundreds of people have attended fundraisers, packed the courtroom and heard him speak in his own defense: In fact, 40 people picketed Department 127 on November 14, demanding that the charges be dropped. In response the judicial system has consistently stalled, postponing pre-trial hearings three times, hoping support will end. How has the JCMC been able to mobilize support in such a short time?

From the beginning the JCMC has not limited their work to a political defense of Carlos Mon-

## GARY TYLER SAYS: "Only the people can set me free!"

Gary Tyler was denied a new trial despite the fact that it was proven that his original counsel had been incompetent and that racist methods were used to convict him 2 years ago.

3 years ago Gary Tyler, a 16 year-old black youth, was on a bus with his schoolmates en route to a recently desegregated high school in Destrehan, Louisiana. The bus was attacked by a Klan led mob throwing bottles and rocks. A gun was fired by someone in the mob and a 14 year old white student was dead. The police, who had been unwilling to protect the Black students against the daily insults and attacks they faced, forced the students off the bus. They were then forced to kneel on the concrete for two hours while the police searched them and the bus.. No gun was found.

Gary Tyler and others protested this unjust treatment. After 3 "searches" police found a .45 calibre pistol earlier reported missing from a police firing range. They accused Tyler of the shooting. Why such effort to produce a "culprit"? The reactionary forces could use this to divide the Black and white working class, and as an excuse to terrorize the Black community. Convicted and originally sentenced to die by an all-white jury and judge, Tyler is another in a long list of Black victims condemned by the racist system of imperialism for the "crime" of being Afro-American. Out of a total of 3,859 people executed in the US since 1930, over half (2,066) have been Black.

Gary Tyler's case points out the brutal oppression faced by Afro-American especially in the Black Belt. The Black Belt South suffers from the highest rate of child labor, illiteracy and nonunion shops, as well as the greatest proportion of tenant and sharecroppers, and the worst health and housing. While Blacks bear the brunt of this oppression, the entire working class shares in this misery.

As a step in overcoming the centuries of national oppression, communists and workers must uphold the right of the Afro-American Nation to self-determination. Black people have the right to control their historic homeland as they see fit and to determine its borders. All land must be taken back from the imperialists and returned

### **Arizona Growers Thrashed**

to the Black people. All oppressor armed forces and military installations must be removed from the Black Belt South. But the liberation of the Black masses can only be realized by connecting the struggle of the Afro-American nation with the struggle against imperialism and for socialism. In this way the struggle against instances of national oppression such as Gary Tyler and the Dawson 5 will meet with final success.

Across the US Gary Tyler Committees are carrying out struggle for his freedom. For example, on November 12, 1977 the Bay Area Committee to Defend Gary Tyler held a fundraising event for the Rylock strikers in Oakland. IAM workers from Caterpillar, National Can and other plants attended. One Rylock worker spoke of the common interests of workers and oppressed nationalities against the same system. Events like these show in practice what Gary Tyler has said: "I have no faith in the judicial system...I believe that only the people will free me."

Write the Committee to Free Gary Tyler c/o 96 Jessie Street, 2nd Floor, San Francisco, California 94105



Hundreds of people marched in New Orleans last July in support of Gary Tyler.

tes. The JCMC has actively linked their case to other cases of political repression like that of two American Indian movement activists Skyhorse Mohawk and the Los Tres, Chicano activists from El Paso. The JCMC is a member of the anti-Bakke Decision Coalition and actively helped mobilize the 500 people who drove from Los Angeles to San Francisco for the October 15 Day of Solidarity. The JCMC sent a representative to the San Antonio Conference on immigration rights and is looking into doing work in immigration struggles locally.

A member of the JCMC told the RC that the attack against Montes represents only a small part of the increasing attack against oppressed nationalities and the working class. All the struggles JCMC is participating in have their roots in the same system--the system of imperialism. By actively participating in the struggles of other groups and by linking their common struggle to the system of imperialism, the JCMC is building a broad base of support in Southern California and continuing to be supported by activists in his home town El Paso.

It is important to mobilize support for the Montes case, pack the courtroom during the pretrial hearings and force the state to drop the charges. The JCMC is conducting a petition and letter writing campaign to the new Judge demanding all charges be dropped. For more information write: JCMC, P.O. Box 7093, L.A., CA 90022, or join the JCMC, Tuesday nights, 7:00 p.m., 1120 McDonnell, E. Los Angeles.

January 6: Pack the courtroom--Motion to Drop Charges and Motion for Discovery--Criminal Court Building, Temple & Broadway, Dept. 127, 9:00 a.m. 15th Floor.

February 5: Fundraiser, International Institute Boyle Street, East Los Angeles



## More Demos for Joe Torres

AUSTIN, TEXAS -- The murder of Jose Campos Torres will not be forgotten. On November 12,1,000 people of all nationalities marched in Austin, Texas, demanding "JUSTICE FOR JOE TORRES", armed self defense for the Chicano community, and condemned the police for their racist violence. The Texas Brown Berets and other Chicano groups mobilized people from throughout the state for the march. The Torres murder is only the latest in a series of police slayings in the Chicano Nation. In 1977 at least 9 chicanos and mexicanos have been murdered by police and la Migra. Torres was killed in May, when, after his arrest, five cops beat him with a flashlight and then dumped him handcuffed into the bayou "to see if he could swim". Two of the police were tried for murder and were found guilty of "negligent homicide". They were fined one dollar and released.

Repression is no stranger to the Southwest. Ever since the Texas Rangers set up their reign of terror, the Chicano people have felt the brutal force of capitalist domination. Organizations such as the Texas Brown Berets and Chicanos Unidos are taking up the struggle and mobilizing the masses to fight. It is a reflection of the growing struggle for the right of self-determination in the Chicano nation. Only with an end to capitalist control of the Southwest, only when the proletariat in alliance with the oppressed Chicano masses oust the monopoly capitalists and establish socialism, will there be an end to police brutality and repression. JUSTICE FOR JOE TORRES! UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF POLITICAL SECESSION FOR THE CHICANO NATION!

### by Undocumented Workers

Standing up against the Goldmar Corp. Citrus plantation in Arizona, 200 undocumented Mexican farmworkers fought off the Immigration and Naturalization Service to win their 3-week strike. "With the strike the workers learned they could bring the growers down to their own level and also come up to the level of the growers," said Maricopa County Organizing Project director Jesus Romo. "It is something they won't forget."

The Goldmar strike began November 1 as workers demanded higher wages, toilet, shower and medical facilities, protection against pesticide sprayings, and a fair accounting method to foil cheating supervisors. It has since sparked 2,000 other farmworkers to walk out, taking up the struggle for union rights for all rural workers. Romo explained that "The migra is always

Romo explained that "The migra is always around but only on a selective basis do they pick the men up." The Border Patrol increased its raids during the strike, but because of the special preparation and organization of the strikers and because the agribusiness capitalists couldn't afford to bust all their laborers the immigrant workers made shreds of the migra's nets.

### NATIONWIDE FARMERS STRIKE

DENVER--In late December farmers across the country refused to harvest crops or buy new farm equipment. Led by the American Agriculture group farmers asked Americans to halt purchase of food for one day in support of their national strike for "parity." Parity means a guaranteed price for their product, a price which covers expenses and gives a reasonable standard of living to farmers. This action is in response to monopoly domination of agriculture. Agribusiness is now the country's number one business, with sales over \$520 billion a year. The small farmer is being wiped out today by monopoly capitalism's growing grip on every sphere of life. According to government statistics the farm population dropped 14% between 1970 and 1976 while farm output increased 20%. In its drive for profits imperialism continually attacks small business owners and farmers, extending their domination to all spheres of life. \*



# <u>SUPERPOWERS OUT!</u> War in the African Horn

As 1978 begins, both superpowers, particularly the USSR, have stepped up their aggression in the vital Horn of Africa. The capitalist press reports the growing war in Ogaden desert region of Ethiopia. The liberation fighters in Eritrea, in the Northern part of Ethiopia, were making strides to combine their efforts against imperialist domination. The people of Ethiopia, under the leadership of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) were holding mass protests and carrying out armed struggle against the fascist rule of the Mengistu government.

The USSR launched a major effort to send arms and Cuban troops to aid the fascist government in Ethiopia. While there were no Cuban troops in Ethiopia at the beginning of 1977, today there a are over 500. According to the EPRP the Mengistu government is preparing a massacre of 10,000 political prisoners in order to silence all opposition to Soviet aggression and Ethiopian fascism. But the people and countries of the African Horn region are standing up to the Soviet aggression.

### THE SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC WILL NEVER BE A STOOGE TO ANYONE

On November 13 the Somali government announced the ending of the 1974 Somali-Soviet friendship treaty. They expelled all Soviet advisers, closed Soviet military facilities and severed all relations with Cuba because of their "blatant interfering in the affairs of the Horn of Africa." Somalia is strategically important because it overlooks on one side the oil shipping lanes through the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea and, on the other side, the Indian Ocean which, is experiencing a buildup of both Soviet and US fleets.

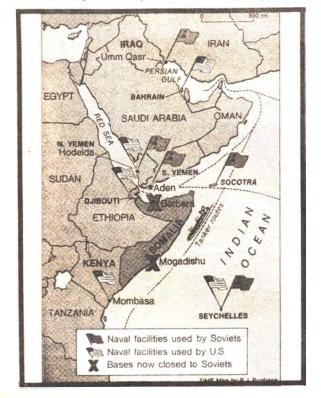
Before their expulsion the Soviets had 3-4,000 military men stationed at the ports of Kismayu and Berbera, including a sophisticated communications center, major fuel storage, missile handling and storage and a large airfield. So it was no empty warning when Somali President Siad Barre stated that Soviet and Cuban intervention "poses a direct challenge not only to the sovereign states in Africa, in the region and the OAU as an organization but also the conscience of all peace and freedom-loving peoples the world over."

Soviet arrogance made many enemies. For two days and nights following the government's announcement 100,000 people celebrated in the streets with placards reading "Russians and Cubans Go Home!" and "Independence Yes, Russians No!" A foreign ministry official explained, "We expelled the western colonialists and soon we found out the Russians are just the same. Now we have come to realize that Chairman Mao was perfectly right when he stated that the Soviet Union is socialimperialist". The Somalis learned from their own experience exactly what the Egyptians learned two years ago and the Sudanese last May: The USSR is a wolf in sheep's clothing, socialism in words and imperialism in deeds.

For its part, the US is trying to get back into favor with the Somalian government. As the Soviet diplomats were leaving, a special delegation of US Congressmen arrived in the Somalian capital to set up US arms sales. Although the Carter government has so far refused major arms shipments, the US bourgeoisie is definitely mapping out strategy on how best to edge out its superpower rival and exploit the people of the African Horn.

#### CONFLICT IN OGADEN

The Somali expulsion of the Soviets followed an increasing political, diplomatic and propaganda campaign waged by the Soviet Union against Somalia. They suddenly ended military supplies in



an attempt to get Somalia to bow to Soviet pressure. At the same time the Soviets are pouring \$600 million of the most sophisticated weapons into neighboring Ethiopia (who had been the client of US arms dealers until they were expelled last year) and mobilizing Cuban troops in the war in the Ogaden. So far, according to Zena (newsletter of the Ethiopian Student Union in North America) 15,000 people have been killed in the Ogaden conflict and 350,000 made refugees.

The legacy of colonialism in Africa has left a number of unsettled disputes. The old colonialists divided up Africa with no regard to the peoples living there, often separating tribes arbitrarily into two or three colonies. Since colonial times whole countries have arisen, often made up of a number of nationalities. The two superpowers take advantage of the differences among these nationalities and peoples of the Third World in order to further their imperialist aims. The Organization of African Unity has adopted a general policy calling for the peaceful and democratic settlement of these kinds of differences. But these questions can never be settled democratically as long as superpower hegemonism and aggression continues.

#### UNITE AGAINST THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

Daily the two superpowers are proving that they have no concern for the people of Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea or the Ogaden. The only concern of the superpowers is the vital shipping lines, military bases and natural resources of the African Horn. In their struggle for liberation, independence and revolution the peoples of that region are increasingly concentrating their blows on the two superpowers, particularly the USSR. Their battle can only strengthen the worldwide united front against hegemonism, colonialism and imperialism.

SUPERPOWERS OUT OF AFRICA

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

# **People's War Continues in Zimbabwe**



"WE WILL DEFEAT SMITH THROUGH THE BARREL OF THE GUN, NOT NEGOTATIONS." ROBERT MUGABE -PATRIOTIC FRONT

In mid-1977, Ian Smith, President of white minority ruled Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), declared that "never in 1,000 years and certainly never in my lifetime" would he accept the principle of one man, one vote extended to all races in Rhodesia. Then in late 1977 Smith sang a different tune. He gave "qualified" acceptance to one man, one vote. Is this really any change in policy and what does it mean for Zimbabwe's 6.5 million Blacks?

#### SMITH REGIME - RUNNING SCARED

Over the last several years, the people of Zimbabwe have struggled for the unity of various liberation organizations and have formed the Patriotic Front. In light of the sharpening crisis, the Patriotic Front set for itself the immediate task of "escalating the contradictions within the enemy camp, to intensify resolutely the war for national liberation, to maintain and deepen the unity of all democratic forces in the country, to mercilessly expose and deal ruthlessly with the counter-revolutionary and reactionary forces, and win more friends internationally." (Zimbabwe News 9/20/77)

Over the last year ZIPA, the armed force of the Patriotic Front, has killed 1,000 Rhodesian troops downed 10 enemy aircraft and blown up a railroad used for carrying military supplies just 5 miles outside of Salsbury, the Rhodesian capital. Enemy troops live in a state of fear.

Thousands of young men and women have left their schools and fill the camps of the Patriotic Front in Mozambique and Zambia in their desire to get military training. In the cities and countryside where the fighting forces are working among the people, they receive wide support of food and shelter. In a frantic move to stop this support Smith has closed 392 schools in the rural area and moved 4/5 of the Black population into "consolidated villages" - concentration camps. The Smith regime is crumbling. Whites only make up 5% of Zimbabwe's population and that is rapidly declining as 1500 leave the country each month. The rate of suicide, divorce and alcoholism among whites is staggering. The Gross National Product has dropped 3.4% while Rhodesia's debt has climbed 10% in 1977. Tens of thousands of Blacks are unemployed. Basic services for Blacks like hospital care are unknown. Smith's answer to the crisis has been to more than double military spending (\$19.3 million in 1971 to 46.2 million in 1975) and police budgets (\$15.4 million in 1971 to \$31.2 million in 1975). Responding to the increasing strength of the liberation froces, Smith's "peace plan" was only a trick. Within days of making his "one man, one vote" offer, Rhodesian troops invaded Mozambique in allempts to wipe out guerilla bases. After slaughtering innocent Mozambiquen and Zimbabwean civilians, the Rhodesian troops withdrew. Meanwhile Smith has refused to negotiate with the Patriotic Front, instead handpicking those Black leaders with whom he will speak. Joshua Nkomo, one of the Patriotic Front leaders, responded: "Smith is just buying time. He can gather his stooges around him, but the war continues." SUPERPOWERS SELL OUT ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE

The US and British imperialists also realize that the time has come to try a different tactic in order to maintain control of the country and their investments. Under the Anglo-American Peace Plan, Smith would surrender control to Britain who would rule until such time as a "free" election could be held. It would dismantle all liberation forces and establish a UN peace keeping force. Andrew Young has appeared on the scene to tell the Zimbabwean people to lay down their arms. But while the US is preaching peace, it continues to aid the reactionaries. US spotter planes and assorted weapons have found their way into Salisbury and according to the Washington Post, over 400 US citizens now serve in the Rhodesian army. The Patriotic Front has firmly rejected the Anglo-US peace plan. Robert Mugabe, leader of the Front, said: "We will defeat Smith through the barrel of the gun, not negotiations." The Zimbabwean people demand full control of their country.

At the same time the USSR, capitalizing on international hatred of the racist regime, is calling for a "multi-national force to free Zim-babwe." The Soviet Union has caused contradictions and confusion among the liberation movements by giving "aid" to one and attacking another. They have suceeded in splitting off one part of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union from the Patriotic Front and are now helping them set up military camps in Angola. (Ikwezi, 8/77) Throughout Africa the USSR has used the tactic of splitting liberat.on forces as a prelude to its own direct intervention. It has sent mercenary Cuban troops to Angola, Ethiopia and other countries in order to continue its social imperialist aims. By posing as a socialist country and the natural ally of liberation struggles, it hides its imperialist moves. But the peoples of the world are getting wise to their tricks. When former Soviet President Podgorny made his 1977 trip to Africa he was boycotted by the Patriotic Front. Mugabe, at a recent interview in China stated: "The people of Zimbabwe are facing menances from both Western imperialism and social-imperialism, and the menace from social-imperialism is more insidious and dangerous. However, the people of Zimbabwe are not to be intimidated." The Zimbabwe liberation movement is learning that they must take a firm stand against both superpowers and rely mainly on armed struggle to defeat racism and imperialism. A mobilized and awakened people are the real power of any country. Try as the superpowers might to disarm them, the people are continuing to back the Patriotic Front saying, "We conduct the armed struggle. We are our own liberators! From this position we will never turn away."

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his new energy program which will try to shift over much of US industry over to coal. The coal miners have been the most militant union in the country in recent years--risking court injunctions, fines, and police attacks to fight for their trade union rights. If the capitalists are to wage a new war, they must have the homefront secure. So the capitalists and their state are determined to get the coal miners back in line, impose a sellout contract, and bring capitalist "peace" to the coal fields.

But the miners are determined to stick it out, even if a strike lasts 4 months. One miner said, "Mining is hell, pure and simple. All those people who call us dumb miners should crawl down in the mines for just one hour--they'll climb out crying and apologizing." The main issues in this strike are restoring the medical benefits and the local right to strike. Without exception, the nt miners want a return of their medical cards.

#### WHAT HAPPENED TO THE MEDICAL CARDS?

In the 1974 contract the miners got free medical coverage through the UMW Health and Retirement Fund. This fund is entirely financed by the companies from the enormous profits they make from the miner's labor. The companies pay into the fund \$1.54 an hour per miner, and \$.80 for every ton of coal produced. In June 1977, the fund hit its worst financial crisis, and benefits were slashed to 60% of medical costs, with a \$500 deductible for hospital bills. Most miners could not afford this at all, and the wildcat strikes were on.

The Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) has taken out full page ads arguing that the constant wildcats have depleted the funds and claiming that miners are abusing their health clause--coming in for every runny nose.

The miners give their own reasons:

\*\* Arnold Miller, President of the UMW underestimated by at least 25,000 the total number of miners needing coverage.

\*\* The coal companies cheated on their royalty payments into the fund; Miller did nothing to protest. As one worker said, "Before we went on wildcat the fund was only \$2 million in the hole and Consolidated Coal alone owed over \$1 million into the fund and Miller didn't do a damn thing. Now, after we wildcatted and we are over \$20 million in the hole, Miller is finally taking them to court to collect."

\*\*The hospitals are abusing the miner's fund through inflated medical fees by adding unnecessary and even unperformed services.

### Interview with a Mine Owner Capitalist Exposes Himself

(A friend of the RC conducted this interview with Quinn Morton, head of the Kanawha Valley Coal Operators Association. It is a local mine owners' management group, part of the larger BCOA. Morton didn't know he was being interviewed for the RC. He sees the growing battle between the labor aristocrats and the militant rank and file and communists for influence in the union. He makes it clear why he prefers the labor aristocrats.)

RC: Many miners have said that dangerous safety conditions are one of their most serious grievances. What is your opinion about safety conditions in the mine?

MORTON: To be truthful miners use safety claims as a political weapon. They are not objective. Every time we have an argument it turns into a safety issue, especially when you lose time, have strikes over it. But the thing that gets me is that the men don't follow the rules. If an arbitrator hands down a decision and the men don't like it they go on strike. Like over in one of the Paint Creek mines we suspended a man for three days. The whole crew said fine, we will all go out for three days and they did. It sure disrupts the hell out of production."



On October last year Stearns strikers protested working conditions and a UMWA contract. Over 100 miners and their families were arrested and beaten.

The demand for full free medical coverage for miners and their families is the issue that virtually every miner insists on. "I don't care if it is six months or six years, I am not going back to work without the medical clause." And yet Arnold Miller is already preparing to sell out this demand by agreeing that miners pay part of their medical benefits.

#### THE WILDCAT MOVEMENT - THE LOCAL RIGHT TO STRIKE

Arnold Miller proceeded to bargain away the local right to strike in the 1974 contract in return for a tiny wage increase. The workers explained the vital importance of the local right to strike, "We need the right to strike, if somebody gets fired, especially if they stand up to the company, or if working conditions aren't safe or if those medical cards are cut off again, we are going to walk out until we get it straightened out." The local right to strike allows the workers to exercise an immediate collective attack on the profits of the company to win an immediate grievance. "As you know, one miner said, "the only thing those owners have got in front of their eyes is dollar signs."

Arnold Miller is frightened by the power of the rank and file and wants to keep law and order over the mines. Although never publicly reported, Miller sent hired gun thugs to stop the wildcat movement in Cadmen Creek, West Virginia, his home territory. But the gun thugs were in for a surprise, they were met by over 100 men armed to the teeth laying in wait for them behind sandbags. Hundreds of shots were fired and the gun thugs had to be escorted out of town by the state police for their own safety.

In the present contract negotiations Miller is faint-heartedly pushing a limited right to strike agreement because of the tremendous rank and file pressure. But the proposal is weak and dangerous. It tries to limit the right to strike to particular locals, even though a large coal company like Consolidated owns many mines and could withstand a strike in just one mine. It proposes 51% of all members of a local (including retirees) must vote for a walkout -- not a majority of those present at a meeting. And worse it provides for punitive actions against workers who go beyond these "limits". It allows companies to fire workers who violate this agreement without recourse to arbitration. It allows locals and whole districts to be put into receivership for violations.

But even a limited right to strike is a threat to the owners. So the bureaucrats are trying to figure out how to drop it all together. There are workers who are upset by lost pay checks due to the wildcats. Miller and his supporters among the local bureaucrats are trying to exploit those feelings and pave the way for dropping the right to local strikes altogether. A Miller-man named Dennis Saunders, newly elected President of Distold the Bentley, West Virginia Po trict 29. Herald, "If that was all that blocked the signing of an otherwise good contract, I'd favor not insisting on the right to strike locally." But the majority of workers argue that they can't go back without the right to strike in the contract. "Because if we get it or not we are going to go out," a miner told us, "the difference is if it is not in the contract, we are going to be hit with big fines, firings, and they are going to try to break the union." Miller's plan is clear: 1)compromise the right to strike; 2) compromise fully paid health benefits, compromise mine safety; 3) work with the companies to fire communists and militants from the UMW; 4) work with the company to impose "labor peace" in the coalfields at the expense of the health, safety and political power of the rank and file. Many workers realize Miller is a sell-out. But what they will have to learn is that Miller and his kind are paid agents of the capitalist class inside the worker's movement -- part of the labor bureaucracy. While some mine owners want to smash the UMW and bring in a company union, the larger monopolies prefer a "strong"UMW. They want a labor bureaucrat like former UMW President John L. Lewis who will stop the wildcats and

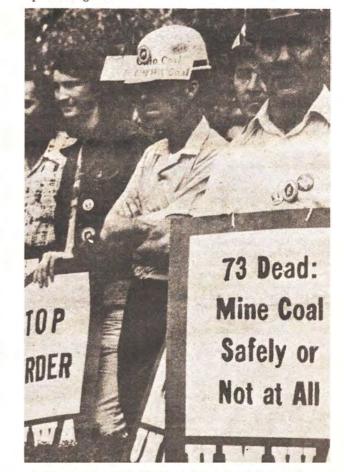
smash communist influence in the union. In case of war, they want union leaders willing to accept government control of the coalfields. Arnold Miller is trying hard to meet the capitalist's needs, but so far hasn't succeeded.

#### SELF-RELIANCE IN THE COAL FIELDS

The key to winning the strike is stopping nonunion coal. "Damn that Miller," a miner said, "only a few years ago we were 70% union and now it is just 50% and all because our union is so full of politicians that nobody has organized all these new mines cropping up and nobody is doing a damn thing to organize the Western mines." Usually conditions in non-union mines are much worse, but in Kentucky the capitalists are carrying out a different plan. The companies have organized the "Southern Labor Union" a scab company union and are paying up to \$100 a day in wages.

As the workers explained, "The only reason they are getting that money is because the owners are so scared of the UMW they are paying them more than us to keep them out of the union. Of course they don't get time and a half, get almost no benefits, but now that our union has lost its health clause what can we offer these guys? What they don't seem to understand that if the operators ever do break the UMW, their wages will shoot down to \$25/day the very next day."

Even with these high wages the scab outfits are taking no chances. "These outfits have armed thugs with machine guns mounted on tripods and barbed wire guarding these scab mines and these non-union guys in Kentucky will bushwhack you if you come in there. Every mine we try to organize at least two guys get killed trying." But union miners are piling into their cars, ready to face death, armed and ready to "persuade these scab owners to honor this strike." In Price, Utah union miners burned down a bridge to a scab mine. In eastern Kentucky miners are picketing with guns in clear view, and many mines have closed down out of fear of damage to their equipment. Miners have built a massive group of over 200 union men to keep out the scabs. As the strike continues these armed clashes will continue to increase in intensity because the miners are fighting to win. While Arnold Miller has lunch with Jay Rockerfeller, the miners are loading up their guns.



RC: What does communism have to do with the coalfields in West Virginia?

MORTON: I don't understand the communist movement myself, but one thing is they always seem to get some following wherever they go. We do have an awful lot of people who get mixed up in it....

RC: What do you feel motivates the communists in the mines, what are their goals?-

MORTON: "Their main goal is to disrupt and embarass the leadership of the mine workers, mainly to discredit the mine workers organization, weakening internally the UMW. Now I believe we need a strong union. My grandfather, that's his picture over there on the wall, he was what you call a coal baron. But my father felt that a strong union was a stabilizing influence on the coal fields. There is too much criticism of John L. Lewis. (Former UMW President-Ed.) As autocratic as he was, he was a stabilizing influence.

Miners have consistently demanded safe working conditions.

# **OPEC Meets: Growing Third World Unity**

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) ended its meeting in Venezuela December 21 without increasing oil pr ces. But the conference did discuss a number of other issues that will strengthen Third World unity. Delegates from the oil-producing countries discussed transfering oil technology to Third World countries, oil and gas conservation measures and the declining value of the US dollar. In his opening address Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez called on OPEC countries to aid non-oil producing Third World countries.

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was founded in 1960 and is made up of Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Venezuela, Qatar, Indonesia, Libya, United Arab Emirates, Algeria, Nigeria, Gabon and Ecuador. At first the imperialists took virtually no notice of OPEC and it had very little strength. This reflected the world situation at that time when US imperialism was in a much stronger economic and political position than it is today, when the bloc of western imperialist countries was relatively unified, when the dollar-centered currency still reigned supreme, and the US had not yet suffered military defeat in Indochina.

But things began to change in the 1970's. Especially after the 1973 war in the Middle East, OPEC used oil as a weapon and began to set oil prices themselves without foreign interference. What a howl the imperialists set up! The superpowers in particular attacked OPEC accusing it of everything from "the breakdown of world order and safety" to making "the international situation tense". The imperialists called OPEC a new "oil cartel" and tried to blame the inflation of the capitalist world on the rise in oil prices. But the imperialist oil monopolies have been making maximum profits for years--actually stimulating inflation -- and no one howled. The fact is that Exxon, British Petroleum and friends continue to raise their prices regardless of OPEC's policies. For example, in 1976 some OPEC members sold oil at lower prices. Did anyone notice the price of gasoline drop?

Inflation, in particular, is due to the policy pursued by the capitalist countries, which they resort to in order to avoid economic recession and to "stimulate the economy". It was the inflation and soaring prices of the capitalist countries that forced many oil-producers to raise oil prices. In the 26 years between 1947 and 1973 prices for 28 basic commodities imported by the developing countries from the imperialist countries rose by an AVERAGE of more than 350%. Chemical fertilizer doubled in price between 1973 and 1974. Over the last 7 years steel prices have more than doubled. The price for chemical protripled, cement prices have quadrupled, ducts and tractors more than doubled. The price for

## Massacre in Iran

On November 15, while 8,000 people in the US were protesting the meetings between Carter and the Shah, thousands of students in Iran were attacked by the police while attending a poetry reading. Twenty were killed, hundreds injured. The following Sunday 60,000 Iranians gathered in the capital city of Tehran to protest the murders. Again the secret police, SAVAK, machine gunned the protesters, killing 47.

This massacre of unarmed Iranians is not the first. Since the 1953 CIA coup overthrowing a popular government, murder and torture by the government have been common. On June 5, 1963, the Shah ordered the massacre of 10,000 people for otesting his fascist rule. But despite the continuing violence, the Shah has been unable to prevent worker and student protests. Since 1971 armed struggle has been waged by revolutionary organizations. The US press has helped prop up this fascist dictatorship by imposing a blackout of all demonstrations and massacres in Iran. ATM(ML) supports the demand of the ISA that news services give complete details of demonstrations and names of those murdered. End all US support of the Shah's regime! Support the struggle of the Iranian people for freedom, independence and liberation!

chemical products made from petroleum has gone up more than 9 times in the past several years.

But there is a reason why the imperialists distort the facts about OPEC. And that reason is profit. In the course of the struggle being waged by the oil producers to control their own resources the capitalists took the "opportunity" to inflate their oil prices. It is not surprising that the profits of 30 major US and European oil companies jumped more than 80% between 1972 and 1975. The oil merchants of Soviet social-imperialism joined in this little game and dumped large supplies of Middle Eastern oil into Europe and made huge super profits.

#### HISTORY OF IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

The significance of OPEC stands out when we consider that for many years their oil resources belonged not to them, but to the imperialists. During the 1930's US and British oil companies negotiated leases which covered whole countries, giving the companies the exclusive right to explore, develop and sell those countries' oil resources. These leases ran for 50-100 years at ridiculously low prices. In fact, as time went on the imperialists were even able to force down the price of oil. It cost \$2.22 per barrel in the 1940's and was pushed down to \$1.88 per barrel in the 1950's. It remained at this price until 1961, during which time the prices of basic com-modities had risen sharply. The imperialists stopped at nothing to maintain control of oil resources -- including overthrowing a popular government in Iran in 1953. Imperialist investment in the oil-producing countries was aimed only at getting oil out of the ground as fast as possible. Under these conditions investment does not produce a balanced economy, but only increases a country's dependence on imperialism.

But the imperialists never act without getting resistance to their plunder and control. In the early 1960's the governments of OPEC began to demand more national control and profits. They took advantage of the decline in strength of US imperialism during the past decade -- due to its military defeats in Indochina and its current state of economic crisis and inflation. The countries of OPEC have moved to raise oil prices on their own. These price increases are entirely reasonable and are made only to compensate for past imperialist theft of their oil and to adjust for the soaring prices of the basic commodities which they must import from the capitalist countries. This increase in their income allows the oil producing countries to better develop their national economies which were left seriously unbalanced and underdeveloped by imperialism and colonialism. They have taken these actions despite military

threats against them by the superpowers. Certain OPEC countries said they would "burn the oil fields" before turning them over to the imperialists. Of course, all of the OPEC countries are class societies--oppressing their own working class and peasantry. In various OPEC countries there are liberation movements fighting to overthrow the entire imperialist system and establish New Democracy. The US working class must give full support to these movements. At the same time we support <u>any actions</u> which weaken the superpowers. OPEC represents such actions--a growing sign that countries want independence from the superpowers.

### OPEC'S RELATIONS WITH SECOND AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Oil producing countries made correct use of the contradictions between the superpowers and the lesser capitalist countries of Europe and Japan. During the 1973 Mid-East war, the oil embargo forced a number of second world countries to recognize the right of the Palestinians to a homeland and lessen their support of Israel. This was one of the first of a growing number of progressive alliances among second and third world countries to oppose the superpowers.

OPEC has acted to assist other developing countries as well. At the last Afro-Arab summit conference held in March 1977, the oil-producing Arab countries took special measures to provide African countries with oil so as to help them overcome economic difficulties brought on by oil price hikes. In addition the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa and the Arab Fund for Technical Assistance were established to provide more loans and aid to more than 30 African countries. Saudi Arabia and three other oil-producing Arab countries granted \$1.5 billion in aid to African countries.

What is even more important is that OPEC's success has acted as an example to other raw material-producing countries which have set up or strengthened their own raw material organizations. Right now there are 15 such organizations, 10 of which have been founded since 1974, and which comprise a large number of countries of the Third World. Little by little these countries are starting to take control of their own resources and lessening the control of the superpowers. This is of immense benefit to the struggle of the working class here in the US and we must support these moves. We must stand resolutely for the strengthening of the raw material-producing associations, encourage their unity and expose all attempts by the capitalists to try and weaken or divide those groups, or to blame them for the cri-sis and misery of the system of imperialism.

### CLASS STRUGGLE BURNS! Firemen's Strike in Britain

On November 14, 35,000 members of the Fire Brigades Union (FBU) by a 2 to 1 vote walked out in their first nation-wide strike in 69 years. As the RC goes to press, the workers have stayed out on strike over a month. Demanding a 30% wage increase (the average wage is \$118) and a 42 instead of 48 hour week, they are receiving widespread public support--in spite of a media blitz the government is carrying out against them. All English workers are faced with the same long hours and shrinking real wages. 500,000 signatures supporting the firemen were just presented to the Prime Minister. But the state has called out 12,000 troops as strikebreakers, probably the largest scab force since England's 1926 general strike.

In late 1977, 10,000 strikers and their families marched through the streets of London ending with a rally at Hyde Park. Eight days later, hundreds marched in Belfast, Cardiff, and Manchester, raising the same wage and hour demands. Despite the popular public support and an overwhelming majority in the BFU for continuing the strike, the sell-out bureaucrats of the Trade Unions Council (TUC) failed to renew its pledge of support in early December, resulting in a loss of financial support for the strike fund. est industries, coal mining and British Leyland which employ 103,000 workers. England's present "Labor" Party government has been unable to curb the effects of the economic crisis. With inflation at a whopping 20% annually, the British working class will not heed the government and TUC plea to limit wage increases to 10% yearly. England, once the world's leading imperialist power, has a cost of living similar to the US's, but in the last 3 years the price of basic food items such as milk and bread has jumped 80%. The average wage (48 hour week) is \$144. The government has now started to fulfill the threat of withholding funds from public employees and nationalized industry if they strike.

Like workers in the US, our British brothers and sisters are resisting the capitalist economic crisis. They are showing that public employees can organize, wage a militant battle and gain support of their fellow workers. We must support them in their struggle.

### FILIPINO COMMUNIST ARRESTED

Jose Maria Sison (also known as Amado Guerrero) has been captured by the fascist Marcos regime. Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and author of <u>Philippine Society and Revolution</u>, Sison is the foremost revolutionary leader in the Philippines today. It was Sison who took the Filipino people's desire for social revolution and national independence and put it into action in the New Democratic Program.

Despite Sison's arrest, the regime will not be able to breathe easier. No doubt that Marcos will once again proclaim that he has broken the back In the past 8 months thousands of English workers, both public and private, have been forced to strike. Strikes are coming up in the two larg-

of the revolution, just as he did on the capture of Commander Dante, Victor Corpus and others who were also top members of the CPP. But like a man who has cried wolf too often, none will take this claim seriously. The Filipino masses have seen that with every arrest the CPP, the New People's Army and the resistance movement in general replenishes its ranks, grows stronger and more organized than before, inflicting heavier blows on the fascist forces. For every peoples soldier it murders, ten more arise; for every activist it captures, twenty more take their place.

(Excerpted from an article by International Assn. of Filipino Patriots, Box 24737, Oakland, CA 94623.)



British troops move in as scabs during fireman's strike.

# Bakke...

The principles uphold BOTH the Supreme Court AND the UC Regents as equal targets of the struggle (and not just the Supreme Court). The body united " on the analysis that Bakke is mainly an attack on the oppressed nationalities. It is part of the history of national oppression under imperiald ism and AbDC upheld the principle of opposing the "systematic oppression of Third World peoy ple." The body also correctly saw Bakke as part o of an attempt to further divid the working class along national line; and divide men from women. The ABDC took up as one of its slogans "End Women's Oppression, Full Equality for Women."

Groups who were leading the NCOBD also attended the conference: the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) and CASA. On June 26 the ABDC chose Oct. 15 for its National Day of Solidarity. This was before the National Committee convened to select their date. Members of the NCOBD, CPUSA and CASA were present and later chose to wreck the unity of the anti-Bakke movement by calling for separate demonstrations. In fact at both the July 26 ABDC Conference and at the Statewide MEChA Conference the day before, the NCOBD leadership did everything in their power to subvert the organizing efforts of the MEChAs. They challenged the right of MEChA Central in San Jose to call the conference (despite the fact that San Jose had been selected at a previous statewide conference to organize the June 26th Conference.) This opportunist bloc claimed that they had not been notified in enough time before the conference--despite the fact that South Bay Central forces actually produced copies of materials they sent out in advance! Everyone else attending had plenty of time to mobilize student and community groups: 70 organizations and 300 people attended.

This opportunist bloc repeatedly tried to win the conference to its reformist line. They only wanted to make to US Supreme Court the target of struggle, instead of exposing the UC Regents as well. When the failed to politically convince anyone and their procedural gimmicks were exposed, the opportunists walked out--isolated from the masses,

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE--A HISTORY OF OPPORTUNISM The NCOBD formed at a closed conference in 1977. The leadership of NCOBD today consists of KDP (Union of Democratic Philipinos), CASA, CPUSA, and Socialist Workers Party. Their history of opportunism in the anti-Bakke movement goes back over a year.

In February 1977, the Third World Coalition at S.F. State held a rally and marched to the offices of the University Administration where students presented demands concerning special admissions programs on the campus. The future leaders of the NCOBD went so far as to subvert the struggle by actively boycotting and urging others to boycott a march against the administration. What was their political rationale? The courts are the main target of the Bakke struggle, they reasoned, not the university administration. This line was later more fully developed as seeing the UC Regents as "tactical allies" in the struggle against Bakke.

The UC Regents are direct representatives of the capitalist class. Regents include major capitalists themselves (i.e. directors of IBM, AT & T the state governor and other top politicians.) The Regents insure that the University curriculum carries out the capitalist's needs for trained intellectuals and managers and that the research policies benefit big business. UC Davis, for example, helped invent a tomato picking machine which put thousands of farmworkers out of work. UC Berkeley Biology Department helped develop defoliants for use in the Viet Nam War. The Regents manage a multi-million dollar fund which continues to invest in corporations exploiting the people of South Africa. The Regents have historically defended racist admissions practices. During the 1960's the Regents consistently opposed Third World studies departments and often called out police against student demonstrators. It is not surprising that the UC administration directly collaborated with Alan Bakke in filing his court suit. To see the Regents as "tactical allies" is more than a mistake. It is asking students and workers to side with their oppressor -- the capitalist class. It is consistent with the right opportunist political lines of the CPUSA, CASA, KDP and the SWP. While claiming to be for socialist revolution, in fact these groups collaborate with the capitalists in order to reform the system. The Anti-Bakke struggle must unite as many forces as possible against our common enemy; but we can never ally with our enemy in hopes of defeating him! When the NCOBD formed, they continued to uphold only the Supreme Court as a target of struggle. Only after the anti-Bakke movement as a whole denounced the role of the UC Regents did the NCOBD formally change its position on its "tactical allies." But even here, their position changes depending on when and to whom you are talking. The NCOBD officially broke their silence with a pamphlet called "A Case of Collusion." Instead of showing a change in line, however, it reveals a continuance of their reformist views.

### Commemorate the Death of Comrade Chou En-lai

The peoples of China along with all the progressive peoples of the world will join together January 8 to solemnly commemorate the 2nd anniversay of the death of comrade Chou En-Lai.

Chou began his revolutionary struggles young. At 21, he played an active role in the May 4 movement, and he joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1922. Throughout the revolution he took up many demanding and important posts in regional committees and the military. Chou was always among the masses, and led such historic events as the 1927 Shanghai worker's armed uprsisings. After libaration Chou became First Premier of the Government of the Peoples Republic of China and it's Minister of Foreign Affairs. His leading role on the CPC Central Committee and its Political Bureau made him the target of vicious attacks from the right during the Cultural Revolution and the recent struggle against the Gang of Four. But he staunchly carried out a correct proletarian line and helped lead the masses in denouncing all renegades.

All over the world, the oppressed masses look to Chou as an example of a people's fighter. He was able to rouse the masses into battle with the enemy, to concretely analyse a situation with

court's attention because the opposing side will do everything they can to win the case. So when ...one side doesn't care about winning, or when both sides want the same results--the American system of justice doesn't work, in theory or in practice." Clearly they are saying if the Regents gave a good defense, then justice would work. It then goes on to "expose" the courts as "dominated by conservative Nixon and Ford appointees". Finally, the pamphlet ends with a list of demands to the UC system including the demand that the Regents "make available to the NCOBD its resources and facilities for build-up activities for October 3 and October 8." The NCOBD still views the Regents as possible allies in the struggle!

Their pamphlet shows that not only does the NCOBD seek to collaborate with the capitalists, but also to spread illusions about the capitalist state. The state -- including the courts, legislators, police, etc .-- is bought and paid for by the capitalists. The Supreme Court will never "fairly" make a decision favorable to the working class simply by hearing both sides of a case. Workers and oppressed nationalities can force concessions through mass struggle. But the revisionists of the CPUSA and CASA and the right opportunist KDP see it differently. They see the state as "neutral", capable of weighing both sides fairly. Thus the rallies and petition campaigns called by the NCOBD are not part of a larger campaign of revolutionary education about imperialism; they are simply attempts at pressuring the "neutral" capitalist state.

The leadership of the NCOBD not only objectively supports the US imperialists, they unite with the Soviet social imperialists as well. The CPUSA, CASA and KDP have all consistently supported Soviet aggression in Angola and Zaire. praise the USSR as a "socialist" country. Within the Bakke struggle, the CPUSA and CASA particularly act in the interest of Soviet social-imperialism. At numerous anti-Bakke events, they praised the USSR for eliminating racism and providing "socialist" education. In fact, since the restoration of capitalism in the USSR in the 1960's, national oppression has once again flourished (See RCII, #1). The educational system is geared to turning out privileged bureaucrats and managers. Soviet revisionism offers no real alternative to the US masses; we must thoroughly expose not only US imperialism, but those who would replace it with another form of imperialism. PRACTICE THE MASS LINE

Like their political view of the enemy and their proven incorrectness regarding the role of the tools of Marxism-Leninism and lead the people on to victory. For revolutionary forces in this country, his memory must be carried on by our unending struggles to study Marxist-Leninist theory and to apply it to our concrete conditions, uniting all our forces into one invincible Communist Party, able to lead the masses in victory over US imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism and on to building socilaism.



OPPORTUNISTS LIQUIDATE THE NATIONAL QUESTION

In all its literature the NCOBD leadership consistently refuses to fight all-sidedly against national oppression -- instead limiting it to only a question or racism. They put forward demands for affirmative action programs--which is correct as far as it goes. But the discrimination faced by minority peoples in the US goes much deeper. The system of imperialism systematically oppresses Black, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians and other minorities in order to make the greatest possible profits. They deny minorities their native language, culture, decent housing, health care, etc. Most particularly, they keep the Black and Chicano nations in bondage, refusing to grant them the right to self-determination. But the leadership of the NCOBD does not agree, they see only "racist ideas" -- the wrong ideas in white people's heads. Thus they limit the struggle to immediate reforms, failing to get at the roots of the problem: imperialism.

How does this line effect the practice of the NCOBD? The CPUSA, CASA and KDP attended a statewide MEChA Conference in Fresno, California in May 1977. In duscussing principles of unity for the anti-Bakke movement, they specifically argued that it was not a question of national oppression. They wanted to liquidate the demand that Bakke was an attack on "Third World people." They proposed to substitute a motion saying that Bakke was mainly an attack on all workers. In this way they falsely counterposed the interests of the working class and oppressed nationalities. The bourgeoisie picked up the Bakke case precisely in order to attack national minorities, increase national oppression by spreading myths about "re-verse discrimination." In essence, the NCOBD leadership position denies the special oppression of minority peoples -- which flows from the system of imperialism.

#### THE TASKS AHEAD

We have shown briefly how the revisionist and right opportunist leadership of the NCOBD has tried to split the anti-Bakke struggle and lead it towards reformism. The ABDC is now mapping out plans for nationwide anti-Bakke work; we urge activists to unify the movement by joining ABDC. The fight to defeat Bakke must be seen as part of the broader struggle against imperialism. And to defeat imperialism, we must defeat the opportunists like CPUSA, CASA, KDP and SWP. We must expose the NCOBD leadership in the course of practical struggle. Only in this way will the masses see from their own experience the uselessness of reformism and the necessity of revolution.

We must intensify work among students. The

The NCOBD writes, "The fairness of any decision is based on the complete disclosure of all relevant facts. In theory, all the important facts pro and con in any case will be brought to the

Their fear of the masses is shown in the organizing efforts of the NCOBD. Prior to October 15th the ABDC held many community forums, attended union meetings to speak to the rank-and-file, leafletted communities, and in general made great effort to take the anti-Bakke struggle to the masses. Similar efforts were made by many individuals working within the NCOBD. However, as a whole the NCOBD approached not rank-and-file caucuses or union meetings, but spoke before the executive boards of unions attempting to win the trade union bureaucrats to their side. Rather than speaking at Church masses or before congregations, they contacted individual ministers. Rather than speaking before students of job-training programs they approached the administrators of those programs. In short their approach to organizing reflects their political perspective; no faith in the masses, but faith in the bureaucrats. and administrators. They don't try to forge a revolutionary alliance of the working class and oppressed nationalities, but an alliance of reformist 'leaders'.

MEChAs in California initiated the anti-Bakke struggle; they were joined by thousands of Asian, Black and white students. We must help build the progressive student organizations like MEChAs, Black Student Unions, Asian Student Unions and others. It is important to link the anti-Bakke struggle to local campus issues against cutbacks, for women's rights, etc. We must make the anti-Bakke movement truly multi-national by consistently reaching out to involve Black and Anglo students.

The ABDC and Marxist-Leninist groups have made initial steps in reaching out to workers. We must intensify these efforts by organizing workers to attend demonstrations, organize against Bakke in their plants, and take active leadership in the anti-Bakke movement. The anti-Bakke movement will surely deepen its ties with the masses. Despite the efforts of the opportunists in the NCOBD leadership, the working class and oppressed nationalities will come to see the anti-Bakke struggle as one part of a common struggle for the overthrow of imperialism. OVERTURN THE BAKKE DECISION!

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE OF THE MULTI-NATIONAL WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES! FULL EQUALITY FOR OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES AND WOMEN THROUGH SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

## Grasp Marxist - Leninist Theory LENIN: Letter to a Comrade

(This is the fifth and final study guide in a recent ATM study series.)

Lenin wrote this article during a time of the Czarist dictatorship in Russia in 1904, when the Russian social-democrats (Communists) had to operate under conditions of strict secrecy and of military discipline. The committees of Russian revolutionaries were regularly infiltrated, harassed and smashed by the Czarist police. The movement was still scattered and disjointed and in need of centralization and effective organization. It was in these circumstances that Lenin drafted this famous article. While our own conditions differ in many respects, there are many lessons which we can draw from this work. We operate under conditions of bourgeois democracy, with relative freedom to carry on our revolutionary work. At the same time our movement still lacks its own centralized, disciplined and experienced proletarian party. We still face the task of building up party organization, of learning how to utilize all the forces of the revolution, of building up a steeled and experienced core of leadership, of establishing an efficient division of labor for the broad and varied tasks involved in revolutionary work. Given this situation we must try and apply the teachings of Lenin to the rich and complex conditions of our own revolution.

The working class movement in the United States stands in need of its Communist Party. One aspect of creating this party is the development of its organs of leadership: its political newspaper and its leading bodies. Lenin recognized that one fundamental task of party building is "the creation, support, and consolidation of those central institutions without which our Party cannot exist as a party." Our movement must develop its own Party press, a sound, nationwide Marxist-Leninist newspaper, which is published at least on a weekly basis and which has the function of training the working class in political consciousness. This means the development of trained writers and correspondents with a real grasp of Marxism-Leninism. Our movement needs to build up a solid organizational network for the distribution of its press, a network which must be based in the factories, mines and mills. Speaking about the distribution of communist literature, Lenin wrote,



Black Belt South for union representation. Rather than combining the boycott with a strong, militant organizing drive and strike preparation at the JP Stevens plants, the ACTWU bureaucrats have emphasized the boycott. And even there, they mainly seek the endorsements from local politicians and central labor councils, rather than consistently picketing and demonstrating at retail outlets. Most of the boycott offices are run by fulltime ACTWU bureaucrats uninterested in mobilizing mass support. Nevertheless, the boycott is growing in strength--as is the determination of the JP Stevens workers themselves.

#### JP STEVENS WORKERS--20 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

The JP Stevens textile workers began their first union organizing drive in Roanoke Rapids, N.C. in 1959. Since then, the JP Stevens bosses have made clear they will stop at nothing to exploit their workers and keep their plants nonunion. After 12 representation elections, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) set aside 5 because of company unfair labor practices. Stevens bosses have been forced to pay \$1.3 million in back wages to 289 workers illegally fired for union activity. In 1974 the Roanoke Rapids workers in a 7 plant complex voted for union representation, but the company has still refused to negotiate a contract. The bosses have used a variety of tactics to keep out the union: shutting down plants which voted for the union, firing union activists, setting up phony "education committees" to spread anti-union propaganda, Stalling contract negotiations and union elections with endless legal proceedings, and blatant racism aimed at dividing black and white workers. JP Stevens has a lot at stake in remaining n non-union. Since the end of World War II, JP Stevens joined an increasing number of capitalists moving their plants from the industrialized North to the South, mostly the Black Belt. The Black Belt South is the historic homeland of the Afro-American people, kept in economic underdevelopment to better profit the imperialists. JP Stevens was able to save millions in wages by moving its plants to the Black Belt. In 1972 Black per capita income in the South was \$2,000 less than whites. Only 15% of the South's workers are unionized compared to 30-45% unionization in the Northeastern states. Of the 20 "right to work" states (which outlaw union shops) 11 are in the South. Companies like JP Stevens maintain and intensify the national oppression against Blacks. In towns like Roanoke Rapids and Kannapolis (run by Cannon Textile Mills), the city police department, judges and city government carry out the



"This is an extremely important task, for if we secure regular contact between ...(our) . distributors AND ALL THE FACTORIES in that district, as well as the largest possible number of WORKERS' HOMES in that district, it will be of enormous value, both for demonstrations and for an uprising....It is too late to start organizing the speedy and proper delivery of literature at a time of unrest, a strike, or turmoil: this work can be built up only gradually..."

We must pay special attention to the training of a strong core of leadership for our future party. Lenin repeatedly stressed that leadership must come from those revolutionaries who have strong ties with the masses and who have a wealth of practical training. This ensures both authority (that is, the respect of the masses), and experience. Lenin stated: "The leadership of the movement should be entrusted to the smallest possible number of the most homogeneous possible, groups of professional revolutionaries with great practical experience." Our leadership must be good at practicing the mass line, of constantly strengthening its ties with the masses by being able to systematize the ideas and aspirations of

needs of the textile mills. Blacks are kept in the worst housing, get the least education, and have the worst paying jobs in the plants. In the course of unionization drives, workers have demanded an end to JP Stevens racial discrimination. As one white worker said at the Nov. 20 rally, "I would not like to be a part of anything that doesn't benefit Black people as well as white people."

The struggle to unionize the JP Stevens plants is not only a struggle for trade union rights. As long as US imperialism keeps the Black Nation enslaved, no American worker can be free. As long as the capitalists maintain the Black Belt South as a non-union, low-wage area, they will continue

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the masses into correct revolutionary plans and policies. In order for this to occur we must create a situation where our leadership is in close touch to the actual practical movement. For this it is necessary to have a workable system of reports which keep leadership informed of all facets of the movement. How is the work being carried on? What lessons are being learned? Lacking this it is impossible to develop strongly centralized leadership, and also for that leadership to be able to function. As Lenin writes: "without information centralization is impossible."

Lastly, our movement demands that we develop the greatest possible division of labor for our work. The demands of our revolution are many and varied and call for the development of comrades who become "red and expert" in different functions. We must have agitators, propagandists, organizers, "technical experts", comrades who are skilled in cultural work, printers, etc., etc. We must learn how to make use of all those in the movement who have something to contribute, but whose skills are often ignored by a movement which has not yet learned how to use them. We will be better able to do so if we pay close attention to training of specialists, who can do the best job in their given field and who can make use of all possible forces involved in their areas of specialty. As Lenin says we must do away with the type of organization where each person"carries on all and every kind of work, without devoting himself to some definite type of revolutionary work, without assuming responsibility for some special duty, without carrying through a piece of work through to the end, once it has been undertaken." Lenin stressed that we must pay the utmost attention to developing precisely such organization in the large factories (building the factory nucleus as our basic organization). This is a cardinal task of our movement which still lacks strong influence among the proletariat except to a small extent. "The main strength of the movement lies in the organization - of the workers at the (large) factories, for the large factories (and mills) contain not only the predominant part of the working class, as regards numbers, but even more as regards influence, development, and fighting capacity."

to blackmail Northern workers into accepting wage and benefit cuts to "prevent" runaway shops. As long as the capitalists maintain their national oppression of Black people, the working class remains divided. All workers must support the JP Stevens organizing drives and support the right of the Afro-American Nation to self-determination. Only by carrying out a consistent struggle for the equality of peoples and the right of self-determination can the working class unite against our common enemy: US imperialism. SUPPORT THE JP STEVENS BOYCOTT UPHOLD THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL SECESSION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION

is a direct threat to the Israeli's and US domination. Any split in the Arab world would strengthen Israel.

After Sadat's visit and the establishment of the Cairo talks, the Soviet revisionists saw themselves being outmanuevered. The USSR tried to use for their own ends the legitimate anger of Arab peoples against Sadat. The USSR is pretending to back the PLO and Arab states like Syria, Iraq and Libya. The USSR has already carried out its social-imperialist designs by sending arms and Cuban military advisors to some of these countries.

The USSR is hypocritically condemning Sadat -claiming he is "reactionary", while other Arab states are "progressive". It was the USSR that extracted superprofits from Egypt, through unequal trade agreements causing Sadat to cancel Egypt's debts with the USSR. Sadat has taken a strong stand against the USSR, recently reducing Soviet and East European diplomatic representation in Egypt. The USSR is a false friend indeed. During the 1973 war, the USSR cut off badly needed spare parts and military equipment to Egypt in order to impose a peace settlement. The USSR undercut the Arab oil embargo of 1973 by buying oil cheap in the Mid-East and reselling it in Europe for tremendous profits. As more and more Third World countries see the aggressive nature of Soviet social-imperialism, they are moving to expel the USSR--as Somalia did late last year.

and principled stand: no recognition of Israel, no peace conference without the PLO, no separate peace with Israel. Much of their position was confirmed by a special session of the UN General Assembly on November 25, 1977. The General Assembly adopted a resolution reaffirming that no just and lasting peace could be achieved without Israel's withdrawal from all areas occupied in 1967. There could be no peace without the attainment by the Palestinians of their inalienable national rights and the full participation by all parties, including the PLO, in any peace talks.

The great struggle of the Palestinian people for their homeland has continued without stop ever since the Zionists established their illegal settler state in 1948. Victory to the Arab and the Palestinian peoples will be realized by strengthening their unity, mobilizing all their forces and their rich enomic resources in an uncompromising struggle against Israeli aggres US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

#### VICTORY TO THE PLO

Sadat

While the superpowers are scrambling for control and trying to exploit the contradictions among Arab peoples, support for the PLO continues to grow. In recent months, the PLO has launched armed attacks into northern Israel killing a number of Israeli soldiers and destroying small military installations. Throughout the recent crisis, the PLO has consistently put forward a correct



Palestinian soldiers in training.

# **Revolutionary Culture**

# **Cultura Revolucionaria**

## **Powerful Weapon of the Working Class**

## Arma Poderosa de la Clase Obrera

Whenever people's struggles have been in upsurge, there has been an upsurge in revolutionary culture. During the revolutionary war period in China, Lu Hsun wrote his outstanding literary works. Albanian art and writing has surged forward as thousands of new cultural workers develop a new Socialist culture. And in our own country. during the 1930's, the CPUSA and the workers movement produced proletarian posters, novels and murals, much of which has been lost or suppressed. During the 1960's and into the 1970's, a new upsurge of anti-imperialist and revolutionary culture was and is still being developed. The photographs shown here of wall murals in San Francisco capture the spirit of the movement of workers and oppressed nationalities. While the bourgeoisie has co-opted some muralists into "revolutionizing" the sides of banks and big corporations, these clearly depict the multinational solidarity and history of the peoples struggle against capitalism.

The three poems at the right were written by sisters who work with us. They embody the spirit of anger and determination that the working class and women have against the system which enslaves them.

The RC staff invites and urges all who read the paper to submit their cultural works. If you wish to contribute regularly, write us and we'll set up correspondence to gear cartoons and topical works to the needs of the paper. We also urge CHILDREN to send us their drawings. To develop a truly new revolutionary culture that will thoroughly defeat the decadent and self-serving culture of the capitalists, the struggle must be deeply rooted among the masses. Only when they embrace it as their own will the influence of the bourgeoisie be broken.

Paul Robeson Anti-Imperialist, Anti- Fascist Cultural Worker



Paul Robeson talking to W.E.B. De Bois.



### The Boss

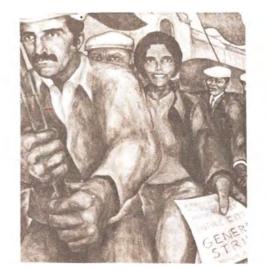
The furnace blast is hot and I am poor, boss. My father's hands poured iron fast; now he is dying. Caught cancer from the molds he cast. The fumes he breathed gave you health, the thirty years he worked made your wealth.

I am poor, boss, and I've built flanks of tanks to fight your wars. In the burst of flame I see the faces of three brothers lost to the last war. The next war will be a class war. The next war will be your last, boss.



CT





### **El Patron**

El viento del horno chamuzca Y soy muy pobre patrón Mi padre aquí sudo Llenando los moldes. Ahora se muere; Contrajo cáncer de los moldes que lleno. Los vapores que respiro Le trajo a Ud. salud. Los treinta años de trabajo a usted lo enriquecio.

Soy pobre patrón. Construi'sus tanques Para pelear sus guerras. Y en las llamaradas Veó las caras De mis tres hermanos Muertos en la última guerra. La siguiente patrón Será una guerra entre clases. La siguiente guerra patrón, Será su última.

CT



Siempre que las luchas de los pueblos surgen adelante le han dado brote a una cultura revolucionaria. Fue durante el periodo de la guerra revolucionaria en China que Lu Hsun escribió sus obras literarias destacadas. En Albania el àrte y las escrituras han florecido en las manos de miles de trabajadores culturales que están adelantando una nueva cultura socialista, En nuestro país, en los 1930's, el PCEUA y el movimiento obrero producieron cartelones, novelas y murales proletarios muchos de cuales se han perdido o han sido suprimidos. Durante los 1960's y hasta a los 1970's se desarrollo, y aún sigue creciendo, una nueva cultura anti-imperialista y revolucionaria. Estas fotografías de murales en las paredes de San Francisco capturan el espíritu del movimiento de obreros y nacionalidades oprimidas. Por un lado, la burguesía se ha adueñado, a su manera. de unos muralistas dejándolos "revolucionar" las paredes de bancos y corporaciones grandes. Pero a la vez, estas obras describen la solidaridad multinacional y la historia de la lucha del pueblo contra el capitalismo.

Los tres poemas al lado derecho fueron escricos por unas camaradas que trabajan con nosotros. En éllos se encarna el ardor del coraje y determinación, que lleva la clase obrera y mujeres muy dentro de sí, encontra del sistema que los esclaviza.

El personal de la CR les invita y urge a todos los que lean el periódico que nos manden sus obras culturales. Si gustan contribuir regularmente escríbanos para establecer una correspondencia y así poder acomodar las caricaturas u otras obras de acuerdo con las necesidades del periódico. También le urgimos a los niños que nos manden sus dibujos. Para crear una cultura nueva, verdaderamente revolucionaria que pueda destruir completamente la cultura decadente y egoísta de los capitalistas tenemos que arraigar la lucha profundamente entre las masas. Porque sólo cuando hagan la lucha suya podremos romper la influencia de la burguesía.



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**Paul Robeson** Anti-Imperialist, Anti- Fascist **Cultural Worker** 



Paul Robeson talking to W.E.B. De Bois.

On January 27, 1976 Paul Robeson the great Black singer and actor passed away. Born of slave parents who had fought in the US Civil War, Robeson was a life long fighter against imperialism. He was the third Black man ever to attend Rutgers University. In 1920 he graduated from Columbia University Law School. Disgusted with the racist practices of American law firms, he quit law work. During this time he became active in theatrical productions and began a lifetime career as actor and singer.

During a tour to England, Robeson noticed that the English ruling class treated their servants the same way Blacks were treated in the US. He began to see that the problmes of society weren't based solely on race but on class exploitation. It was his first step towards political activism.

In 1934 a famous Russian filmaker asked him to visit the USSR to discuss a film project. Passing through Germany along the way, he and his friends were threatened and verbally abused by Nazi stormtroopers. Deeply shocked, Robeson devoted much of his next 10 years to fighting fascism. He toured Europe raising money to fight fascism. Amid falling bombs and the terrors of war, he sang in Madrid for the International Brigade for Republican Spain.

Robeson became a firm supporter of the Russian Revolution and all socialist countries. Of his experiences in the then socialist USSR, he wrote "... formerly oppressed nationalities were leaping ahead ... from illiteracy to the heights of knowledge ... A thousand years? No. Less than 20!"

Returning to the US in 1939 he continued his anti-fascist work and the struggle for equality of nationalities. His concerts and performances were welcomed by workers and Black groups across the country. But after World War II, the US bourgeoisie launched an attack on him for his support of the USSR and socialism. Eventually, they revoked his passport. He fought these attacks and was vigorously supported not only by progressive people in the US, but by the newly liberated countries of China and Albania.

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### Working Women

Are working women meant to be property,. working for pennies passively bought and sold commodities?

If so,

explain the women workers of the Essex Wire plant, paid \$2.75, to work in temperatures that fry: 6 months on strike, still no slack. A cops bullet, shattering the spine of a mother on the picket line won't turn them back.

If a woman is poor. black, yellow, red or brown, is she then fit only to bear children, keep house, work for dirt, question nothing?

If so, explain Carla, worker, chicana, great-granddaughter of a Ludlow miner, 10 hours a day in the bottling plant, studying nights to apply the lessons, of past and present revolutions, raising children, future revolutionaries, training, with her brothers to overthrow the system which forces us to live these lies; the capitalist system which we will fight like hell -CT until it dies.

**Newsboys Story** Getcha paper! Sports and finance. n Domh fo

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Do I read these papers?









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CT

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Sí, los editores periodistas

son una pandilla generosa,

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el imperialismo. Fue el tercer negro que había asistido a la Universidad de Rutgers. En Es verdad que las mujeres obreras son propiedad 1920 se graduó de la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Columbia. Disgustado con las prácticas racistas de las empresas legales americanas, renunció al trabajo jurídico. Durante este período se hizo activo en las producciones teatrales y empezó una carrera de vida como actor y cantante.

> Durante una gira en Inglaterra, Robeson noto que la clase dirigente inglesa trataba a sus criados de la misma manera como eran tratados los negros en los EUA. Empezó a ver que los problemas de la sociedad no se basaban sólo en la raza sino también en la explotación de clase. Fue su primer paso hacia el activismo politico.

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Róbeson se hizo apoyante firme de la Revolución Rusa y a todos los países socialistas. De sus experiencias en la URSS entonces socialista, escribió "...las nacionalidades antes oprimidas estaban saltando adelante ... del analfabetismo a la sabiduría...;Mil años? No. ¡Menos de 20!"

Al regresar a los EUA en 1939 continuó su trabajo antifascista y la lucha para la igualdad de nacionalidades. Sus conciertos y espectáculos se aceptaban animadamente por los obreros y los grupos negros al través del país. Pero después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, la burguesía americana lanzo un ataque contra él por su apoyo de

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In the early 1950's the government hauled him before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Here he took the same uncompromising stand he had always shown. When asked if he was a member of the then revolutionary Communist Party, he replied: "What is the Communist Party? ... Do you mean a Party of people who have sacrificed for my people and for all Americans and workers, that they can live in dignity? Do you mean that Party?" In 1952, the USSR awarded him the Stalin Peace Prize, but the US government prohibited him from travelling to the USSR to receive it. Finally, in 1958 he won a limited passport.

Paul Robeson made many contributions to the fight against fascism, and for world revolutionary culture. His devotion to the struggles of oppressed people created in him the magnificent voice that boomed powerfully against all reaction. His fine cultural work won him the respect of all progressive people. He will long be remembered.

He responded to the House Un-American Committees question of why he returned to the US from the Soviet Union, "... I am going to stay here and have a part of it ... No fascist-minded people will drive me from it. I'm for peace with the Soviet Union and I am for peace with China, and I am not for peace or friendship with fascist Franco, and I am not for peace with the fascist Nazi Germans."

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#### Newsboys Story Getcha paper!

Sports and finance. Neutron Bomb found in Carter's pants.

Do I make money Selling these things? Yes, lady I hope To retire at Palm Springs.

Senator and model discovered in bed. Russian exposes China as Red.

Hearst sells Patty at the drop of a pin, with wars and lies and the President's Grir

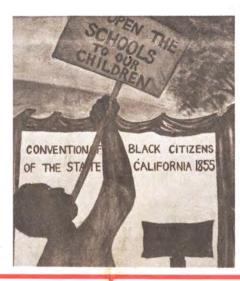
Yes Newspaper publishers are a generous pack, They'd gladly give you the shirt off my back.

Economists say Future dark. Severed head found in park.

No. I never had time to make a success. Too busy earning my living, I guess.

Discouraged? Well, no. For my future lies

CO



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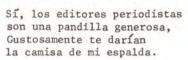
#### Cuento de un Vendedor de Periodicos

¡Periódicos aquí! Deportes y finanzas. Bomba neutrón encontrada en los pantalones de Carter.

¿ Hago yo dinero vendiendo estas cosas? Sí, señora, espero retirarme a Palm Springs.

Senador y modelo descubiertos en cama. Rusia revela a la China como roja.

Hearst vende a Patty al instante. con guerras y mentiras y la sonrisa del Presidente.



Los economistas dicen futuro es obscuro Cabeza decapitada encontrada en el parque.

No, nunca tuve tiempo de tener éxito. Ocupado de más ganándome la vida, supongo.

¿Desanimado? Pues, no. Ya que mi futuro está con la marcha de las mujeres y hombres organizados.

Y la <u>Causa</u> <u>Pevolucionaria</u> la leo cada vez. Explica nuestro lado justamente.

No imprimen para confundir y despreciar Usando el asesinato fascista para hacer dineral.

Pero la verdad no es barata y de veras es difícil encontrarla-De manera que apoyen a la CR y ayúdense a si mismos.

#### And the Revolutionary Cause I read every time. It puts our side out Right on the dime.

But I read the handwriting

Working Women and Guys.

Do I read these papers?

no. hardly at all.

on the wall.

With the march of the organized

They're not printing to confuse or mock Using fascist murder to make a fast buck.

But truth ain't cheap, and it's sure hard to find -



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En 1934 un famoso cineasta ruso le pidió que visitara la URSS para discutir un proyecto filmico. Al pasar de camino por Alemania, él y sus amigos fueron amenazados y abusados verbalmente por las tropas de asalto nazis. Profundamente afectado, Robeson dedicó mucho de los próximos 10 años a la lucha contra el fascismo. Hizo una gira de Europa colectando dinero para luchar contra el fascismo. Entre bombas que caían y los terrores de guerra, cantó en Madrid ante la Brigada Internacional para la España republicana.

Róbeson se hizo apoyante firme de la Revolución Rusa y a todos los países socialistas. De sus experiencias en la URSS entonces socialista, escribió "...las nacionalidades antes oprimidas estaban saltando adelante...del analfabetismo a la sabiduría...;Mil avos? No. ;Menos de 20!"

Al regresar a los EUA en 1939 continuó su trabajo antifascista y la lucha para la igualdad de nacionalidades. Sus conciertos y espectáculos se aceptaban animadamente por los obreros y los grupos negros al través del país. Pero después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, la burguesía americana lanzo un ataque contra él por su apoyo de la URSS y del socialismo. Eventualmente, revocó su pasaporte. Luchó contra estos ataques y fue vigorosamente defendido no solo por la gente progresiva de los EUA sino también por los países recién liberados de la China y Albania.

Temprano en los 1950s el gobierno lo trajo ante el Comité Congresional de Actividades No-Americanas. Aquí asumió la misma postura firme que siempre había mostrado. Cuando se le preguntó si era miembro del Partido Comunista entonces revolucionario, contesto: "¿Qué es el Partido Comunista?...;Quieren decir un Partido de personas que han sacrificado por mi gente y por todos los americanos y los obreros, para que puedan vivir con dignidad? ¿Quieren decir ese Partido?" En 1952, la URSS le dio el Premio de Paz Stalin, pero el gobierno americano le prohibió que viajara a la URSS para aceptarlo. Finalmente, en 1958 se le concedió un pasaporte limitado.

Paul Robeson contribuyo mucho a la lucha contra el fascismo y a la cultura revolucionaria mundial. Su devoción a las luchas de la gente oprimida creó en él la voz magnifica que resonó poderosamente contra toda reacción. Su obra cultural fina le gano el respeto de toda la gente progresiva. Se le recordará por mucho tiempo.

Cuando el Comité Congresional le preguntó por qué habiá regresado de la Unión Soviética, él les contestó,"...voy a permanecer aquí y tomar parte en él...Ninguna gente de mente fascista me correrá de él. Ahora estoy por la paz con la ... Unión Soviética y estoy por la paz con la China, y no estoy por la paz ni por la amistad con el Franco fascista, y no estoy por la paz con los alemanes fascistas."