

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

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



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

VOL. II no. 10 WORKERS CONGRESS (M-L)

POB 1297 Chicago, Illinois 60690

July 20, 1976

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CLASS STRUGGLE IN NYC

40,000 RANK-AND-FILE OUT!

On Saturday, July 17 after 10 days of militant strike action over 40,000 rank and file members of district 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees were forced to go back to work when the League of Voluntary Hospitals agreed to submit the contract issues to binding arbitration.

Ten days earlier the workers and professionals (who make up about 15% of the union) had walked out of 33 private hospitals against the bourgeoisie's plan to cut-back sick time, pensions and refuse any cost of living raise. Four days later, the rank and file extended the strike to 14 private nursing homes and 10 city hospitals which are affiliated with the private ones. Throughout the strike the rank and file stood firm despite repeated attacks by the police on their picket lines, especially at the wealthier famous hospitals like Columbia-Pres. St. Lukes Mt. Sinai, and Beth Israel. Police arrested over 100 strikers and injured as many using the excuse they were protecting the scabs. The bourgeois press attacked the strike, particularly when it spread to the nursing homes saying it was against the sick and the elderly. The N.Y. Times used two tactics. First it tried to show disunity in the working class running almost daily stories on how the relatives and friends of the patients were doing a good job of taking care of the patients, saying 'we really don't need the workers here.' Secondly they lauded the extra-duty and overtime put in by hospital

administrators and heads of depts. showing pictures of an administrator cooking or the head of neurosurgery sorting mail. The head of the Health and Hospitals Commissions Dr. Lowell Bellin, who has carried out the orders of the bourgeois bankers of NYC to close down over 6 public hospitals, over 1/2 of the pre-natal, well-baby, and V.D. clinics, and lay off thousands of workers declared the strike, 'inhuman and barbaric' saying, it was "a serious curtailment on staff vitally essential for the protection of the life and health of the patients in such institutions."

With this excuse Bellin declared a 'health emergency' to force workers in other unions: sanitationmen, teamsters, to cross the picket lines. Despite the 'emergency' the workers continued their militancy and by the second week of the strike most other workers were refusing to cross their picket lines. In the last days of the strike the rank and file had stopped all elective surgery (Non-emergency), closed down all the out-patient clinics, and were successfully breaking the volunteer and scab system instituted by the bourgeoisie. The rank and file had begun to win over many progressive doctors and nurses who refused to do scab labor inside the struck hospitals. On Thursday, July 15 the Committee of Interns and Residents, the doctor's union, advised its members not to take over strikers' work and to refuse to admit patients unless it was truly an emergency. It was clear that the working

class and its allies were winning the class battle with the bourgeoisie when, as a result of a decision Leon Davis, Moe Foner and the rest of 1199's bureaucrats made one month before, they were forced to lay down their pickets and walk back into the hospitals leaving the outcome to binding arbitration between their class enemies, the bourgeoisie and the their chief social props, the labor aristocracy.

The events leading up to the strike is a long history of collusion between the famous Mr. Davis and co. and the capitalists. In his writings on the trade union question Lenin warns us time and time again against the danger of opportunist labor bureaucrats.

These social democrats put forward reform after reform to stave off the growing revolutionary trend of the working class. We must never tire at continually exposing the role of the Leon Davis' in weakening the struggle of the working class in this period of crisis. As we prepare for war, we know that with war comes the threat of fascism, a threat which can only be realized if the proletariat is in a weakened position.

"If there is no struggle, there can be no progress," is the inscription on the facade of District 1199's headquarters. Although the rank and file have followed these words of Frederick Douglass, the bureaucrats have used them as a cover of their collaborationist strategy and tactics. In the

Feb. '76 issue of 1199 news brother Davis asks the 70,000 members of the National Hospital Union to contribute \$5, to the Brotherhood fund to support "pro-union candidates".

With thousands of dollars from the brotherhood fund Davis gave his material and verbal support for the election of Governor Hugh Carey last year. He told the rank and file time and time again that Carey was a true friend of 1199 and would support the hospital workers of Albany. At this time the working class has no friends running for political office. Carey and all candidates are only true friends of the bourgeoisie. The imperialists are caught in a crisis of profits. With the rate of profits generally falling they seek new paths and intensify old ones to boost their rate of profit. As we have explained this includes a diversion of funds from public programs and services into capital formation concentrated in heavy industry. We can see across the country what is happening to public schools, hospitals, post offices, transportation.

This year we have seen threatened cutbacks in the food stamp program and social security. Another phenomenon in Illinois, New York and other states is a cutback or freeze on Medicaid payments from the states to private and public health facilities (hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, etc.) In Chicago this has meant that almost no private hospitals are taking

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Propaganda is Our Chief Form of Activity

"Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world." (Mao, ON PRACTICE, P. 14, Peking Edition)

For the last year, the Worker's Congress (M-L) has fought for the principle, that in the period of party building, propaganda must be our chief form of activity. Our trend has had to defend this Leninist principle in the struggle against the right opportunists, who in their eagerness to worship the spontaneous movement, belittle our tasks of winning the advanced to communism, who belittle the transforming role of M-L theory, who belittle the task of training the masses and ourselves in order that we may give the

spontaneous movement a planned, conscious character. Propaganda is our tool to do this. In developing it we examine events in their depth and complexity, whether it is our own practice, the analysis of objective conditions, the class struggle in its many forms, daily events, etc., in the form of polemics, topical exposures, summations of practice, etc.. Only in this way can the masses be trained to move in a conscious direction.

In its last meeting, our Central Committee adopted the slogan of DEEPER INTO THE INDUSTRIAL MASSES, recognizing that the advances that we have made theoretically must become manifested in revolutionary practice in order that we may raise our understanding to a higher level and raise to a higher level our actual ability to apply those principles that

we have fought for such as winning the advanced to communism, building factory nuclei, making every factory a communist fortress, etc. In this light we take up several different forms of propaganda in this issue of the newspaper--analyzing developments and revolutionary work in the working class. One is the important contribution by SDOC which is the propaganda they prepared for mass distribution to workers who had been engaged in strikes and with whom SDOC had done considerable work. Taking up this kind of practical activity and summing up our lessons in order to perfect our skills is of real importance for our trend. Second, are two summations of practice--one from veteran communists who organized in the plants during the 1940s. Summation of this period of our movement is vital if we are to deepen our grasp of right opportunism and economism.

The second summary is a self-criticism done by a comrade in our trend. Summations of practice should constitute an important part of our propaganda in this period so we can expose and root out weaknesses and generalize the strengths and lessons of work. Third, we have a series of exposures on contract struggles and maneuvers by the bourgeois state. These exposures, as Lenin says, "...are an essential and fundamental condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity." (What Is To Be Done)

The chief form of propaganda is the written form. It is the responsibility of all comrades in our trend to take up the tasks of preparing propaganda in all its various forms, both to strengthen the literature of our movements as well as to intensify their own training.

CAPITALISTS BRING BACK THE HANGMAN

On July 2, the Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty did not violate the constitutional amendment which prohibits cruel and unusual punishment. The vote was 7 to 2 with Justices Brennan and Marshall dissenting. That decision concludes almost a decade of effort on the part of the bourgeoisie to reinstate it. Since 1967, in response to the rising upsurge of mass struggles, no one has been officially put to death. In 1972 the Supreme Court decided that all existing legislation for the death penalty in the US was unconstitutional cruel and unusual punishment. Now with the new decision reversing that one, more than three hundred inmates out of six hundred on death row throughout the country are likely to die in the next year or so.

Bringing back the death penalty speaks to the ever increasing crisis of US monopoly capitalism. Failure to deal with growing unemployment, brutal poverty in the cities and in the countryside, increasing national oppression - these are the sources of crime. But since the bourgeoisie cannot do anything about the causes of the crisis and crime - in fact they are the social class responsible for these evils - they use the tools of repression such as the death penalty and the SI Bill to deal with their consequences.

Furthermore, the bourgeoisie needs the hangman in order to prepare for imperialist war. US imperialism knows that in order to go to war it must consolidate the people. But the rising consciousness of the masses particularly after Korea and Vietnam makes that more and more difficult. So the bourgeois dictatorship relies on repression to put an unwilling people on a war footing.

Finally, the return of the hangman is a part of the gen-

eral attack on democratic rights being carried out by the bourgeoisie, particularly through the Supreme Court. As we said in the last issue of THE COMMUNIST v. II, no. 9 (Support the ERA): "Imperialism is the negation of democracy. The political superstructure of monopoly capitalism is not democracy, but political reaction." The Supreme Court has paved the way with attacks on the working class and on the oppressed nationalities in the US, laying the legal grounds for legitimizing great nation chauvinism, which is also a factor in the bourgeoisie's preparations for war.

It is an important fact that out of six-hundred inmates on death row, more than fifty-five per cent are from national minorities, while these same nationalities make up only twenty per cent of the general population. Also, of the six-hundred inmates, three-hundred-and-twelve are Afro-American, twenty-three are from other minorities, nine are women and two-hundred-and-sixty-seven are white men. Of the Afro-Americans, more than half, one-hundred-and-sixty-two, are being held within the territory of the Black Belt South. This again speaks to the particular lack of political rights of Afro-Americans on their territorial homeland. In North Carolina, death row is made up of seventy-seven Afro-Americans, forty Anglo-Americans and five Indians (all of the Indians recently in death row are held in North Carolina.)

It is clear that of the white inmates on death row, none of them are of the same class as Rockefeller or Dupont or Mellon. They are working and poor people. While laws such as these are always adopted with the claim they apply to both the rich and the poor, in reality they are only used against the working class and its staunchest ally, the oppressed nationalities,

It is obvious that no one has ever seen or will ever see an industrial capitalist on death row for the mass murder of sixteen thousand workers by the so-called "accidental industrial deaths" which happen every year. These deaths could have been prevented. What about the deaths that are caused by prolonged chemical contact or exposure to deadly gases or dust over a period of years that usually do not show up in the statistics? If one of us went out on the street and chopped off someone's arm, we would be hauled off and labeled as a deadly maniac who had to be removed from society. Yet fingers, arms and legs are chopped off daily with an almost deadly regularity about it in the industrial plants, and the only action taken is a little slap on the wrist of the owners by OSHA (if that) and a "citation", or if the case is really severe, maybe a \$150 "fine". The bourgeoisie calculates industrial deaths like anything else in its accounts. When the cost of safety measures will be more than workmen's compensation for the workers' deaths or injuries, they'll put the money into the workmen's compensation rather than the safety precautions. The deaths of workers are less important than the added profits. That's the way the capitalist thinks. And so workers have to die.

We oppose the death penalty because it is a part of the bourgeois state apparatus of violence used as an instrument of oppression against working people and the oppressed nationalities. The revolutionary proletariat has used the death penalty as a tool of class war, particularly in times of violent revolution or violent attempts at counter-revolution. But the dictatorship of the immense majority over a tiny majority of reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries has

small need of this device. The bourgeois state, on the other hand, which is a tiny minority exploiting the vast majority and exercising a violent dictatorship over the majority in order to insure its rule, must have a hangman on its regular payroll. As Marx wrote in an article on Capital Punishment for the bourgeois press:

"Is there not a necessity for deeply reflecting upon an alteration of the system that breeds these crimes, instead of glorifying the hangman who executes a lot of criminals to make room only for the supply of new ones?"

In approving a full-time hangman, the Supreme Court noted that sixty-five per cent of the American people still favor the death penalty. These statistics change from time to time, but there is no doubt that many US people still harbor illusions about the nature of the bourgeois state apparatus. This speaks to the need for a powerful communist press to respond to such decisions as the death penalty in the interests of working people and the oppressed masses and to strip aside illusions through our political exposures and our day to day activity.

Lenin said that we must utilize all democratic institutions and aspirations of the masses in order to prepare our struggle and assure our victory. The death penalty is an instrument of coercion we can take from the bourgeois state. Communists must work to mobilize the masses of people for that goal and take the lead of this movement.



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new medicaid patients. What happened in New York last March 17, was the passage of a bill sponsored by 1199's friend, Gov. Carey which called for the freezing of medicaid payments at 1975 levels. This is supposed to 'save' the state \$122 million this year. The hospitals struck in NYC, like the majority of urban hospitals depend for their operating budget on reimbursements they receive from state governments for Medicaid patients. These are persons who are treated under public aid programs without charge. The state governments are supposed to reimburse hospitals for the cost of treating medicaid patients at their reasonable costs. They are required to do this by federal law. What the state of New York has done is to cut the Medicaid reimbursements because of the state's fiscal crisis.

The states are not required to have a Medicaid program at all. The incentive for the states in this situation is that by participating in the program the federal government will pay 50% to 75% of the cost of medical aid for the poor. But if the state does participate then it must satisfy federal law and provide for reasonable reimbursement. In the case of Illinois freezing of medicaid payments HEW has said it is out of compliance with the requirements of the Medicaid plan,

but has done nothing about it. For the same reason, New York state is also out of compliance with federal law. The rate of inflation in the hospital has been greater than 13% in the last year. For the state to freeze payments at their levels one year ago is obviously not to comply to the law. But again HEW has done nothing.

New York State justifies its action by saying that hospitals could find extra money if they operated economically. To the bourgeoisie which owns and runs the hospitals the extra money comes in the form of wage cuts, lay offs, and general intensification of labor. Yet, these so-called non-profit, voluntary private hospitals have continued to expand their teaching facilities research areas, and in many cases bed size using federal funds. Before the medicaid programs many private hospitals across the country, including NYC refused to take non-paying patients even as emergencies. Many treated only the wealthy even though they existed in poor working class, often minority, communities. These 'non-profit' hospitals like Columbia-St. Lukes, Mt. Sinai and many more own hundreds of acres of land and slum buildings valued at millions of dollars in Harlem and throughout New York City. They began to open neighborhood clinics and service the working class and oppressed minor-

ities only when they had to in order to get Hill-Burton funds so they could build multi-million additions to their hospitals. Like other aspects of bourgeois society the research labs and teaching institution are used to serve the priorities of the capitalists, not the oppressed masses. Often labs are built and equipment bought merely to attract a famous doctor or in the interest of a large drug company in the intense competition which goes on among the large prestigious hospitals. All this money comes from public or private reimbursement (including drug and equipment companies) representing the profits of stolen from the proletariat. In the face of losing part of the funds the bourgeoisie merely increases its oppression of the working class. They told the state, the city and 1199 that they could afford no increase in salary from the \$181 per week most workers in the union were making when their contract ended June 30. This \$181, which according to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics is below minimum living standards for a family of four in New York City, would be decreased even further if the union bureaucrats agree to the proposed cut in sick pay, pensions, and other benefits.

Since the beginning of the year the bureaucrats of 1199 have been mobilizing their

members to fight against the state's medicaid freeze. While it is correct to oppose the state's medicaid cutbacks it is a sham for Davis to say that workers could not get a decent contract if the state didn't change its position on the medicaid payments. The point is that it is the private hospital management that is the immediate enemy of 1199 and whose role must be exposed and fought against in the battle over wages and working conditions.

Even when the strike began Davis was apologizing for it, saying the rank and file didn't want to go on strike, but the state could settle the problem if they changed the Medicaid payments. Here Davis has given the illusion that the private hospitals are in no way at fault. Instead we need to show their collusion with the state in this effort to use the fiscal crisis as a means to attack the real wages and working standards of the members of 1199.

As we explain in the Local 1111 article from Chicago, arbitration is an effective means to cut the strength of the working class movement. First, the union agreed to go through fact-finding where it was determined one month before the strike that the workers should get a 6-7% cost-of-living raise. On that alone

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Workers Defeat Decertification Vote

MOVE ONTO NEGOTIATION STRUGGLE

On Tuesday, June 29 the rank and file of Local 1111 (AFSCME) at Cook County Hospital in Chicago voted down a decertification attempt for the second time in 9 months. They refused to give up their collective bargaining rights to the Governing Commission and become merit system workers who have no union. Despite false promises by the Governing Commission (the administration) to raise the salary levels of certain workers over \$1,000 over the next year, the majority of workers: clerks in the outpatient clinics, emergency rooms, and offices knew the only protection they had was organization. The clear-cut decision, 217-139 came in spite of the union bureaucrat's collusion with the administration. The rapidly deteriorating conditions, the increased repression by the administration, and the propaganda and agitation by the M-L and the advanced convinced the workers to keep their union. Seizing this victory, becoming self-reliant through struggle against the union bureaucrats will mean continuing success in their upcoming negotiations for a new contract.

As we explained in our article, 'Hospital workers Struggle in Chicago' (THE COMMUNIST, v. II, #2, October, 1975), the contract the workers of Local 1111 are still working under expired March 16, 1975, almost 1 and 1/2 years ago. The only thing the union leadership has done in almost two years to prepare the workers for a contract struggle with the administration was to hold a small meeting in December, 1974, where they asked the rank and file what their contract demands were. These were published and distributed to some of the workers about one month before the contract expired. The administration used some of the backward workers to begin a campaign in March of 1975 to decertify the union. The leadership did very little to oppose the campaign and nearly half of the members had signed it thinking it was a petition to get them a raise. The question was taken to arbitration where it was decided that before the union could negotiate a new contract they would have to win an election to prove they were still the collective bargaining agent for the majority of clerks. The election was set for September of 1975 at which time the union won by 5 votes due to the work of a few active advanced and intermediate workers who opposed the union bureaucrats.

By the rule of arbitration (of the American Arbitration Association, the largest of its kind) either side could raise objections to the election within 7 days afterwards. The administration raised three objections: the doctors (who were informationally picketing just before their strike) interfered with the employees voting; union officials had made promises to workers during the campaign; collusion between the house-staff and Local 1111. The hearing around these objections was held two months after the election. During this time as before the union officials did nothing to mobilize the rank and file around their victory, did nothing to mobilize the members for their contract fight

with the administration. Three months after the hearing the workers got their official explanation from the leadership of what happened to the election FIVE MONTHS BEFORE!!! They were told both the Governing Commission and the AAA had been stalling in reviewing the transcripts, but that some decision should be coming sometime in March.

Well two months later in April 1976 was the next time membership heard from the union leaders. They were told that their victory had been thrown out by the person the AAA had appointed to judge the election. The reason was not because he accepted any of the three objections raised by the administration, but because he failed to run the elections by the rules and procedures set down by the NLRB field manual. Of course the election does not come under the NLRA because Cook County is a public hospital.

Whether the union bureaucrats rely on the NLRB or the AAA it is clear they are relying on the bourgeoisie. The AAA is merely a private agency of the bourgeoisie which performs the same duties for a profit. In this case the union spent hundreds of dollars and many hours tied up in arbitration which, by the law which created the Governing Commission, cannot even be binding. The whole idea of arbitration is to immobilize and weaken the working class. The righteous anger and indignation of the workers is funneled into behind the doors deals made between the union bureaucrats and bourgeoisie over long periods of time, usually many months or years. This is done in direct opposition to the worker's spontaneous desire to mobilize and actively fight the bourgeoisie and their state. If we look back in history to the rise of fascism in Germany, we see the whole process of immobilizing and weakening the working class movement through taking away of the right to strike and replacing it with arbitration.

The bureaucrats work daily to weaken the unity of the class in order that it can dominate the union. It is this daily activity that wears away the ability of the rank and file to respond to oppression like forced arbitration. An example is the bureaucrats response to the arbitrator's decision to throw out the election. First, in their usual manner they attempt to stifle rank and file participation by letting the members know about the meeting less than one day ahead of time and then passing it out to less than 1/2 the membership. The usual carrot and stick method was used by the Council 19 director, Neil Bratcher. The leaflets passed out told the workers to come to their meeting to find out what the union's plans were to fight for their back pay and how the union was 'going to express its concern' to the Governing Commission the next night. The first thing the workers faced who did show up was a trashing for not bringing more people to the meeting.

Next, Bratcher threatened the workers saying if he wanted to he could take the arbitrator's decision to throw

out the election to court, where it could be held up for two years. But no, he really didn't want that, it wouldn't be fair to the workers. A better idea would be to crash the meeting of the governing commission the next night and demand the governing commission uphold the union's victory. Workers agreed with the tactic but asked why he didn't give them more warning so they could mobilize the rank and file. He and the other bureaucrats replied that if they didn't care enough to come to meetings they couldn't be counted on to confront the administration. Did this opportunist expect the advanced and intermediate workers to expect him, alone, to change the mind of the bourgeoisie and their representatives about busting their union? For over a year Bratcher did nothing to mobilize the workers against the bourgeoisie and their representatives about busting their union? No, of course not. But the fact is that for over a year Bratcher did nothing to mobilize the workers against the Governing Commission. He had done nothing to oppose the petition for decertification, nothing to rally the Local to fight for the victory they had won. Finally on the night he decided to 'crash' the meeting of the Governing Commission, he had done almost nothing to notify members of the Local that their leadership was going to the meeting, let alone mobilize them to participate.

At this point a small group of rank and file members began to print a series of leaflets exposing the role of the union aristocrats, advising members to read the old contract, decide in each department who they want as their union steward and what demands they want in their new contract. These leaflets continued for the next 5 weeks.

Despite this it appeared the months and years of collusion of the union chiefs with the bourgeoisie were going to pay off in decertification. However, just three weeks before the election, the governing commission called together all the merit system employees (the non-unionized workers, technicians, supervisors and professionals) and told them they would now have their first two sick days taken away for any sick leave. Despite an outbreak of anger at the meeting and afterwards it was clear to everyone, union and non-union that without organization in the form of a union the workers and employees were powerless. It was this more than anything that convinced the workers of Local 1111 to vote to keep their union.

As usual the leadership did not use this victory to develop the workers strength and organization but only increased its purely verbal attack on the Governing Commission. Note, in this whole period of almost 18 months the union bureaucrats have never put forward what their program was, what they were going to do for the workers. All they consistently did was to attack the Governing Commission and tell the memb-

ers that voting for the union was voting for their back-pay. Just how they were going to mobilize them to get it was never said. The day before the election the union called a rally where the leadership turned up 15 minutes late without a megaphone. Many good questions were raised by the rank and file, particularly about why the leadership agreed to limit the lunch to 30 minutes and whether there would be a cost of living clause in the new contract. Bratcher attacked the workers for raising a question around the lunch breaks saying, "All I did was negotiate the contract you all voted to accept it." In response to the question about the cost of living, he told them to show up for the vote on the new contract.

Examples like this are similar to what happens around the country. The union bureaucrats do nothing to educate their membership to their rights under their contract. They fight and win a few grievances but do nothing to publish the victories or teach workers the lessons of the grievance. They use the carrot and stick approach to woo a few workers into activity and then threaten them to show who's 'in charge'. Finally they divert the anger and spontaneous activity of the rank and file into arbitration to disarm and weaken the working class, turning them into slaves of the bourgeoisie.

In response to the propaganda and agitation done through the leaflets during June, the union leadership has now asked the members to elect shop stewards in the departments where there are none and to discuss who they want to represent them on the negotiating team. This small victory should encourage the rank and file more than ever to continue their exposure of the union chiefs by continuing to publish parts of the old contract along with demands for a new one. The momentum is with the workers. Above all, Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers must keep in mind our task to lead the struggle in a conscious way. This means working closely with the advanced, applying Marxist-Leninist ideology to the contract struggle, not limiting our views to trade union questions like trade union secretaries, but showing the connection between our revolutionary aims and our immediate demands, and showing how the national activity of the trade union bureaucrats relates to their local policy.

ONWARD TO THE CONTRACT STRUGGLE

SHARPEN THE ATTACK ON THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS!



Illinois Public Workers Walkout : fight layoffs & discrimination

The right of public workers to strike was put in sharp focus when on Wednesday, July 7, over half the workers in the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security (IBES) went on strike. They are members of Local 1006 of AFSCME. A layoff of 123 full time employees, mostly minority women, without regard to seniority sparked the strike. The layoff occurred just after all the laid-off workers had finished training CETA and Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) to do their jobs. These job programs, CETA and NYC, had been presented as "reforms" to help unemployed workers get jobs, but have consistently been used to replace full time workers who get full pay with CETA and NYC workers who receive close to the minimum wage.

These public workers have faced a long history of racial and sexual discrimination in both hiring and promotions. Promotions have been given to patronage workers who are almost all white, while minority workers, even those with up to 20 years seniority have been passed over. These patronage workers were not touched in the recent layoffs. Despite the fact that the cost of living has risen over 20% in the last two years, these public employees have received no pay increases. In response, the striking workers are demanding a \$200 a month pay increase. Despite the fact that these workers and technicians have been unionized for several years, the Illinois Department of Labor has refused to bargain a contract with them. Therefore, the rank and file is raising the essential demand that their union, Local 1006 be recognized as a collective bargaining agent for

all the employees in the Illinois Department of Labor. They are also demanding that all of the 123 laid-off workers be re-hired and that all racial and sexual discrimination in hiring and promotion be ended.

The state's intent on smashing this struggle. Already it has used the police to allow scabs into the offices and attempts by the workers to stop them have resulted in four arrests. The press has also played a reactionary role. A good example is an editorial that appeared in the Chicago Daily News which tried to blame the striking workers for the unemployment checks being late. This is pure hypocrisy on the part of the bourgeois press. They now shed their crocodile tears for the unemployed, while before they have never raised objections to the poverty level payments the unemployed receive, have never spoken to the fact that understaffing is the main reason that the checks are late, and now fail to bring out the fact that the strike is in opposition to layoffs that will ADD TO THE RANKS OF THE UNEMPLOYED and increase the impossible workload that already exists.

The workers have militantly resisted all these attacks. The number of workers out on strike has continued to swell. A majority of workers are now out in a majority of offices, and the strike is reaching as far as downstate Illinois. They have forced through a meeting with the IBES bureaucrats who first had belittled the strike and had refused to meet.

The conditions under which the strikers had worked have been growing increasingly oppressive. Like all sectors of the working class, the intensity of their labor has increased tremendously over the

last three years. Like their brothers and sisters in public hospitals, public transportation, the post office, etc., the IBES workers have been faced with a greater and greater number of people to serve, with a decreased number of staff. Meanwhile the unemployed workers who use the IBES are in a more desperate situation every day. Even though the number of people in Illinois who are employed has risen slightly, the number of unemployed has stayed above 7.5% by official figures, which underestimate the actual number of the unemployed. The Chicago area is the most heavily industrialized in the country, but in the last five years industry has been leaving to the south and southwest where there is less unionization and a lower wage scale so they can increase their profits.

In fact, partly due to the fact that the hiring of minorities is down due to increased discrimination, the number of workers seeking employment benefits is increasing in Chicago. The offices are constantly overcrowded and hot, all the workers are short on desk space and many workers have been thrown into jobs with little or no training. The result is gross inefficiency.

For example, Local District 11 is supposed to be one of the most automated offices, with two full-time computers. However, according to the workers and technicians, there has been insufficient training for them and their counterparts down in Springfield due to the shortage of workers. As a consequence, there are a lot of mistakes made that are unavoidable and one computer stays busy all day while the other can't be used because it is feeding

back all the errors from the day before! Because of bureaucratic bunglings such as this and the general lack of sufficient staffing, many unemployment checks are late, causing increased hardship for the unemployed who have no other source of income. Violence is a common occurrence in the offices as the frustration of the claimants gets overwhelming.

This is the second time the IBES workers have gone on strike in the past year. The last time it was limited to just a few local offices and was not prepared well, with the result that many of the strikers lost their jobs. This time they have prepared well and are also more aware of the importance of uniting with their brothers and sisters in the "reserve army of the unemployed". They have issued leaflets calling for united action between the strikers and the unemployed, placing the blame squarely on the state bureaucrats who serve the bourgeois state, and showing how their struggle is in the interests of both the employed and unemployed workers.

The struggle of the workers in the public sector to organize and to win the right to strike is a vital struggle for the working class. Our stand must be militant support of their right to strike. We must expose the attempts of the trade union bureaucrats in this sector to compromise and capitulate to the state on this issue. Under the guise of fighting for a national collective bargaining law they are willing to sell the workers out. Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union, when asked if he would be

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Blatant Court Attack On Working Class

In June, the Supreme Court held unconstitutional a law passed by Congress extending the minimum wage and overtime sanctions of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) to state and local governments. This means that state and local governments no longer have to pay their employees the minimum wage nor pay them time and one half after forty hours straight time.

The Court also decided that the application of the minimum wage and overtime provisions of the FLSA to hospitals and schools run by state and local governments, which had been in effect since 1968, was also struck down as unconstitutional.

Just as other decisions of the Court this year show its effort to intensify national oppression, this recent decision shows the anti-labor politics of the Supreme Court.

This is clear from the impact of the Court's decision on hospitals. The hospital industry is the fastest growing industry in the US and is now the nation's third largest. Health care spending each year has reached the level of US military spending - over one hundred billion dollars a year. Four and one half million people are employed in the hospital industry and enormous profits have been made as a result of the traditionally substandard wages paid to hospital employees on the one hand and as a result of a price inflation on the other which is well above the level of inflation of the

economy as a whole.

The effect of removing FLSA protection from state and local hospitals both as to wages and as to overtime will be important not only for employees of hospitals run by state and local governments, but also for the industry as a whole, because about forty per cent of hospital employees work for state and local governments which run thirty-five per cent of the hospitals in the US and provide forty-five per cent of the beds. The effect on wages and overtime for forty per cent of the whole workforce obviously affects all--public or private.

This decision is an effort to make public employees, one of the least organized and most vulnerable sectors of the workforce, bear the brunt of the bourgeoisie's attack and is a big step in shifting the crisis onto the back of all working people. While government resists every effort to extend the right to strike to public employees at the same time it refuses to allow minimum guarantees of a decent standard of living - as if the minimum wage were a living wage, any way, rather than what it is in fact: a wage barely adequate for a poverty level existence.

The basis for the Court's decision was supposedly its concern for the individual state's right to sovereignty. The federal government cannot tell the states how much to pay their employees, even setting crude minimum national standards.

But it is clear that this reactionary state sovereignty argument is only trotted out because it is a more effective way - as it always has been in the US - to attack the working class. Last year a case came before the Supreme Court challenging the application of the 1972 wage freeze to state and local employees. But in that case, "states' rights" didn't count. It was constitutional for the federal government to freeze wages, but not constitutional for the federal government to provide a minimum floor for wages or to require time and one half for overtime. The Court openly admitted that its decision turned on whether the position of working men and women were improved or attacked. If they were improved, that put "pressure" on the states' budgets and it was unconstitutional; if they were attacked, that operated to "reduce pressures" on state budgets and that was constitutional.

The reasoning the Court has used in this decision can be used now in all the Federal courts to attack the working conditions of state and local employees in a number of additional ways. It is possible that the Equal Pay Act - which requires equal pay for equal work - and the Age Discrimination in Employment Act - which prevents discrimination on the basis of age - which were extended to the states at the same time as the FLSA, are also unconstitutional. Also OSHA, as puny as it is, does now

not apply to the states, and according to this ruling could not be made to. The same could be true of any federal legislation guaranteeing public employees the right to strike and to collectively bargain with state and local governments.

The answer to this attack by the state on public employees, whether in hospitals, schools or local governments, is to step up our efforts at organizing public employees. We also have to fight within public employee, hospital and teachers' unions to throw out the opportunist trade union leadership which accepts these attacks and throws up its hands as if nothing can be done once a court has ruled. We must wrest a decent wage from the state and local governments through the power of our unions, and decent overtime provisions without compulsory overtime.

Above all, we must fight for the right of public employees to strike - labor organizing is nothing under capitalism without the right to strike. The argument that public employees have no right to strike is nothing but a lie based on false and irrelevant history. Every year more and more public employees prove they have the right to strike by exercising it.

It is the right to strike plus the strength and militancy of our organization that are the weapons of our response to these attacks by the bourgeois state on the wages and working hours of working people.

UAW Bureaucrats Move To Crush Resistance

The UAW held a bargaining convention in Detroit at Cobo Hall March 18-20. The convention was to draw up demands for the upcoming contract negotiations with the auto industry. Although this convention was attended by a large number of rank and file workers, it was all but a convention of the rank and file. The trade union bureaucrats, led by Woodcock, Frazier and Moreli, did their utmost to suppress any participation of rank and file workers. It is the suppression of workers' rights to participate in their own union in their own behalf that we wish to dwell on as well as speak to some of the proposed demands.

32 HOUR WORK WEEK

For a 32 hour work week at 40 hours pay: Many questions have been raised around this proposal, often drawing sharp attacks from the trade union officers. This struggle for a shorter work week began long ago with the struggle for a shorter working day. It is in the interest of the working class to support the struggle for a shorter work week. At the same time, we know that with the treachery of the trade union bureaucrats, it is necessary to raise a number of questions concerning this proposal.

For example what would it mean in regards to wages? For the owners of the factories and for the trade union bureaucrats it means receiving the same pay at 32 hours as we would at 40 hours. To most of us this is a joke because even now while the bureaucrats talk of a 32 hour work week, many of us are working 54 to 62 hours a week in order to keep up with the cost of living. Many workers argue that we are not paid for 40 hours work even now. That is true looking at it from the distribution of profit. There is no such thing as a fair days wage for a fair days work under capitalism. The development of modern industry progressively turns the scale in favor of the capitalist against the working class, and the general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise but to lower the average standard of wages; or to push the value of labor more or less to its minimum limit. So we must make sure that along with a 32 hour week, we get a wage that allows us to live comfortably on that pay, knowing that what we get today for 40 hours is not enough. The fact is, and will be as long as capitalism exists, that we only sell our labor power to the capitalist for an agreed amount of wages for an agreed amount of working time. It is through the action of well-organized trade unions that the law of wages is enforced against the employers,

thus enabling workers to at least obtain enough to maintain their existence.

Will the shorter work week mean the greater intensification of labor? At the present time, as was stated, many of us are working 54-62 hours a week. Does a 32 hour work week mean performing the same amount of work in this time limit as we are doing in a 40, 50 or 60 hour week now? We also know from bitter experience that if the capitalists intensify labor or they will never ease up on the pressure, even if at a later time they extended the week back to a 40 or 50 hour week.

HEALTH AND SAFETY

Another area to be covered in this contract will be health and safety. Whenever Health and Safety is mentioned we simply have to look around us to see how far we have come in this field. Although we have better medical benefits, the conditions of the plants have rapidly deteriorated since the last 2 contracts. There are growing numbers of accidents, absenteeism due to illness brought on from work conditions and a growing number of deaths. At Dodge Main we all remember the 2 deaths in the paint ovens; the brother who was killed when the Hi-Loader he was driving failed to stop and plunged 4 floors down an elevator shaft and the recent killing of a worker by a Hi-Loader which was loading stock in the area in which this man was resting. At Dodge Main Chrysler Assembly in Detroit, we have been forced to present no less than 3 petitions to both management and local union leadership regarding the deteriorating working conditions that endanger our health and lives since the "73" contract. Although much was promised, very little was given and even that has been taken away. This section of the contract must be improved.

SUPPLEMENTAL UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

During the massive lay-off period of November 1974 until mid-spring of 1975 we saw our then guaranteed S.U.B go from maximum to zero. S.U.B. that was guaranteed us for a duration of one year dwindled away in less than 6 months. Now once again our leaders are talking of SUB and short work week benefits guaranteed against bankruptcy. We must have job and wage security!

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST A SELL-OUT

We know that it is the capitalists who own the means of production and labor aristocrats

betrayal that is attempting to sabotage the effectiveness of the contract and contract negotiations.

Many workers are not optimistic about the upcoming contract negotiations and doubt that there will even be a strike, at least one called by the international bureaucrats. The UAW leadership has done little to prepare workers for a strike. The token survey passed among the rank and file which already included demands of the bureaucracy only left little room for additional demands. Few of the bureaucrat's demands spoke to the pressing needs of the workers and they were generally rejected by the workers.

Any mentioning or attempting to mobilize for the contract struggle by rank and file workers is quickly suppressed or attacked by the union bureaucrats and management. Local 3, which once enjoyed the largest active political force in the UAW, has been suppressed to whispers.

This situation has its roots in the "C" PUSA's abandoning the working class. The desertion of the "C" PUSA as a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class left us ideologically and organizationally unarmed in the face of mounting attacks by the capitalist ruling class. This too left the trade unions wide open for all kinds of corrupt and opportunist trends to take control of our unions. This is now manifested in the open betrayal of the working class by union leadership.

The fact that many workers are turned off from actively participating in their locals is due in part to 1) Distrust of union leadership and 2) the failure of the union to organize. This is part of leadership's attempt to keep rank and file out of the political field as well as to suppress their day to day struggles, in order that these traitors can more fully seek their own opportunist deals with the owners of capital, 3) leadership attacks upon the workers, such as the goon squad that attacked a wildcat strike by workers at the Chrysler Mack Stamping plant in Detroit, and the bureaucrats use of the state at Dodge Truck plant in Warren Michigan, 4) the bureaucrats refusal to represent those who they feel are hostile to their administration, 5) the auto industries refusal to fulfill or obey passed contracts.

Since the last contract the workers have taken a real beating with massive layoffs unemployment, benefits and pay cuts, and growing inflation reducing the 1973 con-

tract to mere paper. It has driven workers and families from their once secure homes into small and crowded apartments, it has cut their food consumption, forcing millions to give up decent clothes and cars. For more than two years, the proletariat has lived in a state of uncertainty. With the capitalist class now maintaining and enjoying the largest reserve work force in its history, the possibility of being fired or laid-off is very real, and serves as a weapon against those who are still employed.

Many workers are beginning to express discontent with contract negotiations, seeing that every contract year the same demands are presented with little real gain. We must use this discontent which is a good thing and guide it properly with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

For at the same time these workers feel a need for more than trade unions, they see the need for revolutionary changes. They see the trade unions as only making temporary changes of the contradictions between workers and owners that modified into larger contradictions. It is this section of the advanced workers that communists must rely on and band together to provide leadership for the masses of workers in the day to day struggle against the capitalist class and their agents- the union bureaucracy-in the fight for a decent contract.

It is the class conscious section of the proletariat, this section that feels the need to organize against the owners of the means of production, that communists should seek out and win to the side of communism in order that we may build a new genuine vanguard party of the working class to lead all the struggles of our class and the oppressed masses. It is the duty of communist to weld the working class into the political party which is needed to fulfill the just demands of the proletariat and lead the working class to victory over the capitalist class establishing the working class as the ruling class.

KICK THE TREACHEROUS BUREAUCRATS FROM OUR RANKS!

WELD THE MULTINATIONAL UNITY OF THE PROLETARIAT!

UNITE TO BUILD A GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY!

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POLITICAL EXPOSURES

Comrades, political exposures bring alive our communist tasks. They are the lifeblood of the ISKRA principle to develop an independent communist policy on current political developments, the activities of the different class forces in the US and throughout the world and the current tendencies within the communist movement. We must develop such depth in our press, within the ranks of our movement, that every burning issue, every outrage committed in society can be analyzed in the Marxist-Leninist method and its roots in the decaying imperialist system can be laid bare for all to see.

Why are communist political exposures so key to our present work? We are now in the period of party-building and winning the vanguard to communism is our main task. Our propaganda, our in-depth political exposures, because they provide answers and give direction to the lively curiosity of the advanced workers, attract these proletarians to our movement, advance further their political understanding and win them to the science of Marxism-Leninism. Political exposures in this time of heightened class struggle also aids in igniting the consciousness of less developed workers and constantly replenishes the ranks of the vanguard of the working class.

In order that we meet the demands of the advanced workers, we therefore need political exposures. We must train workers to apply a scientific analysis to the events occurring around them. To do this we have to develop a core of leaders that can provide these political exposures, communists that are trained to observe current events, that use the science of Marxism-Leninism to lay bare the laws governing these events and the social forces in all their complexity. Lenin tells us that:

"...the masses will never learn to conduct political struggle until we help to train leaders for this struggle, both from among the intellectuals and from among the enlightened workers; and such leaders can acquire training solely by systematically appraising all the every day aspects of our political life, of all attempts at protest and struggle on the part of the various classes and on various grounds. Therefore to talk about "training political organizations" and at the same time to contrast the "paper work" of a political newspaper to "live political work in the localities" is simply ridiculous." (WITBD, p.199, Lenin's emphasis)

Here we see, first, that through the task of political exposures we train the advanced workers in socialist consciousness and develop their skills so that they are able to lead the working class. Second, through these exposures and through the activity of the vanguard, socialism is merged with the working class movement and the masses are trained to respond in a conscious, revolutionary fashion to the daily acts of political tyranny that characterize the class rule of the bourgeoisie. Lenin says clearly that!

"Working class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what

class is affected." (WITBD, page 68.)

The character of our exposures, the nature of the training we must undertake for ourselves and offer others is dictated by our line that propaganda is the chief form of our activity today. The characteristic of propaganda is that it presents many ideas concerning a topic, "so many indeed that they will be understood as a whole by a (comparatively) few persons." It gives a well-rounded analysis, using the science of Marxism-Leninism, showing the connections between an event and the class relations in the society in which it occurs. We must give these thorough and detailed explanations to events.

The bourgeois press uncovers a wide range of facts and data concerning corruption and abuses in capitalist society. But it does so from the class standpoint of the bourgeoisie. One result of this is that some areas - particularly the news from the working class movement, news from the battlefield of class war about strikes, protests, daily struggles, etc. - are deliberately suppressed. But the sharpest difference between the genuine communist press and the bourgeois press lies in differing analysis. Wherever we fail to do analysis from the standpoint of the working class, which is really a failure to adopt an independent communist policy, we then let in bourgeois analysis, bourgeois policy.

Just as a mechanic needs tools and education - he needs to know how the ignition and cooling systems work, how internal combustion makes the engine run - before he can successfully work on a car, so the worker needs theory, the whys and wherefores of class society, before he can successfully dismantle bourgeois society and build socialism. The bourgeois press lets the workers see only effects - crime, corruption and poverty - and he sees that the system stinks and is rotten to the core. But this is just like looking at a car, hearing the motor cough, or even riding in it, feeling the lurches and bumps - all this knowledge of effects won't tell you how the car runs, what needs to be done to change these effects, get rid of them. That is why we need a communist press - because the workers need a detailed, Marxist-Leninist explanation of how capitalism works, why it is irrevocably diseased and how to overthrow it and replace it with socialism.

The process of developing political exposures is one of struggle, very healthy struggle. There is struggle over application of political line and struggle to overcome ignorance of objective conditions and current events. The necessities of leadership force us to do research, to investigate, to gather data; we turn to the writings of the great leaders of the past, to that reservoir of knowledge the history and experiences of the working class have left us. We study the science of political economy which is the fundamental guide to the functioning of capitalist society. In this process many approaches and ideas are discarded; exposures are written, then rewritten again several times. Though we are constantly confronted with how limited our efforts and skills still are compared with the need that presently exists, we also

grow more confident in our ability and more firm in our commitment to push forward with wide-ranging political exposures and to consistently uphold and defend militant Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy in our practice of writing these exposures.

The question of political exposures is also a question of mass line - from the masses, to the masses. Political exposure requires going among the masses, listening to the issues and problems that they face, to evaluate them from a communist perspective and give them leadership. By putting out political exposures on key issues, we also provide the masses with a chance to evaluate our exposures, criticize them and act on them.

Within the communist movement, there have arisen distortions concerning the task of political exposures. In general these errors take two forms.

First, one form of distortion arises from a right, economist view which belittles the role of theory in training workers in socialist consciousness. The writing that results from this lacks scientific analysis and ends up not being Marxist-Leninist political exposure but bourgeois reporting of events. Though it is done under the cover of being "for and about the working class". Again, this literature tells the workers that they are being exploited and that "in unity there is strength", but does not explain the "whys and wherefores" of the laws governing capitalist society and cannot train the workers in the Marxist-Leninist critical analyzing day to day events and activities of the various classes through political exposures.

A good example of this economist approach has been the "worker papers" of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). These "worker papers", which have had little, if any, political exposures of "many ideas", are passed out at plant gates while the "theoretical" newspaper of the RCP, REVOLUTION, is not. Because the RCP seeks to avoid being "too advanced" in these "worker papers", it has developed a new language full of metaphors, similes and jingles to replace the clear, precise and scientific language of Marxism-Leninism. Unfortunately for the working class, this new language - which is given the misnomer of "popular" by the RCP - could not provide the clarity of thought necessary to the revolutionary proletariat and just reflected the shallowness of analysis the articles in these "worker papers" contain.

Another example of the right deviation has been THE CALL, the newspaper published by the October League (OL). Though having a wide coverage of events - over the years THE CALL has not provided leadership in maintaining a Marxist-Leninist method of analysis and in providing a Marxist-Leninist content to their political exposures. Their attitude of belittling the crucial importance of propaganda is revealed in their attempts to ridicule honest attempts at political exposures as writing "for the advanced of the advanced".

To the comrades in the OL we ask, it is good that you now say that propaganda is

the chief form of activity, but then why do you still use the term "for the advanced of the advanced" in an attempt to belittle propaganda written by other communist forces?

It would seem that you either say that the content of this literature is incorrect, that it does not conform to Marxism-Leninism (and then, of course, back up what you say) or else say nothing, if not to express your unity with the ideas. Because to say that ideas are "too advanced", comrades, is no criticism at all. Again, you might say that the ideas are expressed in a bourgeois intellectual fashion and represent bourgeois metaphysical conceptions - but that they are too "advanced"! We need all the advanced Marxist Leninist theory we can get, and the more advanced the better. Stalin refers to theory as a beacon that directs our practice in a revolutionary way - the "advanced of the advanced" argument complains that we have a beacon that shines too brightly!

While the right opportunist deviation on the question of political exposure take up concrete events but fail to provide a Marxist-Leninist evaluation of those events, a left opportunist deviation on the question gives us plenty of "Marxism-Leninism", but fails to evaluate concrete events at all. A good example of this in the US movement has been the newspapers of the "Wing". Although they claim that political line is key and that this means applying Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of revolution in the US, their newspapers altogether lack concrete evaluations of concrete events. Instead they restrict their exposures to narrow polemics. This stems from a narrow view on political work and exposures, and reflects a continuing small group mentality. They neglect the importance of developing an independent communist policy on the latest government actions, trade union developments, etc. In doing so they fail to train workers in this communist analysis, narrow the current political tasks of the advanced workers and communists and leave the door open for bourgeois policy on these issues to slip in.

Their stand on the international situation, in which they belittle the present danger of imperialist world war, stems from the same lack of really detailed and concrete analysis of present day conditions in the world and, in fact, just relies on general statements of general truths. In the same way they narrow the political tasks of the proletariat in regard to the struggle for democratic rights. They fail to uphold the working class as the most militant and consistent fighters against "all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuses, no matter what class is affected." If we do not consistently expose abuses of democracy in the communist press, there is no way the working class will respond to these abuses in a revolutionary way.

Comrades, an important ideological victory has been won in our movement as communist forces now acknowledge that propaganda is the chief form of activity. One test of

History Behind Azanian Uprising

The following is an article submitted by an African comrade, tracing the historical roots of the recent rebellions in South Africa, initiated by Black students in protest over mandatory use of the Afrikaans language. These rebellions which started in the town of Soweto, spread very quickly to other areas, manifesting the deep hatred of the Black masses to the racist minority regime and the intensification of the struggle for liberation.

It took over 20 years of struggle, protest and demonstrations peaceful and violent; it took over 176 dead over 1,000 wounded and hundreds jailed for a minimal facet of the Bantu Education Act to be squashed by the people. The Vorster regime had to reluctantly acknowledge a spark started by high school students which spread into a fire re-kindled by the whole community.

On July 6, 1976 the minister of Bantu Education M.E. Botha reluctantly agreed to drop the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction for 50% of high school subjects. He conceded to the respective schools deciding as to what extent they want to maintain the use of Afrikaans either as a subject or as a medium of instruction. He completely ignored the demand, the reinstatement of the disposed school teachers and the Black School Board.

He also ignored the demand to remove the White Inspector in charge of the Soweto Schools. These school inspectors, mostly Afrikaners and a handful of government trusted Blacks, terrorize both students and teachers. They are influential in expulsion of teachers and also in determining the content of the educational program and have an influence over the use of Afrikaans in the schools. As Winnie Mandela (her husband Nelson Mandela, the leader of ANC, is in Robben Island for life, since the 1961 Sharpeville massacres) and other progressive South Africans have and will continue to

point out that this is not enough. This is merely part of a concession to a democratic right. The demonstrations were not merely calling for the abolition of the compulsory Afrikaans as a language. This was a struggle against the national chauvinism of the Afrikaner regime; against the racist Bantu Education Act under the apartheid system; against the oppression and exploitation of the majority by a minority, and for the liberation of the Azanian people.

According to the OAU resolution last week the only way the people of Azania can attain their freedom is through armed struggle. The Azanian people have nothing else to lose but their chains.

HISTORY

In 1602, the Dutch East India Company was formed. This company took full responsibility for the Commercial enterprises Holland was engaged with in the East. In April 6, 1652 the company sent Jan Van Riebeeck and a few settlers to the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town) to open a halfway refreshment and refueling station between Holland and the East.

In 1688, the French Huguenots and the German Calvinists joined the Dutch settlers in the Cape. They were escaping religious persecutions in their countries.

In 1795 the British snatched the Cape from the Dutch returned it in 1803 and occupied it again in 1806.

Though the first three settler groups (Dutch, German, French) tended to settle in separate areas, they intermarried and they saw the British and the original owners of the land as their common enemies. They therefore stuck together, assimilated each others cultures and evolved a new language and culture, calling themselves Afrikaners and their language Afrikaans. The choice of the name was to indicate to the British that they (the Afrikaners) were the rightful owners of this part of Africa. The Afrikaners went through a whole cultural reformation. They had, at the lead, The Dutch Reformed Church. They based their

whole cultural philosophy of white supremacy and ethnic purity.

Inherent in this enforcement of Afrikanerdom was the implementation of apartheid to its fullest. They wished to drop English completely but this was not practical because Afrikaans is only confined to the borders of the Republic of South Africa. Also most members of the population Black and White combined could hardly understand let alone read and write the language (In the section falling under the "non-white" category, the "Coloureds" have adopted Afrikaans as their mother tongue). The ruling party which was Afrikaans speaking decided to relentlessly enforce the use of Afrikaans as a second official language everywhere including in the education of the majority of the population (the Blacks).

The ruling party (Nationalist Party now headed by Vorster) has always seen the use of Afrikaans as an oppressive tool and have always looked at its implementation as a cultural victory over its "great enemies",

They saw themselves as the chosen children of God' who were being unjustly persecuted by the British and the Africans. They strongly believed that the day would come when they would be avenged and they could trample over their so-called enemies. This answer they 'saw' on December 16, 1838 after they defeated a section of the Zulu army at the Battle of Blood River. December 16 is today a public holiday called the day of the Covenant.

A vehement attempt was made at making Afrikaans an official written language after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1903). The enmity between the Afrikaners and the British did not end with this war. Afrikaans was raised to the level of an official language even more extensively after the Malan regime took over in 1948. When Malan's Nationalist Party took over in 1948 a whole Afrikaner reconstruction took place. More emphasis was placed on expanding Afrikaans educational facilities (literature,

grammar scientific equations etc.). Most high official posts in all spheres which were formerly held by the English speaking men and women were now taken care of by Afrikaners.

The existence of the feud between the Afrikaners and the British is still notable. Most English speaking whites either maintain or acquire British passports which they hold onto and use as soon as things get too hot for them in South Africa.

Another significant factor is that each time African or other oppressed groups classified under "non-whites" protest against a government atrocity, the English speaking press, educational institutions, churches etc. quickly verbalize some support of the protest which very much annoys the Afrikaners.

EDUCATION

Education, like everything else in the apartheid state, is segregated. There are several ministries of education representing different ethnic departments (eg. Minister of the department of Coloured Education or the department of Bantu Education). The quality of education, syllabus, rules and regulations differ significantly for each department. The Africans always getting the shortest end of the stick.

Some of the most significant instances being that from elementary up to high school education is compulsory and free, for all groups except for the Africans who have to pay for theirs even though they are the lowest paid in terms of wages and thus can least afford it. They stay in school a year longer than the others. The other groups may teach in English or Afrikaans. The Africans have to learn some subjects in English some in Afrikaans and some in their mother tongues. The compulsory 3 languages mean additional purchase of literature an economic gain for rulers and now books

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Polish Masses Rebel!

Recently the revisionist government of Poland announced price increases on many food items of close to 100%. The last time the government tried to raise prices was in 1970. That price raise was met by a tremendous revolt on the part of the Polish working class and many intellectuals. The Polish army, the militia (similar to the US National Guard) and the occupation troops of the Soviet Union put down the workers by force of arms and many were killed.

The movement was successful, however, in forcing the government to rescind the price hikes and also caused a big shake-up in the government and revisionist party ranks. This included a new leader of the party and of the government.

The announcement of the latest attempt to raise prices was timed by the revisionist government to come just after schools had let out for the summer in hopes of eliminating any organized student opposition.

This plan didn't work. The price increase was again met with tremendous opposition from Polish workers and intellectuals. The demonstrations were begun by train workers in Radom and soon spread to other areas. Some of the trains that were still running were stopped by the masses of people and a building housing offices of the ruling revisionist party was burned. In all the demonstrations women played a leading role. Both the latest demonstrations and those in 1970 show that there is organization among the Polish working class and intellectuals outside of that set up by the revisionist state. In both instances the response of the Polish working class occurred in a somewhat organized way and in several cities simultaneously. Even though the schools were not in session when the latest price hike was announced, students throughout Poland played a leading role in the demonstrations. The government again used the militia to try to put down the protes-

ters although this time the militia didn't use weapons. Reports from all over Poland reveal that many militiamen were injured. The Polish government was again forced by the mass actions of the revolutionary Polish people to rescind the price hikes.

These acts by the Polish government give further proof that they are no longer a socialist state but have restored capitalist relations and are a colony of Soviet Social Imperialism.

"The main task in the daily struggle is to help the working class and the broadest sections of the masses become aware of the fact that there is no other road but the seizure of political power by force of arms. Therefore, all propaganda and agitation work must be clearly imbued with a revolutionary spirit. The political power which has been lost cannot be re-seized through reformist activities. Only the revolutionary struggle which culminates in an arm-

ed uprising can possibly lead the working class to the dictatorship of the proletariat. To take back the political power which has been lost, it is imperative to wage the same kind of revolutionary struggle as the original seizure of political power required.

Marxist-Leninists throughout the world support the struggles of the revolutionary Polish people to throw off the yoke of Soviet Social Imperialism and for the re-establishment of socialism.

"At present, the dictatorship of a traitorous bureaucracy, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which can be overthrown only through revolutionary struggle, has come into being in our country." (From an article released by the Communist Party of Poland (Marxist-Leninist), entitled: "The Communist Party of Poland (M-L) is a Working Class Party.")

Submitted by a correspondent.
THE COMMUNIST PARTY, page 11

SDOC-

WINNING THE ADVANCED THROUGH PROPAGANDA

The following article consists of parts of a pamphlet put out recently by the San Diego Organizing Committee (Marxist-Leninist). The pamphlet is primarily speaking to workers at Solar Division of International Harvester, which manufactures gas turbines, and secondly the workers at Campbells/San Diego Marine Corp., a local ship-building company. These workers, each in different locals of IAM, got sold out in two

four-month-long strikes during the past year.

The purpose of the pamphlet is to sum up and correct the analysis SDOC presented during the strikes in its series of strike leaflets. (Another pamphlet summing up the strike itself and the various political lines is still in the process of being written.) The pamphlet is propaganda written primarily for the politically advanced workers and also for the many intermediate workers

who we expect will read it and understand a lot of the ideas.

The parts of the pamphlet printed here focus on the capitalist state and our bourgeois democratic government. We must develop our ability to do propaganda around the question of the state. In order to break with reformist and revisionist views on "democracy" and a "peaceful transition to socialism" we must expose clear-

ly the true nature of political power in this country, which is in the form of a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and all working people.

We welcome comrades' criticisms of our work. Copies of our strike leaflets (in packets) and pamphlets are available for 25¢ each. Write SDOC P.O. Box 1332, San Diego, California 92112.

The year 1975 saw several major strikes in San Diego. Two of these were the Solar strike and the Campbells/San Diego Marine strike. The San Diego Organizing Committee (Marxist-Leninist) handed out a series of leaflets to the strikers. These leaflets showed how the particular strikes at Solar and Campbell/SDMC were related to the current economic crisis, to the role of the government (especially the courts and police), and to the sell-out "leaders" within the unions. The SDOC(M-L) leaflets defended the unions as necessary mass organizations of the working class in its economic struggle against the capitalist class. They pointed out the split in the trade union movement, the split between the bought-off trade union bureaucracy and the rank-and-file. They advocated building militant, democratic unions. These unions must have leadership that will truly lead the fight against all attempts to shift the burdens of the general crisis of imperialism onto our backs. The leaflets also advocated building a new communist party that could provide the ideological, political and organizational leadership necessary for the long struggle for socialism.

We committed some serious errors in these leaflets. We had an incomplete understanding of political economy. Political economy is the "science of the laws governing the production and exchange of the subsistence of human society" (Engels). We had an incomplete understanding of the state, the system of force and manipulation which the capitalist class uses to enforce their rule over us. We were inexperienced at putting forward our ideas in leaflets. But we were very clear about the need for a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the strikes and we made a serious effort to provide it.

In whatever we do we must be critical of our work. Only if we search out, understand and correct our errors will we become better fighters in our own interest. In this spirit of self-criticism SDOC(M-L) is restating our view of political economy (not included in this article-Ed.) and the state as corrections to our earlier leaflets.

THE STATE AND THE GOVERNMENT

The state is a system of force controlled by a dominant class to rule over subordinate classes. Classes are groups of people, some of whom own the means of production and therefore are in a position to appropriate the labor of others - where some people can exploit others. Historically, a state has existed whenever a society is divided into classes. There was a time in human history when people lived communally, without any state apparatus. Primitive

societies could produce only enough for subsistence; there was no consistently produced surplus value that a privileged class could appropriate from others. There were no class divisions, no need for the force of a state. The customs and rules of primitive societies, a form of popular rule, reflected the communal sharing of wealth.

The development of production within communal societies - the domestication of animals, improvements in agriculture, and the smelting of iron ore - meant the production of surplus value. Wealth was produced over and above that necessary for the minimal level of survival. Captives of war, and later others, became part of a growing class of slaves, owned as property with no rights to anything they produced, not even their children. The herds, the agricultural tools, the weapons of war and the slaves were claimed as private property by a few people who lived off the labor of others. The developing economic divisions among the people were in contradiction to the communal rules. The old rules of sharing did not reflect the new unequal distribution of wealth among people.

The class of owners now accumulating surplus value needed an institution which would safeguard their newly acquired private property against the communistic rules of primitive society. They needed an institution which would elevate private accumulation of wealth as the highest purpose of human society. They needed an institution which would establish the developing exploitative relations of production as law. What they needed was the state. The early forms of the state gradually developed ideologies of private ownership, legal systems supporting the exploitation of labor, and above all, the force necessary to put down the continuous struggles against the system. We can understand why the state became necessary - how else could a small class of property owners compel the great propertyless majority to work for them?

In each of the three historical systems of exploitation - slavery, feudalism and capitalism - there has been a corresponding state machinery. And each new ruling class has had to consolidate its power in control of the state. The passage from one system into the next has always been accomplished only by the forceful overthrow of the old ruling class by the new.

In the capitalist system ownership of the means of production by the capitalist class forces the masses of people to sell their labor power to the capitalists in order to survive. This relationship to production is

the basic relationship between capital and labor. To hold working people to this relationship and to oppose the great struggles against them, the capitalist class has created and wields that tremendous bureaucratic and military machine, the capitalist state. There are various government forms of the state. Under capitalism there has been everything

from fascist dictatorships to democratic republics. But whatever the government, if it maintains private ownership of the means of production and thereby private appropriation of the wealth produced by labor, it is a capitalist state for the suppression of the masses of working people. It is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

We have been taught that our government is a democratic republic. But in fact it is a dictatorship. We say this for the following reasons:

1) First, control over the day to day conditions of peoples' lives is in no way democratic. The oppressive nature of work, the constant struggle for decent stable lives, the deteriorating living conditions, the oppression against national minorities and women - the masses of people do not get to vote on these conditions. They do not have the power to change these conditions. They do not have legal authority over how the work of society, over how production, will be organized. Nor do they have the organization and force of the state to establish real democratic rule. Because workers lack the ownership and control of private property in production, wage laborers are forced to sell their labor-power to capitalists and thus submit to their authority over production. The capitalist class and the working class cannot be equally represented in the government when they are so completely unequal in the relations of production.

2) Secondly, the real business of the state is not done democratically in the legislatures of elected officials, but rather behind closed doors. The development of these policies and programs which guide government officials are the product of councils, conferences, research institutes, and other more covert bodies of leading members of the capitalist class and their allies among the intellectuals. The Council on Foreign Relations, The Committee on Economic Development, the Brookings Institute, the Ford Foundation, the Committee of Forty, etc. - here is where the Rockefeller and Kissinger types collaborate to try and plan the path of monopoly capitalism.

High government officials

slide back and forth among key government agencies, large corporations and various policy making organizations. The growth of the monopolies internationally in the twentieth century has required the tremendous centralization of state power in the executive branch. It has required these highly developed "special connections" between the executive branch and the capitalist class. Monopoly capital must try to manage an imperialist system which seeks economic, political and cultural domination throughout the world. Right-wing rhetoric calls this state expansion "socialist", but really it is the growing tentacles of the monopoly sector of the capitalist class in defense of its own interests in the private accumulation of the wealth of the world.

3) A third aspect of the bourgeois dictatorship is the fact that the democratic rules of electing government officials are democratic in form only. The people who are elected to the legal system - representatives and some judges - are either rich or those who have proven their loyalty to the rich. They do not truly represent the great majority of people in their districts. Once in a while a few well meaning idealists will slip in, but only to wear themselves out in gallant shows of powerlessness. The judges and representatives see things from the point of view of the bourgeoisie. They are materially bribed with high salaries and privileges. They are ideologically bribed to see all forms of law and order as the "public good". In their view, picketing workers, demonstrators against imperialist wars and people marching for their democratic rights are all "disruptive". They promote the state as a neutral mediator, but call on the full force of the police, courts and prisons when people demand their rights to oppose the many injustices of their lives. In this way these politicians constantly show their contempt for the working class. They will not act in its interest except when forced to make concessions in response to the pressure of masses of people.

4) A large portion of the law reflects efforts to regulate the various parts of the economy in the interest of maximizing profit. Thus we get laws on how corporations will operate, tax laws, trade laws, tariffs, laws on regulatory agencies like the Food and Drug Administration. Because these are all efforts to increase the profits of the bourgeoisie at the expense of labor, these laws voted on in the legislatures and reinterpreted in the courts are manifestations in the legal system of the irreconcilable

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class antagonisms in the relations of production.

OSHA is such a law, primarily designed to help large corporations reduce some of the lost productivity due to bad safety and health factors. What workers gain in real improvements is by default. OSHA is not designed in the interests of workers (we mistakenly portrayed it as if it was in an earlier leaflet). This does not mean that workers cannot use the law to improve conditions. It does mean that they must fight for those improvements, preferably in union contracts, and not depend on OSHA as a law.

Laws that deal with democratic rights are a clear manifestation in the legal system of the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Democratic rights have been and are still necessary for the masses of people to develop their strength and unity in struggle against the economic exploitation and oppressive conditions of the capitalistic system. They have not been given to us. Rather they have been the result of militant struggles for those rights.

The extension of the right has always required militant political struggle by the disenfranchised, whether the propertyless nonslave males in the 1700's, or women and Blacks in the 1800's and 1900's. The rights of free speech and assembly are still being fought on every picket line where police and court injunctions deny those rights. The right of collective bargaining forced from the FDR administration (Wagner Act of 1935) followed over one hundred years of struggles by workers to form unions. In all those years they had to fight

both the companies and the government and still they formed unions! And in fact, FDR's reform administration kept right on using courts, police and troops to break strikes in the "national interest" or "for the public good". Whatever democratic rights we have, have all been concessions wrenched from the bourgeoisie through militant fights. The concessions are always limited and temporary. The bourgeoisie is forever chipping away at whatever had been conceded on paper, just as companies do with union contracts.

5) Finally, behind the laws, behind the politicians, behind the huge bureaucracy lurks the most basic power of any state, including a democratic republic... the armed forces of every type. The police, the military, the prisons, the intelligence agents, etc, are all tools of the capitalist class to maintain its rule both at home and abroad. The history of the struggles of labor and all oppressed people in the US is also the history of violence against the people by the government. The police attack on the Campbells picket line and the recent shooting of a Puerto Rican youth in National City are only two local examples. The barbaric role of the US military machine in the Indochina wars of national liberation brought forth demonstrations of opposition from progressive people throughout the world. The weapons and tactics developed throughout those wars are now being adopted to local police forces for use against the people of the US. Helicopter gunships, SWAT teams, computer data banks - all ready to quell domestic protest when the crisis creates even greater spontaneous mass struggles.

Behind the police waits the National Guard, trained and ready to occupy communities and break strikes. None of these forces are at the democratic command of the masses of people. They are the backbone of state power, at the command of the capitalist class. When the persuasion and manipulation of the law fails to stifle resistance among the people, the violent power of the state will always rear its ugly head.

In general the whole legal system is an effort by the capitalist class to establish political, legal control over the class struggle. A good example is how Judge Levitt's injunctions helped stifle mass picketing by striking workers at both Solar and Campbells/SDMC. As Judge Levitt stated early in the Solar strike, "I will be the arbitrator of this strike." By not challenging the injunctions on the picket line, the union leadership tried to treat the company as separate from the government, when in fact they are united in their struggle against labor. We stand by our position in the strike leaflets that the union leaders had to challenge the injunctions - a common tactic in militant strikes - in order to establish mass picketing. Of course this is only one example of the general sell-out strategy of the leadership who showed clearly their unwillingness to lead the militant strikes necessary to win or even protect the existing contract.

Certainly we can see a direct relationship between the Solar Ten and the economic struggles of all workers

in San Diego. These workers were all active militants in the strike. They were singled out by the company and courts to be an example to all workers of the power of the bourgeoisie. We must fight the blatant attempts of Solar and the government to isolate and legally purge workers who fight for us all. The ability of workers to build towards unified, militant action in their own interests will be tested again and again against the splitting tactics of the bourgeoisie and its allies in the unions.

As seen in the sell-out contract at Solar, each retreat by workers invites new attacks by the capitalists. Employers throughout San Diego saw the defeat of the strike as a sign of weakness in the working class and its mass organization, the unions. It will make them even more bold as they squeeze workers for greater productivity. They will be even more aggressive in their attacks on the unions, as they have been at Two Guys where the company recently got a decertification of the Retail Clerks union after a seven month strike.

The working class must build its unions with militant leadership. It must reestablish union democracy. It must defend and support those who are individually attacked by the capitalists as a step in the development of the strength in unity among all workers. The working class must stand and fight or face even greater defeats. One step forward will be to help our Solar Ten brothers out of the courts and back into the plant. **SUPPORT THE SOLAR TEN!**

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change every year.

Before the compulsory enforcement of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 all subjects including the mother tongue were taught in English. Textbooks remained the same year after year. African children were always taught to preserve their books for their younger siblings or cousins, some kids were even able to pass down their school uniforms, all these eased the economic burden somewhat. Now this isn't possible.

When Bantu Education was introduced as part of the apartheid system, it was met with protests, demonstrations and all kinds of resistance from the Africans and other groups like churches who ran some schools themselves. The government however, ignored this. Those who could afford to send their children to residential schools most of which were run by private organizations like the Roman Catholic Church, who still had a minor role in deciding about their syllabi and could minimize the teaching of Afrikaans somewhat. Still better those who had a lot of money and some connections sent their children to the then British Protectorates, (Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland) especially Swaziland, where they were completely free of Bantu education. Incidentally some of these people were teaching or supervising the implementation of Bantu education to other people's children who were too poor and could not af-

ford to send them away.

Soweto like most African township is inhabited by mostly poor and working people with a handful of well to do doctors, lawyers, and merchants. Most of the parents can only afford to send their children to the local high schools which are the worst equipped in every aspect. Most of the children by the nature of their home conditions have to work after school or even skip a whole school year in order to go back to school or to help their families. The objective oppressive conditions which they experience from day to day, makes them conscious of the weapons their enemies use to ensure their exploitation and oppression. It comes therefore as no surprise that these students were able to link the Afrikaans language to the national chauvinism and to the overall oppression of their people.

Their demands were reflective of their class backgrounds and composition and hence they got the full support of the masses up to the bitter end.

MINORITY REGIME DOOMED

One may wonder why the Vorster regime came down on mere high school students with such brutality. The answer is obvious considering recent events. Vorster and his lackeys are scared to their bottom pants. Only a few weeks before the massacre, they infiltrated a recruitment group of freedom fighters. This group

particularly concentrated on the recruitment and training of high school children.

They were able to get quite a large amount of them out of the country before they were discovered. One of the recruiters mysteriously died around the time of his arrest which is typical of the fascist methods Vorster's men adopt.

It is also ironic that these events occurred on the eve of the Vorster-Kissinger meeting in West Germany. This further reveals the true nature of the U.S.A. and its everlasting alliance with racist S.A. The U.S.A. makes no secret about its full support of the Vorster regime as we always see in the U.N. Even as recently as 1974, the U.S. together with Britain and France vetoed the expulsion of S.A. from the world body.

This is only the beginning, nothing can stop the might of the masses of Azania. Schools will be opening soon. We will see. This is part of the protracted struggle for the independence of the people of Azania. The downfall of the apartheid state is inevitable. Petty concessions on apartheid will merely serve as temporary stop gaps which the oppressors are using to postpone their extinction.

DOWN WITH THE FASCIST APARTHEID STATE!!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE OF AZANIA!

our ability to apply this line, to give leadership to the US revolution and win the advanced to communism, is the degree to which that line is reflected in the character of political exposures.

To the extent that we develop an independent communist policy on every significant event facing the working class struggle against the bourgeoisie; to the extent that we bring socialist consciousness to the working class and train the masses to evaluate and react to events in a communist fashion; and to the extent that our exposures are national in scope reaching to every corner of the continent, to that extent we make propaganda the chief form of our activity.

Every comrade, every collective and every communist organization should take up the task of doing political exposures, systematically appraising events from a communist perspective. We learn to do political exposures by doing them. This task is essential if we are to train ourselves as professional revolutionaries, giving tested leadership to the masses in struggle, explaining and helping to bring into existence the conditions for proletarian revolution. **DEVELOP POLITICAL EXPOSURES!**

**TRAIN OURSELVES AND THE MASSES IN SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS!
DEVELOP AN INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST POLICY ON ALL BURNING ISSUES BEFORE THE PROLETARIAT TODAY.**

Ford Plan Defends Segregation

The May issue of THE COMMUNIST pointed out that the essence of imperialism is the oppression of nations and it is therefore the duty of communists and progressive people to firmly grasp what Lenin called the focal point of a revolutionary program under the conditions of imperialism—the struggle against oppressor nation chauvinism. This means that "the decisive link in our struggle to turn imperialist war into civil war is our activity to connect the revolutionary struggle for socialism with a revolutionary program on the national question." We stated that preparing for imperialist war means above all "fighting the great nation chauvinism of the US imperialist bourgeoisie." It is from this standpoint that we must evaluate a currently proposed attack by the US bourgeoisie on busing, which is currently being put forward by Gerald Ford.

A recent New York Times special points out that Ford wants to put a maximum five year limit on virtually all busing orders by Federal courts in desegregation cases. Most importantly he wants to limit busing only to segregation which is caused by official governmental action — segregation by law or "de jure" — and to leave unchanged segregation which is caused by discrimination in housing, employment, etc. — segregation in fact or "de facto". In order to clearly bring forward the extreme dangers posed by this plan, we focus on certain specifics of the draft and the connection between these issues and the tasks posed to revolutionaries by our present situation.

The proposal to limit busing to situations of official acts of segregation only is a racist philosophy which says that apartheid is fine as long as politicians are not too obvious about it. This is the attitude that oppressor nation chauvinists have always adopted towards the equal rights for the oppressed nation. They're all for equal rights as long as they don't mean anything. It's an attitude which shows the hypocrisy of bourgeois law. Ford talks about the form of equality but has segregation in his heart.

These chauvinists can give speeches about equality but live their daily lives in all white suburbs that will one day choke them. Ford's proposal is that the federal courts limit themselves to eradicating only officially caused segregation, leaving intact segregation caused by the patterns and abuses of day to day life. Even fractions of the bourgeoisie can see the impotence and hypocrisy of this proposal. One federal court of appeals said that to "preserve intact every scrap of segregated education that somehow can be separated from Governmental causation is to involve Federal courts in planning continued segregation!"

Not only does this position seek to negate totally certain steps forward taken in the past by the courts, but it serves to give official support, to legitimize and to intensify oppressor nation chauvinism and to encourage the more backward sectors of the masses to grovel after oppressor nation privileges, real or imagined, "de facto" or "de jure", which are the product of monopoly capital's development and sinister manipulation of national chauvinism.

As Communists we oppose all privileges for the oppressor nation. What difference does it make if the denial of equal rights is "de jure" or "de facto"? This distinction of Ford's shows that the bourgeois state dictatorship does not want to deal with changing a segregated society. That is because national oppression works in their interest, the interests of the monopoly capitalists. That is why it is up to the revolutionary proletariat to take state power. That is the only way national oppression can be overcome.

On the matter of limits, the proposed plan calls for the following:

"The initial desegregation order lasts only for three years. If the judge affirmatively finds that the officially caused segregation is not yet eradicated, the judge may extend the order for two more years; after five years, there is no extension possible except in extraordinary cir-

cumstances."

Setting such arbitrary and narrow limits for the elimination of the effects of segregation which have developed over long periods of time is an invitation to officially sanctioned foot dragging.

There are two fundamental lessons to be firmly grasped here. First, we must fully comprehend the current efforts by the bourgeoisie to appeal to, and whip up, national chauvinist sentiments. Generally, all presidential candidates have taken this course, in one way or another. Yet we need to be clear that such fanning of national chauvinism is not incidental to election year rhetoric and deceit, but instead is a fundamental weapon of both imperialism and social imperialism in creating and confusing and generating disunity among the masses and fostering a climate for imperialist war.

Second, we must understand the lessons of Lenin and Stalin regarding reforms and reformism. As Lenin pointed out in 1913:

"Reformism is deception of the workers by the bourgeoisie for as long as there is the domination of capital, the workers are condemned to remain wage slaves, not withstanding individual improvements. The...bourgeoisie always takes back the reforms it grants, reduces them to nought, uses them to enslave the workers, divide them into separate groups and perpetuate wage slavery. For that reason...the workers who put their trust in the reformists are, in the end, always fooled. That has been demonstrated by the experience of every country. ...Knowing that under capitalism reforms can never be enduring or far-reaching, the workers fight for better conditions and use them to intensify the fight against wage slavery."

Comrades, we resolutely reaffirm our support of busing as a concrete means to struggle for equal rights, combat national chauvinism, and build the fighting unity of

the multinational working class and the unity of the working class with the oppressed nationalities. Without these there can be no revolution. We uphold the right of the youth of the working masses to a broad education, particularly those of the oppressed nationalities, with all on equal terms with no privileges for any nation. As communists, we must develop practical plans for implementing busing which genuinely promote equal rights for the oppressed nationalities and which safeguard the independence of the multinational proletariat's class interests. As Stalin said, "It is not a matter of reforms or of compromises and agreements, but of the use people make of reforms and agreements."

Comrades and friends, the current attacks of the ruling class upon the living standards, the democratic rights and the hard-won gains of the US masses should serve notice that our revolutionary struggle will be indeed a severe and protracted matter — a struggle which we have no chance of winning unless we are led by the multinational US proletariat under the guidance of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party upholding Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung thought. By every means let us persistently intensify the work to weld the communist movement to the worker's movement and to weld the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat to the liberation struggle of the Afro-American nation and the oppressed nationalities. Let us be relentless in our fight for the democratic rights of the oppressed nationalities, for it is only on this basis — the fight for the right to self determination of oppressed nations and the fight for equal rights for all oppressed minorities — that we can forge the unity of the multinational proletariat.



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"willing to accept arbitration in exchange for prohibiting strikes by public safety employees" responded: "Certainly. That's the only way Congress will ever get moving on a collective bargaining law." It has been proven again and again that reliance on arbitration rather than direct action by workers through strikes or other forms of militant struggle renders them helpless and totally at the mercy of the bourgeois state. This must be opposed! This is particularly true in light of the growing danger of war and the increased attempts by the capitalists to impose work discipline on the working class to promote war production and breed class collaborationist politics among the workers.

In the present strike the workers have been told by their top-level leaders to be "non-violent" in response to the police attacks on their picket lines. The workers have argued against this but are told that the excessive bond fines cannot be afforded by the union.

One reason for this is that the international has not contributed any money to the local for the present struggle. It is clear how the actions of the trade union bureaucrats help stalemated the struggles of the workers. They do not adequately prepare for the strike. Then they tell the workers to rely on only legal forms of struggle. But when the courts, to whom they have turned for "justice", fine the workers and drain the union's funds — the union hacks only answer is "stop fighting". So the scabs go in and the strike is weakened. One way for the working class to respond to these "interventions" — attacks — by the state is to take up struggle against the state and demand clemency for all workers arrested while defending their rights.

The rank and file are justly angered at the international's failure to provide funds and assistance in any way during their strike. They have demanded that the international stop all negotiations with the state by

other locals until the state agrees to negotiate with Local 1006. The workers want to combat any divide-and-conquer schemes and are insisting on class solidarity in this fight. The stand of many of the rank file is that they will not go back to work unless they have a contract in hand which covers all Department of Labor workers.

The unity and militancy of the workers of Local 1006 are an example to the working class across the country. Due to this strong stand the workers have taken they have been able to force through and exercise a great degree of democracy in their local strike meetings.

Workers have been able to speak out at an open microphone and as a result political issues as well as economic have been widely discussed. The political consciousness of the workers is at a relatively high level. Workers from one office demanded that instead of a "rally" they have a meeting

where the important issues of the strike could be discussed. These included organization of the strike, demands, and the question of who would do the negotiating. The rank and file are clearly prepared to struggle for leadership of the strike.

This strike by public employees as well as the present strike by the New York City hospital workers must be given our utmost support. The bureaucrats in service of the bourgeois state will do their utmost to defeat these struggles and have already utilized their strong-armed thugs, the police and the courts, for this purpose. The working class must meet these attacks head on and with one voice demand:

SUPPORT THE RIGHT TO STRIKE FOR ALL PUBLIC WORKERS!

Let Us Emulate Comrade Chu Teh

People's China and the working and oppressed masses of the world lost a staunch warrior in the struggle against imperialism with the death of Chu Teh, the chairman of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China. At 90 years old, he had a long and glorious history of struggle.

He was born in 1886 of a peasant family. He was trained at the Yunan Academy which was one of the first academies of modern military science in China. In 1912, he distinguished himself as a military leader in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and began his life as a career soldier in the Republic of China. Despite his position in society at that time, Chu Teh was a man of high principles and commitment to the people. With the rise of the nationalist movement under the leadership of Sun Yat Sen, he joined the Kuomintang in 1922. For the first time he was exposed to revolutionary ideas which he began to absorb and to use in guiding his life,

When he was near 40, he traveled to Germany where he was first introduced to the

science of Marxism-Leninism which was to complete the transformation of his life.

A student friend of his (Chou En-Lai) came to see him, talking to him about a book called STATE AND REVOLUTION. Chu Teh asked him to help him read it, and thus he became interested in Marxism and the Russian Revolution. The powerful revolutionary movement then active in Germany swept him, with hundreds of Chinese students into the struggle for world revolution. He joined the Chinese branch of the Communist Party founded in Germany. A comrade of his commented on his qualities at that time:

"Chu Teh had an experienced, disciplined, practical mind. He was an extremely simple man, modest and unassuming. He always invited criticism; he had an insatiable appetite for criticism..."

He returned to China, where he was to lead in the struggle for power of the proletariat and peasants. He led in the August uprising in Nanchang in 1927 which was the beginning of the struggle for power against the Kuomi-

ntang. By 1931, he was the Commander in Chief of the Red Army. Chu Teh played an enormous role in building the Red Army, molding it into a scientific modern army firmly under the leadership of the party and a powerful servant of the oppressed masses of China and the world. His leadership guaranteed its close ties with the masses of people, as well as brilliant military victories over the reactionaries and the imperialists.

From then on through the course of the revolutionary struggle and through the twists and turns of the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, he was one of the closest comrades-in-arms of Mao Tse-tung. Chu Teh's leadership qualities were of the highest standard. Chu Teh's devotion to his men was well known. Assuming command of the army he lived and dressed like the rank and file, shared all their hardships, often going without shoes in the early days, living one whole winter on squash, another on yak meat, never complaining, rarely sick. He liked to wander through the

camp, they said, sitting with the men and telling stories, or playing games with them.

Any soldier in the army could bring his complaints directly to the commander in chief. Chu Teh took his hat off when he addressed his men. On the Long March, he frequently lent his horse to tired comrades, walking much of the way.

It was these qualities of hard struggle and exemplary leadership that put him in to many positions of prominence in China. Based on the qualities of leaders like Chu Teh, Mao was able to sum up the requirements of what is necessary in order to train successors to the brilliant and courageous leaders of the Chinese Revolution.

It is in taking up this task, rising as successors to comrades like Chu Teh, that we best show our respects. Our loss must increase our determination to intensify the struggle.



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the union bureaucrats told the League of Voluntary Hospitals they would agree to binding arbitration and call off the strike. Starting with contract preparation conferences in mid-March union delegates representing the rank and file told Davis and Foner they wanted a cost of living increase, improved benefits and job protection against threatened layoffs written in their new contract and they were willing to strike to get it. The workers and professionals were mobilizing for the first major struggle against the huge cutbacks which have been going on in New York City the last two years. Three weeks before the strike they saw their fellow workers in the city government including the city hospitals get sold out by Victor Gotbaum and company, head of DC 37 (AFSCME). The 200,000 city workers had their benefits cut by \$25 million and like the transportation workers they were told they would receive a pay in-

crease only if they showed an increase in productivity. District 1199 members didn't want the same. Many members saw the opportunity for combined action with DC 37, but as has been the pattern the bureaucrats of both unions refused to meet and would not sponsor any of the many marches and rallies called by citywide coalitions to wage struggle against the bourgeoisie's attacks.

District 1199's leaders told the members when they voted almost 10-1 to strike that they were sure the strike would loosen up the money from Albany and they would be back at the negotiating table soon with the hospitals, who could now afford to give them a raise. Well, the state of New York didn't budge one inch. The union and League of Voluntary Hospitals have now agreed to binding arbitration through a federal mediator. This means whatever is decided at the table is binding to both sides. The rank and file do not have the leverage of a strike, their main weapon in their struggle

to better the sale of their labor power. They must now direct all their energy and strength at their union bureaucrats so they will not get completely sold out.

The lessons of the 1199 strike have national significance. 1199 was supported consistently by Martin Luther King Jr. They took a stand against the Vietnam war, support the UFW, etc. These stands are the result of the struggles waged by the rank and file in the face of leadership which is one of the most opportunist in the country. In April of this year Davis wrote, "One doesn't have to be an economist to know that this country would be better off with a fair share for everyone. That's what unions are all about. A fair share for the worker. Not a hog's share. Just a fair share." Well, Mr. Davis we have news for you: we are not interested in how you see sharing things fairly with the bourgeoisie; in your social democracy to give the workers a greater share of

the profits which only they create; we're not interested in your social reforms to divert the struggles of the proletariat away from the complete seizure of state power, the crushing of the bourgeoisie and the taking of all the profits, all the means of production, of everything from them. We will do everything to make sure they get NO SHARE and they are smashed along with all their social props.

And until that time, Mr. Davis Mr. Foner and the rest of you we will work every minute to expose your ruthless, traitorous role, not just to your own members, but to all M-L and advanced workers around the country. We will do everything in our power to drive you out of the working class movement. And believe us, we will be prepared to deal with your call for a new Labor Party.

DOWN WITH ALL TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS
DOWN WITH BINDING ARBITRATION
FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO STRIKE!

Class struggle continued from p. 16

Every spontaneous struggle of the class is class struggle and class struggle is ultimately political struggle, a struggle for state power. The immediate goal of Communists, set forth in THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO is: "formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat." However as long as its struggles remain spontaneous struggles and fragmented, essentially trade union struggles, the proletariat cannot change the fundamental conditions of bourgeois property or attack bourgeois state power. In order to abolish private property and win political power the proletariat must go beyond spontaneous struggles to the consciously planned and organized battles of the entire working class and its allies against the whole capitalist class and the government that supports it. For this two things are indispensable: (1) the scientific world view of the proletariat to guide its struggle according to the laws of society and of revolution;

"The history of all past society consisted in the development of class antagonisms. . . that assumed different forms at different times. But. . . one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of one part of society by another."

But there is also a social law that where there is coercion and oppression, there is resistance. This struggle between oppression and resistance in every society based on exploitation is CLASS STRUGGLE."

(2) a vanguard political organization which crowns the formation of the proletariat into a class and alone can guide the proletariat single-mindedly to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of private property and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without its own science and its own party, the proletariat cannot wage genuine class struggle in its own class interests. And if it

does not wage class struggle in its own interests, its motion serves the interest of the bourgeoisie.

TACTICS OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE

Communists lead the class struggle of the proletariat against each and every manifestation of tyranny and oppression in day to day social life and in support of every revolutionary movement against the existing social and pol-

itical order of things. But they can do so, as Communists, only by keeping in view, at all times, their final goal. In his sketch KARL MARX, Lenin wrote: "The Communist Manifesto set forth the fundamental Marxist principle on the tactics of political struggle: 'The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.'"

The basic question of class struggle is the property question. Proletarian revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations. This is because we intend to abolish private property once and for all and abolish the exploitation of the part of society that produces by the few who own. In so doing we lay the basis for the abolition of all classes which is our ultimate goal: "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

Study the Communist Manifesto NEVER FORGET CLASS STRUGGLE

Everyday just by picking up a newspaper or watching TV news, we can see a world in constant turmoil and upheaval, some forces dying and going out of being, some forces shifting around, others going forward or backward. Some people ask "What the hell is going on? I don't understand it at all." Then we hear all sorts of answers and explanations; some say the World is coming to an end and Jesus will come down real soon; others attribute it to backward and evil human nature; and say there is nothing to do about it but sit back and watch, or they give us some other line that is outside the real processes and practice of society.

No. If we want a guiding line to understand the contradictions inside society, we must take up the theory laid out in THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO by Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels -- the theory of class struggle.

Then what is this class struggle? It is the real motion of classes, and especially of the two major antagonistic classes in present day society -- the capitalists, those few who own the means of production and subsistence (mines, factories, land, machines, etc.) and consequently who do not work or produce; and the working class or proletariat, the vast majority who are propertyless and who consequently can only survive by selling their labor power to the owners of the means of production. This class struggle determines all other processes or developments in human society, whether they be economic, political, social or cultural -- nothing can happen outside of this sphere.

Whether it takes the form of strikes, sit downs, sick outs, boycotts or other actions for better wages and working conditions or the thousand forms of spontaneous rebellion in our plants and communities; or whether it takes the form of oppression by the bourgeoisie -- as when

unemployment benefits run out or SUB pay and massive layoffs persist; when we can't get decent housing; when 25.5 million Americans live at the poverty level and 17 billion dollars are spent on pets, millions of it for TV advertising; when 40¢ of every dollar spent on workmen's compensation goes to private insurance companies for "administrative" expenses; when the time it takes you to read this newspaper there is an industrial death or probably two; when the Ford family takes \$2 clear profit out of each and every hours work of every one of its employees!; the newspapers, TV, the schools-- all this and more are examples of class struggle. Every basic question we face is first of all a matter of class struggle. Imperialist war is a question of class struggle. The national question is in the final analysis a question of class struggle. The woman question also is ultimately a class question.

Mao says that "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." Even human nature is the product of class struggle.

"Is there such a thing as human nature," Mao asks? "Of course there is. But there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature in the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes. We uphold the human nature of the proletariat and of the masses of the people, while the landlord and bourgeois classes uphold the human nature of their own classes, only they do not say so but make it out to be the only human nature in existence . . . what they call human nature is in essence nothing but bourgeois individualism, and so, in their eyes, proletarian human nature is contrary to human nature."

WHERE THERE IS OPPRESSION
THERE IS RESISTANCE

The basis of class struggle is the exploitation of a surplus product from those who produce by those who do no work at all. THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO states: "The history of all past society consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs. But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of one part of society by the other." As we explained in FAIR DAY'S WAGE (THE COMMUNIST, v. I, #9), when you sell your labor power you get paid only for part of the value you produce. The surplus goes into the pocket of your employer. It is a surplus that you produce that he gets for free. That is the source of his profit.

But no one can take the labor of another without force. Whether under slavery, feudalism or capitalist wage

slavery, "It is impossible to compel the greater part of society to work systematically for the other part without a permanent apparatus of coercion." (Lenin). Where there is exploitation, there must be oppression and an apparatus of violence to back it up. As we explained in GOVERNMENT FOR THE PEOPLE (THE COMMUNIST v. I, #10), that is the function of the State.

But there is also a social law that where there is coercion and oppression there is resistance. This struggle between oppression and resistance in every society based on exploitation is class struggle.

The rise of the modern class of owners of the means of production, the capitalist or modern bourgeoisie, was a product of class struggle which began in the Middle Ages within a society dominated by feudal landlords who relied not on commerce and industry but on brutal and crude exploitation of the agricultural labor of serfs on their vast landed estates. Manufacture and trade could develop to a certain extent within feudal society, but beyond that its development was blocked. The feudal landowners had to be overthrown to allow for capitalist development. Only in that way could modern industry develop, and the Industrial Revolution is a direct result of the bourgeois revolution against feudalism in England. (The development of automatic machines were made possible when the tool was separated from the workman. The drive to develop means of communication like railways, automobiles and planes comes from the bourgeoisie's need to reduce the time goods spend in circulation to a minimum in order to increase to a maximum the time available for production.) In the US, the Civil War was fought by the industrial, commercial and financial bourgeoisie of the North against the slaveowning plantation aristocracy of the South in order to wipe out the slave system which was a barrier to capitalist development.

What happened in these cases is that pre-capitalist property relations were a fetter on the development of the productive forces. They were fetters because the productive forces could be more powerfully developed under the conditions of bourgeois property relations and it was in the bourgeoisie's interest to do so. This brings about a revolution against the society and conditions of production that hold back the bourgeoisie.

What Marx and Engels show in THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO is that another such revolution is going on before our very eyes: "the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an overriding law. . . . Society can no longer live under the bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society."

This is shown by the con-

stant and recurring crises of capitalist society. More than anything else, capitalist crises expose the absurdity of modern conditions of private property, how they are too narrow for the productive forces that have developed within them. Capitalist crises are crises of overproduction. Too much is produced, too many cars, too much wheat, too much industry and too much commerce. But too much in terms of what people need? Of course not! Too much in order to reproduce the conditions of bourgeois private property--ie. things can't be sold so that the bourgeoisie can make a profit. "The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property."

With each crises the bourgeoisie attempts to preserve its own conditions of existence, its own property relations, by driving the worker deeper and deeper into the conditions of poverty. This cycle is part of the class struggle. The workingman or woman becomes a pauper and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth.

THE VICTORY OF THE PROLETARIAT
IS INEVITABLE!

The development of the modern bourgeoisie means also the development of the modern proletariat. From the beginning there is what Marx and Engels call a more or less veiled civil war that rages in existing society. They write: "The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual laborers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labor, they smash machinery to pieces, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages." This is the first step of the spontaneous class struggle of the proletariat and we still see evidence of this today in the form of individual and spontaneous sabotage on the line, etc.

At this stage workers are undermined by their competition with one another in the workforce. It is only as they realize their common interest in maintaining wages against the boss and that their collective association is more necessary than individual wages, that they take the step forward to trade unions and trade union politics. This arises with the development of the proletariat in numbers, concentration, etc. and it is accompanied by attempts at sabotage through right to work laws, company goons, etc. Nonetheless, "Once it has reached this point association takes on a political character."

Continued on page 15

