



# REVOLUTION

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

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## 1000 In DC Rip Cuts, Carter 'Jobs' Scheme

On the very day of President Carter's "call-in" they marched 1000 strong on the White House. Their demands— No Cuts in Unemployment Benefits, Kill Carter's Bill, Jobs or Income Now! Unemployed workers joined by their brothers and sisters still on the job, Black and white; guys laid off after 20 years and youths who've seen nothing but McDonald's. They poured into D.C. on buses and in cars from over 25 cities, from as far away as Denver, determined to fight the proposed cuts in the federal extensions and make clear that the bourgeoisie's attempts to force people to choose between starvation and slave-wage jobs would not go down without protest.

The black and white crossed fists of the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) symbol waved on hundreds of flags and adorned another hundred placards worn by workers marching six abreast in contingents from the different cities. Along the two mile route from the indoor rally to the White House, supporters from the local community raised clenched fists in unity and many joined in the march. One guy on a bicycle wove in and out of traffic passing out leaflets to people in cars. Cars and buses beeped their horns in rhythm with the chants.

### At the White House

Led by an open van carrying over one quarter of a million signatures on petitions for Jobs or Income, and thousands more signed specifically against the cuts, the march headed straight for the White House. An empty chair draped with a cardigan sweater reserved for Carter sat atop the van, backed up by 1000 marchers demanding that Carter come outside to defend his position on the cuts openly before the people. They bore a letter addressed to Carter which asked, "Why do you represent the moneyed interests while claiming to speak in our behalf?" Then in defiance of their "No more than 100 pickets in front of the White House" rule, 1000 people shouting "No Cuts—No Way" stormed across the street to the White House sidewalk to deliver their demands to Carter's doorstep, picketing and chanting militantly within 50 yards of that symbol of American "opportunity" and power.

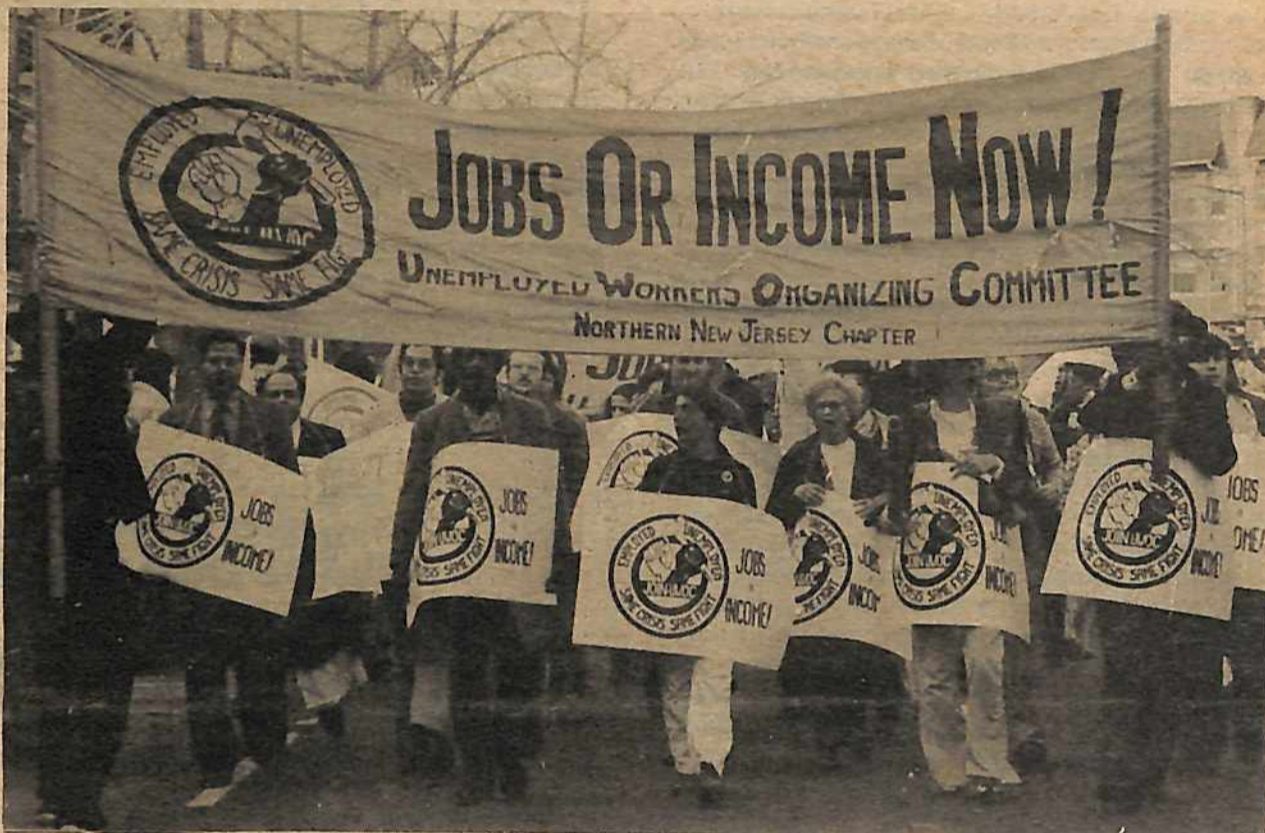
While the demonstration rallied in the park across the street, a small delegation was sent to present the letter to Carter and demand his appearance before the workers. Only after the delegation threatened to bring the other 1000 workers back to the White House sidewalk was even an aide sent out. In the middle of the discussion, when a woman from St. Louis was explaining about how she had a government loan on her house, which now she can't repay, and how she was given government training in a field where no jobs are to be found, a limousine pulled up. Without a word, having previously assured the delegation of Carter's concern for the unemployed, the aide turned his back on the delegation to go over and greet his wealthy buddy.

Carter himself arrogantly continued to play tennis in his backyard, refusing to acknowledge in the slightest the just demands of so many workers. But the point was made. Carter and the Congress knew that there was political opposition to their plans and that their attempts to crush the workers would not go down so easily. For the many who had come to Washington thinking that if Carter knew the problem he would do something to change it, the struggle was a tremendous lesson. For everyone, the unity and determination of the march was a sign of things to come—growing resistance in the face of economic crisis and a system coming apart at the seams.

### Attacks on Unemployed

Organized mainly by UWOC, it was one of the most significant workers' demonstrations in recent years, the first major political demonstration of the Carter era. The demonstration reached deep

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1000 angry workers, mostly unemployed, poured into Washington, D.C. on March 5th to demand no cuts in Federal Extension benefits and down with slave labor jobs plan. Young, old and middle age, of many races and nationalities, they joined their voices in a single mighty chant: "We Want Jobs! No Cut in Benefits!"

### Buzzards Screech at Vultures

## 'Human Rights': Ploy In U.S.-USSR Rivalry

"Human rights is a central concern of my administration," President Carter wrote Russian dissident Andrei Sakharov in a February letter that exploded like a bomb in the world of diplomacy. For one, the letter was sent for Sakharov to pick up at the American embassy in Moscow, a symbolic gesture that was meant to infuriate the New Czars of the Kremlin and would have caused great cries of interference in the U.S.'s internal affairs if the USSR had sent a similar letter in care of its embassy here. For another, the content of the letter was itself inflammatory, because in it Carter promised that he would "use my good offices to seek the release of prisoners of conscience" and offered the hand of support to Sakharov and other "dissidents" in the Soviet bloc.

In the weeks that followed, Carter responded to criticisms that his concern for human rights was mainly meant to hit at the USSR by "broadening" the issue, which included cutting off military aid to Ethiopia and Uruguay and cutting down on Argentina's allowance because of "violations of human rights" in these countries. Carter even went so far as to admit that the U.S. government itself was guilty of some imperfections on that score, and as a gesture towards remedying that fact he ruled that American citizens would once again be free to travel to Cuba and other previously forbidden countries.

### Embarrassment at the U.N.

But just how deep Carter's concern really is became clear when the U.S. representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, Brady Tyson, apparently took his presidential boss

too seriously, and apologized to the commission for the U.S.'s 1973 overthrow of the Allende government in Chile. The first-time out young diplomat said that he felt this apology was "within the framework of the Carter policy," but Carter immediately disassociated his government from the man in a press conference the next day and had him promptly recalled.

There is "no evidence," Carter explained, that the U.S. had anything to do with Allende's downfall—although only a few months ago, in the second debate with Ford, candidate Carter charged that Ford's "administration overthrew an elected government [in Chile] and helped to establish a military dictatorship."

All this takes place in the context of what has been a deepening disgust by the American people at the dirty deeds done by the U.S. in foreign policy, especially the propping up of military dictatorships all around the world, the work of the CIA, bribes both official and private paid to protect U.S. business abroad, etc. In his campaign, Carter pledged to restore morality to U.S. diplomacy, in line with his general promises about bringing back morality to government and restoring the people's faith.

But the reality is a little more crude. Carter's "human rights" crusade is a new wrinkle in the old policy of both superpowers of using detente as a battleground in their contention. What's different is that while Ford and Kissinger focused on offering the USSR certain advantages from detente if they refrained from threatening U.S. interests in certain areas, now Carter is using the "human rights" section of the 1975 U.S.-USSR Helsinki Agreement, one of the so-called "fruits" of

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# Summing Up The Steel Election Battle

Steel workers are now taking a long and hard look at the elections that just took place in their union—at the lessons learned, the advances made and the position that the rank and file is in today now that the elections are over.

McBride beat Sadlowski by something less than three to two. Even though the Abel machine might have stolen votes in the South, Canada and other places, it appears that Abel's hand-picked successor, Lloyd McBride, would have won anyway, though not by the same margin. But in basic steel, where the issues were the clearest and the lines sharpest, Sadlowski beat McBride. Essentially, this vote was a clear rejection of the company-serving policies which have been shoved down the throats of workers in basic steel in recent years.

Chief among these is the so-called Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) which robs workers in basic steel of the right to carry out a national strike at least until 1980. Signed behind the backs of steel workers by Abel in 1973, this agreement is one of the sharpest examples around of union misleaders serving the heads of industry. Abel refused to put the matter up to a vote, saying *he* knew the majority of steel workers in basic supported it.

But his claims of legitimacy concerning the ENA were dealt a hard blow in this election, along with his other pro-company practices like the establishment of the productivity committees—made up of union and company officials who plan further cuts in jobs by increasing job combinations and eliminations—and the denial of the right of the rank and file in basic to vote on contracts.

Despite the hundreds of articles in the pages of the union's paper, *Steel Labor*, despite the movies that were shown to steel workers around the country, despite all the speeches praising Abel's policies to the skies, basic steel workers voted no to the whole "what's good for the companies is good for the workers" line. This vote has made clearer where basic steel workers stand on these questions, and can be an aid in furthering the struggle around them. In fact, the vote would have been much more overwhelming, had it not been for some of the back-sliding and half-stepping Sadlowski engaged in around these and some other important issues during the campaign.

## Vote an Indicator

But while the vote in basic steel is an advance in shattering some of the illusions that were being created by the Abel machine and some of this machine's control over the workers, the vote in other divisions of the USWA also gave a clearer picture of where things are at among the rank and file. While all the totals have not been released, and a division by division breakdown hasn't yet become available, it is still clear that outside of basic steel, Sadlowski lost pretty big. And while some of this was due to some of the dilly-dallying around Sadlowski did, it would be a serious error to just write it all off to Sadlowski's campaigning.

It is important to determine why many steel workers outside of basic—in can, aluminum, and other divisions—and also a sizeable minority in basic, supported McBride. It wasn't because they liked job combinations, deteriorating conditions, layoffs or because they wanted steel workers to grovel in the dirt in front of the steel companies.

Many of these workers reasoned that the strength of the steel companies was so powerful and overwhelming that the best steel workers could do would be to take whatever Abel & Co. could negotiate out of the companies.

Could or couldn't the steel companies be fought? This is one of the main questions that was repeatedly struggled over around the elections. It was this question that was also the basis for the debate around the ENA—that maybe even strikes are ineffective in the face of the company strength.

The result outside of basic was a clear reflection that organization among the rank and file is still young and primitive and not very developed around the country. This has made it more difficult to overcome the divisions that exist between the different sections of the USWA. These divisions have been pro-



Fresh from consolidation of new gains in the Sadlowski election campaign, rank and file steel workers mobilized in Washington, D.C. on February 14, the opening day of contract negotiations to hit I.W. Abel and his sellout plans and put forward their demands. The demonstration was called for by workers around The Steelworker newspaper.

moted by the companies and union leadership in attempting to play different segments of the steel workers against each other by keeping steel workers in the dark about what the various struggles consist of, distorting many of the issues, telling workers outside of basic that basic steel workers have no reason to fight because they make more money than steel workers outside of basic, and in turn telling basic steel workers that workers in non-basic don't know what's going on and aren't even "real" steel workers.

Trade union elections often do not result in advances for the rank and file. Many times it's just a rubber

stamp for the machine and another knife in the back for the workers. But armed with a proper understanding of the situation, many times union elections can be utilized to overcome the obstacles that exist and advance the interests of the workers. Where the approaching elections tend to concentrate the experience of the workers over the previous period of time, the election can serve as a reference point to focus on the actual conditions workers are facing and the key battles going on in the shop and industry. Especially in such elections—though to a certain degree in almost all union elections

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## Student Rage Storms Thru Italy

Student demonstrations in Italy, which erupted over the high unemployment rate there especially among youth, and the poor quality and overcrowded conditions of Italy's universities—both indictments of the crisis of imperialism—reached mass proportions in early March following the murder of a student leader by police in Bologna. 60,000 students in Rome, their ranks swollen by trainloads of sympathizers from all over Italy, fought police. Chanting slogans like "You will pay for all our dead comrades," with rocks and firebombs and even returning police fire, they tried to storm the headquarters of the ruling Christian Democratic Party, the Ministry of Justice, the Chilean Embassy and other targets in Rome, including the sales offices of the Ford Motor Company, Fiat, and Gulf Oil.

A bourgeois newspaper account described the scene in Rome this way: "The thuds of exploding police tear gas grenades were punctuated by the staccato crack of pistol shots fired by both police and demonstrators." In Milan, students shot out the windows of the Lombardy Industrial Association and firebombed other offices. Thousands more protested in Bologna, while in Turin, a member of the police "anti-terrorist" squad died in a hail of bullets.

This massive wave of rebellion caught the bourgeoisie by surprise and put to the torch the myth propagated in recent years in Europe and in this country of the increasing docility of students and the death of the student movement in the Western capitalist countries. Demonstrations began to jump off in Italy in early February when rumors began to circulate that the Christian Democratic Minister of Education was planning to restore the limitations on university enrollment that were swept away by the student movement in 1968.

The concept of an "open university," where anyone with a high school diploma can attend, was a major victory in a country where, despite recent increases in the number attending, economic hardships prevent 87% of school children from getting a college education. But the granting of this concession, coupled with the economic crisis and no increased funding for schools, has led to vastly overcrowded classrooms, a very poor professor/student ratio, insufficient laboratory and library materials and overpriced books. For example, only a minority of the 150,000 students now enrolled at Rome University, originally built to accommodate 40,000, can regularly attend class.

A major problem and demand of students and youth in Italy is for jobs. As one Italian sociologist put it,

"Our universities no longer produce culture, research or science. They exist primarily in order to mask the true extent of unemployment among our youth." According to the official unemployment figures of the Italian Ministry of Labor, there are about 800,000 young people looking for their first jobs. Out of 72,000 college graduates this year, only about 30% are expected to be able to find work, and the rest will join the 240,000 earlier degree holders still out of work.

The Italian revisionist Communist Party has, as always, taken the side of the bourgeoisie in this struggle, a stand which has made them a target of the revolutionary wrath of the students. For years the Italian CP has promoted the treason that socialism could be accomplished peacefully through elections. More recently the ICP has taken their treason one step further by calling for "the historic compromise"—begging on their knees to be allowed to form a joint government with the Christian Democratic Party, the ruling bourgeois party in Italy. On some campuses violent clashes took place between the students and the CP.

The revisionists already run the government in the town of Bologna, the town where the student leader was gunned down, and the CP's hands are stained with his blood. Berlinguer, head of the Italian CP, made the Party's position on the police clear in 1974, saying, "We are far from making indiscriminate accusations and criticisms of the organs and apparatus of the state as a whole. On the contrary, we have recognized and recognize the loyalty towards the Republic and the Constitution, the self-denial, sacrifices, crowned with examples of heroism, of a great part of the police forces and the armed forces, not only of soldiers but also of their cadres [officers], not to mention the courts." (*Unita*, June 4, 1974)

The lies of the revisionists about the possibility of peaceful "democratic" change are being shattered in the streets of Italy as the "heroic" police prove their loyalty to the Republic by rampaging against the demonstrators. In sharp contrast to the traitorous attempts to lead the masses of Italian people into subservience to the bourgeoisie, events in Italy are revealing very clearly that the capitalist state exists to serve the bourgeoisie and to suppress the masses by force of arms.

The refusal of the masses of Italian students to passively suffer the effects of the capitalists' crisis and their fierce and courageous resistance to the police have delivered a heavy blow to the Italian ruling class and their aspiring partners in the Italian CP. ■

# Lessons in Applying Mass Line in I-Hotel Fight

The following article was written by Party members active in the fight against the evictions at the International Hotel in San Francisco, a struggle rich in lessons. This article concentrates on how Party members and other class conscious fighters used the mass line to advance that struggle, and how their understanding of the mass line was deepened in the process. The Revolution articles on the mass line referred to below are: "Mass Line Is Key to Lead Masses in Making Revolution" (December 15, 1975) and "Mass Line Is Key to Methods of Leading Struggle" (March 15, 1976). They are also included in the pamphlet, The Mass Line (see ad on p.16). A future article will concentrate on the national question, specifically how the Party's line of "working from two sides" relates to the I-Hotel struggle—Ed.

After the International Hotel fight, things will never be the same again in the area and for the thousands who have been involved, in one way or another, in the fight. As one veteran fighter put it, "We've beat them back time and time again, generating a mass movement like hasn't been seen in this community for 30 years. We're getting organized, training a lot of leaders, and gaining a lot of experience that we can use to advance the struggle of our class. No matter what—win, lose or draw—we've already won!" How has this struggle developed and why has it taken on such great significance?

The current round in the nearly decade long battle of the International Hotel began shortly after the formation of the Party, which strongly influenced the class orientation of the fight. This was especially so after the publication in *Revolution* of the article on the mass line, which stressed that "...the Party of the working class must base itself on the experience and the struggle of the masses broadly—and not on that of a few individuals. To do this it is important to take into account that the masses at a given time and place are composed of different parts—the relatively advanced, intermediate and backward.

"The Party must pay special attention to uniting with and raising the level of advanced workers not yet Party members, who continually come forward in these struggles as leaders. These workers are potentially a key link, a lever, to join the Party with the life and struggles of the class as a whole. In order for the Party to learn and grow, and in order for the movement of the masses to advance, the Party must train the advanced workers in the science of revolution, including the application of the mass line. And it must train them not apart from, but in the course of actually leading the struggle of the broad masses." (*Revolution*, Dec. 15, 1975)

Under this kind of leadership, the class character of people actively building the International Hotel fight differed tremendously from the previous eight years. In the past, besides the tenants, students and revolutionaries who came forward in Third World movements on college campuses and the antiwar movement comprised the main force of the fight. Now the main force that stood by the tenants were the veteran fighters from the Asian Community Center (ACC) and Chinatown-Manilatown residents. (Asian Community Center is used by people from the Chinatown-Manilatown area and San Francisco to build fights around wages, unionization, cutbacks, etc., and to build people-to-people friendship between the U.S. and China.) One veteran fighter pointed out the difference in class character: "In the past, young people just ran in and out of ACC preparing for the fight, but none of us retired workers knew what was going on. This time, most of us are actively participating in the fight!"

The *Programme of the RCP* states, "They [retired workers] have a lifetime's worth of hatred for the capitalist exploiters and a tremendous store of experience in the struggle against them. They can play an irreplaceable role in the revolutionary movement." (p. 159)

Some of these old workers in ACC were leaders of struggles in the '30s and '40s. Some also helped build support for the strikes in 1974 of Chinese workers at the Jung Sai garment factory and the Lee Mah electronics factory. Feeling strongly that ACC is part of the I-Hotel, and outraged by the capitalists' eviction plans, the old people of ACC were determined to see the eight year long eviction struggle through to victory.

After discussing the urgency of the eviction trial, which was to begin in April 1976, we all saw the need to mobilize people to attend. Most of the workers and tenants, including the relatively advanced, initially had the illusion that we could win over the jury and win the court decision. But after daily exposure to these proceedings and summing that up, most of the workers saw through the courts, especially after the judge directed the jury to vote against the tenants, an act that nakedly exposed the class role of the justice system. This, in turn, strengthened the workers' determination to

build the fight among the broad masses.

A retired worker summed it up well a day after the court decision. "I couldn't sleep all night. Finally, I came up with an answer. We've got to go to the people. We don't have any other choice! Even if 4 Seas [the landlords of the I-Hotel] say they have all the power and money, we have the people. Look at China, Chiang Kai-shek had all the power, even support from the U.S., but Mao had the people and kicked Chiang out."

Immediately, the advanced forces faced a difficult problem: how to go to the people? We didn't have much time—only ten weeks left before we were supposed to be out of the building.

## Mobilizing Masses

After analyzing the situation, we decided we needed an action to turn the mass anger about the eviction into a material force against our enemy, and also a tool to mobilize the support. We chose July 11, a Sunday, only four days before we were to be out, to hold a big anti-eviction rally in Chinatown. Learning from UWOC, a petition drive was initiated. From the start, the advanced understood that the petition was not an end in itself, but rather it was a means to talk to people, bring forward active supporters, and a way to back up actions. We set a goal of 5000 signatures before the July 11 rally.

With this understanding and goal in mind, together with a handful of veteran fighters, we went all out to mobilize people for the rally and build the petition campaign. In talking with more and more people, we found several common questions: "What's it got to do with me?" "The landlord's got his property rights—how come you're not moving?" "Probably we should go to Mayor Moscone or other politicians for help." "Can we unite? Can we win?"

As the second mass line article points out, "What is this particular action, policy, etc., meant to achieve? Why is it correct and necessary and timely to take this up now?...How will a policy help the masses to fight in a more conscious and determined way for their own interests? These are the kind of questions that must be gone into, in discussing and explaining policies and actions taken up by the Party." (*Revolution*, March 15, 1976) In order to mobilize people to take up the eviction fight, the advanced had to struggle with these questions, which, in turn, deepened their own understand-



Elderly residents of the I-Hotel and the veteran workers who daily gather in the Asian Community Center have long years of fighting oppression and exploitation. By relying on their firm refusal to be evicted and by uniting with and bringing forward the experience and understanding of the more advanced, it was possible to mobilize the massive support for the struggle that has blocked the eviction attempts.

ing about the fight.

To answer the question of "What's it got to do with me?", the advanced pointed out, "Just look at the petitions—so many people have already signed. It's not just a fight for one building or only for 80 old men. It's a fight between the rich and us working people. We're all in the same boat."

To the question of property rights, the advanced answered, "What about our human rights? We workers built this country—how come we can't even live here? You mean those who plow the fields don't have the right to eat, those who build the buildings don't have the right to have homes? Then how come the capitalists, who do nothing except shove money into their pockets, have the right to kick us out?"

When workers asked, in effect, "who do we rely on?" we used the experience of the past eight years of struggle at the International Hotel to show that politicians are always on the side of the capitalists. For example, when he campaigned for election a year earlier, Mayor Moscone said he supported the hotel. But of course he hasn't lifted a finger to support the tenants. Besides, he and other politicians have worked overtime to cut city workers' wages. Isn't it very clear which side they're on already? How could we rely on them? We've got to rely on ourselves!

But then people asked, "Can we get ourselves together? Can we win?" Our answer was, "Hey, we don't have any choice! If we hadn't gotten together to fight eight years ago, we wouldn't be here today. That time we defeated a real powerful landlord, Walter Shorenstein, one of the biggest landlords in California. See, if we can get lots of support, they'll be scared to evict. But even if they dare to come down, they'll have to pay a heavy political price. Think about why they can rule over us. It's not only that they have sheriffs and cops. They also have the mask of democracy and freedom covering up what they really are. What do you think it will look like if hundreds of deputy sheriffs came down to evict 80 old men? Their mask will be torn down right away—that's something which they're really afraid to do!"

## Developing Initiative of Advanced

After we struggled hard among ourselves to tackle these questions and go out to make contact with the masses, the support grew larger. These results strengthened the confidence of the advanced to go out even further. We started canvassing other small hotels and the Ping Yuen public housing projects in Chinatown. We united with the active tenants there to mobilize even more people from their buildings, holding house meetings to discuss how they could help. However, we failed to link up our agitation with the fight against their own lousy housing conditions. This mistake was corrected later and this resulted in sparking off a wave of housing fights in the community. Many of the tenants who came forward during this support campaign became the backbone force later in their own housing struggles.

As the days passed, some so-called revolutionary forces, like I Wor Kuen (IWK), whose offices, like ACC, are located in the basement of the hotel, were shaken. Up to this point, they hadn't put up any effort to fight, and now they started talking about moving their headquarters. The International Hotel Tenants Association (IHTA) leadership was doing nothing but engaging in all sorts of closed-door meetings with city officials—spreading the line of relying on the politicians. (IHTA is the tenants organization we helped to form during the 1972 eviction fight. Its leadership was later seized by opportunists. However, most tenants feel that IHTA is their own organization, and look to having it back in their own hands.) Countering this line became daily practice for the advanced.

To keep the initiative in the hands of the advanced and build the struggle in the interests of the working class, the Workers Committee to Fight for the International Hotel was formed in May 1976. The Workers Committee was composed of ACC's veteran fighters, Chinatown residents who had come forward to support the I-Hotel, and several I-Hotel tenants. Through our independent actions, building towards the July 11 rally and our constant battle against the line spread by the IHTA leadership, we were able to win over many long-time I-Hotel tenants to participate in the rally. As the second mass line article says, "...The exposure and isolation of opportunist, enemy agents within the ranks of the masses must be done on the basis of applying the mass line to constantly develop and deepen not only correct general policies but concrete tactics to advance the struggle according to the interests of the masses and

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## Raises Main Tasks and Demands

# Mayday Focuses And Builds Class Struggle

May Day is the day when workers throughout the world have come together from the factories, mines and fields to celebrate. But it is not just any celebration. It is the day when workers, chained daily in toil to produce wealth for the capitalists, have put forward their demands and proclaimed their intention to be free from their chains. Ever since the International Workers' Congress in Paris in 1889 decided to celebrate May Day in honor of the massive demonstrations for the eight hour day in the U.S. in 1886 and the murder of the leaders of this struggle in Chicago, it has been the fighting day of the working class in all countries. The ruling class has its festivals and days of celebration and on them they justify their "right" to exploit the workers. The clergy have their festivals, and on them they sanctify the existing system under which the workers die in poverty while the parasites of the capitalist class wallow in luxury. But the workers too have their festivals. May Day is such a holiday, it is a festival of the oppressed.

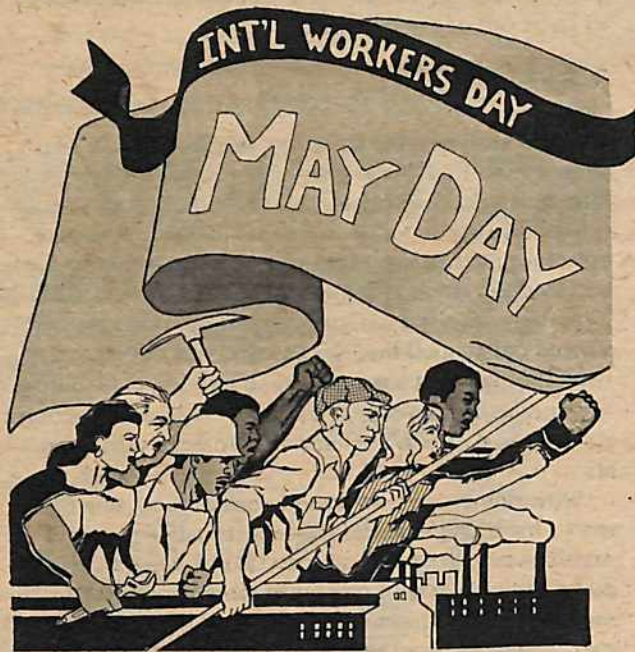
Stalin said it very vividly: "The workers resolved to proclaim, precisely on this day, the First of May, when nature is awakening from her winter sleep, when the woods and hills are donning their green mantles and the fields and meadows are adorning themselves with flowers, when the sun shines more warmly, the joy of revival fills the air and nature gives herself up to dancing and rejoicing—they resolved to proclaim loudly and openly to the whole world, precisely on this day, that the workers are bringing spring to mankind and deliverance from the shackles of capitalism, that it is the mission of the workers to renovate the world on the basis of freedom and socialism."

But May Day is not a time for dancing around a maypole as the capitalists would portray it. It is a day for uniting with workers all over the world around the proletarian banner on which are proudly emblazoned the slogans and demands of the working class in its struggle against the capitalists.

In a thousand and more ways every day the capitalists are driven by the unceasing need for profits and the crisis of their system to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the working class and the masses of people in general. People constantly and will always resist these attacks, but the battles are scattered and often isolated from one another. The face of the enemy is not always clear. The unity is only slowly building

that will enable the full fury and power of the working class and its allies to be directed at the capitalist class. The celebration of May Day is part and parcel of these struggles of the working class, and it draws them together, directing them at their common enemy while pointing toward the final victory over that enemy.

The objective situation in the U.S. today is such that workers in their millions will not be united around



## On to May Day!

the conscious determination to break the chains of wage slavery, overthrow the capitalist class and fight for socialism. The thousands of workers who come forward to celebrate May Day will for the most part do so out of their determination to fight the capitalists and their attacks on many fronts and because it is the workers' day and is itself part of the working class struggle. But in the course of building this celebration, advances will be made in forging the "common bond of the workers" as a class and many more will come to see the ultimate goal of the struggle. It is no wonder that the bourgeoisie hates May Day and all it represents and has always done its best to eradicate and crush it.

This year May Day will again be celebrated in more than a score of cities and major industrial centers of the U.S. These celebrations will all unite around four general slogans that sum up and proclaim the overall character of the workers' struggle. The first slogan declares the workers' determination not to bow down and have their livelihood stolen and their militant spirit crushed—but to rise in resistance in the face of the capitalists' crisis: **Fight Don't Starve!** The second slogan boldly states the stand of the working class in the face of the increasing danger and significance of war: **Fight the Rich, Don't Fight Their Wars!** The third slogan embodies the task that confronts the working class to carry forward its banner in the fight against the capitalists: **Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression!** The fourth slogan points to the source of our oppression and exploitation and will unite people in the spirit of dealing with the root causes of our problems: **Down With the System of Wage Slavery!**

Also, in every May Day celebration the general call, **Seize the Time in '77, Build a National Workers Organization, On to Chicago Labor Day,** will be raised as a fighting task for the working class this year.

Each year the working class on May Day not only declares its determination to break the chains of its slavery but takes stock of where it stands in relation to its historic goal. In addition to the general slogans the working class' banner will be inscribed with a series of particular demands which point to the sharpest battlefields and questions this year:

**U.S. Out of Southern Africa, Superpowers Hands Off, Jobs or Income Now, Fight Wage Cuts and Speedup, Down with Discrimination and the Oppression of Minorities, No Cutbacks in Public Services.**

The forces of the working class are building in the deadly war against the capitalist class. The struggle, consciousness and unity of this great class are moving forward while the capitalists are becoming more desperate and their system and all they represent are in decay. But many fierce and difficult struggles lie ahead. A great deal needs to be accomplished. May Day is an important time to marshal our forces, chart the direction forward and celebrate the ultimate victory of our class.

On to May Day! ■

## A Final Word On The OL's Cowardice

In a rather futile attempt to wriggle out of a self-laid trap, the October League has finally responded in its newspaper, the *Call*, to the RCP's acceptance of their debate challenge. According to the *Call* article, OL is willing to "debate" by publishing articles in each other's press, whereas the RCP is "insisting instead on a debate based on demagoguery and provocateur tactics."

The truth is simply that the OL, which called for the debate in the first place, actually wants no part of it and has been running like a scared rabbit to get out of it ever since the RCP accepted the OL's challenge. It was plain as day when OL issued the challenge that it had in mind a direct face-off, with the two sides meeting each other on the same platform and in front of an audience that could put questions to each side. This is also the commonly understood meaning of the word "debate." Polemics in each other's papers may go on, but this is no substitute for an actual debate. This latest nonsense

from the OL is but another attempt to get out of a face-to-face confrontation, where its customary practice of lying and distorting—and hoping for ignorance on the part of *Call* readers—would be much harder to pull off and would be exposed, along with OL's opportunist line.

OL raises a relevant question by asking "what are the facts of the matter?" But unfortunately, they answer in the typical OL style of combining deliberate distortion with half truths. The facts are that OL's debate challenge was issued in the midst of the preparations for the New York conference, in a feeble attempt to sabotage this conference, which OL called a "circus." As Klonsky and Co. also know quite well, the RCP recognized their purposes in issuing the challenge and refused to even discuss the question of a face-to-face debate until after the New York conference. Once the conference was over and the RCP accepted their debate challenge, OL pulled their disappearing act.

To justify their cowardice, OL claims that the New York conference was proof that a public debate with the RCP would only be "a haven for opportunists and provocateurs." According to the *Call* article we organized cheering squads, silenced speakers from the floor and physically attacked at least three people. This characterization of the conference is completely at odds with the perceptions of over 2000 people who attended it. While there were certainly no "cheering squads" organized, there was enthusiastic applause for the correct line. And while it doesn't justify their cowardly retreat from actual debate, one can understand OL's reluctance to a public debate, and their fear that no one would "cheer" for them, given the widespread animosity their opportunism has earned them.

As for the three persons who were allegedly attacked for disagreeing with the RCP line, the only thing OL could possibly be referring to is when a number of drunken anarchists, armed with broken bottles, tried to force their way into an already overflowing auditorium, when everyone else was, as requested, going to the "overflow" hall where the debate was being piped in.

After provoking an incident, these anarchists were dealt with by the security personnel—in a way that prevented any real disruption or serious injury.

Last but not least in OL's list of fabrications was the charge that we insist that there be agreement "not to mention China or the struggle against the 'gang of four.'" What we did say was that the *subject* of the debate should be the international situation and the tasks of the American people in relation to this situation, and not any other subject. We stated that in this context the role of China in the international situation would obviously be a relevant point in the discussion, but that as for the internal situation in China and the current struggle against the "gang of four," this was not the subject—not the point around which OL issued the challenge to debate in the first place—although that, we also acknowledged, wouldn't prevent OL from bringing it up in any debate. The point was not, "what could be mentioned," but what was the *subject* of the debate.

Knowing too well the antics of the October League, we fully expected them to raise as many side issues and spread as much confusion as possible in order to try to hide their own opportunism on the international situation. Nonetheless, we did feel, and still do feel, that a debate should have a subject—if only as a point of reference for the October League to depart from, and as a framework for people attending to understand and evaluate the lines put forward. (Incidentally, our exact words regarding the relevance to the international situation of the struggle against the "gang of four" were: "you can raise it and you get an answer; but it doesn't have to be raised every two seconds"—from a tape recording of discussions with OL about the debate, made with their knowledge.)

It has become completely clear that the October League's "debate challenge" was a charade from the start, that they were first desperately trying to sabotage the successful conference and are now just as desperately inventing one excuse after another for refusing to publicly debate the RCP. In short, there is only one word to describe OL's actions—chickenshit. ■

## Workers Viewpoint Organization—Theoretical Mishmash

# Opportunism In Its Own Right

The following is an excerpt from an article on the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO), which will be published in the next issue of *The Communist*, theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the RCP, available May 1. This excerpt deals in particular with the question of the theoretical struggle and the role of theory in the revolutionary movement of the working class. It centers around two articles: "Theoretical Struggle Crucial Part Of Working Class Movement," *Revolution*, January, 1977 and "RCP Discovers 'Theory In Its Own Right,'" written in the WVO newspaper, January, 1977 as an attack on the *Revolution* article—Ed.

The philosophical foundation on which WVO's opportunism rests is its distortion of the correct, Marxist theory of knowledge and the relation between theory and practice. In its response to the *Revolution* article, WVO insists that "There is no such thing as proceeding from the abstract." This is by way of attacking the need to study theory "in its own right," as laid out in the *Revolution* article. Now it may seem strange that WVO, itself a devoted disciple of the school of theory "for its own sake"—which the *Revolution* article contrasts with "in its own right" (more on this shortly)—should attack the formulation "in its own right." But in fact, this is totally consistent with WVO's whole warped view.

To WVO, theory is itself "concrete," it cannot be "abstract." WVO tries to muddy the waters for awhile with talk about not "proceeding from the abstract," (our emphasis) but then they get around to saying straight out that only pragmatists "treat it [theory] as abstractions." But theory is *exactly abstraction*—the abstraction and generalization of the material world, the synthesis in the mind of the objective world perceived through the senses. That theory is not abstraction would certainly come as a surprise to Mao and Lenin, for in *On Practice* Mao quotes Lenin as follows: "The abstraction of *matter*, of a *law* of nature, the abstraction of *value*, etc., in short, *all* scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly and *completely*." (emphasis, parentheses, by Lenin)

Of course, as Lenin points out elsewhere, "truth is always concrete, never abstract." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 94) What Lenin means here is that truth can only be arrived at by the method he termed the "living soul of Marxism"—the "concrete analysis of concrete conditions." But this in no way contradicts the actual process of cognition which, as Lenin states, proceeds as follows, "...from the concrete to the abstract... From living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice,—such is the dialectical path of the cognition of truth, of the cognition of objective reality." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 171) Again, clearly theory is exactly abstraction, and if this leap is not made—along with the leap back to practice—there is no way to arrive at truth, a correct understanding of the real world, and no way to change it in accordance with the laws governing it.

What Lenin and Mao emphasize and what WVO fails miserably to grasp, is that laws, theory, are developed by a *leap* in the process of cognition, from perceptual to rational. If theory were "concrete," as WVO presents it, then there would not be rational knowledge, theory would not and could not "reflect nature more deeply, truly, and *completely*," as Lenin insists. In short, there would be no difference between perceptual and rational knowledge. Everything would be both perceptual and rational at the same time, and therefore neither. This view is exactly the reactionary philosophical principle of "combining two into one," in place of the materialist dialectical principle of "one divides into two." And this is exactly the reactionary philosophy embraced by WVO.

In a number of his works, Mao stresses that the process of cognition involves *leaps*—first from perceptual

to rational, from matter to *ideas*, and then from *ideas* back to matter—from rational knowledge back to the practice of changing the objective world. Those who do not understand this process, and specifically do not understand that theory and practice represent separate stages in the process of cognition, that there is a *leap* from the one to the other, do not understand how practice leads to the development of theory and in turn how theory leads back to practice on a higher level. Or, as Mao puts it, they fail to "comprehend that matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter, although such leaps are phenomena of everyday life." Mao stresses that "it is therefore necessary to educate our comrades in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so that they can orientate their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study—and at summing up experience"—"summing up experience"—Mao Tsetung, too, must be an empiricist! (See Mao's "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?")

WVO does not understand all this, so they combine theory and practice, two-into-one, which is why they, on the one hand, attack the line of studying theory "in its own right"—as laws abstracted from particular phenomena of practical life—and on the other hand pervert the process of *applying* theory to practice. What this means for WVO and where it leads them can be seen in their statement that "general theory *itself* is highly *concrete*" and, as some kind of amplification of this, "the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat [is] itself highly concrete." Perhaps this is why WVO, when it does deign to "intervene" in practical struggles, insists on passing out leaflets to the workers combining a laundry list of demands—most of them "good Ideas"—with stereotyped, dogmatic rhetoric about the Idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat—as for example in the strike of auto workers last year, when WVO, besides putting forward demands such as 15-minute wash up time, no layoffs, complete job security, etc., informed the auto workers that forming a "Bolshevik" type party was on the order of the day and "the Party must lead the battle for the six-hour day and carry out the immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat." Since to WVO Ideas and objective reality combine into one and all Ideas are "concrete," then the Idea of the "immediate preparation" for the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is just as concrete to strikers as their strike and its real demands. (These leaflets hit the ground in droves, prompting some to say that WVO was trying to get strikers busted for littering—but we believe WVO's line is responsible, not direct police ties.)

To sum this up, from matter to consciousness—and from consciousness to matter—involves a *leap*. If no leap is made, if theory is not treated as, in Lenin's words, "abstractions" that "reflect nature more deep-

ly, truly and *completely*," then there is no way theory can be grasped and *applied* in practice—which involves another leap. As the *Revolution* article on the theoretical struggle stresses, "How can theory be applied if it is not studied, how can it be applied well if it is not studied deeply and consistently?"

### Theory "In Its Own Right"

Studying theory "in its own right," which WVO so bitterly and woefully attacks, means studying the basic laws, the universal principles of Marxism, as abstractions reflecting nature (and society) in a concentrated way, not to *break* the link between theory and practice, turning theory into dogma, something "for its own sake," but to carry out more correctly the dialectic from practice to theory and back to practice, so that as fully as possible we conform our thinking and action to the principles summarized by Mao in *On Practice*: "Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical-materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing."

And such is the basic law which WVO consistently and completely violates. Thus, despite its pompous proclamations that it is "the only organization that can provide leadership" for the working class and oppressed nationalities, WVO is utterly incapable of leading anyone under its influence anywhere but backward, away from the goal of revolution. And, despite its name, it is clear that this organization represents not the viewpoint of the working class, but that of the petty bourgeoisie, which is held down by the existing order and lashes out against it, but is incapable of seeing beyond—let alone leading the masses beyond—the framework of the capitalist system and which, in pursuit of its own narrow interests, declares itself the savior of the masses, and demands that the masses elevate it as such.

But despite WVO, and against it—and other, far more formidable, foes—Marxism is bound to take root more deeply in the working class and among the masses generally, as the Party deepens its grasp of Marxism and its ability to concretely apply it to leading mass struggle, and ever greater numbers of workers and others oppressed by the ruling class are armed with this science and use it as a guide to acting to achieve their own emancipation and the emancipation of all mankind from the fetters of class society. ■

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# Letters

## Reader Raises Busing Questions

The following are excerpts from a letter received from a reader in the San Francisco Bay Area. The reader raises several questions, the main one being the question of busing and the fight for integrated and quality education. The reply concentrates on answering the points made on this subject in the letter.

*I work at a factory in the Bay Area and that's where I see and read both Revolution and the Worker papers. You don't ever say nothing about writing in, and I think you should have people write in and tell you what they think, and I don't mean that phony jive in the Call. I am a Black woman, mother of three kids, worked most of the past 13 years in plants, full-time in this one for the last six years, after my youngest girl was born....*

*I have a couple of big disagreements with you, and other stuff makes sense. I like how you see doing work in unions, and I like your view of what is going on in the world. I am afraid that if Viet Nam happened again, the OL [October League] would support the U.S. war-makers if the Soviet Union supported North Viet Nam. My old man died in Viet Nam, and that war really changed my way of thinking. About busing and some stuff about women, I don't agree with you....*

*About busing, I can tell you a lot, because I grew up in Louisiana and I was bused all right, right past the white school down the road. I'm real active in my kids' schools, so I have talked a lot with the poorer people in the Black community. I think your articles sound segregationist. They are against busing and they talk about equal education. They mention that integration is good, but they act as if you can have quality education without integration. What is quality education anyway? Black people and white people barely learn how to read these days. I know that in the South the court decision saying separate is not equal changed my life. Instead of a one room school I went to a real school with books. It meant I learned how to read.*

*As long as Black people are oppressed in this country there will never be quality education in Black schools. At least with integrated schools there is more of a base for fighting for good schools, and for Black and white fighting together rather than against each other. Without integration Black and white kids grow up afraid of each other and it is much harder to change that when they get older. We have those problems in this plant. I agree that you have to change housing, but that's not all. You ought to more strongly stand up for integrated education, to tell why it is good and how we can get it. Not all busing is bad. That article last year in Rev. was jive, man. About how bad it is to get up and ride the bus, I can think of much worse shit for kids to go thru. I support busing if it means we are going to send our kids to better schools and if it means that we ain't the only ones who get bused. If there is busing, whites and Blacks should get bused in equal numbers. Even before busing my kids rode 45 minutes on a bus to get to school.*

*You have to look at a plan to see whether it is good or bad, not say all busing is bad. Also, what you say is so negative. This plan is bad, and so is that one, but you don't say what we should ask for, some positive demands for how to get quality and integrated schools. A lot of people I know would like to have the suburbs and city in one plan. Also I think you should point out that busing has worked in other cities and there have been some decent plans. I know that in the South it wasn't until integrated education that Blacks got taught to read. You make it sound like integration is less important than Quality Education. This system couldn't give a quality education with the bullshit ideas this system teaches people...I'll show this to a couple friends. There is a white woman from Texas who agrees with this. It isn't just Blacks...(Signed) A few friends in the East Bay.*

## Reply

Dear Friends in the East Bay,

We would like to thank you for your recent letter. We agree with your suggestion about the need for more letters to be carried in *Revolution* and hope that by printing your letter and our response we will encourage more people to write in and will lead to more exchange of experiences and views among people in the struggle.

Your letter raises many sharp questions and criticisms of our line and work around busing. We would like to

clarify our position, and hope that this will further discussion and struggle around these questions and help lead to more unity.

You make the point that "You have to look at a [busing] plan to see whether it is good or bad, not say all busing is bad." We agree with you that not all busing is bad. Certainly the integration of many public schools, including some busing plans, that was won through the civil rights movement and that advanced the fight against segregated and inferior education, was a good thing and a big advance. Its overall effect was to deal a powerful blow to Jim Crow laws and the survivals of the sharecropper system. It was a concession by the ruling class to the tremendous mass struggle of Black people—supported by many people of all nationalities—and, as you pointed out, meant a real improvement in education.

We also agree that one has to look at the particularities of each busing plan to see whether it is good or bad—and we do not write off the possibility that some particular plan should be supported if it is a real concession from the ruling class in equality, integration and the general improvement of schools.

### General Use of Busing Today

But is this the general pattern or purpose of busing plans today? Is busing occurring in the same context as during the civil rights movement of the '50s and '60s? We think not. We think it is important to look at busing from the perspective of what is happening in the country overall and not just base our opinions on local particularities.

The general purpose and effect of busing has not been to provide integrated, quality education but to divide working people of different nationalities. It is not a blow aimed at Jim Crow laws or segregation generally but a blow aimed at weakening the general struggle of the workers which is growing against the ruling class and certain to grow far more. It does not mean a general improvement of education for school children of any nationality but in most cases goes hand-in-hand with big cutbacks in education needed by the bourgeoisie to try to cope with their economic crisis.

Nor is busing a concession to the struggle of Black people or something the ruling class is doing to help Black people out of the kindness of its heart. In fact opposition to busing has been growing among Blacks as it has among people of all nationalities. Of course in some cases this reflects an attitude that "we don't want our kids in a honky school" or in a school with whites who don't want them—a sentiment the bourgeoisie and its allies are trying to propagate. But more important, growing opposition to busing among Blacks as well as many others reflects that it has nothing to do with integrated, quality education.

For example, you stressed the importance of integrated schools and schools where people at least learn how to read. In Cleveland, for example, the busing plan has been accompanied by the closing of integrated schools. In Detroit, busing was accompanied by school closings in many Black communities and Black children were assigned to be bused into a 100% Black school, one of the worst in the city. In Milwaukee busing went hand-in-hand with a proposal to halt construction already underway on new high schools in both the Black community and the white community. How many more students does this mean will graduate from high school without knowing how to read?

You also questioned why we made an issue out of riding on a bus. We agree that it is not the heart of the matter. But people certainly have a right to get angry at the ruling class for busing their kids all over the place when it overall doesn't improve either the equality or quality of schools. And people do worry about the safety of their kids, especially when there are no overriding positive reasons why they should be getting bused.

In another part of your letter you say "You make it sound like integration is less important than Quality Education. This system couldn't give a quality education with the bullshit ideas this system teaches people." We agree with you that this system could never really provide quality education for the masses of people. But neither could it ever truly integrate the schools or provide equality. Capitalism propagates the lie that Black people are inferior and whites superior, using differences in color and race to cover its exploitation of the working class and subjugation of Black people and other oppressed nationalities as a whole. Under this

system banks and real estate firms use the segregation of Black and white communities to increase their profits, school boards organize school districts to keep whites and Blacks separate and the ruling class unleashes terror in many forms—police, gangs, etc.—to harass Black families moving into white neighborhoods.

This is not to say that we should not fight for integration—we must—just as we fight for quality education. We want and need real integration to fight against national oppression and strengthen our unity against the capitalists. Important concessions can be won when we unite and direct our blows against the common enemy. But, at the same time, true integration and quality education can not be fully achieved until the working class rises up, overthrows capitalism and establishes socialism, working class rule.

### "Separate but Equal" Hoax

Also, as you point out, quality education and integration are linked. "Separate but equal" education is a lie which the bourgeoisie used for years to perpetuate segregation and inequality. We recognize that in some of our work around busing there has been a tendency to stress just the question of quality education and a failure to take up the questions of equality and integration, or to simply confine ourselves to raising these as general questions without building concrete struggles around them. We feel this tendency is wrong, we agree with the criticisms you raise on this and are taking seriously the need to correct this error.

With the oppression of Black people and national minorities in this country being a fact, how could separate education be anything other than *unequal*? Together with other outrages, Black people and other minorities are treated to the worst, most rundown schools, overworked teachers, the largest classroom sizes and books which teach about the inferiority of their nationality. This is not to say that other city schools are any great shakes, but ghetto schools are generally the worst of a bad lot.

In fact it is the real inequality that exists between different nationalities that the ruling class uses to try to fan racial hatred. They tell whites that if Blacks come into a school, education will deteriorate and their kids won't be safe. They tell Black people that whites get all the money for good schools and that the struggle for decent and equal schools should be directed against them.

### Fight for Decent, Equal and Integrated Schools

This raises the question of *how* are we going to fight for decent, equal and integrated schools. Are we going to make this a fight of Blacks against whites for the diminishing number of crumbs that the bourgeoisie throws our way? Are we going to simply confine ourselves to the choice they give us—to be either for busing or against busing? To do so would be a step backwards and would mean less unity and a weakened struggle in the face of cutbacks in education by the ruling class and the intensification of oppression of Blacks and national minorities.

The working class cannot sit back and wait for the ruling class to come down with a busing plan or some other plan for the schools which we know will serve only their interests. As your letter says we must put forward some concrete, positive demands that unite different nationalities in the fight for equal, integrated and better schools. Although many of these demands will depend on each locality, in general around equality and integration in education we need to fight for new schools, which are badly needed, and for building them in areas where people of different nationalities live nearby. We need to fight to improve the ghetto schools which are generally the worst, together with improving all schools. We need to oppose such capitalist policies as red-lining by the banks and loaning institutions, which foster and promote segregation in housing.

In some cases we may also fight for a particular busing plan which does provide integrated, equal and better education. For example, depending on the local particularities, busing from the city to the suburbs may be in the interests of the people. It is certainly true that they gerrymander school districts and other boundaries to enforce segregation and lousy schools for the oppressed nationalities—and working class kids generally—and that some suburban school systems have the money to provide better schools than in an inner city. But whether or not we support busing in a particular case cannot be based on the capitalists' schemes for forcing the masses to share the misery, under the cover of their new-found concern for "racial balance," or falling in behind the general pattern and purpose of their busing plans today.

There's a mile of difference between what we want for our kids, their education, and our lives, and what the capitalists, their politicians, and the leaders of the NAACP want. Integration is more than moving a few statistics around in order to stir up divisions between different nationalities. It's about delivering a real blow to segregation and building our unity so we can wage a stronger fight against them. By taking the offensive in fighting for integrated, equal and better schools and aiming our blows at the capitalist enemy we can strengthen our common fight for a better life. ■

# 1500 Rout KKK In Florida

Roaring "Smash the Klan" and other anti-Klan slogans, 1500 demonstrators rallied against the Ku Klux Klan in Tallahassee, Florida, and warned the Klan not to show up in town again. The Klan was in town for a march and meeting as part of a recruitment drive. The demonstration against the Klan, which was held on Saturday, February 19, kept the outnumbered cops busy protecting the 110 Florida Klan members from the wrath of the students and youth. The Klan had not appeared in Tallahassee for several years, and when it was widely announced that the Klan was coming back, the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), the student organization of the Revolutionary Communist Party, along with several other organizations, including the Iranian Students Association, OL's Communist Youth Organization, and the Latin American Club, formed a Committee to Oppose the Klan and organized students to let the Klan know directly that they weren't wanted around.

The Klan march was well publicized and painted in a favorable light by all the media and TV in advance. Tallahassee's Black mayor, church leaders (including leaders of the Muslims) and some phony "socialists" tried to manipulate the furor surrounding the Klan in order to misdirect the struggle and further their own shakey careers. They urged people to ignore the Klan and then maybe they'd go away without hurting anyone. They put themselves in the absurd position of denouncing the Klan on the one hand, and defending their right to organize and recruit on the other.

The rally called by the students began at 1:00 PM on the sidewalk in front of the State Capitol. Speakers voiced their anger and hatred of the Klan and its bloody history of terrorism directed against the Black people of this country. The nature of the Klan was exposed, especially as to how the Klan was trying to hide its terrorist nature behind the mask of respectability now in order to increase its membership. It was pointed out how the ruling class of this country, despite its phony

# RSB Rallies Students Vs. Racist Regimes In Africa

In recent months the Revolutionary Student Brigade, the student organization of the Revolutionary Communist Party, has launched an important nationwide campaign in support of the revolutionary struggle of the people of Southern Africa. Already momentum is building and several important actions have taken place.

On February 12 in Atlanta, Georgia, 200 students marched through downtown in what was the most significant demonstration there in recent years. In Columbus, Ohio 100 attended a conference sponsored by the RSB on Southern Africa on February 5. A few weeks later on February 26, 100 students marched in Columbus demanding the end of imperialist plunder of Southern Africa and in support of the liberation forces there.

In addition to these conferences and demonstrations that have drawn students from many campuses to single actions, other activities are taking place on individual campuses. At the Champaign-Urbana campus of the University of Illinois, thirty students protested the presence of a Chrysler Corporation recruiter. Chrysler has recently bought out the largest mining operation in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) to squeeze more blood-soaked prof-



"Run while you can, filthy racists" was the gist of the message delivered to KKK scum by 1500 angry people who smashed a Klan rally in Florida. These sniveling reactionaries were driven off the streets, as their buddies, the cops, tried to protect them.

denunciation of "extremism," makes use of and promotes groups like the Klan.

As the rally finished the Klan began to march up the street towards the Capitol. Militant chants denouncing the Klan resounded in the city streets to the beat of the Klan's drums. As the Klan passed by, the demonstrators swooped down the street and surrounded them all, chanting, "Down with the Klan!" The militancy of the demonstrators spread like wildfire through the crowd of onlookers and spectators. Young people by the hundreds swarmed into the street and took up the chants. The streets belonged to the people.

The cops and the KKK were outnumbered by ten to one. Denouncements, curses, trash, and even a few rocks, rained down on the terrified Klansmen as they sped up their pace in hopes of quickly ending their taste

of people's justice. Unfortunately for the Klan and cops it did not soon end. The demonstrators' ranks had swelled to 1500, and had followed the Klan to the parking lot where they had begun. The roar of the chanting was deafening: "KKK go away!" The crowd was feeling the power that the people have when they unite together. The cops had a hard time keeping the demonstrators from following the Klan right to their cars. With billyclubs out, they finally had to clear a path through the protestors, big enough that the Klansmen and their families could leave in their big cars. A member of the RSB grabbed a megaphone and briefly summed up the lessons of the victory. Then the speaker asked, "Are we letting the Klan come back to Tallahassee?" The crowd's response at the top of their lungs was, "NO!" ■



Atlanta, GA—200 students march in February 12th RSB demonstration to demand that U.S. get out of Southern Africa and to build support for the liberation forces. It was part of the RSB's nationwide campaign to mobilize students around Southern Africa.

its out of the labor of the African people.

At the University of Maryland in College Park, on the outskirts of Washington, D.C., a small number of students took over the Chancellor's office demanding that the university get rid of the stocks it holds in companies involved in plundering Southern Africa. The seizure was met by widespread support from students at the school. Fifty cops broke into the Chancellor's office but then backed down from arresting anyone in hopes of cooling out the growing struggle. But the RSB and others have no intention of letting the university administration off the hook.

In the course of this campaign the RSB is raising the following four demands: 1) U.S. Out of Southern Africa; 2) Down with Apartheid and White Minority Rule;

- 3) Victory to the Liberation Forces of Southern Africa;
- 4) Superpowers Hands Off Southern Africa.

Plans are presently under way for a conference to be held in Chicago on April 2 and a demonstration on April 23. Both the conference and demonstration will draw students from all over the Midwest and will unite a broad range of forces. A similar conference initiated by the RSB on the East Coast will be held on April 23 in Boston followed by a demonstration the next day.

The RSB has published a popularly written pamphlet on the struggle in Southern Africa as a weapon in this important battle. In the months to come, more and more students will be taking an active stand shoulder to shoulder with the blossoming revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa. ■

## Child of Colonialism Gone Wild

# Amin Used To Hit African Liberation

Idi Amin Dada is the ugly offspring of imperialism. Carter's recent attempts to focus attention on Amin's "savage" and "uncivilized" acts are pure hypocrisy, because the U.S. backed Amin fully as long as his bloody regime seemed to serve U.S. interests in Africa. Only as Amin has begun to make trouble for the U.S., in Africa in the last few years and as they see a new use for him, has the U.S. ruling class focused attention on Amin's crimes. What motivates Carter's current attacks on Amin is not any burning desire to restore morality to diplomacy, as Carter claims, but just the opposite. It is a cynical attempt to use people's disgust at Amin's crimes against the Ugandan people in order to heap mud on all the black independent governments, to make the U.S.-backed racist regimes of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Azania (South Africa) look "reasonable" by comparison, and create public opinion for military action against Uganda should the U.S. find it advantageous or necessary.

A lot of what is now being denounced as "uncivilized" are things that Amin learned from Her Majesty's government of Britain during his long apprenticeship as a British mercenary. He joined the King's African Rifles, the British colonialist army, at age 21. Among other things, he took part in Britain's savage attempts to put down the independence movement in Kenya. Amin must have pleased his British masters, because they made him a commissioned officer. Later he was given paratroop training in Israel. By the time Uganda won its independence from Britain in 1962, Amin had climbed his way to army chief of staff.

### Mirror Image of Colonialism

Idi Amin was a good pupil. One of the little things he learned was how the British made tribal leaders bow down on their knees before them—a trick Amin was later to force a big time British politician to perform in return for freeing a British writer living in Uganda whom Amin had threatened to execute. In the same way, British businessmen in Uganda carrying him in a chair on their backs, in an imitation of the infamous British colonialist practice, shocked the "civilized" imperialists everywhere. But this mirror-image imitation of colonialism reveals much about Amin's own nature. While the Western imperialists were scandalized to see Amin treat them so rudely, Amin is and long has been interested mainly in elevating himself and the people around him, and not at all in developing the country's ability to stand free of foreign domination. This is what made him useful to the imperialists in the first place and what attracts the USSR to him today.

Britain ruled Uganda, as elsewhere in its colonial empire, by favoring one tribe and trying to use it against all the others. Even after they had been forced to give Uganda its formal independence the British had counted on the king of the Baganda tribe, the largest and wealthiest of Uganda's four major tribes, to protect British interests there.

This turned out to be a false hope, because instead of obeying the king, Uganda's president at that time, Milton Obote, overthrew him and tried to establish an independent and united country. This new government, based on a coalition of forces from the four tribes, denounced the U.S. and British-backed racist regimes of Zimbabwe and Azania (South Africa). In late 1970, Obote announced a plan for his government to take over 60% of all foreign big business in Uganda. This "uncivilized" act was sharply attacked by the U.S. and British governments. A very short time later, Obote was overthrown by Idi Amin. Amin was recognized as the legitimate ruler of Uganda almost immediately by the U.S.—the first country to do so.

At that time Obote and the leaders of certain other African countries said that Amin's rise to power had been made possible with behind the scenes help from Israel, which in turn was encouraged by the British and U.S. Certainly it's a matter of public record that Israel had a high-level military mission in Uganda, including one of Israel's top generals, Bar-Lev, who presumably wasn't there for his health. He and Amin were considered close friends. After Amin's coup Israel was even more openly involved in training and arming Uganda's army. In fact, one of the reasons Israel was able to pull off the raid at Entebbe airport five years later was that they had built the airport.

When Amin took power, in addition to cancelling the threatened nationalizations, he brought back for official burial the body of the dead Baganda king, who'd died in exile. Amin brought back the king's ways as well, carrying out tribalism with a vengeance, including



Zionist General Bar Lev shows weapon to his friend and pupil Idi Amin. Amin soon saw more to be gained from taking an "anti-imperialist" stance. He broke relations with Israel and began to criticize the imperialists. But his flamboyant poses have failed to mask his continuing oppression of the Ugandan people.

the merciless slaughter of members of Obote's tribe. Of course, since these mass killings were in the interests of the U.S. and Britain, they were entirely civilized and there were no complaints on British and American TV.

But once again these imperialists were doomed to disappointment. In 1972 and increasingly in the next few years, Amin, like nearly every other African head of state, began to denounce Israel's interference and expansionism in Africa, including its military and other support for South Africa. Libya began giving Uganda aid. The Western imperialists tried to bring pressure against Amin to bring him back into line. The American embassy was shut down.

Now the Soviet Union began to find Amin to its liking, and the USSR began supplying Uganda with Soviet MiG jets. Once they got their foot in the door they kept opening it wider. Last month a high-level Cuban military mission reportedly visited Uganda, with Cuba's moves for its Soviet masters paralleling Israel's own actions there on behalf of the U.S.

### Why the Sudden Concern?

Now suddenly the TV and newspapers in this country are filled with stories of the atrocities committed by Amin. In fact, the thing that sparked the whole anti-Amin campaign was the mysterious death of the Anglican bishop, whose church has long been a means for furthering British and U.S. interests and who was accused by Amin of plotting his overthrow. Alongside the official government statements, newspaper articles in such "prestigious" bourgeois papers as the *Washington Post* and the British *Manchester Guardian* openly call for Amin's overthrow. Under the pretext of protecting missionaries and other Americans in Uganda, the U.S. aircraft carrier *Enterprise* was sent to cruise off the coast of Kenya, which lies between Uganda and the sea. As for the missionaries themselves, an article in the *Washington Post* says that at least until last year the CIA made a practice of trying to get Methodist missionaries in Uganda to "cooperate" with it. In fact, a March 6, UPI dispatch from Kenya quotes sources there as saying that church circles in Uganda did try to assassinate Amin.

None of what's been said so far is meant to defend a single one of Amin's crimes against the people of Uganda. But these crimes aren't what's bothering the rulers of the U.S. All over the world there are bloody dictatorships supported by the U.S. government—and we don't hear President Carter denouncing the "savage" government of Spain or the "uncivilized" South Korean regime, to name just a few. But more to the point, the U.S. ruling class' continuing support for South Africa and its maneuvers in Rhodesia are so blatantly imperialist dollar diplomacy that they have to be covered over or people in this country and elsewhere wouldn't stand for it. Therefore we got this basic message: the South African government's not nice and Rhodesia's can't last, but look—here's Amin to prove that African

rule is even worse.

We hear practically nothing about the atrocities committed in South Africa (for instance, the 18 political prisoners so far this year who were reported to have "committed suicide" by jumping out of prison windows) or by the Rhodesian regime (the mass murders committed in government attacks on Zimbabwe refugee camps in Mozambique). Instead, we hear a lot of manufactured atrocities supposedly committed by Africans (like the Rhodesian students supposedly kidnapped by guerrillas, who, it turned out, ran away from missionary school to join the liberation forces). And we hear an awful lot about Idi Amin.

### A Tired Old Trick

This is an old and dirty trick. Of course today the U.S. imperialists are much too threatened by mass struggle—and somewhat more sophisticated—so they don't often talk openly about "the white man's burden," but that's about what all this talk about "savage" and "uncivilized" Africans amounts to—and that characterization is, by extension, supposed to tar the whole Third World with the same brush. In fact, the U.S. ruling class has even got itself a Black man—U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young—to spearhead this propaganda campaign, hoping to escape being called out for the racist trash this campaign really is.

Despite the picture that the bourgeoisie of this country is trying to create around Amin—and that the USSR and its Cuban henchmen is also trying to paint—Amin has little in common with the genuine nationalist forces and governments in Africa, such as neighboring Tanzania, which has tried to build up its independent economy while Uganda's economy lies in almost total ruin under a regime interested mainly in imitating the old style colonialists in living idly rich by sheer robbery. The very fact that a regime such as Amin's has been able to turn against its former masters and take some stands that oppose the Western imperialists who once lorded over Africa is testimony to the powerful effect that the overall movement for independence and liberation has had on that continent. This situation is what is forcing the U.S. imperialists into a corner in their attempts to rob and rule over the people there. The U.S. rulers try to use the fact that Amin has been forced by the developments of peoples' struggles to mouth support for progressive stands and revolutionary movements to discredit such stands and revolutionary struggle, by portraying the tyrannical buffoon Amin as their representative.

People in this country are disgusted by many of the things going on in Uganda. But this doesn't change the nature of what the U.S. ruling class is trying to do by twisting the question of Amin to its own advantage, nor does it mean that people support what the U.S. is trying to do in Africa. In fact, it is the advances of the struggle within Zimbabwe, Azania and elsewhere in Africa and the widespread hatred of the American people towards the policies of Rhodesia and South Africa that have forced the U.S. ruling class to come up with the desperate and sordid maneuver of using imperialism's own offspring to throw discredit on the African liberation movement. ■



British businessmen carry Idi Amin. The imperialists were outraged. They called it a shocking affront and a demeaning insult, while Amin delighted in this reversal of an old colonial prerogative.





Notorious bootlicker Frank Fitzsimmons with UFW President Cesar Chavez after agreement to end his efforts to use Teamster Union to sabotage agricultural unionization. Rank and file militancy and refusal to bow to Teamster-grower attacks created so much chaos in the fields that the growers were forced to abandon plans for Teamster unionization of fields—the next best thing to no union at all—and to rely on Chavez' promise to "bring peace to the fields."

## Growers Counting on UFW Leadership

# Teamsters Forced Out of the Fields

On March 10 the leadership of the Teamsters Union and the United Farmworkers Union (UFW) announced in Burlingame, California that they had reached agreement that the Teamsters would pull out of the fields. The process of leaving will probably take a few years and the Teamsters will probably keep a few contracts, but basically the agreement means that the Teamsters' attempts to disorganize the UFW have failed. This is a tremendous victory for the farmworkers and is a direct result of their continuous struggle. At the same time, the reaction of the growers and capitalists as a whole to the agreement is proof of the further domestication of the UFW leadership.

From its first appearance in the fields, the Teamsters Union has been used by the growers as a weapon against the unionization of farmworkers. After more than 100 years of struggle, farmworkers were just beginning to win unionization in the late '60s and early '70s, under the banner of the UFW. The growers had always fought bitterly to keep farmworkers unorganized, including by keeping agricultural workers without the legal right to form unions. They especially feared organization coming about through an upsurge of the rank and file aimed at establishing a union and fighting for better wages and working conditions. They hoped that they could use the Teamsters Union as a company union to destroy the UFW and crush the movement of the rank and file.

### Growers Use Teamster Leaders

In the early '70s the plan seemed to be working. The Teamster leadership had stolen the vast majority of contracts from the UFW by signing directly with the growers and some people were predicting that the UFW would wither and die. In the summer of 1973, farmworkers struck the grape growers in the Coachella Valley who had signed sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters. This was a powerful strike as hundreds of militant farmworkers came from all over California to support it. They were met with the organized terror of police forces and Teamster goons—hundreds of strikers were jailed, scores were injured and two were martyred. Nevertheless, as the grape harvest moved up through the San Joaquin Valley the strike was gaining strength and hurting the growers bad. At that point the UFW leadership, under pressure from the AFL-CIO officials, called off the strike and threw all their efforts into the boycott.

But the UFW leadership could not stop the struggle of the rank and file. The following harvest the farmworkers hit back with another massive wave of strikes and wildcats. Throughout California's agricultural valleys farmworkers who worked under the newly signed Teamster sweetheart contracts organized themselves and walked out of the fields on strike with two main demands: better wages and Teamsters out of the

fields.

It was this wave of strikes—not Governor Brown nor the special persuasiveness of UFW lawyers—that forced the growers to grant the concession of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, which permitted farmworkers to vote for the union of their choice. Through the ALRB, the growers hoped to move the struggle from the fields where they were being badly hurt into the courts where they hoped to tie the farmworkers' struggle into legal knots. But despite every possible form of treachery and intimidation, and despite the attempts of the UFW leadership to hem in the struggle, the UFW won election after election.

As the Teamsters lost contract after contract, the leader of the Teamsters' "farmworkers organizing" campaign grew increasingly desperate. In the end the Teamster leadership was forced to call some agricultural strikes and to act in a fairly militant way. This wasn't because the Teamster leaders had suddenly and miraculously been transformed into fighters for the interests of the rank and file. It was just their only hope of convincing farmworkers to stick with the Teamsters.

Despite the fact that the UFW leadership left itself open for exactly this type of tactic by accepting low wages just to get contracts signed, the workers refused to fall for this trick. The growers were losing all the way around and decided to cut their losses and pull the Teamsters out of the fields. This was a real loss to the growers; the Teamster leadership had been an important weapon to the growers and giving up contracts with the Teamsters really hurt them. But they had little choice.

The leadership of the Teamsters Union had other reasons, also, to come to an agreement with the UFW. Their long years as acting as union busting shock troops for agribusiness had earned them widespread hatred from millions, including large numbers of their own

membership.

### The UFW Leadership

The decision to pull the Teamsters out of the field was a hard decision for the growers to make. But it was made a lot easier for them by the leaders of the UFW. The UFW leadership has never really seen themselves as the enemy of the growers, even though, especially in the beginning, they were forced to fight them. From the beginning the problem of the UFW leadership has been how to initiate enough struggle to win union contracts and to consolidate their own positions at the top of the union, but not so much struggle that the workers could take control of the union and develop their struggle into a more class conscious fight.

Increasingly the UFW leadership has worked hand in hand with the growers to keep a lid on the struggle of the rank and file. As the UFW has won more contracts, the UFW officials have been less and less willing to take on the growers. The UFW waged its 1975 election campaign on the slogan, "Peace in the Fields"—which is what the UFW officials were promising the growers if they would only get rid of the Teamsters. Immediately after the elections, this promise was made real by the inclusion of a much stronger no-strike, no-slowdown pledge in all the UFW contracts.

Also, the rank and file is more and more frozen out of important decisions of the UFW—organizing new ranches, negotiating and enforcing new contracts, etc. A Interharvest, the union leaders conned the rank and file into accepting a lousy contract rather than strike in 1975. Interharvest workers, who are traditionally the strongest union force in the Salinas Valley (an important agricultural area and UFW stronghold), found themselves working for less than workers under a Teamster contract for doing the same job!

The growers love it. One grower, Lael Lee, was interviewed in the growers' newspaper *The Packer*: "They [the UFW] seem to be acting as a more responsible union—more like a trade union as opposed to a social movement...it appears to be a more respectable union than in the past."

In response to all this there have been two tendencies among the farmworkers—increased struggle and increased cynicism. At Interharvest, increased rank and file struggle forced the company to renegotiate the contract two years before it expired, in order to bring the wages up to the level of Teamster wages.

Also at Interharvest, workers got around the no-strike, no-slowdown clause by going through the lettuce fields at the regular speed, but simply refusing to harvest all the lettuce that was ready to be harvested. The Kangaroo plan—jumping the lettuce—cost the growers plenty.

But cynicism was a key factor in the Imperial Valley in the loss of a union election by the UFW to a fly-by-night "independent" union—organized by "independent" Teamster organizers who lost their jobs because of the UFW-Teamsters agreement, and pushed by "independent" growers who are still committed to trying to keep out the UFW.

This "independent" union is sure to meet a quick death however, as the farmworkers discover that it is simply another attempt by some growers to keep militant unionization out of their fields. Similarly the attempts by the UFW leadership to make the UFW into a "responsible and respectable" union in the eyes of the growers cannot for long succeed. Farmworkers were not "respectable" when they shut down the Salinas Valley in 1970. They were not "responsible" when they refused to have the Teamsters Union shoved down their throats and unleashed a storm of struggle in 1973-74. Thousands of farmworkers have come to see that whenever they fight for what they need the bosses call them irresponsible and disrespectful.

But most of all, farmworkers do not respect the law of profit that dictates that they must live in miserable conditions while they produce most of the nation's fruits and vegetables. And just as it was rank and file resistance that chased the Teamsters out of the fields it is only the rank and file that can build the fight for better contracts and can win even greater victories for farmworkers and the entire working class. ■

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# DC Demo...

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into the ranks of the working class, mobilizing hundreds who had never before participated in organized struggle. It brought forward men and women with 10 and 20 years in the plants and deep hopes for the future, hopes which are getting dashed on the rocks in the face of the bourgeoisie's attempts to thrust the burden of their profit crisis on the backs of the working masses.

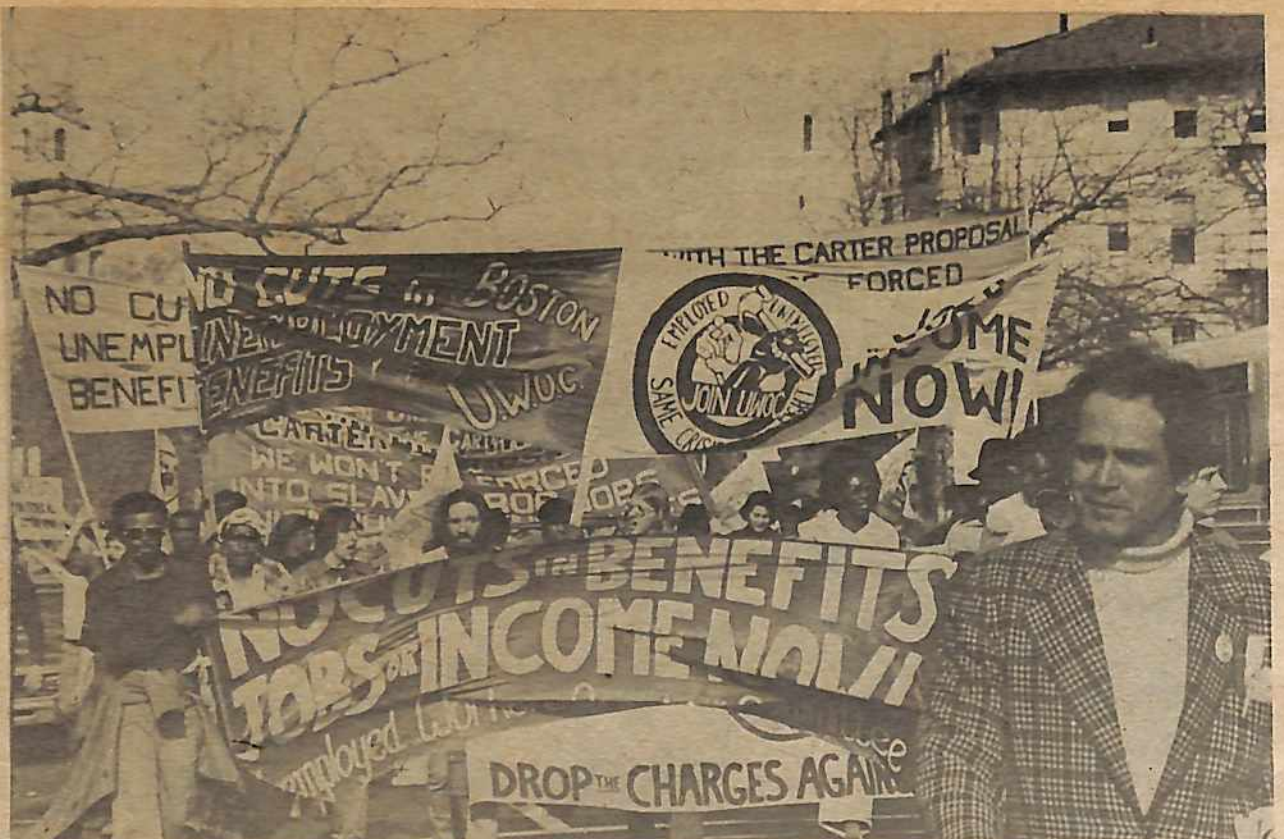
The particular impetus for the demonstration was the threatened expiration of a federal program which extends unemployment benefits from 39 to 65 weeks. That program expires on March 27, leaving thousands after 39 weeks to choose between starvation or welfare and what few low paying jobs are to be found. Fully two and a half million workers collected the extended benefits last year, and uncounted more couldn't get them in those states where the extensions had already been cut. These workers had an average of 17 years of hard work behind them. They stayed on unemployment compensation because they could find no work and refused to be driven into jobs at half their former rate of pay.

Carter's new proposal, now formulated into legislation before Congress, is aimed at making sure these workers don't have that choice. This proposal, the third provision of a bill approved by the House Ways and Means Committee (HR 4800), would force anyone on the federal extensions to take any job, in any trade, even at minimum wage, so long as it is more than what they are making on unemployment compensation. If they refuse they will be thrown off benefits. This is on top of the bill's main provision which would provide a maximum of 52 weeks unemployment compensation, instead of the 65 weeks now provided in any state whose unemployment is above "emergency levels."

This attack is reminiscent of what happened in the Great Depression. Between 1929 and 1932, with no unemployment insurance for the unemployed, wages were slashed by 55%. It is this that the capitalists are after, as their drive for profit leaves no room for the livelihood of millions of workers—employed and unemployed alike.

The Carter administration, when pressed, says they want the third provision in anticipation of the public works jobs they openly intend to set up below union wages. The bosses want it so they can slash wages deeply and worsen working conditions overall. In union they say, "We won't pay for these guys not to work. Let them work at half the price or let them starve."

As the speaker from the Organizing Committee to



The large turnout for the March 5th D.C. demonstration reflected the anger felt by millions of workers at attempts to rob them of unemployment benefits. It put Carter and his bosses on notice that they were in for a big fight, and an increasingly organized one!

Build a National Workers Organization laid out at the rally in D.C. "If this attack was just aimed at the unemployed, we would fight it. It is crime enough to force thousands of working people into poverty. But it is more than that. It is the employing class trying to drive our working class into the dirt. They lay us off, then speed up the rest of us to death. And they try to use the guys laid off to get us to work even harder for less money. How often are we told, if we don't toe the line, there are 1000 guys out there waiting for your jobs? Well we have an answer—it's like this banner on the stage says, 'It's the Same Crisis and the Same Fight,' and it's the same employing class against us, employed and unemployed."

Anxious to maintain Carter's image as a "friend of the working man," the bourgeoisie has kept the proposed cuts and the new provision well under wraps. The press has worked hand in hand with the politicians to bury news of the cuts and the struggle against them. It is against these obstacles that UWOC has struggled to break through the blackout of the news and bring this attack out into the light of day through repeated national and local actions.

UWOC chapters throughout the country called demonstrations during the opening week of Congress to organize and make clear the determination of the unemployed to resist this attack. On January 6, an East

Coast delegation of UWOC members took the fight right into the halls of the U.S. Senate to demand the extension of the federal benefits and publicize what was coming down.

On January 20, a torchlight march of 350 workers and others from the East Coast and parts of the Midwest picketed outside of Carter's Inaugural Ball, while Carter, the bourgeoisie and faithful followers partied and celebrated inside and tried to sum up that this was the first inauguration in years not to be met with a demonstration. But through picket lines, leaflets and the UWOC newsletter, the unemployed continued to spread the word and build the fight. Petitions were taken home from the demonstration and into plants and filled up with signatures. Unemployed workers gathered around as new posters were plastered over the old at unemployment centers with the latest news and demands. Contributions were collected at unemployment offices and at plant gate rallies. UWOC continued to mobilize and organize the people who were coming forward, and in many cities delegations visited congressmen's offices to confront them about the extension cuts and demand that they publicly oppose them.

### UWOC Takes Fight Into Congress

On February 22, several hundred unemployed workers from Philadelphia and four representatives of UWOC took the fight right into the House Ways and Means Committee hearings on the cuts in benefits, where UWOC was on the official speakers list. Speaking after representatives from General Motors and other big businesses put forward their position that the federal extensions had to be cut, immediately, the speaker from UWOC cut right through their garbage, drawing applause and cheers from the ranks of the unemployed at the hearing.

The UWOC spokesman ran it down: "You at GM laid off 100,000 workers, 25% of them have gone on welfare for lack of a job. The guys who are left in the plants are doing the work of those laid off. The people you're saying don't want to work are the brothers of the same guys you're working to death in your plants! What it comes down to is this: even the 65 weeks isn't enough anyway. Through no fault of our own, we are thrown out of work. Why? Because some boss can't get rich off our sweat and blood. What we need is unemployment insurance for as long as we're thrown out of work!"

The questioning of the House committee members which followed was an outright slander of the 10 million unemployed in this country. "Isn't it true people collecting more than 39 weeks of benefits just don't want to work?" "Isn't compensation after 39 weeks just welfare?"

These slanders were answered by the 1000 people who came to the Capital on March 5. These people and thousands more were outraged enough at being thrown out into the street after having poured their life's sweat and blood into one plant or another around the country. In Washington, marchers packed into the site of the indoor rally chanting "We Want Jobs, We Want Jobs," shaking the building from floor to ceiling with this just demand. So much for the slanders of the bourgeoisie and their supporters who have called the unemployed cheats and lazy bums, and unemployment insurance an "incentive not to work."

The people in Washington demanded jobs, but the disbelief and frustration at being without work was translated into that much more anger and determination to fight the cuts. Employed and unemployed alike are outraged as the implications of the proposed cuts and Carter's bill became clear, and as the struggle brings the role of the government and the union leaders into

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## In Memory Of Comrade Gert Alexander

April 17th marks one year since the death of Comrade Gert Alexander, a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party and a leading member of the Party's Central Committee who headed its work among the unemployed. Her passing was a great loss to the working class and its cause of communism to which she had unstintingly devoted her life for 40 years and more.

Important advances have been made and victories won in the past year that would have brought joy to the heart of this militant revolutionary fighter for the working class.

The Battle of the Bicentennial united thousands of workers in Philadelphia and tens of thousands more throughout the country around a proletarian banner that was unfurled in the middle of the capitalists' birthday celebration with a mighty chant: "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!" The struggle to develop and clarify an understanding of the international situation was advanced through the New York Conference on the International Situation that drew over 2000 people and similar meetings held on the West Coast.

Comrade Alexander would have been in the thick of the March 5th UWOC demonstration that mobilized 1000 workers in Washington, D.C. as part of a nationwide campaign to fight extension cuts. Her tireless efforts as a member of the Central Committee in carrying out the task of helping to initiate and doing the painstaking work to develop UWOC greatly contributed to its growing role as the fighting organization of the unemployed.

Comrade Alexander was never complacent or smug with any gain in the struggle. She was always determined to build on it to make further advances. As a revolutionary with long experience in the struggle against the murderous parasites that exploit and oppress the masses of people she knew that many fierce and difficult bat-



Comrade Gert Alexander was always to be found in the forefront of struggle.

gles are ahead. As a Marxist-Leninist she was also deeply confident that the workers can and would take up this science and on this basis change the world, overthrowing the capitalists and building a society that will abolish exploitation once and for all.

Much has been gained from the work and example of Comrade Gert Alexander which has been reflected in the advances of the past year. We will cherish and continue to learn from the memory of her life and her constant struggle for proletarian revolution. ■

## AFL-CIO Miami Meeting

# Snakes Bask In Sun, Prepare More Poison

Late in February the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO held its annual meeting in Miami. Like usual this was a time to chase girls on the beach and pursue debauchery in other ways, drink cocktails by the poolside and dine on \$80 steak dinners. But during the time that these labor chieftains met (from 9:30 AM to noon each day) they mapped out the AFL-CIO's program for the upcoming year. Naturally enough, it is a program stamped with the outlook of the capitalist class to which most of these hacks belong and whose interests they all uphold. Like always when Meany and company lay around in the sun, they got the tans and it was the workers who got burned.

The top AFL-CIO officials are faced with a number of contradictions. They are under fire from a rank and file that is getting more militant and angry as the capitalist crisis gets worse. In this they have a basic unity with the bourgeoisie as a whole about the need to keep this struggle shackled. Frequently they do this through outright sabotage of the day-to-day struggles of the rank and file. Just as important, however, is the political role they play for the capitalists—chaining the workers to the political system of the bourgeoisie, and in particular to the Democratic Party. They work to line the rank and file up behind the elections, increased armament programs and the whole idea that workers are "partners in American democracy." In short, they are the bourgeoisie's agents, serving its purposes and propagating its ideas and outlook within the ranks of the working class.

Nevertheless, at the present time these top union officials have certain real contradictions with the company owners. For example, in the construction industry the number of non-union contractors has increased to nearly 50% of the industry. In the recent four month rubber strike the URW was greatly weakened by the fact that the companies kept up 50% of their tire production, much of it in non-union shops. Some unions have lost thousands of members as shops have closed down, moved South or overseas. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), for example, has seen its membership fall from 442,000 in 1965 to 404,000 in 1975. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers (which recently merged with the Textile Workers Union to get the franchise on unionizing Southern tex-



*Cracked and ragged fingernails are an embarrassment when you travel with the rich. I.W. Abel keeps his soft hands nicely manicured so there is no chance his high and mighty buddies might take him for a worker.*

tile workers if and when it happens) had a drop in membership from 380,000 in 1965 to 335,000 in 1975. This has deeply undermined the power of these bureaucrats and hurt them financially.

It is in this context that the Executive Board came up with its program for 1977—plans which they will

now try to win the working class to. The essence of their program is little more than the extension into 1977 of last year's election fraud. In 1976 the AFL-CIO hacks sponsored energetic but, for them, disappointing voter registration campaigns and did their best to convince union members that the solution to all their problems lay in the election of Jimmy Carter and a "pro-labor" Congress. Although these efforts did not enjoy fantastic success, the election was close enough for the AFL-CIO bigwigs to claim that Carter and the Democrats in Congress "owe them a political debt" for their support and money. Now, they say, they are going to call in their IOU's and get some new laws passed that they claim aid the masses of workers.

What is this legislative program and whose interests does it really serve? Out of a laundry list of resolutions passed at their meeting, there are two fronts which they consider really important: (a) reform of key labor laws which they say is the way to open the South to unionization, and (b) passage of the common situs picketing bill to bolster up their position in the construction industry at the expense of the rank and file.

### Unionizing the South

Unionizing the South is an extremely important task for the entire working class. It would raise the level of organization and struggle in the South as well as bring much greater unity between workers of the South and the rest of the country. It is also something top union officials have been putting more and more emphasis on—to bolster up their own power and positions. For example the UAW recently won an important election at GM's Monroe (Louisiana) plant and the AFL-CIO unions have put a lot of time and money into a thus far unsuccessful drive to organize JP Stevens.

But how do these labor bureaucrats propose to organize the Southern workers? They say the key to the effort must be to pass an upcoming bill in Congress which will repeal Section 14b of the Taft Hartley Act, the "right to work" provision which allows many states to outlaw the union shop, and to make four changes in the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). These changes would: (1) require that union elections for bargaining recognition be held within 45 days after an election petition has been filed with the NLRB; (2) automatically certify a union as the legal bargaining representative when 55% of the workforce has signed union authorization cards; (3) delegate to NLRB administrative law judges the authority to make the final decisions and issue orders for the board, thus speeding up the process; and (4) make contractors who commit flagrant or repeated violations of NLRB orders ineligible for federal work and award triple damages to workers who have been illegally fired for union activities.

To make passage of this legislation *the key* to organizing the South stands reality on its head. In the first place it simply won't work.

The passage of this legislation would provide cer-

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## DC Demo...

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sharper focus. Many were shocked and that much more determined to fight when they learned that the top "labor leaders" of the AFL-CIO are supporting the bill without a word about the provision to force thousands into starvation-wage jobs. Despite the AFL-CIO's supposed "disappointment" at the bill, they are publicly supporting it—in exchange for other legislation they want. Deals are already being made whereby construction workers will be taking a 25% wage cut as the conditions for work.

The rank and file hasn't much gone for this orientation in recent years, even less so in the face of this attack. Employed and unemployed have been uniting around their own interests as one working class. Workers around the country have been building the fight against the cuts and marched shoulder to shoulder in the streets of D.C. with their unemployed brothers and sisters. In New Jersey, at the impetus of the rank and file, two UAW locals and one local of striking steel workers passed resolutions against the cuts and in support of the Washington action. The largest steel local on the West Coast also passed a resolution against the cuts against the opposition of the local union president. Several other UAW and USWA locals in the Los Angeles area have also passed resolutions against the extension cutoffs; and demonstrations and delegations are being planned in LA and around the country at AFL-CIO headquarters and Central Labor Councils. Already actions like these have revealed the potential to create controversy between the top traitors and lower level hacks over this question which the rank and file can use to its advantage.

At the same time Carter's administration has been claiming the older unemployed don't need the extensions, it has been full of promises of jobs for the unemployed youth, supposedly the "real" problem. But in cities across the country, the youth too have



*The angry shouts of demonstrators were one call President Carter didn't dare answer on March 5th. Unemployed were infuriated by his refusal to meet with them.*

joined with the unemployed in fighting the cuts, exposing the jobs programs which cannot begin to meet their needs and refusing to be traded off against the livelihood of their parents.

The battle against the cuts and Carter's bill is growing fast and is a very important front in the struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The Washington, D.C. demonstration itself was a tremendous impetus to further organization and struggle among the unemployed—around this attack and unemployment in general. UWOC meetings since the 5th have broadly united those who went to Washington with others who have come forward since to persevere in the struggle around the cuts and Carter's Bill and see it through to the end. Local demonstrations have been planned in most of the major cities, and workers are bending every effort in these weeks before the expiration date to continue to get the word out broadly and to fight the attack.

One guy called UWOC from Brooklyn after the 5th and said, "I got your leaflet last week about the cuts and I didn't believe it. Today I got a notice from the unemployment center that the benefits were to be cut off at the end of March. We've got to do something.

We've got to demonstrate." He was one of hundreds around the country expressing the same sentiment.

As the economic crisis deepens and the bourgeoisie is forced to make even more naked and drastic attacks upon the masses, more and more people are drawn forward—to fight and to question why all this is happening now and what the future holds. By dragging the issue into the open, mobilizing the people who are coming forward in this struggle to further build the fight, UWOC and organizations of employed workers and youth have been able to advance the struggle of the whole working class and create the conditions for even greater resistance in the future. While the discussions and speeches on the buses and in cars on the way to D.C. centered around going there to shake things up, the talk on the way home was on how to further build this fight and keep the momentum up. The experience of the demonstration and the uniting of workers from all over gave them a sense of the power of their class. As a UWOC speaker, thrown out after ten hard years on the job, put it at the rally, "We raised hell before we came. We're going to do some ground shaking before we leave, and they're going to see a lot more than this in the future." ■

## Jailed Freedom Fighter in Puerto Rico

# Thousands Hail Lolita Lebrón

Thousands of Puerto Ricans waited for hours at the San Juan airport to catch a glimpse of Lolita Lebrón, and thousands more came out the following day to greet this heroic symbol of the Puerto Rican independence movement, freed from prison on a temporary pass to attend the March 3 funeral of her daughter.

Lolita Lebrón has been in a U.S. federal prison since 1954, when she and three other members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico unfurled the Puerto Rican flag in the House of Representatives and shot the place up to protest Congress' moves to make the island a "commonwealth" of the U.S. Five Congressmen were wounded. Since then the demand to free these four prisoners and another Nationalist Party member in jail for a 1950 attack on the temporary residence of President Truman has become a main demand of the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The very fact that the government was forced to permit Lebrón to travel to Puerto Rico (in the company of police) after her daughter was killed in an automobile accident is itself a sign of how deep the demand for the freedom of the five Nationalist prisoners runs

among the Puerto Rican people. In fact, even Puerto Rico's colonial legislature saw itself obligated by the force of public opinion to pass a resolution greeting her on her return to the island which she has not seen for 23 years. Ex-Governor Ferre, head of the pro-statehood party, asked Carter to release the five.

Lebrón's brief visit (about 24 hours) was supposed to be a secret, but many people were on hand anyway to welcome her before she was hustled away by police. In the morning, in her home town of Barceloneta, Lebrón was given a small Puerto Rican flag which she held in a gesture of defiance through the drive to the funeral and during the services. A crowd of thousands pressed up against police to greet her and talk with her before she was taken away again to Alderson federal prison in West Virginia.

The five Nationalist prisoners are Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Oscar Collazo. Cordero has had several operations and is dying of cancer. Nevertheless, the American government has continued to harass them in prison, interfering with their mail, denying them many visitors and

so on. This brutal treatment of freedom fighters is in stark contrast, for example, to the public crocodile tears shed for Rudolph Hess, imprisoned Nazi war criminal, whom the U.S. ruling class believes should have been let loose long ago.

The five have been offered their freedom if they make a formal request for a pardon and agree not to take part in political activity. All have refused these humiliating preconditions, which would amount to renouncing the cause to which they have devoted their lives. The demand for the unconditional release of the five has been taken up by more and more people in Puerto Rico and the U.S. as part of the increasingly powerful demand that Puerto Rico be freed from U.S. domination.

Despite the concession of Lebrón's temporary prison furlough, repression is growing against the Puerto Rican independence movement and its supporters in the U.S. Using the excuse of some bombings, a federal grand jury in Chicago and another one in New York have been carrying out a witchhunt. In New York, two women who work for the Hispanic Affairs Commission of the Episcopal Church, including the Commission's head, have been held in contempt for refusing to testify, and have been thrown into jail for sentences that may run up to fourteen months because of their stand. Six people have been subpoenaed and face jail in Chicago.

The continuing imprisonment of the five and the grand jury harassment are proof of what the U.S. government is trying to hide—that the U.S. imperialists have seized and held Puerto Rico by force, and that the Puerto Rican people are struggling against colonial bondage. Despite Carter's fine words about "letting the people of Puerto Rico decide," the imperialists continue to imprison those who fight for Puerto Rico's freedom. ■

## A-C Workers Force Strike

# Anger Boils Into Walkout

At noon on March 3, Allis Chalmers workers, members of the UAW, locked up their tool boxes, shut down the tractor lines and headed for the gate. 3400 hit the bricks in West Allis, Wisconsin, near Milwaukee, against the major producer of heavy agricultural and electrical equipment. (They were joined by 1000 workers in LaPorte, Ind. and 50 in Gadsden, Alabama.)

As they set up their first picket lines the terms of the struggle were clear—no attacks on wages and benefits, fight for a big raise, 30-and-out with a cost of living on pensions, improved grievances and seniority procedures, and job security. The walkout was the workers' answer to A-C plans to come across with even less than the sell-out John Deere settlement, which was supposedly the pattern setter for agricultural implements. It was the workers' response to A-C's attempts to split up the agricultural and electrical workers and give different settlements to each division. The walkout was the workers' stand against the constant loss of jobs to subcontracting, speedup and runaways. The 4500 A-C workers are refusing to let their standard of living and their organized strength be pushed back any further.

The walkout came over four months after the November 1 expiration. In that time the A-C workers had gotten word of the hard fought John Deere strike in Iowa. They had seen local auto workers at AMC (American Motors Corporation) resist the wage freeze attempt but end up with less than the Ford sellout package. They had seen A-C's profits climb and they knew the record profits were the result of their own sweat, and the heavy layoffs, job combinations, harassment, and worsening conditions. As they worked past the expiration, more and more workers began to talk strike. On the tractor lines and in the machinery buildings, unity grew against the company's hard-nosed bargaining and shop floor harassment. Groups of workers began to refuse overtime, and the unanimous sentiment was to put the company on strike notice. The UAW leadership stalled, hoping to demoralize the rank and file and set them to ratify a lousy offer.

But agitation in the shop brought out 1000 workers to a union meeting who unanimously voted to put the company on notice. The ban on overtime was taken up by the vast majority of the local and was so successful that the company had to call back 25 laidoff workers to keep up production, and the tractor line had to be shut down for one day for lack of parts. As the walkout approached, those who broke the ban on overtime ended up spending their extra money repairing broken windows and dents in their cars.

The international stalled on delivering strike notice to the company and again the workers pushed the fight ahead. Stickers saying "No Contract, No Work!" and "Put A-C on Strike Notice!" appeared in every corner of the sprawling West Allis Works. The growing rank and file momentum forced the union leaders to finally deliver the strike notice a month and a half after the workers demanded it.

Throughout the contract struggle, the initiative and activity of the rank and file was able to push the struggle forward and force the leaders to act.

As the struggle grew, the members of the United Workers Organization (UWO), a Milwaukee organization composed of workers from different industries, played an increasingly strong role within it, popularizing the lessons of the 1976 auto contract struggle and the John Deere strike, uniting with and building the strike senti-

ment and the overtime ban, and helping to kick off the strike with a plant gate rally. By linking up with and furthering the unity and action of the rank and file, the UWO developed as a center of leadership which in turn helped push the whole struggle forward.

American Motors, operating near bankruptcy, succeeded in breaking the auto pattern settlement. Now A-C is trying to go below the package agreed to by Deere and International Harvester. They maintain that because over half the A-C workforce is making electrical equipment, A-C should not have to pay the higher labor rates prevailing in agricultural implements shops. By suggesting separate packages for the electrical and tractor divisions, A-C is carrying this attack even further. But the strikers know the importance of unity and are determined to beat back this scheme.

One of the central issues has been job security. In the past 15 years, the number of workers at the West Allis Works has declined from around 10,000 to the present 3400. The company has been automating, subcontracting and running away with whole departments and lines. New plants have been built in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina. The unorganized part of the A-C empire is growing while the unionized operations are on the decline. The workers see this as a threat and are demanding contract protection against job loss.

The A-C picket lines are one more front in the struggle of the working class. The attacks of the capitalists are sharpening. In response, the resistance, organization and understanding of the workers are on the upswing. As the Allis Chalmers strike and battles like it unfold, big gains can be won in the overall movement of our class. ■



Allis Chalmers workers, supported by the Milwaukee Area United Workers Organization, rally in front of the plant.



Soviet marines on maneuvers. Rapid buildup of Soviet military, such as their amphibious capabilities pictured above, are causing alarm in the U.S. ruling class.

## Debunking Bourgeois Analysis

# The Real Dynamics Of the Arms Race

Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. With the tremendous buildup of the Soviet Union's military machine, this truth is beginning to turn the U.S. imperialists' dreams into nightmares. The once overwhelming superiority of U.S. arms has eroded to the point where the New Czars have reached a rough parity with the U.S. and their momentum hasn't yet begun to slow. The U.S. bourgeoisie is worried and the debates within its ranks over how to meet the military challenge of Soviet social-imperialism are spilling over acres of newsprint and hours of TV time.

Much of the gearing up for war takes place behind the smokescreen of detente. While the superpowers advertise all their arms limitation talks and cultural exchanges as moving towards peace and understanding, their very nature as imperialists is driving them towards war. There is a great deal of confusion within the working class and the U.S. revolutionary movement over what is really going on in military affairs and what the big hullabaloo is about. It is important that these questions be understood because an imperialist war between the superpowers, and all steps towards it and all preparations short of it, are a matter of life and death for the masses. Either these developments can be understood correctly and the proletariat can lead the masses in overthrowing these vicious oppressors, or these developments can be ignored, misunderstood or simply covered up, and doom the masses to further decades of misery under capitalism.

### "A Prewar World"

Eugene Rostow, a major figure in the LBJ administration, recently pointed out that the world "must be described today not as a 'postwar' but as a 'prewar' world..." Drew Middleton, *New York Times* military writer, wrote a book two years ago, receiving wide attention in the ruling circles, whose title asked the question, *Can America Win the Next War?* His columns in the *Times* have continually posed that question over the past few years, hitting on a real worry of the U.S. imperialists.

The situation today is a far cry from the period of the mid-'60s to early '70s. Then, war between the two superpowers, we were told, was "unthinkable," a big change from the days of the cold war when war with the Russian Bear was always pictured as just around the corner. Now, the possibility is not only conceded as being very real but public attention is being focused around what to do about it—always, of course, under the cover that all war preparations are for defense and to prevent war.

From the end of World War 2 until the early '60s the U.S. military machine was the strongest the world had ever seen. In 1962 the U.S. was able to humiliate the New Czars during the Cuban missile crisis simply by rattling its sabre. But this incident corresponded with the end of unchallenged U.S. hegemony.

The Soviet revisionists on coming to power faced the necessity of developing armed forces strong enough to do more than just defend Soviet territory. They needed the muscle for imperialist aggression as well. During the time the U.S. was bogged down in Vietnam spinning its wheels on the road to defeat, the USSR put arms production into high gear.

Measured in military terms there is an overall equality of power between the U.S. and USSR, but it is important to note that this armed might rests on somewhat different bases. The USSR has a weaker, less developed all-round economy than the U.S. with, on the other hand, more centralization and a stronger, centralized state apparatus. This both requires and allows them, in the short run, to concentrate a greater proportion of their production on armaments. Their position is not totally unlike that of the old Czars at the time of World War 1, except that now they are more economically developed relative to the other imperialists.

Also, Soviet military power still plays a much more central role in their imperialist adventures, even in gaining economic leverage and penetration in other countries (through arms sales, etc.), as well as in their overall drive for domination and hegemony. The U.S., an older imperialist power, has the advantage of widespread developed contacts as well as a heftier economic clout to make use of and therefore can use more "peaceful" methods in expanding its tentacles of exploitation. The U.S. relies on military power more as a final resort, using it or threatening to use it, however, wherever necessary and without qualms.

For imperialist powers, a strong military capable of worldwide reach is an absolute necessity. Armies must be available to put down popular rebellions, navies must be dispatched to "show the flag" and "encourage" friendlier policies by weaker ruling classes, and taken together everything must be powerful enough to discourage rival imperialists from grabbing chunks of the empire and, at the bottom line, powerful enough to defeat any rival imperialist who cannot be "discouraged" short of war. In today's world it is only the two superpowers who have such military capability, and this is why, in the final analysis, despite contradictions with the superpowers, other capitalist and imperialist countries fall into a bloc with one or the other of the superpowers, as the contention between them inevitably leads toward war.

"War," as the bourgeois military expert von Clausewitz stated, "is the continuation of political relations, with the intervention of other means." The current debate in the ruling circles over military affairs is a continuation of the debate on imperialist foreign policy. Understanding this current hullabaloo over B-1 bombers, cruise missiles, new tanks and new fighter planes cannot be totally separated from the heated discussions of detente that were a big factor in the 1976 presidential campaigns, especially of Ronald Reagan and Henry Jackson. Obviously, "getting tough with the Kremlin" requires more muscle than continuing contention within the framework of detente. (Though detente also requires the well-timed use of military force, like the Mayaguez incident or the 24-hour "red alert" of U.S. armed forces during the 1973 Mid-East war, to back up the fine tuned diplomatic dealings of the imperialists.)

The article "Capitalists Change Guard at State Department" in the January 1977 issue of *Revolution* deals with the foreign policy debate and the main lines of U.S. foreign policy in much greater depth than will be attempted here. In short, however, the U.S. imperialists came out of the Vietnam War on the strategic defensive. The defeat in Vietnam coupled with rebellious-

ness in the army and the antiwar and anti-intervention sentiment of the American people was a powerful factor in forcing the U.S. bourgeoisie into a period of retrenchment and consolidation. Also, the other Western imperialists in the U.S.-led NATO bloc had taken advantage of the U.S. preoccupation with Vietnam to strike a more independent course for themselves, stepping up competition with the U.S. in the arenas of politics, trade and international finance.

At the same time, the social-imperialist actions of the Soviet Union were growing more and more bold. In 1968 the New Czars invaded Czechoslovakia, in 1971 they backed India in her dismemberment of Pakistan, and beginning in the late '60s, their navies penetrated seas long considered the "private lakes" of the Western imperialists. Strategically, the Soviet Union is and has been on the rise and clutching for a bigger empire under the "socialist" signboards of the "international dictatorship of the proletariat" and the "international division of labor."

The current debates within the U.S. ruling class revolve around what is the correct evaluation of military strengths of the two superpowers and in what direction is the equation changing; what is necessary to maintain "adequate" U.S. strength and exactly what is "adequate;" and what role do the two blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, play and what can be done to maximize NATO strengths and minimize the Warsaw Pact strengths? The two aspects of military force considered are *strategic forces* and *conventional forces*.

### Two Lines in Enemy Camp

The main camp in the U.S. bourgeoisie is represented by President Carter and such lesser lights as the Joint Chiefs of Staff, other government figures and retired "heavies" like Henry Kissinger. The other camp, whose political representatives like Reagan and Jackson lost the immediate chance to grab the presidency, has its biggest mouthpiece in the Committee on the Present Danger, staffed with retired military men like ex-Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Elmo Zumwalt and ex-Air Force intelligence chief Major General George Keegan, Jr.

The bourgeois press characterizes the lesser camp as the "hardliners," whose line can be summed up as saying the Soviet Union is ahead of the U.S. so the U.S. needs lots more of everything. The main camp, headquartered in the Carter administration, are called the "moderates" because they say the U.S. and Soviets are roughly equal and the U.S. needs more guns but less than what the "hardliners" call for. This distinction is convenient for the bourgeoisie because the fundamental unity between the two camps is obscured, much the same as the unity between "hawks" and "doves" during the Vietnam War was concealed. Both the "moderate" and "hardliner" camps are 100% behind increased war preparations and they have iron tight unity on any number of specific projects designed to build up the imperialist military machine.

Like the detente debates, the issue is not whether or not to contend with the Soviets for world hegemony but rather how best to contend under present conditions and how to prepare for the future. Each side recognizes the absolute necessity for military force. There are no Buddhas in these debates, only imperialists and their spokesmen. In fact, the presently smaller camp of "hardliners" actually eases the task the main line "moderates" face in winning the American people's support for greater war preparations by spreading horror stories of Kremlin power.

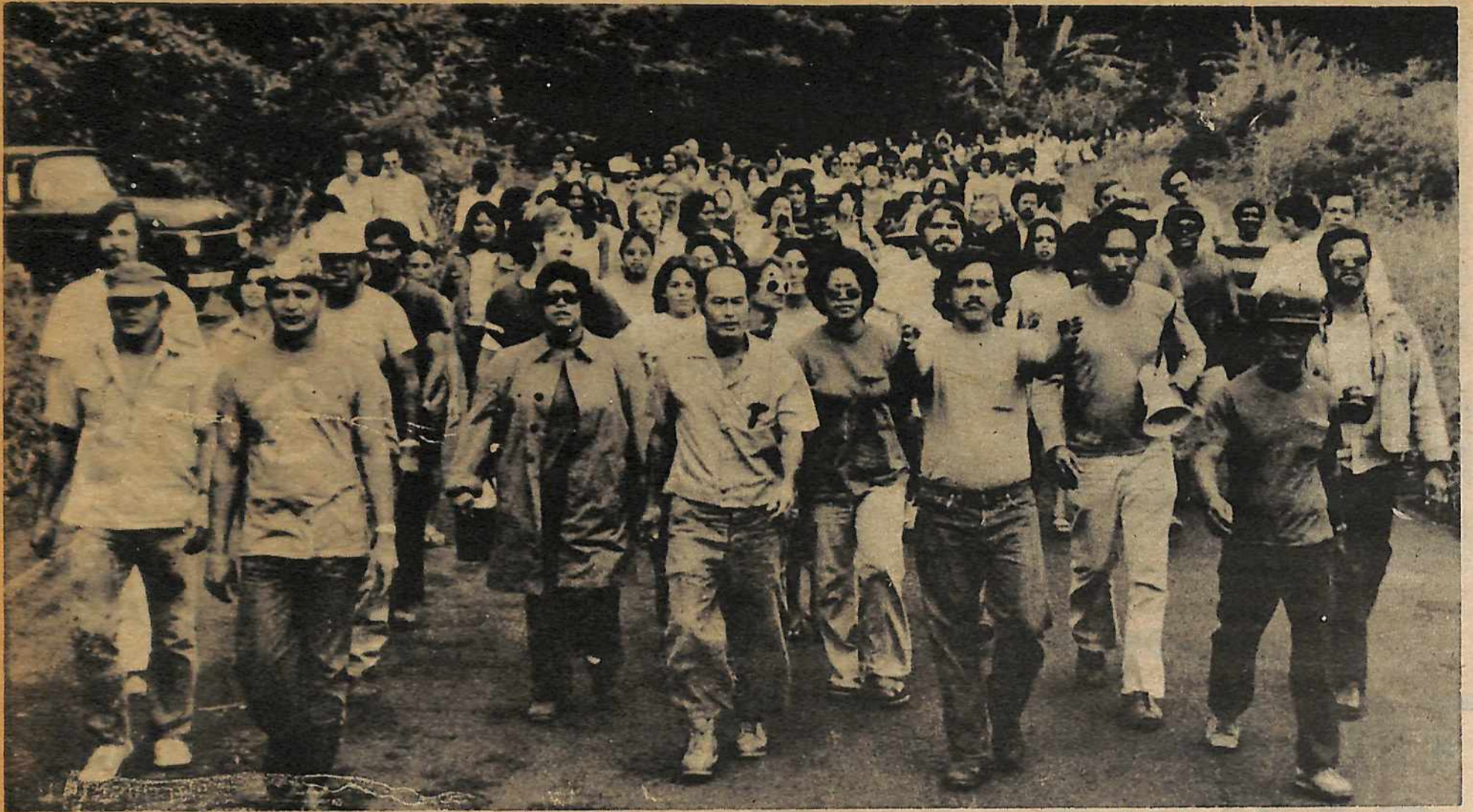
Recently, the B-1 bomber and the cruise missile have received a lot of attention in the media. These are part of the *strategic forces* and whether or not these two systems go into mass production is presently the centerpiece of the debate over strategic forces.

The basic function of strategic forces is to destroy an opposing nation's warmaking potential, such as factories, communications and transportation networks, important military bases and people by the millions. Another crucial function is to destroy the opposition's own strategic forces, before they have a chance to be used, if possible (the "first-strike capability"). Finally, they are supposed to destroy the opposing people's will to resist, either by massive destruction or by the threat of massive destruction.

### Strategic Forces

At this time, all strategic weapons are nuclear and delivered by either missile or bomber. On the NATO side virtually all strategic weapons are in U.S. hands, with small, semi-independent forces under the control of Britain and France (the "Eurostrategic forces") and on the Warsaw Pact side they are all Soviet. U.S. forces have been developed under the Triad concept, a three-way combination of land-based ICBMs (Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles, the Minuteman system), submarine-launched missiles (the Polaris system, eleven of which will be retired and replaced with the new Trident system), and long-range bombers (the aging B-52 fleet, which saw its numbers decreased with "disturbing" ease over Vietnamese skies during the war; this is the bomber system the B-1 is meant to replace). The Triad concept is supposed to be insurance against a Soviet

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Hundreds of Hawaii residents demonstrate in support of the anti-eviction struggle. As a member of the Waiahole-Waikane Community Association steering committee put it: "We are no longer just fighting for our homes and farms. We are standing up for everyone who has slaved away their entire lives just to get kicked around so some rich guys can make profits."

## 5000 Supporters Attend Benefit

# New Victories In Hawaii Land Struggle

In the past months residents of Hawaii's Waiahole-Waikane Valleys have waged a militant anti-eviction battle against the efforts of wealthy landowners and developers to drive them from their homes and farms. The struggle made a decisive breakthrough in early January when massive mobilizations of people all over the islands and the occupation of the valley itself by over 700 people forced the Governor to announce an extension of the eviction date until March 1. (See February 1977 *Revolution*)

But people knew that the extension was by no means complete victory. The months ahead would mean more building of the struggle. The capitalists would not give up their plans to demolish people's homes unless forced to.

To demonstrate the support that exists, spread the understanding of this battle even more and to raise funds, a benefit concert was organized for February 19. Without the landlords' approval, five acres of jungle and orchards were cleared in upper Waiahole Valley on a scenic plateau overlooking both valleys, right on the spot where the developer wanted to put his \$250,000 home.

### 5000 Attend Benefit Concert

On the day of the concert traffic was backed up for miles as over 5000 people turned out. They came from all over the islands to express their solidarity and paid \$3 apiece to hear speeches and numerous bands and musicians who donated their talents. The Waiahole-Waikane Community Association passed out leaflets, and set up a large photo display and information booths to help develop a broader understanding of the battle.

Bobby Hernandez, a welder and the Association's president, explained that the goal of the residents of the valleys was to fight for long-term leases at fair and reasonable rents and to prevent the developers from tearing up their homes and farms. But as a steering committee member of the WWCA had put it: "We are no longer just fighting for our homes and farms. We are standing up for everyone who has slaved away their entire lives just to get kicked around so some rich guys can make profits."

Other speakers, including a representative of the Workers United to Defend Waiahole-Waikane pointed out that the victories won so far had been because of the hard work done to make the fight of the residents the fight of the masses of working people of Hawaii and to mobilize greater and more visible demonstrations of this support, backing the landlords and their politicians into a corner. It was made clear that even greater pressure had to be put on the politicians to force them to meet people's demands.

After the concert a call was put out for a demonstra-

tion February 24 at the governor's office to force him to come up with an acceptable solution. Over 300 people showed up, while he hid in his office behind locked doors and security forces. Finally he sent out one of his flak-catchers to assure the demonstrators that "The Governor's Office was aware of the problems" and to insist that no one could go in to see him. People were furious and began to chant "We want the governor!" After almost two hours the governor agreed to meet with the Association's steering committee. But they were immediately disgusted with his pleas to "trust me." The Association leaders announced a call to prepare for another occupation of the valleys. That was one thing the authorities didn't want to see.

Two days later the governor announced that the state would buy 600 acres in Waiahole Valley from the landlord for \$6 million in order to stop the eviction and maintain the agricultural use of the land. People recognized why he had been forced to make this move. As the vice-president of the Association put it, "The governor's plan was a victory won by us and the thousands of people across this state that have supported us. If anyone tries to take it away they will have a big battle on their hands."

Take it away is exactly what the capitalists in Hawaii

**UNITED  
WE WILL WIN!**



"We are facing systematic oppression. This system is like an octopus...reaching its tentacles into every part of our lives. We cannot escape it...We have no choice but to fight back," WWCA steering committee member.

immediately set out to do. And increasing numbers of people are coming to see that what the capitalists and their politicians give with one hand they turn right around and try to get back with a vengeance. The mayor of Honolulu attacked the governor's proposal as a "payoff" to the "threat of violence." A prominent state senator blustered, "Is this how the state deals with the threat of armed revolution?"

But their main tactic has been to try to use the governor's six million dollar purchase offer to turn people against each other and divide the unified support that has been built among working people and others. One state senator suggested that the \$6 million for Waiahole would take away from much needed funds for housing for the poor and elderly. They began to remind people that \$12 million had just been cut from the university budget and said that the Waiahole-Waikane concession would mean even further cuts. But people were not falling for these divide and conquer tactics so easily. A demonstration of 5000 students marched through downtown Honolulu demanding that the university budget cuts be restored. Many students had been actively involved in the tenants' struggle and saw the politicians' schemes for what they were. The Revolutionary Student Brigade and others said that students should take inspiration from the Waiahole-Waikane struggle. "This is the way we fight!" they said.

### Setting a Precedent

The ruling class is worried about more than the loss of part of the Waiahole Valley for land development. What they are really concerned about is that this victory may "set a precedent" that other communities fighting evictions will take up. Well, good for them! There is no doubt that it is setting a precedent for people getting together to say "hell no" to the way this island and the whole country are run by the rich for their own profits while they try to force the masses of people to watch them take away their jobs, homes and everything they have worked and slaved for.

Anti-eviction struggles are jumping off all over the state. Workers and residents from the Waiahole-Waikane Tenants Association and Workers United to Defend Waiahole-Waikane have been in contact with these other struggles and people are sharing their experiences and building mutual support.

This latest victory is a major breakthrough coming out of three years of struggle. But it is still only a partial victory. Not all the tenants of the two valleys are covered by the state's proposed concession. Many live outside the boundaries covered by the deal. Besides the fight to safeguard their homes, the terms of the governor's deal still have to be negotiated out. Because of all this, residents and supporters have only cautiously celebrated the victory. But what has already been won is the sense of pride and the power of what workers can do, what the strength of thousands of angry people can accomplish. "For over 100 years the landlords and the rich have run this island," a member of the Association told the 5000 listeners at the concert. "Now we're saying...no more!" ■

# Leach Campaign Puts System On Trial

Over 350 vets and others took part in demonstrations demanding "Free Ashby Leach" and "Make Chessie Honor Its Promises to Vets." Scared by the mounting public support for Ashby Leach, the judge ordered an injunction barring spectators from the courtroom, "loitering" in the halls, demonstrations anywhere near the courthouse and any discussions by Ashby or his lawyers with the press. This was supposedly to "insure a fair trial"—that is, to railroad Ashby off to jail as quietly as possible.

Leach is a Vietnam vet who last August took over the offices of Chessie Systems in Cleveland's Terminal Tower, demanding that Chessie, a mammoth railroad conglomerate, extend GI Bill benefits to Vietnam vets it employed. Because his action exposed the abuse and denial of decent benefits to vets and because he stood up in a bold way to the hated corporations, Leach immediately won wide support from people in Cleveland. A thousand interested people gathered when he left Terminal Tower and support has become deeper and broader ever since. Even while viciously attacking Ashby, the local news media has been forced to concede that he is "a folk hero" among Clevelanders.

Exactly because Ashby is a popular symbol of resistance to oppression, the capitalist class, especially through its courts and news media, has gone all-out to isolate and slander Ashby and to lock him up forever as an example to the masses that resistance is futile. And for exactly that reason veterans, workers and other people have taken up the campaign to defend Ashby Leach and to push ahead on the demand for

decent benefits for vets.

To carry this out Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), together with Ashby's friends and family initiated the Ashby Leach Defense Committee (ALDC) in Cleveland and West Virginia. The ALDC took the case out widely, especially to vets at local colleges, trade schools and to steel mills and auto plants, and dozens of vets as well as other workers actively took up the fight. "Free Ashby Leach" was spray painted on overpasses and walls all over Cleveland, and thousands of stickers and posters announcing the demonstration went up.

Petitions and buttons were taken into the plants, sparking a lot of discussions and arguments about how working people can win concessions, and about legal and illegal, violent and peaceful, and individual and collective means of struggle. Through these discussions most workers were won to the stand that it's right to rebel against oppression, and that actions like Ashby's can definitely strike a blow at the enemy and stir up even more struggle.

March 5, a week before the trial started, *The Worker* newspaper and the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization sponsored a support dinner intended to help bring the Cleveland working class into the forefront of the battle to free Ashby. Over 80 people, workers and their families, came out, including a strong showing from steel, auto and electrical plants. Off of this dinner the campaign stepped up sharply in the plants. Support resolutions were fought for, though defeated, in two steel locals. At the U.S. Steel mill a Chessie train that passed through came out so covered with "Free Ashby Leach" stickers that it was dubbed the "Free Ashby Express." Over 50 workers wore stickers on their hard hats.

At the Brookpark Ford plant one worker wrote under a sticker that Ashby was nothing but a crazy hillbilly who should be ignored. The next day two more messages, both supporting Ashby, went up, one signed by "a Yugoslavian hillbilly," the other by "a Black hillbilly."

## Ruling Class Counterattacks

In the last days before the trial, taking advantage of a series of takeovers in Cleveland and Washington D.C., the press increased its attacks on Ashby. One TV station coupled all its coverage of the recent takeovers with footage of Ashby at Terminal Tower. The *Cleveland Press* ran a front page column calling Ashby "a nut" and virtually holding him responsible for every takeover anywhere. In response to these slanders 20 members of the ALDC marched on the press forcing

## West Coast Actions Back Ashby Leach

Banners flew along the street and three pup tents were pitched on the lawn as a megaphone blared out messages of support for Ashby Leach. TV cameras from five stations cranked away and a radio station issued hourly bulletins. Fifty members and supporters of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), including 35 vets, were encamped in front of the main Veterans Administration building in Los Angeles on March 12 from noon to 9 PM. As the leaflets they passed out to the hundreds of passersby explained, they were there to demand the freedom of Ashby Leach and to dramatize the government's attacks on veterans.

The next day VVAW was back in front of the same VA headquarters with a picket line that put forward demands to free Ashby Leach, extend and expand the GI Bill, no 10 year limit to GI benefits, no ending of prepayments and no cuts in the federal unemployment extension benefits. The VVAW encampment was endorsed by many veterans groups, including veterans clubs at UCLA and El Camino College, neither of which have VVAW chapters. At El Camino the veterans club put out its own petition supporting Ashby Leach.

This was just one of several West Coast actions mounted by VVAW on the weekend before the Ashby Leach trial began in Cleveland. In San Francisco a picket line in front of Senator Cranston's office demanded that he call for Carter to cease attacks on vets and call for dropping the charges against Leach. Similar actions took place in San Diego.

them to print a statement that reaffirmed the justice of Ashby's demands and pointed out that it was this system, based as it is on injustice and oppression, and not Ashby Leach that evoked violent reaction of all kinds.

In response to the ALDC's call for national support, over two hundreds veterans, workers, students and youth began pouring into Cleveland. Saturday, March 12, 300 people in all turned out for a People's Tribunal, designed to expose the real criminal—the wealthy ruling class that thought nothing of slaughtering millions in Vietnam for profit, then denying decent benefits to those vets who made it home.

Loud applause swept the room as support statements were read from workers organizations in New York and San Francisco, from youth in Norfolk, Virginia, miners in West Virginia, from the Iranian Student Association and others. A letter from Ashby's parents was also read pointing out that "History has shown that sometimes it is right to break the law. The civil rights movement showed that you have to go against the powers that be to get what you need."

The next day in high spirit 350 people, led by about 100 vets, marched through downtown's Public Square, site of both the Terminal Tower and the Soldiers and Sailors Monument. A longtime steel worker, president of Local 3059 of the United Steelworkers of America and a spokesman for the Organizing Committee for the National Workers Organization, stated "Ashby Leach is one of our own, a true son of the working class. If the ruling class puts him in jail they will be declaring war on the entire working class."

Following this a vet pointed out that the Soldiers and Sailors Monument was a real symbol of the hypocrisy of the rich. Student vets had plastered the monument with stickers and signs reading "Free Ashby Leach."

Monday morning, as the trial began, 80 people, half vets, marched through downtown streets to the Justice Center. The disciplined march drew attention and support from the crowds as many cheered or raised clenched fists in support. At the Justice Center a militant picket line went up for an hour. Just as the picket was to end, six sheriffs and a number of reporters came out of the courthouse waving an injunction.

Apparently the big demonstrations and the favorable response they got convinced the capitalists that they were losing the battle for public opinion. So they decided to further restrict people's minimal democratic rights by banning demonstrations, keeping court spectators from talking to the press, and so forth. As the rally continued one of the ALDC's lawyers summed up the injunction and declared that it was a real sign of fear and weakness by the courts. He said "We've already shown that we know how to fight and we will continue to fight in the courts and wherever else necessary."

As a result of activity around the trial, a solid chapter of VVAW has been built in Cleveland which plans to continue the campaign to free Ashby and to extend and expand the GI Bill. Other chapters of VVAW also took up the fight. Vets came from as far as St. Paul, Minnesota and Boston, Massachusetts and a weekend of support activities involving about 50 vets took place in Los Angeles. As long as the ruling class continues its attacks on veterans and the masses of people as a whole, this resistance is bound to grow and the battle to free Ashby Leach is an important part of this fight. ■



VVAW contingent 100 strong leads march of 350 to Soldiers and Sailors monument in Cleveland during weekend mobilization to support Ashby Leach. Work done by the Ashby Leach Defense Committee and VVAW has helped make the government and Chessie's attacks on veterans the real issue of Ashby's trial.

# Arms...

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sneak attack, so that if Russia can knock out the Minutemen before they leave the silos, the bombers and Polaris missiles can still knock out Russia, etc.

There are a number of areas that must be examined when looking at strategic forces: the destructiveness of nuclear weapons; theories on the use of nuclear weapons; the balance of forces, including where things are at now, the systems under development that have the potential to change the balance, the SALT talks and efforts to "regulate" the strategic arms race; and whether world war necessarily means nuclear war.

Since the first use of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, the imperialists have made every effort to exaggerate the power of nuclear weapons, with statements like atomic weapons have attained the power "to end civilization as we know it." It cannot be denied that they are very destructive and can kill millions. But a cold examination of the facts shows that nuclear weapons are not the biblical Armageddon, that their use will not send mankind back to the stone age.

The use of the atomic bomb to attack two of Japan's major cities at the end of World War 2 did indeed cause tremendous suffering to the Japanese people and is a towering crime of the U.S. imperialists—compounded by the fact that the Japanese could readily have been made to surrender without launching these nuclear attacks, whose main purpose was to head off Soviet military victories in the Far East and intimidate the people of the world. But, as destructive as the effects of the A-bombs were, the great terrible loss of life and the tremendous suffering of the citizens of Nagasaki and especially Hiroshima were compounded by a number of other factors besides the terror of the bomb itself.

The U.S. imperialists had a weapon of mass terror. Stand up to U.S. imperialism, they said, and face The Bomb. And with a virtual monopoly on atomic weapons the U.S. shamelessly pursued a policy of nuclear blackmail called "brinkmanship." During the Korean War, large chunks of the U.S. rulers, represented by General MacArthur, argued strenuously for the use of the bomb on Korea and the People's Republic of China. And later, when the then-socialist Soviet Union developed nuclear weapons to defend itself against the U.S. nuclear monopoly, the U.S. imperialists would say, if the American people don't line up behind us against the Russians today, tomorrow the Kremlin will use The Bomb. Who doesn't remember the Cuban missile crisis, the groceries stored in the basement and the fear that if President Kennedy didn't have the people's total backing the whole ball of wax might go up in flames?

During the early '60s the balance of forces was called the "balance of terror" and nuclear war, while always a possibility, was increasingly considered the "unthinkable" because of the "catastrophic consequences" of their use. This change from outfront nuclear blackmail to test-ban treaties and the "unthinkability" of nuclear war was due to many factors (once again see *Revolution*, January, 1977), an important one being that the USSR, while already on the road to becoming an imperialist superpower, was not yet thoroughly and completely driven to challenge U.S. hegemony on a global basis. Collaboration, joint sabotage of the world revolutionary struggle, was the main feature of U.S.-USSR relationships while the growing contention remained secondary for a time.

Today, when the imperialists are talking about "thinking the unthinkable," it is even more important to break down the well-constructed myths surrounding nuclear weapons. They are big, bigger today than in 1945, they are destructive, and like all weapons of imperialist war, they are terrible. But they cannot end the world and they should not enable the imperialists to terrorize the masses.

## Nuclear War Not End of World

While the capitalists have, in the past, preached to the masses that nuclear war would mean "the end of the world," they never based *their own* calculations on this hogwash. They have set their bourgeois experts to work to try to figure out how quickly capitalist society—and their profits—could be restored to "normal." According to one of the most "pessimistic" of these types of studies, the "worst possible case" of nuclear exchange—the unrestrained use of strategic forces—would most likely have this effect: Some 30 to 50 million Americans would die. Most major industrial centers would be reduced to a nonfunctioning rubble and there would be a lingering danger of radiation. The population will have to be evacuated to the countryside, both to leave destroyed urban areas behind and because it will be necessary for agricultural production. Without the agricultural implement industry, petrochemical fertilizer complexes, etc., agriculture will have to become more labor intensive in order to feed everyone. After 20 years or so, the experts predict, society will stabilize at the level of development of around 1890. From

there, because the accumulated knowledge of the twentieth century will be available, development will take off again. And what the bourgeois experts *cannot* take into account is the real possibility of working class revolution, which would liberate the productive forces and lead to a far faster recovery from a nuclear exchange.

For a long time the U.S. imperialists' theory on nuclear weapons use was that of "massive retaliation," that is, hold the Soviet Union hostage for any assault on U.S. imperialism and threaten to hit the Soviet Union with everything in the arsenal if anything gets out of hand. This line began to be questioned during the Korean War but it wasn't until Vietnam that the line fell entirely into disuse. By this time the U.S. ruling class had a more sophisticated, and realistic, understanding of the world—everyone opposing the U.S. were not "Kremlin dupes." Secondly, it was obvious that with the need for "limited war," such as practiced in Vietnam, a strategic theory that diverged from all-out nuclear war was required. The theory U.S. imperialism came up with was "flexible response," tailoring the weight of military force to suit the nature of the threat to their interests.

## "Mutual Assured Destruction"

But since the early '60s, the time of the so-called "missile gap," when the U.S. imperialists used the fabrication that it was behind in strategic weapons to build them up further, the Soviets have closed the real gap that did exist between themselves and the U.S. The U.S. bourgeoisie, up to its armpits in Vietnam War expenditures, was unable to maintain the early U.S. lead and they gradually came up with a new theory to deal with the relative parity between U.S. and Soviet strategic forces. This new concept was called Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). MAD simply meant that if one side launched a successful first strike, that is, scoring before the target country got its own strategic weapons off the ground, the target nation will still have enough nuclear weapons left to assure destruction of the first strike nation.

Supposedly, Mutual Assured Destruction carries some sort of guarantee against the use of nuclear weapons because neither side can gain a decisive advantage by launching a first strike. (This may be true, but it's no guarantee against the use of nuclear weapons by either side—more about that later.) MAD is only operable as long as neither side gains a strategic superiority—either by sheer numbers or technological breakthrough—and the SALT discussions have been an attempt to compete in strategic weaponry within the framework of MAD.

But the very momentum of the Soviet buildup is causing a big alarm among some sections of the bourgeoisie who fear this momentum will carry the Soviets beyond parity to a position where the social-imperialists will hold a decisive edge, a first strike capability. In fact, Committee on the Present Danger personality General Keegan claims the Soviets have already established "a significant lead over the U.S. by every criterion used to measure strategic balance" (which, in point of fact, is a boatload of buffalo chips).

This group is pushing particularly for full-speed development of the B-1 bomber and cruise missile pro-

grams as necessary steps to at least maintain parity and possibly regain the lost glory of U.S. imperialist superiority, dropping this MAD business. The congressmen supporting this position have been in an uproar over Carter's appointment of Paul Warnke to head up the U.S. delegation to SALT 2. Warnke, they claim, is "soft" on the Soviets and might "violate basic U.S. interests" in the name of arms control.

The Carter position begins with the assumption that parity and MAD are at this time the way to fly because the alternative offers only the *chance* of gaining an edge, thus the "hardliner" position is not worth dumping the detente framework for. Besides, the detente framework itself allows a wide latitude in pursuing development of new systems and even for grabbing a slight lead over the USSR.

The "moderate" camp disputes the wild claims of Soviet superiority by the Keegan types. The main line feels that at the present time gaining a decisive strategic edge over the Soviets is impossible and doesn't want to give up the political benefits of maintaining the "momentum" of detente and its illusion of the two superpowers working out contradictions peacefully. Whatever improvements the imperialists may make in their strategic forces will be matched step-by-step by the social-imperialists. Such a strategic arms race for superiority would only be needlessly expensive—the money could be used on other arms programs—and would probably end up only with a rough parity all over again hundreds of missiles and billions of dollars later, they say.

## SALT 2 Talks

At the present time, then, the U.S. and Soviets will continue to sit down at SALT 2 and negotiate some sort of limits to the strategic arms inventories and their further development. Any agreements are, of course, temporary and can be violated later if necessary. Neither superpower feels that SALT signs away their right to "go for broke" further down the road, if they think it is in their interests and has a good chance of success.

The political usefulness of the SALT negotiations is that they are billed and widely known as "disarmament talks." They are nothing of the kind and have not led to a single weapons system getting dismantled. There have been certain agreements within the framework of parity but the overall effect has only been to keep the arms race going within supposedly "reasonable" limits.

The superpowers agreed to place a limit on 41 long-range missile firing submarines, a ceiling the U.S. had attained so it went ahead with plans to build the superior Trident system and retire some of the Polaris subs. The Soviets hadn't reached 41 yet so they went right ahead with their construction program. The superpowers agreed not to install much in the way of ABMs (Anti-Ballistic Missile systems) but it was only because each side had summed up that ABMs weren't very practical and the cost wasn't worth it.

The superpowers agreed to certain ceilings on numbers of land-based ICBMs, ceilings neither side had reached, and put limitations on numbers of warheads each side could have and then proceeded to MIRV their missiles to meet these ceilings. MIRVing (Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicles) upgrades each missile by

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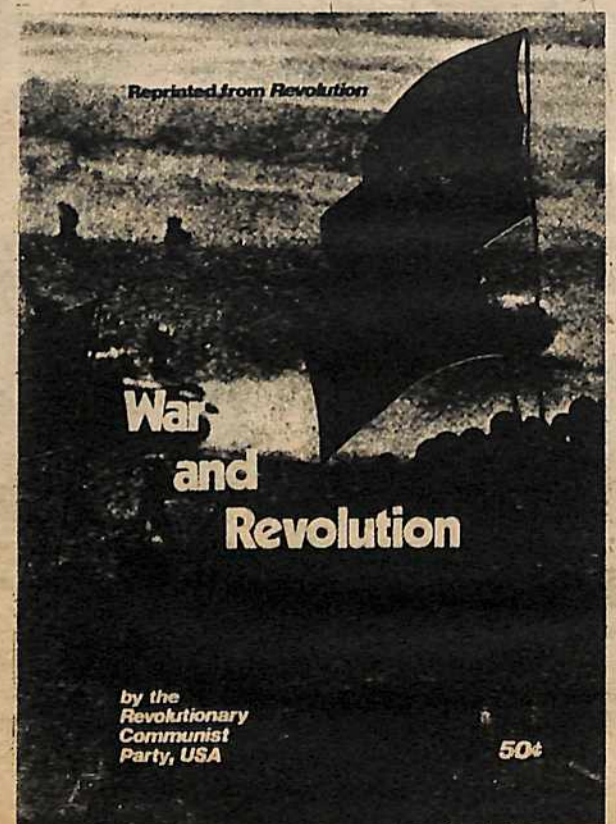
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In spite of the Soviet Union's military growth, U.S. imperialism is still powerful and is still way ahead of the Soviets in global reach. World War 2 proved that sea power is vulnerable to air power and the U.S. is way ahead of the New Czars in aircraft carriers, therefore better able to give its ships air cover in every corner of the world. Above, the aircraft carrier USS Kennedy.

## Arms...

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adding on extra warheads with independent guidance systems. It enables each missile to carry warheads able to hit widely scattered targets. The Soviets are behind in MIRV technology—this was a SALT victory for the U.S.—and their stuff has mainly got the Multiple without the Independent, in other words, producing a shot-gun-type affair dropping groups of warheads in one general area.

There are a number of weapons in the research and development phase or even ready to go into production and deployment that threaten to upset the superpower strategic parity. On the Soviet side these are the Backfire bomber and the SS-20 mobile missile (which presently is only intermediately ranged, that is, against Europe and China, but will probably soon have an intercontinental version). On the U.S. side there is the B-1 bomber, the cruise missile and the M-X mobile ICBM, sort of a Minuteman missile, which could be moved about constantly, preventing the Soviets from plotting its position as a target.

The Backfire bomber is potentially very valuable for the New Czars. It will be the first credible Soviet long-range bomber threat in a long while and presently the U.S. has virtually no defense against bombers. The Soviets have been offering to drop Backfire if the U.S. will stop the cruise missile but Carter has torpedoed the trade. The cruise is worth a lot more than a bunch of Backfires, mainly because buying bomber defenses is cheaper and uses existing technology, whereas the cruise missile is a wild card—there is no known effective defense against it yet.

The cruise missile is a recent technological leap for the U.S. imperialists. It has a terrain guidance system which "reads" the ground it is traveling over and "compares" it to a map programmed into its onboard computer. It is so refined it can be counted on to strike within 30 meters of where it's supposed to. Present U.S. missiles have a 100 to 200 meter Circular Error Probability (CEP) and the current Soviet hardware has a one to two kilometer CEP (which is why the USSR is forced to use bigger missiles to throw bigger warheads).

What the cruise missile threatens to do is to make present Soviet protection around their missile silos just about useless since the cruise missile can practically come in right through the front door and may not even need a nuclear warhead to do the job. Besides which, it is far smaller than most missiles and can be launched from just about anything, including a modified Dodge van. As a whole, the U.S. bourgeoisie finds the cruise missile quite attractive.

The B-1 bomber is another story. Some sections of the bourgeoisie question whether any kind of bomber is a viable weapon. The B-1, according to all indications, is a good long-range bomber, with the ability to fly at treetop level maintaining high speeds, getting in under the radar, and packing scads of new ECM (Electronic Counter Measures) to make Soviet electronic gear think the B-1 is a flock of geese. Its problem is that it will run about \$70 billion and it is quite possible that the Soviets will come up with something that will reduce the B-1s advances to zip—like new "look down" radars on their fighter/interceptor jets or some fancy advance in electronic detection to separate the geese from the bombers—and for far less than 70 billion rubles.

At the present time, even without the cruise missile on the table, the superpowers will continue to dicker with each other at SALT 2. They feel that it looks good when they are talking and some sort of agreement on other areas can be worked out. Also, the present theory of Mutual Assured Destruction and the relative

parity in strategic forces will remain in effect. Of course, each side will go on searching for the "wonder weapon," a new advance in technology, that could decisively tip the scales.

The other facet to the military preparedness debate is *conventional forces*. In the press this debate has been illustrated with wild claims such as the Soviet Union could overrun Europe in two or three days, or charts with quantities of particular weapons given and the Soviets coming out ahead in most, or photos of the sleek new Soviet Navy poking its nose into new seas.

The purpose of conventional forces is to annihilate the opposition's conventional forces and seize territory. Conventional forces are the traditional armies, navies and air forces, fighting with jet planes, tanks and ships. Included as a part of conventional forces are tactical nuclear weapons because they are targeted against other conventional forces and their purpose is closer to a large artillery shell than anything else.

Measuring the conventional strengths of the imperialist superpowers is a complicated question and lends itself to simplistic, self-serving analysis, a game the superpowers play to the hilt. Conventional warfare is itself much more complex than the exchange of strategic forces. To put it in somewhat simplified terms, with bombers and missiles the buttons get pushed, the missiles are launched, the planes take off and either they make it to the target or they don't. Much more than strategic exchanges, conventional warfare involves the quantitative and qualitative aspects of weapons systems, the degree of training and motivation on the part of the soldiers who use them, the ability of the commanders to direct it all and the relative correctness of military line, the operational and tactical doctrines.

Right now, each superpower likes to rate its own overall strength in terms that make it out to be number two (though each will admit to "equality" or balance in some areas too obvious to ignore). Being number two, of course, means that the U.S., or the USSR, is more "defensive" and "peace-loving." Any new arms production is strictly for defense, etc., etc. The U.S. readily points to the Soviets' quantitative lead and the Soviets just as quickly turn right around and point to the U.S.'s technological edge.

An entire evaluation of the relative strengths of NATO and the Warsaw Pact is not within the scope of this article. However, an example of some of the fast and loose playing around with facts can be seen in looking at tanks as a weapons system.

Since the beginning of World War 2, tank forces have been central to conventional ground forces because tanks combine a big offensive weapon with defensive armor and a cross-country mobility. U.S. spokesmen say the Soviet Union has a three to one advantage in tank strength along the central front (West Germany). True, but first of all, this conveniently "forgets" about the rest of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which reduces things to a two to one advantage for the Soviets. Secondly, this leaves out the fact that NATO tanks are superior to what the Russians have and even more superior to what the Soviets have stuck the Warsaw Pact countries with. Poland, East Germany and the rest are still using 1950s vintage T-54s and T-55s and even large numbers of World War 2 vintage T-34s. NATO tanks have better rangefinders (for a higher first shot—first kill probability), carry more ammunition (able to stay in battle longer) and break down less often, among other things. Thirdly, NATO is not counting on their tanks to knock out Soviet tanks.

With the rise of tanks as the backbone of ground forces, every munitions-making country has attempted to develop cheap ways of knocking them out. Every country that can pay the price has anti-tank missiles of all varieties, including ones small enough to be carried around by foot soldiers, like the U.S. LAW and Dragon, and the Soviet RPG-7. NATO has a big technological advantage here. In vehicle-mounted anti-tank missiles, for instance, the Soviet Swatter system weighs in with a 33% kill probability compared to the U.S. TOW sys-

tem's 76%. Additionally, NATO has very capable tank-busting helicopters, one model of which averaged a 20 to 1 kill ratio over tanks in NATO maneuvers (each helicopter "knocked out" an average of 20 tanks before getting "shot down")—and this was one of the cruder models, at that.

Even for trying to evaluate the effectiveness of tanks from a purely military point of view there are many more variables that could be included, such as air superiority, the extent and mobility of artillery support and the degree of tactical flexibility in the use of air and artillery support. All this goes to show that counting tanks or even checking out how often they throw their treads is a spurious way of measuring strength.

Taken as a whole, all along the line—for ground, naval and air conventional forces—and with the situation of the U.S.-led NATO bloc on the strategic defensive and the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact on the strategic offensive, *neither side has a decisive advantage over the other*. (One principle of military theory is that in combat there is an inherent advantage in holding the defensive position so that, all other things being generally equal, the attacker must be substantially stronger to gain the upper hand.)

At the present time, NATO is not strong enough militarily, to say nothing of having the necessary political unity, to invade the Warsaw Pact and the situation of conventional parity only holds in the case of a Soviet invasion of NATO, which regardless of "who started it" is the most likely scenario for military action in Europe. This does not mean, however, that even now the U.S. could not start a war by luring the Soviets onto the rocks of NATO's defenses and from there launch a counter-invasion, after weakening the Warsaw Pact to the point where NATO had offensive superiority. The defensive in war can only be a temporary stage and victory can only come by going over to the offensive.

Conventional forces are extremely important because both superpowers would like to defeat each other without the use of strategic nuclear weapons. This would fulfill the "promise" of the MAD concept. While nuclear war would not end the world it would be mutually destructive on both sides. It would be far better for the imperialists and social-imperialists if they could defeat the other side and redivide the world keeping the bulk of their own—and even the enemy's—productive forces intact. Acquiring a much larger empire will only be a partial victory if massive amounts of capital must first be channeled into rebuilding the home country—and those areas conquered—though even this can, in the short run, be turned into a profitable business for the victor as shown by the experience of the U.S. after World War 2.

### Rough Parity

The present rough parity between the superpowers exposes what lies at the bottom of their empty words about expanding the military machine in the name of "defense": both the U.S. and USSR are striving to achieve a decisive advantage in conventional forces, in order to gain the upper hand in imperialist contention. Short of war this means being able to impose small adjustments in spheres of influence by threat of force. In war itself, it means greater chances of victory, to gain the ability to dictate the wholesale redivision of the world to favor one gang of bandits over another.

Within the U.S. ruling class there is much less difference than there appears at first between "hardliners" and "moderates" over the need for military buildup. Difference exist, such as the debate between the nuclear-powered navy and the non-nuclear navy advocates, where the ramifications center around the question of fewer high-quality ships as opposed to many more lesser-quality ships. But everyone in this debate agrees the U.S. Navy needs to get much larger.

Recent programs the bourgeoisie has approved include: the A-10 tank-busting tactical aircraft, the new XM-1 main battle tank, an increase in the army from 13 to 16 combat divisions (in addition to the three Marine divisions), the F-14, F-15 and F-16 new fighter aircraft, the Spruance class of destroyers, the SCS (Sea Control Ships) class of small aircraft carriers, etc., etc. There has been little disagreement over these programs because to oppose arms expansion in general would go against the basic necessity of imperialism.

Most of the conventional forces of NATO belong to other countries besides the U.S. Despite recent press reports about the possible unreliability of the Dutch Army, with its soldiers with hair to their navels, "armed hippies" who neither salute nor shine boots, and about the British Army, which had to take civilian ferry boats to recent NATO maneuvers in Norway, the NATO armies taken together are strong and getting stronger.

West Germany is now the biggest financial contributor to NATO and is in the process of reorganizing their army. For the first time since the mid-'60s, Italy is going through a major modernization program and acquiring loads of new weapons. France, which technically does not participate in NATO military affairs (though it always kept two divisions stationed in West Germany), has stated that its first line of defense is not the Rhine River between West Germany and France,

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# Arms...

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but rather the East/West German border, and they are doubling their mobile forces and redeploying the bulk of their naval units to the Mediterranean Sea specifically to deal with the Soviets. Even moribund Britain is reorganizing and reinforcing its Army of the Rhine (troops in Germany).

## Kissinger's View

The main line of the U.S. ruling class was laid out in a major speech given by Henry Kissinger in London, June 25, 1976: "These strengths of ours demonstrate that our present security posture is adequate, and that it is well within our capacities to continue to balance the various elements of Soviet power. To maintain the necessary defense is a question of leadership more than of power. Our security responsibility is both manageable and unending. We must undertake significant additional efforts for the indefinite future. For as far ahead as we can see, we will live in a twilight area between tranquility and open confrontation.

"This is a task for both sides of the Atlantic. Our defense efforts within the Alliance will be importantly affected by the degree to which the American people are convinced that our allies share similar perceptions of the military challenge and a comparable determination to meet it. The greatest threat to the Alliance would occur if, for whatever reason—through misreading the threat, or inattention to conventional forces, or reductions of the defense efforts of allies, or domestic developments within NATO members—U.S. public support for NATO were weakened.

"The challenge of building sufficient hardware is easier than those of geopolitical understanding, political coordination, and above all resolve. In the nuclear age, once a change in the geopolitical balance has become unambiguous, it is too late to do anything about it...."

Stripped of some of the elegant diplomatic double-talk Kissinger is defining the current situation and the main tasks of Western imperialism. He stresses that current NATO defense is adequate—and this summation was recently upheld by NATO Supreme Commander General Alexander Haig—but to maintain that defense in this "twilight area between tranquility and open confrontation" requires a number of steps.

Most important is Kissinger's statement that the "geopolitical balance" must not "become unambiguous." Within the framework of detente this has meant contention along the lines of "what's mine is mine," while not yet playing the card "what's yours is mine, too." The U.S. imperialists and their bloc must prevent the social-imperialists from gaining a decisive advantage or it will be "too late to do anything about it."

This is fundamentally opposed to the policy of appeasement practiced by Britain and France towards Germany before World War 2. Then the Allied imperialists hoped that unhinging the geopolitical balance would set the Nazis against the Soviet Union. While today attempting to set the Soviet Union against China is a part of U.S. foreign policy, the U.S. imperialists recognize that Europe is the grand prize the New Czars seek and nothing can substitute for NATO military might in preventing them from achieving their aim.

Kissinger makes NATO strength a question of leadership, "more than power." This is the recognition that above all, the NATO bloc must tighten itself up and look to the U.S. for leadership. Although recent tendencies for the Western European bourgeoisies to go off on independent tangents has been curbed somewhat, the U.S. imperialists feel that even greater unity against the Soviet Union is vital and necessary. The importance of NATO to the overall security of Western imperialism was underscored by the diplomatic offensive of Kissinger's "Year of Europe" (1973) and by Vice President Mondale's junket there right on the heels of the inauguration.

Within tightening of the bloc a stepped-up military buildup must take place. Kissinger promises the allies that the U.S. will make "significant additional efforts." This is being borne out in practice, and the West European bourgeoisies have responded by showing their "determination" to do the same.

As NATO attempts to tighten itself up, the U.S. is leading a diplomatic, political and economic offensive—of which the current human rights hoop-de-doo is part—to open up cracks in the Warsaw Pact. The masses of people in Eastern Europe deeply resent the heel of the New Czars and there has been a lot of struggle directed both at the Soviet Union as well as local ruling classes. While the Warsaw Pact has some built-in military advantages, common Soviet weaponry (a logistical advantage) and unitary command, even now the Soviets are not counting too highly on the Czech or Hungarian armies in any moves against NATO. They fear these armies will have their hands full at home if war breaks out.

Overall, then, the U.S. bourgeoisie, along with its allies, is stepping up war preparations to meet the Soviet challenge. Within this, debate will continue to rage over how to conduct foreign policy and how much military muscle is necessary to back it up. Even so, the bourgeoisie cannot simply "go for broke" around arms spending and they are forced to take into account just how much military the U.S. can afford, attended by arguments over what weapon gets a "bigger bang for the buck" and what are cost-effective ways of dealing death blows to the Soviet Union.

Contrary to a widely held belief, increased military spending is not automatically wonderful for the capitalist economy. Vietnam War spending had a powerful impact on the economy, stimulating some growth in the early stages but, more significantly, as the war dragged on and on towards final defeat it fueled the fires of inflation and helped to drag the country into recession. Of course, individual defense contractors are interested in little more than lining their own pockets so there will constantly be calls for more contracts costing more and more billions, accompanied by dire warnings that if super jetplane Z-4652 isn't bought by the thousands the Russian Army will be in New Jersey tomorrow and other such claptrap.

The state, acting for the bourgeoisie as a whole, is aware that to finance war preparations will require more bond issues and other forms of deficit spending. Besides fueling inflation, government bond issues attract capital investment away from U.S. industry, which is crying for more capital to modernize the means of production. This is one reason Carter is going ahead with \$2.7 billion in defense cuts in this year's budget, even though he has pushed off into the hazy future his campaign promise of axing \$5 to \$7 billion from defense. What Carter is cutting is "fat" and not muscle. The generals hope that more and more fat will get trimmed, both to make U.S. armed forces leaner and meaner and to save billions of dollars for the new tanks and planes that *must* come off the assembly lines. And it is also an established practice for the Pentagon to request more billions than it expects to get, which allows the President and Congress to look good by making insubstantial budget cuts.

The U.S. imperialists, as well as their counterparts in the Soviet Union, are trying to come to grips with the changing world situation. In the U.S. two lines have evolved over how to take on the Soviets, one parading as "tough" and the other as "moderate and reasonable." The difference between these two lines is only the difference between two alternative imperialist policies to defend imperialist interests and prepare for imperialist war to defend and extend empires that oppress and exploit for the benefit of a tiny handful. With so much at stake it's not surprising that the debate gets rather heated and cries of "sellout" are sometimes heard.

## The Guardian

The facts of the situation and the different lines of the debate are out there for all to see. Yet a number of "generals" in the U.S. "left" choose to ignore the facts, ignore the essence of the ruling class debate and instead turn reality upside down in order to root for their favorite superpower. (The working class is lucky these people do not have armies behind them.)

The working class and masses of people in the U.S. have a special responsibility to struggle against "our own" bourgeoisie's drive to war. To do so effectively and to build the kind of movement that will enable the working class to make revolution requires a correct understanding of what is really going on behind the smokescreen of both superpowers. Unfortunately, the superpowers get an assist in their ball of confusion from certain phony "revolutionaries" and "communists" in the U.S.

The February 9 *Guardian* newspaper ran an article on the current military situation that outdoes *Pravda* in building up U.S. imperialism into the world's number one strongman. They began all right by shooting down some of the myths of U.S. inferiority but, in their eagerness to cover over the Soviet Union's tremendous military buildup, they begin cutting out of whole cloth a myth of U.S. superiority using the same sort of simplistic, self-serving analysis the bourgeoisie indulges in. By comparison, the Soviet buildup comes off exactly the way the New Czars portray it, purely "defensive."

Soviet military journals have the guts to put it on the line, why not the *Guardian*? Admiral Gorshkov, architect of the new Soviet Navy, wrote a series of articles years ago on Soviet naval power. He proudly pointed out how the New Czars had dumped Stalin's concept of the "Fortress Fleet," whose only value was being able to defend the socialist motherland, and had built a navy capable of projecting Soviet power beyond the traditional areas of Russian interest, even in the time of the old Czars. Soviet power, in case the *Guardian* needs reminding, is *social-imperialist* power.

Without bothering to answer every point the *Guardian* made, right off the bat these "military experts" are wrong on at least one important front. The *Guardian* argues that the global reach of the U.S. imperialists is superior to that of the Soviets. True enough. But the pivot of the imperialist war will take place in a rela-

tively small area of the globe, Europe. Comrade Generals, have you forgotten that there is the principle of concentration of force as well as dispersal of force? The Soviet Union's concentration of power in a limited area, Europe, is an advantage over the U.S., not the other way around.

Not only on this particular point but in general the *Guardian's* bourgeois expertise on military affairs is a lot less expert than the bourgeoisie's, but no less bourgeois. Their logic propels them to the overall incorrect conclusion that U.S. imperialism is still number one. What good does ignoring the changes in the balance of forces do? Does the *Guardian* think that by rejecting "its own" ruling class, only to embrace another pack of hungry wolves, they are upholding Leninism?

## OL's Fight Against "Appeasement"

The October League, in the February 21 issue of *The Call*, runs out an article that is the mirror image of the *Guardian* and just as ugly. Predictably, the OL is "freaked out" by the USSR's big military buildup. They are even more horrified because "certain powerful forces in the [U.S.] ruling class are clearly trying to cover up this growth and appease Soviet social-imperialism." Among those who are selling out the bloodthirsty interests of U.S. imperialism are the President of the United States, the Joint Chiefs of Staff—"it is the Pentagon itself which is doing much of the covering up for the Soviet Union"—and other lesser lights in the imperialist galaxy.

One example of appeasement given is that SALT negotiator Warnke will propose that the Soviets keep the Backfire bomber out of the talks. How totally one-sided! The U.S. is only making this "offer" because it wants to keep a much more superior weapon of its own off the table, the cruise missile. The Soviet Union has repeatedly offered to give up the Backfire if only the U.S. will drop the cruise missile.

This is the entire content of the OL piece, building up the might of the Soviet Union, ignoring the strength of "our own" imperialist ruling class and going off and indicting leading figures in the bourgeoisie for "appeasement." The article does everything but call for the U.S. rulers to "arm themselves or harm themselves." But, true to form, the OL inserts toward the end of their article a single sentence promising opposition to the "frantic arms buildup of both superpowers, not just the U.S." With a magnificent sentence like this how could anyone dare to accuse them of calling on the U.S. bourgeoisie to step up war preparations? (Interestingly, this article appears in the same issue as the announcement of the start of a \$500,000 fund drive. May we suggest asking the Committee on the Present Danger?—1028 Connecticut, N.W., Wash. D.C. 20036)

The OL also ruthlessly points out the weaknesses of NATO, how the Western European bourgeoisies are playing patsie for the Soviets. The OL tells us that Norway only has a 400-man frontier patrol company deployed facing the Soviet border. All this really exposes is that even for armchair generals, the OL is half-witted, at best. A fast look at an atlas shows that this border is over 700 air miles and even more road miles from Norway's major population center. Actually the OL should commend the Norwegian military command for not leaving large forces at the end of an extended supply line and choosing instead to defend in depth.

The OL and the *Guardian* are exactly the same in some respects. They each use undiluted bourgeois analysis in the flimsiest of Marxist wrapping to choose which superpower to root for.

## Man's Dynamic Role

Further, these "Marxist-Leninists" base their entire case on weapons. They don't even begin to take up the questions indicated by Lenin when he said that weapons are just the basis of tactics. Even more, they leave out any evaluation of what Mao Tsetung described as "man's conscious dynamic role in war."

Some of man's role we have already mentioned. The use of military forces is governed by strategic, operational and tactical theories, the laws for directing war that are determined by time, place and condition. In World War 2, for instance, a big contributor to early German successes was that they had grasped the great changes the tank had brought to the battlefield, had summed them up in an operational concept, *blitzkrieg*, and had an organizational embodiment of these concepts, the *panzer* division. It remained for other countries to grasp these changes and adapt to them. Today, NATO and the Warsaw Pact are operating with different theories, and it remains to be seen which of them is more correct than the other.

Something more important, and ignored by the OL and *Guardian*, is the role of the masses. In the purely military sense this truth is recognized by even the bourgeoisie, seen in the place infantry, the basic component of the masses in uniform, is given in the overall scheme of military theory. (Whatever else goes on in war, it is infantry and infantry only that can actually occupy ground. All other branches of arms merely supplement and aid the infantry in this task.) The role of the masses, in the political and military relations, must be the starting point of the working class' stand

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## Arms...

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towards war, and specifically, imperialist war.

The war plans of the superpowers are coldblooded calculations of geo-politics and murder on a mass scale. Their imperialist war aims have nothing in common with the interests of the masses of people. In his writings to strip war of its feudal misconceptions and place it on a bourgeois scientific basis Von Clausewitz pointed out that: "War is nothing but a duel on an extensive scale...an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfill our will." The will of the imperialists has nothing to do with "defending the people" or any other such nonsense they might cloak their war aims with, but rather with forcing the other superpower to concede a new division of the world, to give over parts of the empire to rival exploiters.

The superpowers' preparations for war are likewise an attack on the masses. They both build up the military machines at the same time as they try to whip up public opinion and prepare the masses for a holy crusade against "communism" (social-imperialism), or from the other side, imperialism, labelled as such. Because of the terrible destructiveness of modern weapons, not limited to nuclear weapons only, the imperialists' holy crusade is a march to slaughter.

While war between rival gangs of imperialists is inevitable and part of the imperialist system itself, by no means does this mean the masses can only kill or be killed as the cannon fodder or nuclear targets of the tiny handful to whom human life is just a commodity. The masses in uniform have always exerted a powerful effect on the outcome of wars. World War 1 is a good example. It too was an imperialist war where the people had no interests in supporting either side or in defending their own rulers. In 1916 the French Army was crippled because hundreds of thousands of soldiers refused to go on the offensive. This mutiny nearly destroyed French capital's dreams of eventual victory over the Kaiser. In 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution, with the rebellious remnants of the Russian army playing a major role, pulled Russia out of the war. And lastly, in 1918, Imperial Germany collapsed, before the final defeat of her armies at the front, because the soldiers, sailors, workers and peasants rose up. There are modern parallels to this: the U.S. Army's disintegration in Vietnam, despite all the most up-to-date weaponry, and the periodic mutinies aboard Soviet warships.

### World War and Revolution

In the face of momentum toward WW3 the masses of people in the U.S., the Soviet Union and within the countries of the two blocs can and must fight against every move of the superpowers that lead towards war, every move on the part of the lesser imperialists to aid this drive. If war breaks out this struggle continues, even if under more difficult conditions. The infantry that carries guns against the "enemy" superpower can also turn those guns around against their real enemy, "their own" bourgeoisie.

The destructiveness of nuclear weapons will be a sword the bourgeoisie will hang over the people's heads. "Follow us or else," the line will go, as if total unity with the U.S. bourgeoisie will prevent the New Czars from using their strategic forces. All moves towards the use of nuclear weapons must especially be opposed. In war, most likely the ruling classes will hold back their use, in hopes of winning without them. But if the war begins to go badly and they see no other chance for victory except through their use, they will not hesitate. The imperialists can cause great suffering but they cannot "end the world." As the Chinese comrades have profoundly pointed out: nuclear weapons will not destroy mankind, mankind will destroy nuclear weapons!

In the present world situation, the proletariat does not choose sides between superpowers. There is a third choice; revolution to overthrow these warmakers. Revolution is in the interests of the masses of people. The working class holds the tiny handful and their system alone responsible for imperialist war.

As long as imperialism exists there will be war. If the war looming on the horizon is not prevented, or if the war is not followed by proletarian revolution, there will be continuing contradictions among the imperialists, contradictions that will intensify and eventually lead to yet another world conflict. The working class has nothing to gain by "sitting this one out" through fear of nuclear weapons or siding with one gang of bandits or the other. By grasping the situation and exposing the imperialists for the grim reapers they are, the working class can lead the broad masses in struggle against preparations for war, imperialist war, and imperialism itself, overthrow these mass executioners and advance through socialism to communism, where the arsenals of the world can be scrapped, except for a few pieces to place in the museums where they will be historical curiosities of an era when mankind hadn't yet fully transcended barbarism. ■



These men and women have worked all their lives producing the riches of the capitalist class. They have a lifetime worth of hatred for their exploiters and much experience in struggle. Key to mobilizing against eviction was uniting with these sentiments and focusing their anger at the capitalists and their agents.

## I-Hotel...

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step by step toward the aim of proletarian revolution, educating the masses as to the nature of the enemy—open and disguised—and the long-term aim of the struggle, in the course of the actual battles." (*Revolution*, March 15, 1976)

While we constantly pointed out that back door negotiations with the politicians were not the way to fight and contrasted that dead-end method with our line of relying on and mobilizing the masses of people, we did not thoroughly and deeply explain the line we took out or what sections of people we saw as the main force.

Because we didn't explain how the opportunists' line actually aided the bourgeoisie, their class nature was not really exposed. This gave the opportunists a chance to come back and spread more illusions among the tenants.

Still, due to the work of the advanced in applying the mass line to mobilize the broad masses, the International Hotel became a focus of attention in the Chinatown area. As July 11 approached, everybody on the streets was talking about it. The rally drew over 400, showing the anger of the people against eviction. "No eviction! We won't move!" became a battle cry that shook the high and mighty. And the tremendous efforts of the veteran working class fighters not only contributed greatly to forming the Workers Committee, it also set the basic line and class character for the whole struggle.

### Struggle Intensifies

Weeks before the July 15 deadline to vacate the building, the Sheriff's Department started training deputies in riot control and weapons. Plainclothes spies were sent into the building. However, massive support, shown by the 5000 signatures on the petition, the successful July 11 rally, the controversy generated in the Chinatown community, the close media coverage, and the fact that *none* of the tenants moved out—all this forced the bourgeoisie to think twice about carrying out the eviction. Finally, on July 29, Mayor Moscone, who'd kept silent since the fight started, was forced to come out, announcing a "plan" for the City to buy the hotel through eminent domain, if the tenants guaranteed to buy back the building for \$1.3 million. The courts issued a temporary postponement of the eviction.

The eviction was temporarily stopped, and we had more time to build the fight. This was of course a great victory for the tenants and the masses. Yet, as the Dec. 15, 1975 mass line article points out, "Even where it is forced to make a concession in the practical struggle, the bourgeoisie will lay the basis for snatching it, and more, back." The "plan" immediately created confusion among the tenants and the masses. Again, as the same article says, "Where mass struggle wrings concessions from the capitalists, they try to picture this as a 'gift' from them." The bourgeoisie's sum-up was heavily promoted through the mass media and particularly by the opportunists. The advanced forces had to engage in daily combat with the idea that, "Everything will be fine from now on. The mayor's on our side."

We summed up these developments as a victory of

our struggle, not any gift. Moreover, we pointed out that the eviction order still stood and that "withdraw the eviction order now!" was still the key demand. This line and our efforts armed the masses, and the demand of withdrawing the eviction order was raised everywhere around the Bay Area. But we dismissed the mayor's plan as only a smokescreen and failed to discuss it any deeper. Lots of tenants saw us as totally opposed to the plan, and thus temporarily stepped back from participation in the Workers Committee's activities, again giving the opportunists a basis to come back and push the bourgeoisie's sum-up. (We will go in to this more later.)

At this same time, the bourgeoisie was busy preparing for further attacks. As far as the politicians, and especially Sheriff Hongisto, were concerned, their job was to protect the capitalists' drive for profit. They knew very well that the eviction wouldn't be easy. Therefore, they needed to lay as much groundwork as possible, trying to prepare public sentiment against the tenants and supporters. The bourgeoisie tried to isolate the fight as having nothing in common with the masses of people. For example, Sheriff Hongisto charged that the I-Hotel struggle was full of "violence-prone radicals," and called the building a "fleabag." The *Chinese Times*, a widely read daily newspaper in Chinatown, published an editorial condemning the struggle as being a bunch of "isolated sloganeers who manipulate the elderly for secretive purposes."

### Toe-to-Toe Battles

We met these attacks by challenging the bourgeoisie each step of the way, both in building concrete battles and in summing up the overall fight and each battle. A campaign to build support in industries and unions was launched by the May 1st Workers Organization (now called the United Workers Organization—Bay Area). Veteran fighters from the Workers Committee went together with members of M1WO to hold plant gate rallies, to speak in union and caucus meetings, and get workers to sign petitions and banners at hiring halls. Students and youth put out their own leaflets, mobilized for the demonstrations and, along with the workers, organized car caravans throughout the city to spread the word.

The bourgeoisie was on the offensive, but we took the opportunities to put them on the spot. A series of toe-to-toe battles began. We called a press conference exposing the police surveillance against hotel tenants and a lawsuit was filed. Hongisto's home was picketed. We launched a series of demonstrations at City Hall, jamming the mayor and the whole Sheriff's Department. All these activities created so much controversy that the press was forced to cover them. Within a few months, the International Hotel appeared almost daily in the media and became a household word throughout the Bay Area.

Because of the active participation of the advanced workers, the bourgeoisie's lies that "the fight was built by just a bunch of young radicals" was shattered. For instance, the Workers Committee, along with people from the presidential election night demonstration, cornered Hongisto at a Democrats' party for Carter's presidential campaign. He tried to spread his lies, shouting at us, "Are you a tenant? You don't look very elderly." Immediately, Hongisto came face-to-face with several veteran fighters who angrily stepped forward and demanded the withdrawal of the eviction order. He turned pale and fled.

After the *Chinese Times* slandered the struggle, the

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Workers Committee called a demonstration in front of the newspaper's offices, demanding a retraction. A delegation was sent inside to jam the editors. The youngest member of the delegation was in his sixties. The *Chinese Times* backed down immediately, printing a retraction and an apology, which was the first time the paper had ever been forced to do so. One veteran fighter summed it up well, "When I went into that office, I felt that there were thousands of people backing me up. That's why I had the courage to do it."

Under this kind of public pressure, and particularly the defeat of its slander offensive, the bourgeoisie backed down again. Hongisto returned the eviction order to the court unfulfilled and the eviction deadline was repeatedly postponed. The mayor's plan finally came up for approval. People were mobilized to demand that the city withdraw any roadblocks stopping action on the plan. Hundreds jammed the hearings on the plan by the Board of Supervisors and the Housing Authority, forcing them to pass it, a development that Moscone and the bourgeoisie never dreamed could happen when they first proposed it in July.

## Applying Dialectics to Struggle

Mao Tsetung said, "...If in any process there are a number of contradictions, one of them must be the principal contradiction playing the leading and decisive role, while the rest occupy a secondary and subordinate position." ("On Contradiction," Mao, *S.W.*, Vol. 1, p. 332) Up to this point, our analysis of the concrete situation proved to be correct—the eviction order was the principal contradiction, and our primary target was the sheriff and the mayor—jamming them into the corner of being unable to evict. The mayor's plan was a secondary target.

However, we failed to see that things change dialectically. Mao Tsetung noted, "But this situation is not static; the principal and the non-principal aspects of a contradiction transform themselves into each other and the nature of the thing changes accordingly." (Ibid, p. 333) And this applies to the relations between different contradictions as well—the principal can become non-principal, while a secondary contradiction yesterday can become principal today. We didn't foresee that once the sheriff and the eviction were stopped, the mayor's plan would come forward as the principal contradiction.

We had concentrated on the eviction order without adequately preparing the tenants and the broad masses with a correct understanding of the mayor's plan—why the plan itself represented a concession and an attack. The plan called for the city to use its power of eminent domain to purchase the hotel, but the fine print in the plan said that the tenants were required to buy back the hotel or else get evicted. Because the plan hadn't been thoroughly exposed, our demand that the City buy and keep the hotel for low-cost housing and a community center had not yet become a mass question. Failure to make the mayor's plan a mass question continues to be a problem even at the present time.

As always, when the bourgeoisie suffers a defeat it tries to lay the basis for attack. After the eviction was stopped and the plan approved, Hongisto was charged with contempt of court for not carrying out the eviction order. We thought that the trial only showed conflict among the bourgeoisie on how to handle the hotel issue. We didn't realize that, regardless of their own conflicts, the bourgeoisie was using the trial to push their summation of the struggle. With daily media coverage, Hongisto was paraded as the martyred "savior" of the tenants, while at the same time the message that the job must be done was also projected.

## Combatting Bourgeoisie's Maneuvers

As the December 15, 1975 mass line article pointed out, "They are forever bringing forward new politicians and other spokesmen, who pose as friends of the people in order to rob the masses of political initiative and independent action in their own interest..."

The capitalists' new tactic caught us off guard. It was two weeks before we realized that people were taken in by the media summation about Hongisto, the "nice guy," who got caught in a squeeze between the landlord and the tenants. Generally, the bourgeoisie had succeeded in winning public sympathy for the sheriff.

The March 15, 1976 mass line article describes such an error in this way: "...At a certain point the leading forces substituted their own 'good idea' for a scientific application of the mass line in determining the next step...the result was inevitably that the momentum built up was lost—at least temporarily—the initiative of the masses was dampened, the hand of the enemy was strengthened and the advanced forces became isolated." As we began to correct the error and expose the bourgeoisie's lies, it geared up for another eviction attempt.

One important lesson we learned in this period was the relationship between the subjective forces and the objective conditions. When the courts lifted the last eviction postponements in September, some thought that since the bourgeoisie had decided to evict, we couldn't stop it, that the best we could hope for would be to mobilize more people to come out to eviction day so that the ugly face of this system would be exposed. Some of us didn't grasp Mao Tsetung's saying in "Oppose Book Worship," that "...communists should create favorable new situations through struggle," and failed to understand that the objective conditions can be changed by the action of the subjective forces, by the Party members and the advanced workers, through making concrete analysis of the objective conditions and on that basis developing strategy and tactics to fight.

What were the objective conditions at that time? Support was being generated all over the Bay Area. Thousands of people wanted to fight to stop the eviction. Mayor Moscone was in hiding while Hongisto came out to the forefront. Most importantly, tenants were holding their ground and the advanced workers were in high spirits. We needed to pit our strength against the enemy's weakness and find a key spot to hit. In this case the key spot was the sheriff and the mayor. After we corrected this defeatist tendency and went all-out to mobilize people to hit this weak spot, the results were evident. The eviction order was stopped in November and the mayor's plan sailed through with City Hall's approval. The objective conditions had been changed tremendously due to the actions by the advanced, leading the masses of people.

## Correct Line, Correct Tactics Crucial

Because we temporarily departed from applying the mass line during Sheriff Hongisto's contempt of court trial, the bourgeoisie was able to put out its summation of the struggle unchallenged. Also, because opportunists worked overtime inside the hotel to spread the bourgeoisie's sum-up and the line of relying on the politicians, most of the tenants relaxed their guard against the eviction. At this point, the bourgeoisie decided that conditions were ripe for attack. The judge who issued the original eviction order demanded that it be enforced, whether or not the mayor's plan had been approved. Hongisto, the "hero," meekly went along.

On January 7, Sheriff Hongisto put Operation E-Day into gear, dispatching 20 deputies to post five-day eviction notices at the community centers and stores. Later, on January 10, Hongisto himself sneaked up to the hotel and posted eviction notices for the tenants. Tenants and hundreds of supporters had mobilized to block the posting, but now we were faced with preparing for the big battle ahead, the eviction itself. The bourgeoisie was looking for a crack in the organization, militance and discipline of the tenants and supporters.

At such a crucial moment, the leadership of the Party is most important. As Mao Tsetung pointed out, "In a situation when the class struggle is increasingly acute and is waged at close quarters, the proletariat has to depend for its victory entirely on the correct and firm tactics of struggle of its own Party..." ("Oppose Book Worship," *Selected Readings*, p. 46) How could we unite the tenants to fight the coming battle? Should we have joint actions with the opportunists who controlled the IHTA? In regards to correct tactics, the March 15, 1976 mass line article says, "Sometimes this means entering into some form of compromise or agreement with opportunists—and at other times it may mean refusing to enter into any such compromise or agreement. This depends on concretely and all-sidedly analyzing the actual situation, what the particular tactics of the enemy—including enemy agents within the ranks of the masses—are, how exposed they are, what the level of understanding of the masses is, etc."

In our situation, the opportunists still had a stranglehold on the Tenants Association, and the class nature of the opportunists had not been exposed. With the eviction showdown imminent, everyone raised a call for unity to defeat the eviction, including unity between the Workers Committee and the IHTA. Also, the bourgeoisie desperately looked for a crack between us and the IHTA. In this light, we decided on several joint actions with the IHTA.

In these joint actions also, whether or not we applied the mass line produced different results.

After Hongisto posted the eviction notices, the Workers Committee was able to arrange a meeting between Hongisto and the tenants as well as members of the Workers Committee. We wanted to jam Hongisto into stating whether he'd evict or not, putting more pressure on him and exposing his role. We applied the mass line in raising this action to the tenants and in turn received overwhelming support. At a IHTA meeting, the tenants pushed the demand for a joint action through the IHTA leadership and forced it to join the Workers Committee in meeting with Hongisto. The meeting itself was completely controlled by tenants and advanced workers. Tremendous pressure was on Hongisto, and everyone came out of the meeting with their heads held high. Opportunists had almost no role to play in that meeting, despite their presence; they were effectively prevented from playing a wrecking or conciliating role.

In another action, set on the day before the final eviction date, we proposed marching into the Board of Supervisors meeting in City Hall (since the mayor had fled town) to demand that they take a stand and stop the eviction. Due to a lack of time and not applying the mass line, we didn't raise this action to the tenants. Only the leadership of the IHTA, mostly opportunists, were consulted. The opportunists failed to mobilize the people they had promised, leaving us with a smaller force. When we stormed the Board of Supervisors meeting, these opportunists fled, leaving the people vulnerable to attack.

## Fight Grows More Powerful

Because of the toe-to-toe battle we had waged over the preceding six months and the constant mass work being done among the working people of the Bay Area, and due to the urgency of the situation, a qualitative leap occurred in the level of support for the struggle. The Workers Committee initiated organized action and focused the mass outrage. Following the posting of eviction notices, City Hall was flooded with protest letters and angry phone calls. In the last days before the eviction deadline, two immense demonstrations were held, joint actions called by the IHTA and the Workers Committee, totalling over 7500 participants. The fight for the International Hotel had become a powerful social movement. At the last minute, the authorities backed down, temporarily calling off the eviction (see *Revolution*, January 1977).

Not only did the fight develop into a tremendous movement, but the masses' understanding of the fight also went through great changes. The questions, "Can we unite? Can we win?" which had hung over people's heads, now were replaced with questions about how to carry the fight through. People who passed by the hotel now asked, "How is the fight now? I thought you guys won already!" Also, the mass understanding of the government's role had advanced compared to half a year before, even though the bourgeoisie had launched its ideological offensive, putting forward its sum-up time and time again.

The December 15, 1975 mass line article says that, "In order to determine the road forward and advance through the roadblocks on this path, the working class, and its Party, need not one experience, or a few, but repeated experience," and that it is a question of "...the masses of people struggling to change the world and in the process learning more about it, and the laws governing it, in order to change it further...and on, in an endless spiral." The article goes on to say, "Regardless of anyone's will, and regardless of the lying propaganda of the bourgeoisie and the influence of its ideology... the laws of capitalism assert themselves." The rich need to evict in their drive for profits, and the government needs to do its job for the rich. Despite Moscone's and Hongisto's attempts to come off as the nice guys, the saviors of the International Hotel tenants, the masses saw that they still tried to carry out the eviction. Through their own experience and our summation of it the masses saw more clearly the nature of these different bourgeois forces and of the bourgeois state. However, more work needs to be done to enable people to understand this more deeply.

Like always, right after the bourgeoisie is forced to swallow defeat, as in this eviction battle, it tries to lay the groundwork for future attacks. On one hand, the capitalists branded the hotel tenants and supporters as "terrorists" and cried that "law and order" was being subverted, in order to discredit the fight. On the other hand, the opportunist spokesmen for the bourgeoisie who had burrowed into the IHTA, in order to hold on to their positions over the tenants, were forced to adopt our slogans and demands, but cut the essence out of them.

Where before, they never mobilized to stop the eviction order, relying totally on the politicians, now these opportunists shouted "Stop the Eviction Order!" They had cheered for the mayor's plan, with all of its conditions, when the mayor first laid it out. Now, they timidly hinted around that the tenants would not pay the city back for the building, but still they tried to keep the tenants in the dark, in order to give full freedom to the politicians to "help" the tenants.

The fight of the International Hotel is still on. The eviction order still stands. With the Party's leadership, support for the struggle is being built still broader and more actively in the working class, while in the Chinese and Filipino community, work is being done to unite even more people around the stand of the International Hotel tenants, including others as well as workers who have been hit by the bourgeoisie's frantic drive for real estate profits in this district. Moreover, in the Chinatown-Manilatown community, a wave of housing struggle is surging forward as a result of the International Hotel fight. Tenants in several nearby buildings, learning from the I-Hotel, are waging rent strikes to fight rent hikes, deteriorating conditions and evictions. Chinatown will never be the same again!

The International Hotel struggle has given the working class a small taste of the tremendous power it has, a sense of what can be accomplished when it unites to fight the enemy. One city worker, a bus driver, said it well, "When our class unites and moves, the system will tumble. We can turn things upside down!" ■

# Rights Ploy...

Continued from page 1

detente, as a club against the USSR. Carter is violating all the bourgeois diplomatic rules of the game by issuing proclamations on the internal affairs of other countries, not because he is concerned about the rights of the people there, but because interfering in affairs within the Soviet bloc is exactly what he's up to, and he wants both the Soviet rulers and some of those who've given them trouble to know it.

This is not a break with the policy of detente because detente has always been a form of contention between the superpowers as well as a smokescreen to hide their contention. Each side has sought to use detente to make arrangements advantageous to its own interests. For instance, in the Helsinki Agreements, the USSR got a "guarantee" of the permanence of the borders of the countries in its bloc in Eastern Europe and the prospects of more trade with the West. The U.S., in addition to loads of propaganda about how it seeks peace, got a provision about how both sides would respect "human rights." Almost immediately after Helsinki, Ford announced that the U.S. didn't consider itself bound to honor the provisions on borders, and the expected trade breaks with the U.S. have yet to materialize for the USSR. Now, with a meeting to sum up the implementation of the Helsinki Agreements set for June in Belgrade, the U.S. is going all out to get the maximum advantage from the provisions on "human rights."

For several years now, especially since the recent events in Angola, both superpowers have made it clear that while they're interested in continuing the charade of detente, this game doesn't mean that either side has to restrict its attacks on the other. A year ago, in defending the Soviet-backed Cuban invasion of Angola, Brezhnev declared that detente "doesn't abolish the laws of class struggle" (which Brezhnev uses as a "socialist" cover for imperialist intervention). Now Carter has echoed that statement with his own declarations that detente doesn't mean the U.S. will abandon its stand as the main defender of "human rights" in the world. In both cases, these are justifications for driving towards world domination, both within and aside from detente.

In order to expand its power and influence, the USSR has long tried to take advantage of the main weakness facing the U.S. imperialists—the fact that they are so widely exposed and hated in so much of the globe, especially in the countries of the Third World. Now the U.S. is showing that turnabout is fair play. While for years the USSR made hay by denouncing the U.S.'s open support for reactionary dictatorships such as Chile and South Korea, now the U.S. is hitting the USSR in its weak point—the fascist nature of the USSR and the outrage that Soviet occupation and plunder of Eastern Europe has stirred up everywhere.

But there is more to Carter's crusade than just trying to regain the ground the U.S. ruling class has lost among the masses of people in this country because of Vietnam and other well-known crimes, and more than a general attempt to win over public opinion for U.S. imperialism in its confrontation with the USSR. It is also a calculated attempt to cause problems for the USSR within its bloc, to "destabilize" Eastern European governments and stir up trouble within the USSR itself—not in order to help the Eastern European peoples throw off their oppressors but to gain advantage for the U.S.

## Who Is Sakharov?

The choice of exactly which dissidents Carter considers worthy of support makes this point very clear. The Soviet people, especially the workers and the minority nationalities once again oppressed by the new capitalist class, have rebelled against these rulers in a million ways, including strikes and mass demonstrations, and every indication is that this trend is growing. But the physicist Sakharov, whom Carter has made the special object of his attention, has openly put as much distance as possible between himself and the masses of people in the USSR. In an autobiographical essay published in the *New York Review of Books*, he says, "What we need is the systematic defense of human rights and ideals and not a political struggle, which would inevitably incite people to violence, sectarianism and frenzy." His position in Soviet society—which was indicated by the fact that he went to pick up Carter's letter at the American embassy in his chauffeured limousine—explains why Sakharov doesn't want to rock the boat too much or see an end to capitalism in the USSR, which is the source of the oppression and misery of the masses of Soviet people.

But what makes him especially attractive to the U.S. is that, because his opposition to the Soviet capitalist ruling class is bourgeois, he has openly staked his fortunes on help from the U.S. Evidence of this, aside from Sakharov's letters to Carter saying that his future, and that of bitter dissidents in the USSR like him, de-



Candidate Carter sanctimoniously condemned the Nixon-Ford administration's overthrow of Allende and blamed them for repression in Chile. President Carter, however, denied any U.S. involvement and, while "criticizing" "certain abuses of human rights," denied the fact that the Chilean butchers headed by Pinochet (center) were placed in power by the U.S.

pend on Carter's help, is the fact that Sakharov is a leading figure behind the Group for Assistance to the Fulfillment of the Helsinki Agreement, a private Soviet organization with branches in several cities whose purpose is to aid the U.S. in collecting material to denounce the USSR at the upcoming Belgrade meeting on Helsinki.

This Belgrade meeting has become the rallying point for those "dissidents" throughout the Soviet bloc who see the way forward coming from U.S. intervention. Probably the most active bunch of this kind of dissident intellectuals is in Czechoslovakia, where recently 500 people openly signed and distributed a manifesto called Charter 77, which lists Czech government violations of the Helsinki Agreement on freedom of expression, education, speech, the freedom to get Western periodicals, etc.

Certainly Carter remembers well the challenge to Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe which arose in Czechoslovakia in 1968. In the name of liberalization, the Czech Communist Party, which long ago abandoned communism, tried to defuse the popular resentment and discontent by giving the regime a more democratic front, while keeping the workers exploited by the system of state capitalism. Led by Party boss Alexander Dubcek, they sought to achieve some independence from Soviet military and economic domination by cozying up to the U.S. and Western European imperialists.

Their efforts were crushed by Soviet tanks, justified by Brezhnev's doctrine of "limited sovereignty," which says that whatever goes on in Eastern Europe is the internal affair of the USSR. Still, the Soviet invasion was a big setback for the USSR because it revealed to millions of people the real nature of Soviet social-imperialism, as well as giving more force to the Western imperialists' anti-Soviet propaganda.

This Czech opposition is far from dead. Many of the leaders of the Charter 77 group were top party leaders under Dubcek. Dubcek himself, now biding his time as a minor official, didn't dare publicly come out in favor of the document, but when asked about it by an American reporter, a friend of Dubcek pointed out that at 55 Dubcek is still a young man and still has hopes of ending up on top again.

While the Charter group, according to Western press reports, doesn't have much of a following among the masses of people, and Czechoslovakia is unlike other Eastern European countries such as Poland, where resistance to the new capitalist rulers and their Soviet bosses has recently exploded in militant mass action (which U.S. capitalists fear as much as they hope to use it), still it is Czechoslovakia to which the U.S. rulers look most hopefully for an opening into the Soviet bloc. This was put out in the open by British Prime Minister James Callaghan, who said that he wholeheartedly agreed with Carter on human rights and the USSR, but that the U.S. should carefully consider its options if another anti-Soviet upsurge in Czechoslovakia leads to a repeat of the 1968 Soviet invasion, and the U.S. is faced with putting up or shutting up in terms of becoming involved militarily. The French government's response also made it clear that Carter's talk about supporting "human rights" behind Soviet lines is a step towards more open confrontation—a step towards war.

## Using Trade as a Weapon

Of course, the U.S. isn't limiting its attempts to weaken the Soviet bloc to human rights talk. The extensive loans and trade arrangements opened between the Western imperialists and the USSR and Eastern Europe in the last few years is increasingly giving the U.S. bloc another weapon to use—the threat of cutting off this flow if the USSR fails to meet demands. If Western loans and trade were cut off, great dislocations would result throughout the USSR and its bloc.

For the Eastern European countries dominated by the USSR, this Western trade is also a more and more attractive carrot as well as a stick. In the case of Poland, for instance, its debt for Western loans and credit is huge and growing larger every day, while Czechoslovakia, which so far has conducted only about 30% of its trade with the West, is expected to seek to increase that amount as Czechoslovakia's economy slips deeper into trouble in a crisis which to varying degrees has hit the whole capitalist world.

These loans and credits are a two-edged sword, and

the USSR uses these agreements to make inroads into Western capitalist circles and to further its military preparations. While the Western imperialists hope to profit by loans and credits politically as well as economically, there is nothing like war to cancel debts and no way short of war that these debts can be collected if the debtors so decide.

The case of Cuba shows how both Carter's "human rights" talk and the use of trade as promoted by Kissinger are both weapons from the same detente bag of tricks. In removing the ban on American travel to Cuba in the name of correcting an American violation of the "human right" to travel, Carter is guilty of neither sincerity nor of being "hard" on the USSR and "soft" on Cuba. Rather, it's generally been said in the bourgeois press that Carter's gesture is expected to grease the way for the reestablishment of trade between the two countries, which the U.S. embargoed years ago in anger over losing its plantations and its colonial robbery of the island. By moving towards reestablishment of trade, Carter is not only moving to recognize the reality of the embargo's failure to recapture Cuba for the U.S., he is also trying to establish conditions in which the U.S. would regain some leverage on Cuba's government and create the best possible climate for splits and divisions in the Soviet camp.

## Ethiopia, Argentina

Even Carter's attempts to throw the question of "human rights" in other countries into the pot to hide what he's doing from the American people shows that it's mainly superpower contention that he's up to. Far from being unrelated to the USSR, the government of Ethiopia which Carter cut off from aid with the excuse of "human rights" has recently been flirting heavily with the Soviet Union, and so have important forces within the Argentinian regime. The cuts in military aid are both an attempt to bring these governments back into line and a warning to other governments not to try to "shop around" for superpower support.

If further proof of Carter's hypocrisy and real purpose is necessary, all that's needed is to consider the case of South Korea. Carter admitted that this reactionary dictatorship (which couldn't last a week without U.S. support) might not be very nice, but he defended continued American backing on the grounds of South Korea's strategic importance. Later a Carter aide made the same point about aid to the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines.

As the crowning touch on this emperor's new clothes, about the same time Carter was carrying on about how the "human rights" issue was going to "restore the force of morality to American diplomacy," Carter tried to pressure the *Washington Post* to not publish its exposure of the U.S. government's practice of paying large bribes to heads of state like Jordan's King Hussein and pro-U.S. politicians like Willy Brandt of West Germany. When that failed and the story got out, Carter ended up defending the practice on the grounds of "national interests" and said that since there's no U.S. law against it he wouldn't promise that this tactic would be stopped.

This "human rights" charade would have been totally impossible just a little while ago, while the U.S. was waging its hated war in Indochina and the memory of all the shooting and other repression the government unleashed against the Black and antiwar movements was more fresh in people's minds. In fact, the daily experience of millions of people in this country, especially minority peoples, makes Carter's whole high-flying crusade a bitter joke. The whole question of "rights," even bourgeois-democratic rights (which don't include the right to be free of exploitation and the exploiting class' rule) is a dangerous banner to raise in the midst of deepening crisis and growing mass struggle. These factors within the U.S., as well as the fact that if the USSR is too badly beaten in the game of detente they might just stop playing, all add up to the real possibility that the "human rights" issue might not be the most permanent or important weapon in the U.S. detente arsenal.

But either way, the whole "human rights" flap shows that an arsenal of weapons is exactly what detente is—and it shows how, under the cover of detente, the contention between the superpowers is moving in the direction of a resolution by force. ■

# Steel...

Continued from page 2

—struggle and debate goes on among the workers about what the road forward for them is at a given time. The debate about who to vote for, or whether or not to vote at all, often revolves around how the candidates line up around the struggles being waged and whether the workers can advance *their* interests by supporting one or another of the candidates.

As the elections approached in the steel industry much of this discussion went on daily among steel workers in the mills, shanties and locker rooms around what the state of things were in the industry—and to some degree where things are headed in the country as a whole. Among thousands of steel workers, Abel was an infamous figure. He and his machine had done everything they could to sabotage the struggle of steel workers against the companies. The ENA, the productivity committees, the dues increases, denying the right of ratification to workers in basic, the signing of the consent decree, which took the struggle that the workers were waging against discrimination and attempted to turn it back on the workers themselves—these things to a large degree began to turn I.W. Abel into a symbol for thousands—a symbol of how the companies have taken over the union through gangsters at the top. He was a symbol that concentrated all the abuses and attacks directed at steel workers and gave them visible expression in a union leadership that went so far as to even do advertisements for the largest steel company in the United States, U.S. Steel, saying that workers had to put out more for the very companies that were robbing and attacking them daily and literally killing large numbers of workers every year.

## Election Questions Based on Key Battles

The role that these policies of the Abel machine played wasn't just discussed by the workers in the abstract, but in terms of how they affected the conditions and the battles that the steel workers themselves were fighting. The massive layoffs that had been coming down in steel over the last couple of years, while jobs were being combined and eliminated; the harassment and abuse coming down on the steel workers daily on the shop floor from management; the continuing deaths and disabling injuries and the discrimination against minority workers in the plants and mills—the struggle around these key issues and the way to break through on them was the subject of that debate as the election approached.

In the past couple of years there has been the beginning of an upsurge among steel workers. Some of the bigger mills around the country have seen wildcats for the first time in years, over the job combinations, forced overtime, safety and harassment. Where whole plants didn't go out, departments and crews walked out, refusing to go along with the productivity drives that were costing them more jobs each day. In many parts of the country rank and file organizations and caucuses have sprung up, fighting to defend the interests of the workers in the daily attacks they face at the hands of the steel industry. While many of these organizations and caucuses have been short-lived and some geared to or taken over by office seekers, others have continued to spring up, with the steel workers driven by necessity to band together and organize in the face of the assaults being launched by the companies. A number of these organizations have stayed together, and are beginning to grow in numbers as well as in influence.

While the struggle of the steel workers has been intensifying, until recently it was still being conducted mainly on a local scale. As elections approached, this local by local struggle began to change as well. Steel workers, especially the more active, began, much more, to look at things from a national perspective—began to see more clearly how their own experience fit in with what was going on around the country. And as this happened, workers saw much more sharply the need to build unity and organization with workers from other mills and plants.

It was this situation and these conditions that helped give rise to the Sadlowski campaign. Any candidate that was serious about challenging the Abel machine was forced to deal with the issues that the steel workers were fighting and beginning to organize around, and Sadlowski was no exception.

## "A Step...And Not the Final Goal"

It was this same situation which made it a necessity for the rank and file to take up these elections and provided the possibility for advancing the movement of the rank and file by correctly taking them up. *The Steelworker*, a national rank and file newsletter in the steel industry, called on steel workers across the country to support the Sadlowski campaign, pointing out that the rank and file could utilize the elections as a vehicle to bust up the Abel-McBride machine, and make important advances for the demands steel workers were

fighting the companies around. "We must look at these campaigns from the point of putting more power in the hands of the rank and file and as a step in the development of the struggle and not as the final goal," the editorial in *The Steelworker* said.

*The Steelworker* constantly pointed out throughout the course of the election campaign that steel workers could not rely on Sadlowski to bring about the necessary changes that the steel workers were fighting for. To expect that just getting Sadlowski in office would make the changes would be to disarm the rank and file, reducing it to little more than a pressure group on Sadlowski. Far from making advances in taking matters into their own hands, this would have taken the initiative out of the hands of the rank and file and would have actually been a setback in the struggle.

Taking all these conditions into account, critical support was the correct course—in both its aspects, both support and criticism. The fact that the Abel machine had become a symbol of hatred and contempt, the fact that the struggle and organization of the steel workers was experiencing a resurgence, that Sadlowski's campaign was forced to speak to many of the key demands steel workers were fighting around, that workers were looking beyond what was going on only in their local, and were beginning to look at things from a national perspective and that many of the active and advanced workers saw the opportunities presented by the elections and the need to take it out broadly—all these things taken together made it correct and necessary to take up the election in this manner.

These specific conditions taken separately or together don't comprise a checklist or a magic formula for taking up union elections. Each case has to be taken up based on the specific situation existing in the industry. It is important to look at these conditions all-sidedly and deeply to arrive at a correct understanding of how to lead the struggle forward and what role, if any, a particular election can play in that, either by running or supporting a particular candidate, or by other means—jamming up the candidates, organizing a boycott, etc.

## Struggle Over Campaign

This was especially true and necessary in examining Sadlowski himself and the campaign that was run by the various Fight Back committees he set up around the country. For, while he was forced to speak to the struggle that was going on among the steel workers, his campaign tended to limit the role of the workers to button wearers and poll watchers. While paying a lot of lip service to the necessity of the workers to run things and putting the union back in the hands of the rank and file, in practice this meant abandoning all other struggles and concentrating *only* on the election. As far as after the election was concerned, Sadlowski would tell people at rallies and meetings, "You guys be sure to keep your foot up my butt"—in other words remain at Sadlowski's tail and be a pressure group. Because Sadlowski operated with this kind of outlook, certain bourgeois forces promoted him—some disgruntled reformers in order to get a seat on the bandwagon and others because they see the handwriting on the wall and the need to try to mislead the workers' struggle—although many more capitalist forces, including the steel companies themselves, went all-out against Sadlowski.

## Focus on Demands and Battles

What does taking up the elections in a way to put more power in the hands of the rank and file mean? What did it mean in this case to utilize the elections as a vehicle to bust up the Abel-McBride machine and make important advances in the demands being fought around and in the organization of the steel workers? There was much learned around this and advances made in the course of the Sadlowski election. And the answers to these questions revealed themselves very sharply in the struggle between taking up the elections

from the above viewpoint and taking them up from the stand that said what was decisive were the two contenders and not the workers themselves.

First of all it means that the campaign must focus on the demands and battles that the workers are waging, and do so in a way that furthers these battles themselves and releases initiative around the elections as part of these battles instead of leading the workers to hold up their struggles and wait for the outcome of the election. Such was the case with the struggle around Local 3059 in Alliance, Ohio which was put into receivership by the International for being too militant. As the election campaign started to go into gear, the question came up, should the rank and file attempt to take this battle on now, or should things be limited to just pointing out that being in receivership was another reason to vote for Sadlowski and that the workers in Alliance should pin their hopes on Sadlowski winning, and after his victory he would take the local out of receivership.

Members and leaders of 3059 were determined to fight and the forces around *The Steelworker* decided that the times demanded that steel workers take action on this matter. At the same time forces leading the Fight Back committees were reluctant to act. Some supported it generally, while refusing to commit themselves to any specific action. In Chicago, a national spokesman for the Sadlowski campaign told workers that the fight to free Local 3059 wasn't that important and they had too much to do around the elections. All he could say was that Sadlowski himself was opposed to the local being in receivership and that things would be different when Sadlowski won.

A demonstration was held at the USWA's International Headquarters in Pittsburg demanding to free Local 3059. The demonstration rocked Pittsburg and police attacked the picket line and march in an effort to stop it. As a result of the demonstration and other actions, Local 3059 was freed two weeks later, as Abel and Co. recognized the explosiveness of the situation. But the demonstration and the fight around the Alliance, Ohio local drew things out sharper and released the initiative of the workers in Alliance and Pittsburg, and also encouraged people in other places that heard about it, to take up the fight to bust the Abel machine.

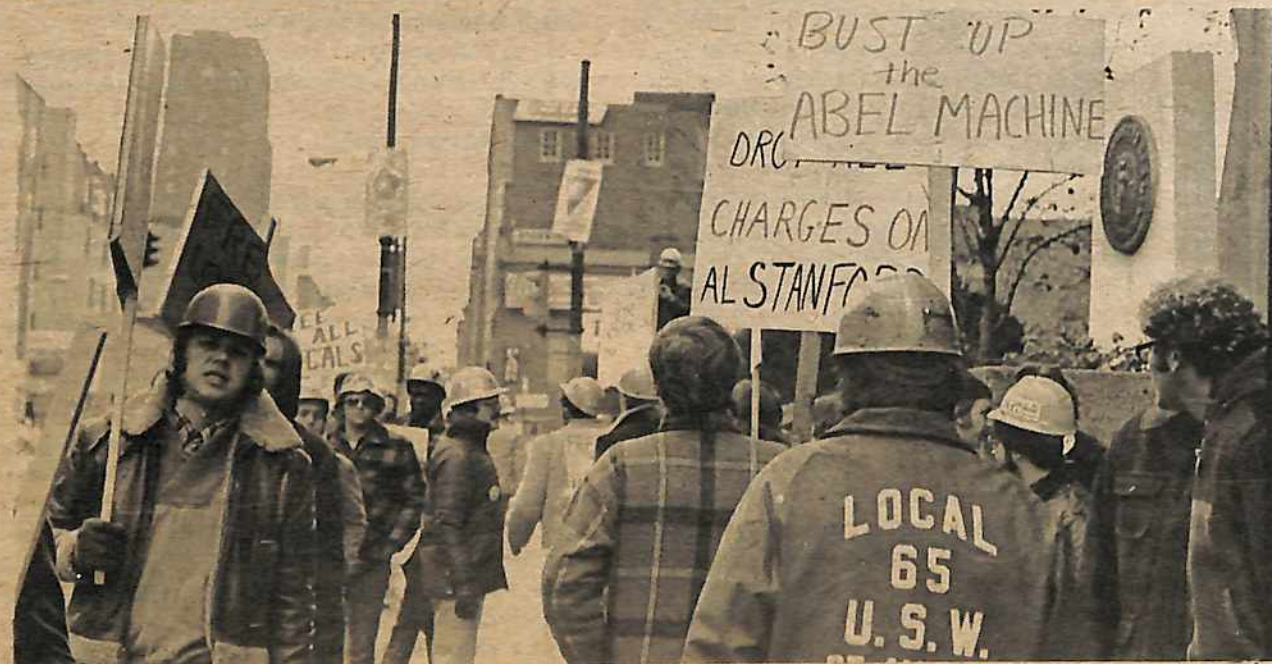
Other, similar examples were true in other locals around the country in battles around health and safety, job combinations and plant closings, like the takeover of Star Sprinkler by the workers there in the fight to stop the plant from closing. The takeover itself occurred a couple of days after the elections—but the workers there, as well as some people around *The Steelworker*, took up the battle and made plans around it during the final push around the elections.

These examples point out, not that the elections themselves weren't an important battle, or that they should only be treated as an "after thought" to other struggles, but that at all times the election campaign must be put in the context of the battles that are going on between the workers and the capitalists.

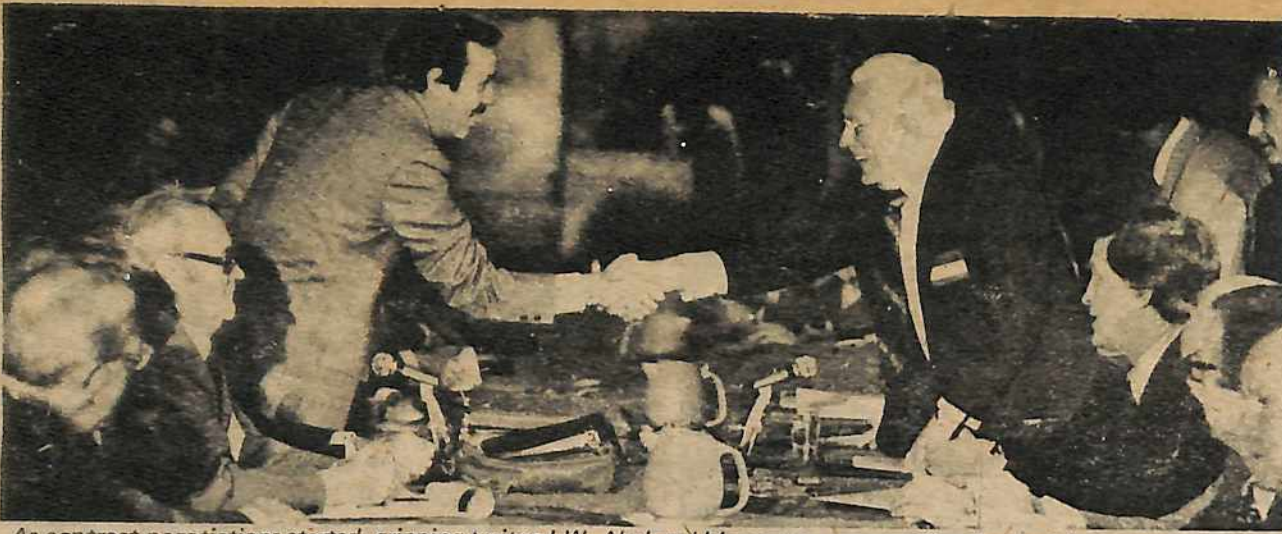
This approach to the elections was opposed by some people, particularly some leaders of various Fight Back committees around the country, who said that it was too radical and would alienate some of the less active workers. This led to a lot of sharp struggle within the Fight Back committees around the country.

In Cleveland, for example, the people who headed up the committee tried to ban *The Steelworker* from participating in Fight Back. One trade union hack heading up the committee said, "This is Eddie's campaign not yours. This door swings both ways," meaning that if these people just wanted to follow orders and pass out stickers and buttons, fine—maybe there would even be a union position or two for them—but if they didn't go along with that they could get out. This caused a very heated debate, especially since several of the workers came into the committee as a result of work done with *The Steelworker*. One of them got up and exclaimed, "What is this stuff about the door swings both ways? It sounds to me like there's some

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While Sadlowski refused to deal with the issue of Abel's takeover of Local 3059 in Alliance, Ohio because it wasn't "relevant" to his campaign, rank and file forces around *The Steelworker* saw it as a key battle. They took their demand straight to International offices in Pittsburg.



As contract negotiations started, grinning traitor I.W. Abel and his partner representing the steel bosses warmly greet one another. But Abel wasn't grinning during the recent election campaign marked by rank and file struggle. The growth of that movement and organization against his sellout plans will soon wipe the smiles off their despicable faces.

## Steel...

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creeping Abelism coming into the Sadlowski campaign."

In Chicago, when workers raised the necessity to organize a demonstration with Abel or McBride coming to town, a leader of Fight Back proclaimed, "The only demonstration we're concerned with is the one of February 8th" (the day of the election). The reasoning behind this was that these type of actions are too militant and might turn off potential voters. But instead what was happening was that some of the more active workers were getting turned off because of the unwillingness of Fight Back to do much more than make promises about how things would be different in the future. These workers, and their activity in the plants and mills in taking the election campaign out to their fellow workers was crucial in turning out a large vote for Sadlowski. While most of them voted for Sadlowski anyway, they lost much of their initiative and enthusiasm in going out broadly in the plants and struggling with other workers about why it was necessary to support Sadlowski.

The outlook Ed Sadlowski carried into the election campaign revealed itself sharply in a number of instances. One of these instances was the signing of the Consent Decree with Inland Steel in Chicago by Sadlowski and Balanoff, local president at Inland and Sadlowski candidate for District 31 Director, which was opposed by many of the workers. Many remembered the promises made by Sadlowski and Balanoff never to sign an agreement without first taking it to the membership. McBride then attempted to come out to Inland and align himself with the workers who were picketing the plant calling Balanoff and Sadlowski "sellouts," while never mentioning the fact that McBride himself was part of the leadership that signed the Consent Decree with nine other companies in 1974.

Sharp debate broke out among the advanced forces that were backing Sadlowski's campaign as to how to relate to this. Some felt that it had to be ignored, or at most called a mistake. If Sadlowski were sharply criticized, they reasoned, then the workers wouldn't vote for him. Others saw things quite differently. Supporting Sadlowski for president could not take precedence over the struggles being waged by steel workers, and, far from turning workers off to the campaign, it provided a real basis for uniting people around taking up the campaign from a stronger position—that it was the rank and file that was the decisive force, and that while it was important to bust the Abel-McBride machine, the signing of the Consent Decree showed more clearly that workers couldn't pin their hopes on Sadlowski to turn things around. Only the workers themselves could do that. Further, while supporting the campaign, the workers should take up the struggle against the Consent Decree itself, which in the name of fighting discrimination allows the companies to continue discriminating while at the same time allowing the companies to attack seniority.

Another sharp example was the now infamous statements that Sadlowski made in an interview in *Penthouse* magazine on the question of automation and loss of jobs. Basically Sadlowski negated the fight that has to go on around the thousands of jobs lost to automation and said that the workers displaced by automation from the coke ovens and other hellholes could just go out and become doctors and lawyers. Of course what was missing from what he said is that under the profit system the workers are forced to pay for technology and are a million times more likely to become unemployed than doctors or lawyers.

Of course, McBride put out statements saying that if Sadlowski were elected he would go along with job eliminations. Coming from a machine that did literally nothing in the face of literally hundreds of thousands of jobs lost in previous years, McBride's position on job eliminations could be hit easily, but Sadlowski's statements had to be fought as well. These things pointed to the necessity of criticizing

Sadlowski whenever what he put out and did went up against the interests of the masses. Where this wasn't done, or wasn't done well enough, the campaign suffered from it. Where it was done well, people got better armed and more united.

The Milwaukee Fight Back committee is a good example. Milwaukee has no basic steel, and judging by the results around the rest of the country, would figure to deliver the vote to McBride. But the Fight Back committee there was led by people involved with *The Steelworker*, and also workers who were members of the United Workers Organization, an organization made up of workers from various industries in Milwaukee to take up the fight against all oppression.

In taking out the campaign, the workers in Milwaukee put out the need for steel workers to get themselves organized to fight the companies, and dealt with the Sadlowski campaign as a step to be better able to do that. They organized plant gate rallies and demonstrations when McBride tried to slip into town. They continued to fight around the battles that were going on daily in the plants while at the same time bringing out the need to bust the Abel machine and support the Sadlowski campaign. And even though the election took place in a non-basic district, Sadlowski defeated McBride in Milwaukee and the way the Fight Back committee operated there was one important reason.

### Advancing Interests of Working Class

But even though Sadlowski would have done better in the vote with a more correct approach to the campaign, this is not the fundamental point. As important as defeating the Abel machine was, it does not stand above advancing the interests of steel workers and the whole working class in their battle against the rule of capital and the dictates of capitalist labor lieutenants like Abel. Even if, in some cases, Sadlowski might have lost votes by challenging more directly the attacks by the companies and the union officials, for the rank and file that can not be the sole or even primary standard by which this election campaign is judged. Much more central to judging the elections are questions such as how much knowledge, experience and strength did the workers actually gain in arming themselves to better deal with the bosses and their agents. To what extent did the rank and file make advances in taking things into its own hands and in building unity and organization with other members of their class? To what extent did steel workers view the elections in the context of the battles being waged today throughout the country against the same class that owns the mills?

All these questions bring out the necessity for the



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*The Programme of the RCP summarizes the present situation facing the working class in its struggle and points the road forward. It is a concentration of the Party's basic aims, strategy and tasks as the Party of the working class. It sets forth to the working class the goal of its struggle—revolution, socialism and ultimately communism—and the means to achieve this historic goal. It is a guide to action.*

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advanced forces to not restrict the struggle that goes on around the elections to the confines of Fight Back or any other caucus set up for the purpose of electing someone to union office. While it is important to unite with the rank and file workers active in such organizations, and raise their level of consciousness, if the struggle is left there the broad masses of workers will not be sufficiently armed and able to advance.

One of the advances gained in the course of the work done by advanced forces in the Sadlowski campaign was that key issues—the ENA, the right to ratify contracts, etc.—were dragged out into the open and widely and sharply debated. At the heart of these issues is the question of whether the line of "company-union cooperation" promoted by Abel and McBride is the way forward for steel workers, or whether the Abel machine has been digging the workers' grave with this line and the policies that go with it. While the question is far from resolved among the broad numbers of steel workers, as the results of the elections show, still a lot of workers came to see that the only thing steel workers can do is fight the companies every inch of the way.

Some broader social questions also came up in the election because of the way the campaign itself brought class forces to line up. While some Democratic Party politicians and their wealthy backers encouraged Sadlowski to run, increasingly the majority of the capitalists and their henchmen came out against Sadlowski, not because they particularly feared him or the brand of unionism he espouses, but because of what the campaign became for the rank and file and the encouragement that breaking up the Abel machine would have given other workers who find themselves shackled by business unionism.

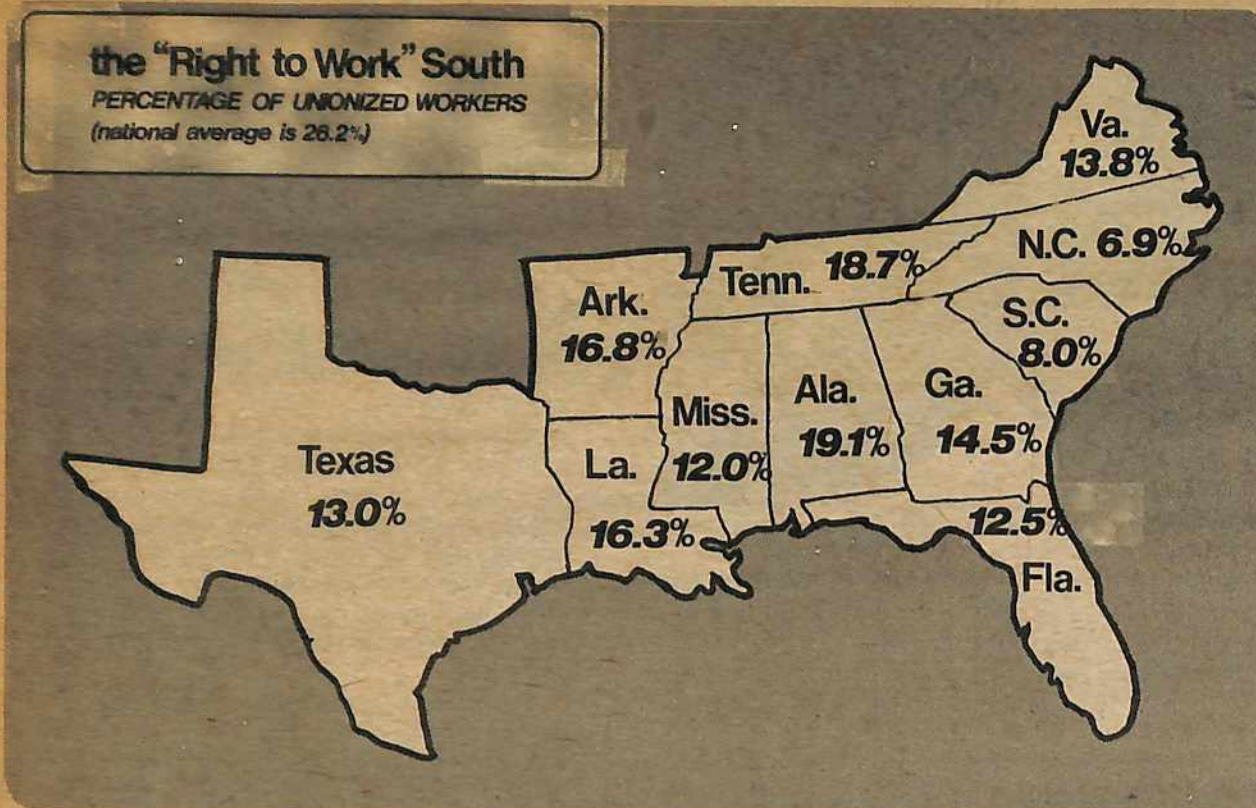
This is what George Meany, the big frog in the AFL-CIO, had in mind when he blasted Sadlowski for being a threat to "trade unionism." Similar statements followed from Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers and Murray Finley of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers—and support for the Abel machine came in the form of \$\$\$\$ as well as words. Not only capitalist mouthpieces like the *Wall Street Journal*, but even open company representatives like Vice President J. Bruce Johnstone of U.S. Steel came out to defend their man Abel. At the same time, the steel elections had a different meaning for workers in other industries all over the country. Many watched the USWA election and drew their own parallels between the situation there and in their own unions, built through great sacrifice and struggle by the workers, and now taken over by company men getting fat on the union payroll.

In taking this up, the committees formed in various areas that were united around *The Steelworker* pointed to how sides were lining up around the questions steel workers face, and how when things start getting hot workers go up against more than the company and/or the company men who run the union, but up against a whole class of owners whose power extends throughout society. As workers came forward to grasp that, it was also pointed out how steel workers had to join with other workers, fusing their strength with that of the working class in general, to take up battles not only in their own industry but also throughout society.

On this basis, not only the understanding but also the organization of steel workers grew in scope. Area-wide steel workers organizations were founded in the Chicago-Gary area and the Cleveland-Northeast Ohio area in large part off the successes of work in the Sadlowski campaign as well as other work such as the Local 3059 demonstration and other local actions. In the East Coast the campaign, handled in this way, provided the first opportunity in a long time for workers from different plants and different divisions of the union to discuss their common struggle and unite in battle.

It was off of these advances and the growth of *The Steelworker* as a pole of resistance among steel workers nationally that rank and file steel workers were able to pull off their picket line in Washington, D.C. as the contract talks between the USWA and ten big steel companies began February 14 (see March *Revolution*). This demonstration and the meeting of steel workers that followed it are the opening shots of a campaign to make this contract into a real battle and mobilize the rank and file to fight for their interests. The fact that there is a possibility of turning what is usually a signed, sealed and delivered sellout into a battlefield in which the rank and file can further advance shows very clearly that the rank and file has come out of the election stronger and better organized than before.

During the course of these battles, through forging links between these and other struggles against the same class enemy, and with a scientific summation of this, steel workers have been won to stand alongside brothers and sisters from many industries in taking up the fight against the capitalists on every front. Some have come forward to become conscious fighters for the emancipation of the working class and all those held in capitalism's chains. The working class has moved forward in the course of the election campaign in steel, overcoming obstacles and seizing opportunities to advance in organization, in consciousness and in developing its leadership. ■



## Snakes...

Continued from page 11

tain opportunities for the working class. For years the NLRB and the "right to work" laws have acted as real barriers to organizing the unorganized. Many union drives have foundered on the rocks after over half the workers signed union cards when the NLRB election was delayed for months during which time the company replaced enough workers to turn the vote in its favor. And the "right to work" laws in the South have undermined many unions making it almost impossible to do even a simple thing like collect union dues.

But the government isn't some "neutral" agency looking out for the interests of both "labor and management." It is the instrument of the bourgeoisie for maintaining its rule and suppressing the working class. And exactly because this legislation could be a weapon in the hands of the working class the owners and their government aren't going to let it be passed unless they are forced to by the mass struggle—something the leaders of the AFL-CIO fear as much as the owners themselves.

This is not to say that the bourgeoisie might not "reconsider" if some real momentum towards unionizing got rolling in the South and passing such legislation was a way of regrouping their forces in an attempt to channel this struggle down a bourgeois road. But at this point the capitalist class as a whole still is intent on keeping unions out of the South altogether—despite the cooperation they have worked out with the "labor statesmen" in other parts of the country.

Of course, the AFL-CIO officials continue to brag about their slick lobbying and make everything seem to depend on the passage of legislation like this. But already they have begun to expose where they're headed by talking about trading off the repeal of the "right to work" laws in exchange for passage of the reforms of the NLRA—and this is before the bill has even been introduced in Congress!

The union drive at JP Stevens, a Southern textile company, shows exactly where the strategy put forth by the AFL-CIO chieftains for organizing the unorganized leads—nowhere. In organizing JP Stevens, which was accompanied by all sorts of overblown praise which they heaped on themselves, the AFL-CIO leaders relied on the "good offices" of the NLRB. They restricted their activity to standing outside the gates getting enough union cards signed to call an NLRB election. But JP Stevens simply refused to go along with the NLRB and, because they hadn't mobilized the rank and file to take action against the company, when push came to shove the leadership of the Amalgamated Textile and Clothing Workers Union was unable to do anything more than complain in a whiney voice that the law was being violated. In the same whimpering tones the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its meeting requested affiliated unions to drop any stock they had in the company—which certainly tells you something about the leadership of these unions in the first place, but represents no real threat to JP Stevens.

### How Unions Are Won

It was not by relying on legality or shrewd negotiating by the hacks that the industrial unions in the 1930s were won. It was by the rank and file relying on themselves. It was they who had no interests in compromising with the exploiters and who, because they produced everything, had the power to shut down production until the bosses were sent reeling. And it is only this same strength and unity of the rank and file that can be relied on to organize the South today.

The bureaucrats seem to forget the history of union-

ization struggles, including laws won by the workers. The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 was a big step forward for the working class in that it guaranteed the legal right of workers to organize unions and, by recognizing one elected union as the sole bargaining agent for the workers, helped to break the stranglehold of company unions. Of course this law itself was not passed as a gift to the working class but because the bourgeoisie could no longer contain the masses of workers from unionizing and was an attempt on their part to channel the mass struggle for unionization down legal dead-ends.

But what happened?

Throughout the late '30s and '40s the bourgeoisie kept chipping away at the NLRA and once the mass struggle for unionization had died down for a period and they had strengthened themselves temporarily following WW 2 they pushed through the Taft Hartley Act. Not only did this law help lead to the present "right to work" laws in the South but among other things reinstated many types of anti-labor injunctions and provided for court-ordered fines to back them up, outlawed mass picketing and prohibited secondary boycotts.

What this shows is that the working class cannot restrict its struggle to the passage of legislation or any other concession wrenched from the capitalists. The capitalists are driven by the need to maximize their profits. What they give with an eyedropper they are forced to try to take away with a steamshovel. To limit the struggle, as the AFL-CIO bureaucrats do, to just getting this or that law passed or to just getting X union into Y plant is to keep the working class, generation after generation, in the position of selling their labor power to capitalist exploiters and to weaken their struggle to even improve the terms of that sale, let alone to break free of these chains of wage-slavery altogether.

The working class has to build unions in the South. But it has to build them as part of the broader struggle against the capitalist system with the final aim of overthrowing it and advancing towards the end of exploitation forever.

### Tough Talking Sellouts

This is not to say that the heads of the AFL-CIO will always act in so openly a limp-wristed manner. As the old policies of open class collaboration have become more exposed cracks have begun to show themselves in the AFL-CIO Executive Council. This is especially taking the form of a power struggle over who will take the reins when George Meany dies. There are a number of "young turks"—including William Winpisinger, soon-to-be-president of the International Association of Machinists, Doug Fraser, if the UAW rejoins the AFL-CIO later this year as expected, Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, A.F. Grospiron of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and Glenn Watts of the Communications Workers of America—who favor a somewhat more "militant," less blatant form of class collaboration and hope to be able to usurp the power within the Executive Council despite the fact that Meany has handpicked his successor, Lane Kirkland, a man in his own mold. One of the main things this could mean is stronger organizing efforts in the South to increase union membership—and the treasuries controlled by the union hacks.

If the AFL-CIO ever does step up its efforts to organize the South it would open up real possibilities to advance the struggle and organization of the rank and file. To the degree that the union hacks are forced to speak to the real anger and grievances of the workers and to attack the companies and their laws which hold back unionization, this is a good thing. By taking up the struggles for unionization that break out, building them as strong and as mass as possible, forcing the union officials as far as possible to make concessions

to this mass upsurge—without ever forgetting the traitorous nature of the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class"—and spreading the struggle and its lessons throughout the rest of the working class, especially other unorganized workers in the South, the rank and file can take advantage of any AFL-CIO efforts at unionizing the South.

### Common Situs Picketing

The other piece of legislation the AFL-CIO Executive Council puts high priority on is the common situs picketing bill dealing with the construction trades. They are taking this bill out of storage where it has sat since President Ford vetoed it over a year ago and are trying to push for its quick approval. According to these self-proclaimed labor leaders this is a carefully thought out plan to "test President Carter and the Congressional climate" to see exactly how well they remember the AFL-CIO efforts during the election.

So far the Carter administration seems to be more than willing to pay back its debt by supporting this bill. And it's no wonder. The bill is a real gem of class collaboration. Meany and Co. make a big deal about how the bill would allow workers of one subcontractor to picket an entire construction site—an important weapon which would make strikes more effective. But what they don't talk about, among other attacks, is the "stabilization" (straight-jacketing) provision, which would set up a labor-management committee with authority to take over negotiations between local unions and contractors and approve final agreements. This is aimed at reducing the number of local strikes and giving the national construction union hacks more centralized control over militant locals.

After making a big squawk about Carter's proposal for voluntary wage-price controls, the AFL-CIO Executive Council is quietly working behind the scenes to make sure that the wage "stabilization" provision stays in this year's common situs bill—which of course suits Carter fine. Together they have worked out a deal where Ray Marshall, Carter's Labor Secretary, and someone Meany and his boys get starry eyed about, will insist on last year's version of the bill (which includes the labor-management wage committee) as the "price" of White House support. This will give George Meany an excuse to say that such a blatant attack on the rank and file is necessary in this bill in order to get it passed by Congress and signed by Carter.

In advance of the Executive Council meeting some AFL-CIO top honchos leaked stories to the press about their "disappointment" at Carter's unemployment program, which so obviously did nothing to alleviate unemployment (and in fact stepped up the attacks on the unemployed) that even the AFL-CIO didn't dare openly embrace it. Instead they are opposing the growing movement of the unemployed for jobs or income by saying that the best the unemployed can hope for is to "compromise" (i.e., surrender) and accept Carter's proposals to cut back on benefits and require workers to accept minimum wage jobs or lose everything as part of their "overall legislative program" (see article on p. 1).

### Enemies of the Working Class

As usual, these "labor lieutenants of capital" did not restrict their efforts to making plans to keep their trade union empires firmly under control. Of the other questions they addressed themselves to, the most important was the growing contention between the U.S. ruling class and their opposite numbers in the USSR. It comes as no surprise that the AFL-CIO heads took their traditional stand—firmly with the American bourgeoisie. Not only did they pass the usual resolutions calling for increased armaments, focusing this time on calling for building the B-1 bomber, but they trotted out as guest speaker Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky, who predictably praised the U.S. and called for all possible steps to be taken against the USSR.

Their latest little get-together shows once again that the AFL-CIO leaders look at the world not through the eyes of the working class but with the unblinking reptile gaze of the exploiters. They hate the thought of rank and file initiative and upsurge as much as any corporation executive; even when they move to take on their own behalf—steps that clash with the interests of the owners and might be of advantage to the rank and file, like changing certain laws or unionizing the South, they do so by steering everything through the legal channels of the capitalist system. This is intended to strengthen at one and the same time their own position and the weakening chains that bind the workers to the capitalist system. Workers can take advantage of such contradictions in the enemy camp and the fact the hacks must pretend to represent workers' interests, but must rely on their own strength to build and broaden the struggle and movement of the rank and file.

The ideas, the policies, the outlook pushed by the AFL-CIO leaders must be seen and rejected for what they are, just as they were hailed and admired for what they are by capitalist mouthpieces like *The Wall Street Journal* which greeted the Executive Council meeting with the announcement, "It's time to say another good word for the AFL-CIO." ■