

# Build a National Workers Organization! On to Chicago Labor Day Weekend! -p.3



# REVOLUTION

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

25¢

Vol. 2, No. 7



May 1977



"Moral Equivalent of War." Hell. This is war! The gas co. in Cleveland sent out 40,000 cut-off notices. UWOC and residents of one neighborhood mobilized and blocked attempts to shut off the gas on April 15. But on April 18, the very day of Carter's first energy talks, squads of gun-wielding cops escorted gas company trucks back, threatening and arresting people while the company forcibly shut off gas meters. People are enraged at these gestapo measures. (See article on p. 6.)

## Another Call for "Equal" Sacrifice

# Carter's Energy 'War' Aimed at the People

As we go to press for the May *Revolution* President Jimmy (Chicken Little) Carter has just announced to the American people that the sky is falling in. We are running out of energy. Greedy Americans are gobbling up all of their sources of fuel at a reckless rate, heedless of the future. He warned that we face catastrophe. Like the Ghost of Christmas future he painted a horrible picture of what confronts us if we, the masses of people, don't change our ways. Giant factories lying empty, so many silent and hollow hulks; tens of millions of people without work, shivering in their homes, chopping up their furniture for fuel. He painted the picture of a once powerful nation lying in prostrate submission before devious and evil Arab oil sheiks, with its people blindly and irrationally destroying their environment. But he has a promise of hope and salvation, we can be saved but it will mean *great sacrifice*. "If we fail to act soon we will face an economic, political and social crisis that will threaten our free institutions."

A truly horrifying picture, one intended to strike fear into the hearts of the masses of people. And an absolutely false and upside down view of reality. As the article "Gas Blackmail and What's Behind It," in the March 1977 *Revolution* put it, "These doomsday reports [are] just the despair of a historically obsolete class trying to describe its own approaching doom as the doom of the whole world. What they are admitting with these types of scare stories is that their system stands as an obstacle to developing the productive forces, to the further advance of society."

Carter's somber predictions of potential gloom actually said this in so many words. He said that to understand the crisis we supposedly face we have to look back in history at the preceding periods when mankind made changes in its energy use. The first was the switch from wood to coal, which coincided with the industrial revolution. The second was the switch from coal as the primary source of fuel to oil and natural gas. This actually coincided with the development of capitalism into imperialism, its highest and final stage. In fact both of these changes reflected great advances

in the development of the productive forces. But while pre-monopoly capitalism, especially during its rise, helped promote the growth of the productive forces, in its imperialist stage it stands as a barrier to the further development of society. As if to prove this fact, Carter said that now we must prepare for a third change—for strict conservation and renewed use of coal as our major energy source. In other words, we have to go backwards to an earlier period of energy sources and use less energy than the development of society requires. We have to lower our standard of living because capitalism actually blocks the road forward.

### The Shortage Shuck

We are told that we can't produce the energy we need from gas and oil because if consumption keeps going up at the same rate "we could use up all the proven reserves of oil in the entire world by the end of the next decade"! What are these proven reserves? They are the oil and gas reserves that the companies have drilled into, measured and are "reasonably certain" they can sell at a profit. And that gets at the real nature of this crisis. It is a profits crisis for the capitalists, not a shortage of energy sources. The fact is that there are still huge reserves of oil and natural gas in the ground but it is not profitable enough for the capitalists to explore and drill them. That's why, despite their cries about dependence on foreign oil, the petroleum companies continue to import oil from the Middle East rather than develop the domestic supplies that they know exist. It is still cheaper to produce Middle East oil and more profitable to import it.

The OPEC oil group has sharply cut into this free-wheeling exploitation of their natural resources and made it more expensive. Of course the oil companies have passed the costs onto the consumers in higher prices. But this has created great difficulties for the capitalist class as a whole, and sharpened the competi-

Continued on page 6

# Soviet Backed Mercenaries Invade Zaire

The central African country of Zaire is being invaded by a mercenary army which has been used by one imperialist power after another in Africa for over 15 years, an army which is now armed and backed up politically by the Soviet Union.

On the eve of Castro and Podgorny's African diplomatic offensive, thousands of troops equipped with Soviet weapons crossed from Angola into Zaire to overthrow the main pro-U.S. black government in Africa, headed by Mobutu Sese Seko. Even as the Cuban-Soviet diplomatic safari shuttled from country to country to conquer with soft-talking promises of aid, the Zaire invasion going on at the same time showed off the Soviet's big stick, making spoken threats unnecessary.

These invaders, whose officers are former Katangese policemen who were first formed into a mercenary army by Belgium in an attempt to split off the rich mining province of Katanga, are using the oppression of the people under the Mobutu government and anti-Mobutu feelings in Katanga (now called Shaba) to draw some support from the masses there. Their strategy is to surround the main mining areas in Shaba, which are key to Zaire's economy, and "force Mobutu to resign in favor of the liberation front," as a spokesman put it.

But while Mobutu has been a servant of U.S. imperialism and the people of Zaire will undoubtedly overthrow their oppressors, in this case the Soviet-backed forces are unscrupulously using the situation in Zaire and especially in Shaba for a completely reactionary purpose—to bring Zaire under Soviet control. Nothing can come of such an invasion but more oppression and exploitation for the people of Zaire. Only the people of Zaire themselves can solve the country's problems. If such an armed invasion succeeds in imposing a new regime, the conditions for revolution will not be advanced, but set back.

The real nature of these imperialist mercenary "liberators" was exposed by official denunciations of the invasion by the chairman and the secretary-general of the Organization of African Unity, made up of the heads of all the independent African governments. The People's Republic of China also harshly denounced the Soviet-backed invasion, helping to bring before world public opinion a situation which the superpowers are trying to keep quiet. China has provided Zaire with military aid—with no strings attached—so that it could fight the invaders without at the same time becoming more dependent on the U.S. and other Western imperialists. It is also the duty of revolutionary people worldwide to condemn this Soviet-backed aggression.

### U.S. Motives

The U.S. is also trying to shore up the Zaire government against the invaders, not out of any concern for Zaire's independence but rather for the \$1 billion in U.S. investments and U.S. imperialism's more general interests in Zaire. While the USSR is intervening in Zaire by "remote control," using African troops to do

Continued on page 13

## To Hit Imperialism in Africa

# March on White House African Liberation Day!

The tremendous upsurge of struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania makes African Liberation Day this year an event of the highest importance. With the liberation forces drawing nearer to victory and the rulers of the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, each trying desperately to wind up as the top plunderer of the peoples of southern Africa, the situation demands a powerful African Liberation Day. At the same time there is fertile ground for building an ongoing movement of support for African liberation—the sentiments of large numbers of Americans, especially but by no means exclusively Blacks, lie increasingly in opposition to the savagery of the system of white minority rule and with the masses of people in southern Africa.

This year African Liberation Day, May 28, will center on a march on the White House, called by the African Liberation Day Coalition. The demonstration is aimed at making ALD a battle against the ruling class, a battle involving the broadest possible numbers of people.

The central theme of the demonstration and the campaign to build it is "Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from the USA (Union of South Africa) to the USA (United States of America)." There are also three specific slogans designed to serve as rallying cries for the demonstration: "Victory to the People of Southern Africa!", "Down with White Minority Rule!" and "U.S. Out of Southern Africa—Superpowers Hands Off!"

The recently formed coalition already involves a number of revolutionary and anti-imperialist groups and individuals, many of whom have played an important role in the Black struggle in this country. Among them are the majority of active chapters of the African Liberation Support Committee; Ethridge Knight, poet and author; Abdul Alkalimat, Peoples College; Vicki Garvin, former co-chairman of the National Negro Labor Council; and Bill Hampton, brother of martyred Black Panther leader Fred Hampton. Tapson Mawere, chief North American representative of ZANU, and a representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania have committed themselves to address the rally.

Even though time is short and there are many questions to be resolved, African Liberation Day 1977 and the campaign to build it are being taken up as a critical part of a larger task, the building of a broad social movement in solidarity with the liberation struggles in southern Africa. The beginnings of such a movement have existed for several years as shown by the annual celebration of African Liberation Day since the beginning of the decade, the protests around Rhodesian chrome imports and similar actions. Now, with the growth of the struggle in southern Africa has come a corresponding development in the spontaneous sentiments of people here, manifested in demonstrations at banks selling gold Krugerrands (a desperate attempt by South Africa to bail out of its economic difficulties), actions against corporations and colleges with interests and investments in the *apartheid* system, protests at sports and cultural events with South African participation, meetings and conferences in schools and communities to learn about and pledge support to the South African struggle.

There are three important and closely related aspects to building a campaign and a movement in support of African liberation. The first is educational work among the masses, the second is the collection of material aid for the liberation forces and the third is hitting the imperialists with demonstrations and the like. The last task also contributes substantially to the first two. Struggle drives home the points made in various forms of educational work, and the best form of material aid people in this country can offer the liberation forces in Africa is cutting away the freedom of the capitalists and the government to maneuver in Africa, intervene militarily and so on.

### Expose U.S. Imperialism

To build a broad social movement and bring into motion all progressive forces, it is necessary to carry on agitation and propaganda, particularly in conjunction with real struggle, in order to help the masses of people develop a good understanding of what is really happening in southern Africa. President Carter and his UN ambassador and fellow mouthpiece for the capitalists, Andrew Young, are trying to stand reality on its head by badmouthing *apartheid* and talking up the U.S. as the potential saviour of the people of the southern African countries. The seeming contrast with previous administrations' more or less open support of the white settler regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa



African Liberation Day has become an important part of the campaign to expose the imperialists' role in Africa and build support among the people of the U.S. for the struggle to drive the imperialists from the continent.

has spread confusion, causing many people to wonder if the U.S. can really play a progressive role there.

The fact is that U.S. corporations have raked in billions from their mines, factories, plantations and other investments in these countries and the U.S. government has been the most important international backer of the minority governments. Now when things look shaky and their profits and other stakes are threatened, they want to "bring stability to the situation"—preferably through some "negotiated" compromise that grants the African people a few more rights while keeping white minority rule intact. Failing that, they are seeking and grooming potential puppets with black skins to take the place of Vorster, Ian Smith and company.

### Basis for Common Struggle

Key to exposing the real nature and plans of Carter, Young and the class they serve is bringing out the real relationship that underlies and gives rise to feelings of solidarity between American Blacks and the freedom fighters of southern Africa. Although historical roots play a role, they are far from everything. And it is definitely not the case, as some say, that there is an innate spiritual bond.

The relationship is based on the fact that the struggle of Black people in the U.S. and of the southern African people is against a common enemy—U.S. imperialism—and both suffer national oppression with certain similar forms—segregation and discrimination. But the situations are far from identical. There, the

overall struggle in its present stage is *national* in character—for liberation—and the struggles of the overwhelmingly African working class at this point serve the national liberation struggle. Here the overall struggle is a *class* one—for proletarian revolution—and the national movements are the closest allies of the *multi-national* working class. And it is only through the victory of this united struggle against capitalism and the establishment of socialism that the oppression of Blacks and all oppression in the U.S. can be eradicated.

Despite these differences, the bonds of facing a common enemy and national oppression are very real, and are the basis for a deeper understanding of imperialism and its role in southern Africa and in the U.S. For instance the life experience of the masses of Black people shows how the ruling class maintains and relies on national oppression in this country to increase its profits, divide the people and preserve its rule. It is not difficult to demonstrate that this is exactly what the ruling class is doing in South Africa and that it is no more likely to abandon national oppression there than it has been in the U.S.

Posing the question in terms of fighting imperialism and national oppression makes it possible to mobilize more people and forge a stronger struggle, not only in the Black community but in the ranks of all those who have reason to hate the ruling class and its crimes.

### Hit Role of Both Superpowers

In exposing the U.S. imperialists and building the struggle against them, it is crucial not to let the New Czars of the USSR slip by. It is very dangerous to overreact to the repulsive example of the October League, the Workers Viewpoint Organization and others who use the formula "opposing both superpowers" to cover their fundamental agreement with the U.S. ruling class that the real enemy is the Soviet Union. Both superpowers are targets for the fire of those who want to support the struggle for African liberation—although it is necessary for us in this country to put particular emphasis on the U.S., both because it is the currently dominant superpower in white-ruled southern Africa and because this is the U.S., which means that the working class and its allies have both the obligation and the opportunity to do the maximum possible damage to "our own" bourgeoisie.

All the same, the situation in southern Africa today can't really be understood without understanding the contention of the two superpowers to control the area. While Europe remains the focus of superpower contention, southern Africa is where it is sharpest at this point, as shown by the recent events in Angola where U.S.-Soviet "detente" was thrown aside in favor of open armed conflict, with South African and Cuban troops used as proxies. Both superpowers are trying to pose as "friends" of the African people in order to gain influence in the liberation movements, ice out the competition and continue to plunder the area in the future. Powerful support movements in the U.S. and elsewhere are concrete aid to the liberation movements in hewing to the difficult path of self-reliance in their struggle, and raising slogans and doing propaganda which exposes the role of the superpowers gives this additional emphasis.

### Unite All Who Can Be United

The point of the political line and slogans of the African Liberation Day Coalition is precisely to unite all who can be united in solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa and in struggle against imperialism and national oppression. The march on the White House will be built among all sections of the people, with particular

Continued on page 13



Volume 1, Number 2  
May 1, 1977

## the COMMUNIST

Theoretical Journal of the Central Committee  
Of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

- On the Relationship Between the Forces and Relations of Production and the Base and Superstructure
- Communism Not Pan Africanism is the Guide to Socialist Revolution and Black Liberation
- Reformist and Revolutionary Views of Capitalist Crisis A Critique of "New Marxism"
- Anatomy of a Puerile Leftist Sect  
The Religious Disorder of the Workers Viewpoint Organization
- Living Socialism and Dead Dogmatism  
The Proletarian Line and the Struggle Against Opportunism on the National Question in the U.S.

\$2

## ORDER NOW

The second issue of the Communist is now available. Among others it contains timely articles on the Black national question. If you have not yet gotten a copy of Vol. 1, Number 1, copies are still available with articles on:

- Commodities, Capitalism, Class Divisions—and their Abolition with the Achievement of Communism.
- Social-Imperialism and Social-Democracy, Cover-Up of Capitalism in the USSR (or How Martin Nicolaus and the October League Have "Restored" Socialism in the Soviet Union)
- Bourgeois Democracy and the U.S. Working Class
- On the Character of World War 2
- Bourgeois Right, Economism, and the Goal of the Working Class Struggle

Order from RCP Publications, Box 3486, Chicago, IL., 60654 .....\$2.00

## Building a National Organization

# Workers Prepare Bold Step Forward

On February 19, 170 workers from cities around the country gathered in Cleveland to take a bold step—calling for the formation of a national workers organization. The meeting was lively, full of discussion and struggle over what the purpose and role of such an organization will be. After the meeting the workers left for their factories and hometowns armed with a deeper understanding of why forming this national workers organization will represent a real leap forward in the struggle of the working class, and with a call directed to workers all around the country urging them to take up the task of forming the new organization and gather in Chicago on Labor Day weekend for a founding convention.

As the call points out, "This organization must be firmly rooted in the struggles in the plants and industries, against speedup, wage cuts and the other attacks that come down there." But the workers in Cleveland set their sights higher than simply an organization to lead these fights. As the call goes on to point out, "At all times we need a vehicle to rally the ranks of our working class inside and outside the unions to deal with the burning questions that face us—the threat of war, unemployment, discrimination, and countless other attacks on the job and throughout society."

Running through the discussions in Cleveland, and something that will continue to come up as the momentum builds for the founding convention in Chicago, are questions about what exactly the situation is facing the workers today, where does the struggle of the working class presently stand, and what must be done to advance that struggle.

Over the last several years the main contradictions

in U.S. society, most importantly the fundamental division in society between the working class and the capitalist class, have been sharpening. Bourgeois myths about the "great American middle class" are evaporating in the heat of the sharpening antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class. As the crisis of capitalism has deepened, the capitalists have been driven by the very workings of their system to further attack the working class, trying to drive down wages, force through speedup, compulsory overtime and other means to squeeze ever more profit out of the labor of the workers. "Official" unemployment rates of 8% and higher are no longer front page news but a "fact of life" of bourgeois society, and even this steady putrefaction is punctuated by violent dislocations in the economy, as goods pile up unsold and massive layoffs hit the workers.

And, of course, the attacks on the masses of people are not restricted to the plants and mills. As the decay of the capitalist system deepens, the masses are forced to foot the bill in a thousand ways, from the closing of schools and hospitals to the deterioration of neighborhoods and whole cities, and hand-in-hand with this come efforts by the ruling class to enforce it, through mounting police terror, attacks on organizations of the masses and in other ways.

The country is going to hell at a faster and faster rate, and people know it. The deterioration of society, the increased exploitation and intensified attacks on the masses of people give rise to resistance, and workers seek the ways to make that resistance more organized, more powerful and more directed. The formation of a national workers organization will serve as a magnet

in the midst of these developing struggles, drawing together fighters from the working class and enabling them to build the various sparks of struggle constantly arising into campaigns of the working class. By doing this, this organization will be able to serve as a catalyst helping to bring ever broader masses of people into motion.

The workers who are coming forward to be a part of this new organization are precisely those who are most actively involved in battle and in mobilizing their fellow workers. In many industries and areas around the country particularly sharp struggles have broken out in the last period. The hard fought rubber strike of 1976 saw tens of thousands of workers holding out for several months in the face of extreme hardship and winning significant gains. The struggle of the rank and file auto workers around their 1976 contract forced a nationwide strike of Ford Motor Company, and in the course of this battle workers in auto for the first time in decades were able to unite their ranks on a national basis against the sellout plans of the top union leadership and were able to organize a big "no" vote on the sellout contract, the largest ever "no" vote on a national contract in that industry. More recently, the steel industry has been the scene of a beginning upsurge of struggle which was focused in the recent election campaign where the rank and file put up a real fight against the I.W. Abel union bureaucracy which has been shackling their struggle for years; this struggle is right now continuing in the protest against the Abel machine's signing of a blatant sellout contract and in the fight around local contracts.

In New York City resistance has mounted to attacks on the working class and the masses of people spawned by the "city crisis." In San Francisco workers have helped beat back attempts to evict retired Filipino and Chinese workers from the International Hotel in a battle that has taken on major proportions throughout the San Francisco Bay Area. In Milwaukee the long and hard fought meatcutters' strike of a year ago galvanized thousands of workers in the fight against the companies' union busting, taking on more of the characteristics of an overall fight between classes.

In the course of battles, large and small, workers come forward who see the need to fight for the interests of the working class, not just in the im-

Continued on page 19

## Seize the Time in '77!

# Call For a National Workers Organization

*The following call from the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization has been sent to workers' organizations in many industries and areas and is being distributed in the tens of thousands to workers across the country—Ed.*

Fellow workers,

Working people are catching hell on all sides. Millions walk the streets unemployed, while those on the job are driven harder and faster. The threat of war hangs over our heads like a dark cloud. Our cities, schools, and neighborhoods are falling apart. Inequality and discrimination are rampant on the job and throughout society. We are caught in a vise between the crime that stalks the streets and the terror of the police. Our very labor is stolen and twisted into a means to tighten the chains of oppression on us. Everything is sacrificed to the god of profits. The result is continued chaos and suffering for the great majority of people.

The class of profit seekers tells us that these are separate problems, faced by small and isolated groups of people. They try to divide us by industry, union, nationality and other ways. But these problems all come from one source—their class and their system. We are one class, men and women of all nationalities with one common interest in fighting all this.

We have fought these attacks in a hundred different ways, from filing a grievance to battles throughout industries and in our unions, to nationwide strikes in the coalfields, auto and rubber plants. We have battled their attempts to cut our unemployment benefits, stood up to their police terror, and raised our voices against military aggression and threats of war in South-east Asia, Southern Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere. In the summer of '76 we marched over 3,000 strong in the streets of Philadelphia on July 4th, the day the rulers of this country celebrated 200 years of their rule. We rallied around our own banner declaring: "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!" And we have built organizations to wage these battles.

In the advances we have made, we have come up

against the fact that the attacks we face and the battles we must wage, still are bigger than the organization we have developed. We need a national organization of workers, that rallies and solidifies the active fighters from our class to mobilize the millions of workers in the plants of this country into a mighty force, fighting every key battle, and rallying others behind them. We need an organization that can unleash the potential strength and power that exists in the plants, mines and mills where millions of us are concentrated, turning every factory into a fortress of struggle.

*Now is the time to take a bold step. Now is the time to unite our fighting ranks all across the country. Now is the time to build one national organization, an organization of the working class of people to serve as a united center of leadership in all the battles we face, that mobilizes the strength and power of the millions in our class. Only the working class has the power, only we have the strength, only we can forge the unity to stop the way things are going, to turn things in this country around.*

On February 19th, workers from around the country gathered in Cleveland, Ohio to build this important organization. From the struggles in the coalfields in West Virginia, the steel mills in Gary, the auto plants in Detroit, the fields in California, out of the many battles our class is waging we came determined to take this vital and necessary step. On February 19th, we resolved to hold a convention on Labor Day, 1977 in Chicago, Illinois to launch this organization, and we laid the beginning plans for this.

The organization must be firmly rooted in the struggles in the plants and industries, against speedup, wage cuts and the other attacks that come down there. This is not a call for a new union, or an organization to replace the unions. An important part of our fight is to break the chains the union officials put on our struggles, kick the traitors out, and fight to make the unions into weapons in the hands of the rank and file. But that is not all—we must have an organization that is rooted in the plants and industries, an organization geared to mobilizing our ranks around campaigns of our entire class. Think what it would have meant if

during the Civil Rights Movement, the Vietnam War, or the recent strikes of auto, mining, and rubber workers, we had an organization to mobilize the strength of the working class on a national level in these fights.

The question has been raised; how can we do something this big; maybe we should clean up our own backyards first?

Yes, we have to clean house wherever we can. But how can our backyard be kept clean when it's sitting in the middle of a garbage dump? With millions laid off, the threat of war, and our futures and children's future pointing to more of the same and worse, we have to deal with the entire garbage dump. If we don't, who will?

There are some who ask, do we really need such an organization now; maybe we should just concentrate on changing our unions? It is true our unions have been ripped off and we must fight to retake them. But we cannot and will not wait to kick the rats off our union ship before we stand up for ourselves. The enemy we face is more than the traitors who have seized our unions and the battles we must wage are bigger than the fight to control our unions. At all times we need a vehicle to rally the ranks of our working class inside and outside the unions to deal with the burning questions that face us—the threat of war, unemployment, discrimination, and countless other attacks on the job and throughout society. At any given time we need to use this vehicle to concentrate the forces of our class against the main forms of these attacks. We must take these battles head on, relying on the strength that we have as a single united class with one common interest.

There are some who say that building a national workers organization is a good idea, but ask is it really possible?

The fact is that it is impossible to continue going forward by fighting only in smaller groups and local battles, isolated from each other. If we can fight so hard in hundreds of smaller battles involving thousands and even millions of people, why not make this step that will allow us to move these thousands and millions in a more unified and co-ordinated way?

Yes, this is a bold step, but the times and conditions call for, demand it. It can be done, but it is up to us to do it. Area organizing committees are being set up in every part of the country to rally our fellow workers to this course.

We must get down to the business of getting our class organized, taking all the necessary steps to prepare for the founding convention in Chicago on Labor Day. We must mobilize the largest numbers of our class brothers and sisters around this cause.

**Seize the Time in '77—  
Build a National Workers Organization!  
On to Chicago Labor Day Weekend!**



UWOC, Washington, D.C. demonstration, March 5, 1977.

## Cuts Bill Goes Through, But...

# Jobless Advance Off of Campaign

After a three month campaign fought nationwide by thousands of unemployed workers to defend a full 65 weeks of unemployment insurance, Congress rushed through a bill (P.L. 95-19) that leaves one 13 week extension (for a total of 52 weeks of unemployment compensation in eligible states), and which contains the wage-cutting provision fought by the workers during the later part of the campaign.

The final version of the bill says that any worker on the federal extension (the last 13 weeks of benefits), must *accept any job offer, in any trade*, so long as it pays at least the minimum wage and 20% more, *before taxes*, than what the worker is collecting on compensation. The new program goes into effect on May 1 (!), with the old program supposedly being carried over until then. At present though, there is tremendous confusion at the unemployment centers, and the bourgeoisie is using even that to cut thousands of people off.

The program runs out on October 31 of this year, after which there can be no new applicants for the remaining federal extension, although they hope to put this further attack over quietly and avoid mass discontent at the centers on that date by letting anyone already on an extension finish it out. What the new law means is that on October 31 unemployment benefits are to be cut back to 39 weeks.

The battle forced the ruling class to back off from what they would like to have done—cut both extensions right away, and rip away as much more of unemployment insurance as they could get away with—paying the way for outright wage cuts and other methods of using the unemployed and the threat of unemployment to generally lower the wage level. The broadly based anger of unemployed workers at being without work, and the beginnings of organized struggle of the unemployed against the cuts made the political price too high for the bourgeoisie to pay at this time. They were forced to keep one federal extension for now, and try to use the forced work provision to drive more workers off unemployment. But this additional attack which hits both employed and unemployed workers is bound to, and in fact already has, begun to arouse even greater opposition and struggle.

In great part, as a result of the battle waged, whatever fanfare they would like to have made over "granting 13 weeks extension" had to be put aside. As one presidential aide said, "because of the controversial nature of the bill, the President will sign it quietly, without much publicity." Carter was even forced to change his position on the slave-wage provision. A month before he signed the bill, his office said he supported the provision in anticipation of jobs programs the administration would be setting up openly below union wage. By the time the bill was passed, they said Carter had no position on the bill—a bill which came from him in the first place!

### Battle Not Over

But the battle is far from over. The bourgeoisie has to continue its drive to remove one great bulwark that stands as an obstacle to their relentless efforts to lower wages and reap even greater profits from the backs of the workers—unemployment insurance. And they will move to implement what they just passed, including chopping back benefits again six months from now. The lack of unemployment insurance in the early years of the Great Depression made it easier for the capitalists to cut wages in half between 1929 and 1932.

What they don't sum up directly from that period, their class interests and instinct dictate to them now, and their attacks can only be expected to begin to intensify.

A few examples of what's going down make this clear:

—In Washington State, which the bourgeoisie has used as a testing ground for various proposals, there is a bill before the legislature that would force unemployed workers, after collecting for 15 weeks, to work in public works jobs in exchange for their compensation check.

—In Michigan and a number of other states, they are attempting to throw thousands off with "quit-fired" and similar bills, which would deny unemployment compensation to any worker who quits his job or is fired. In Detroit, 1/3 of all workers collecting compensation would be thrown off, and it would open those still working to increased harassment and intimidation by the companies.

—In New York State a bill is under consideration that would force any "able-bodied" welfare recipient to work three days a week for the price of the check. In Milwaukee and other areas, welfare people are forced onto the Country Works Project where they are forced to do the jobs of unionized county workers for \$2.00 an hour (an attack which has prompted a strike vote among unionized public workers there). Project officials there are talking about expanding the program to make room for workers thrown off unemployment benefits by the recent cuts.

Along with all of this, the bourgeoisie is stepping up its efforts to create public opinion and win support for these attacks. Editorials are appearing in major newspapers in several cities around the country calling for cutting back on unemployment insurance to get rid of "cheats" and especially "finicky workers," who refuse low-paying jobs. They call on "taxpayers" to revolt against "carrying" these unemployed. Their strategy is to unite not only their own ranks, but the

petty-bourgeoisie and what sections of the working class they can around Carter's infamous line, "Why pay a man \$80 a week to do nothing when you can pay him \$100 a week to rebuild the railroads" (one of Carter's few campaign pledges he is actually implementing).

In light of these attacks the treachery and impotence of the leadership of the AFL-CIO on the question of the cuts in unemployment benefits stands out all the more starkly. Not only did they refuse to lift a finger to fight for the full 65 weeks of benefits, but when the slave labor provision came out, they openly "traded off" the interests of the working class in opposing the cuts and the slave labor provision in return for hopes of getting through their "legislative program." (see April 1977 *Revolution*) Now their whole package has been shot down by Carter and Congress anyway, leaving them to whine that they haven't been rewarded for their faithful service to the bourgeoisie.

Scrambling like mad to maintain their position over the working class, they fear more than anything its organized struggle. They have sworn never to hold another rally like the April 26, 1975 Jobs Rally for fear of totally losing control of the rank-and-file. This year organized unemployed, along with many employed, put the heat on the top AFL-CIO leadership, exposing their support for the bill and demanding that the AFL-CIO reverse their stand. When unemployed workers and others went to a dinner honoring George Meany to denounce the AFL-CIO bigwigs' support of the bill, they were attacked by thugs, and one worker was knocked unconscious by a pipe-wielding goon.

### Advances Made in Battle

The greater intensity of their attacks inevitably will give rise to even greater struggle among the unemployed and large sections of the working class. But also the working class, especially the unemployed, is in a better position now to fight the bill's implementation and throw their forces into the next major battle by building on the advances made in the last one—more conscious of the direction things are going in this country and who their enemies are, and better organized to deal with them.

The working class was hit by a heavy press blackout—the high priests of the media, also driven by their fear of the organized struggle of the working class, claimed that the struggle was insignificant and represented the interests of only a small minority. Yet, UWOC was able to make the benefit cuts and the slave labor provision a big question at least in the unemployment centers of nearly every major city. The press itself became a battleground, and where the press blackout was broken through the cuts became a social question among even broader numbers of people.

Through leaflets and timely actions, UWOC turned the eyes of thousands of unemployed toward Washington, D.C., to see the outcome of the struggle, and toward the future—toward the reality of greater attacks and the necessity of even greater resistance. Places outside unemployment centers where posters went up every three weeks or so during the campaign became centers for information, discussion and struggle among the unemployed.

UWOC brought 1000 people to the streets of Washington, D.C. and many more into local actions around the country. These actions continued right up until the final passage of the bill. Two days after the Senate had approved the cuts, unemployed dumped onto the Senate floor thousands of ballots filled out by workers from around the country opposing the bill. Two workers were arrested for "disrupting the work of the Senate." That same day workers set up a "Carterville No. 1" in the park across from the White House to dramatize that

Continued on page 20

## Unemployed Assaulted At Meany Dinner Protest

March 25 was a day of angry action for the unemployed. The delegation of the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee which had demonstrated in the Senate and at the White House (see accompanying article) took on some of the ruling class' other servants—the top trade union traitors.

None other than George Meany, the AFL-CIO's top honcho, who had just spoken out in favor of Carter's wage and benefit cutting bill, was in Washington, D.C. The reactionary, anti-communist Social Democrats, USA group was holding a dinner to give Meany its Eugene Debs Award for "service to the working class." (This group includes some of the AFL-CIO's top officers.) This was nothing but spitting on the memory of Debs, a revolutionary fighter who would not have stayed two single minutes in the same room with a traitor like Meany, and spitting on the struggle of the working class today, the controlling and crushing of which has been George Meany's life work.

When the members of the UWOC delegation showed up at the hotel to denounce Meany's support of the bill, the hacks and their fans in the Social Democrats, USA, showed in practice what kind of "service" they offer to the working class. As the UWOC members entered, pipe-swinging goons attacked them. Their hired thugs worked over one UWOC member they had seized, dragging him to a side room where they did their level best to stomp him to death. Having learned something about this particular group, the next time the workers go up on them they will be better prepared.

There is no attack, be it a brutal assault, a sellout contract or working to tie the workers to the system of wage slavery, that these traitors won't make. The more they front for the companies and the whole capitalist class, the more they make themselves part of the target of the growing workers movement which all their crimes have failed to crush. ■

# Workers Hit Union-Busting Roadshow

The Coordinating Committee of the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization (see article on p. 3) has decided to make an important part of its activity in the coming months organizing a counterattack on an outrageous series of top businessmen's seminars blatantly called "Strategies for Preserving Non-Union Status." This will be an important way to draw the line in the fight against runaway shops and union busting, and in organizing the unorganized. These three day conferences, sponsored by an outfit called Advanced Management Research, are being held in a number of cities around the country. The fee is \$550 a head and leeches, vampires and parasites from across the country are all welcome—that is, management and supervisory personnel.

Their *own* brochure, their pitch to prospective clients for this seminar, puts it right out on front street—"The name of the game boils down to this: for you, more effort for elusive profits. This seminar makes no pretense of impartiality. It has been created to provide management with information which will enable it to become better educated about labor laws."

Their big drawing card is Dr. Charles Hughes, head of the Hughes Corporation, who helped Texas Instruments stay nonunion for ten years. Texas Instruments is a mammoth electronics company located mainly in the Southwest paying minimum wages to most of its workers.

This seminar has already been held in Cincinnati, Ohio, and on April 13 the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization, along with other groups, held a spirited demonstration out front. In Cincinnati, union busting has become a big question with three hard fought strikes over getting rid of unions going on in the area at the time of the conference, in addition to several very large plants that have never been organized.

With this in mind the demonstration was built by statements of support in the plants and taking the question out in a big way to some of these nonunion plants and strikes. At the unemployment centers UWOC connected the attacks on unionization to the extension cuts, showing how they both go hand-in-hand with the capitalists' drive for profit.

The Coordinating Committee of the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization and the Area Committees are planning to call demonstrations

around the country where this union busting seminar is to be held. The seminar will be held in the following cities at these dates: Detroit, May 11-13; Pittsburgh, May 25-27; Chicago, June 1-3; Rochester, NY, June 8-10; New York City, June 15-17; Boston, June 22-24.

The decision by the Coordinating Committee to take up a national struggle against these bosses' seminars is a big part of building momentum towards the founding convention of a national workers organization on this coming Labor Day weekend. An important part of building a national workers organization so far has been building May Day, bringing out in the course of this the importance for the working class to forge a fighting workers organization that unites workers to take the lead in the fight against all oppression. The Coordinating Committee has decided that coming out of May Day an important part of building a national workers organization will be to walk on two legs: 1) to take out the call broadly to other workers in the plants, on the picket lines, etc., with buttons, posters, the national newsletter and a planned national speaking tour, and at the same time 2) to take up some particularly sharp battles that are of immediate importance to the working class now and in the course of building these also turn the idea of building this national workers organization into a material force, to show through practice the tremendous potential this workers organization will have once it is formed.

In addition to helping build a national workers organization, building a focused struggle against this businessmen's seminar is important in its own right—a struggle which will be important to continue to build after a national workers organization has been formed. Although the attack takes different forms—stopping the unorganized from unionizing, busting unions and runaway shops—they are all part of a common battle-front the working class must fight on.

## A Sharpening Battle

It is no mistake that the bourgeoisie is starting to get organized through seminars like this exactly at a time when fights around union busting, runaway shops and especially organizing the unorganized are becoming big questions for the working class. They realize the growing struggle around these questions stands as a barrier to

their vicious drive for profit and are preparing to try to stomp out the sparks of struggle that do arise and to channel those they can't stop down dead-end alleys.

For this reason it is possible to make this sharpening battle into a real dividing line between the forces of the working class and progress on the one side and the forces of the bosses and reaction on the other. In fact the clientele that this Advanced Management Research serves shows very clearly who it is that is so interested in busting unions and stopping new organizing drives; included are some of the biggest monopolies in the country—AT&T, Anaconda, Atlantic Richfield, Dupont, Eastman Kodak, Ford Motor Company, General Motors, Mobil Oil, Motorola, Singer, Teledyne, and Westinghouse—as well as the U.S. Army, U.S. Navy and the Office of the Minister of National Defense of Canada. For this reason it is possible to identify the enemy very clearly in this battle.

But also these business seminars can serve as a dividing line within the unions. The union bosses understand that organizing the unorganized and stopping union busting are major questions facing the class and are putting a big emphasis on this as shown by the recent AFL-CIO meeting (see last month's *Revolution* article). Of course around this, like around other issues, the hacks serve the capitalists in sabotaging, sidetracking, and shackling the struggle of the rank and file, proposing that workers rely on the AFL-CIO lobby in Congress for a legislative program which includes repeal of section 14b of the Taft Hartley Act (open shop clause) and a liberalization of existing labor laws. Repealing 14b and the "right to work" laws would be a major advance for the working class but George Meany and Co. propose a course of action which would further enslave the working class to the bosses' political system and actually blunt real mass struggle against these laws and all other attacks that come down on the job and throughout society.

So in building the struggle against these union busting seminars the Coordinating Committee and the Area Organizing Committees will be trying to draw a clear line between the politics of the union officials and the politics of the working class. They will be going into the unions where their members work to raise hell around this seminar and more generally around organizing the unorganized, fighting runaways and union busting. In the course of this they will be demanding "Down with 14b," and show that the way to get rid of these slave labor laws and build the movement of the working class as a powerful force fighting in its own interests is to build the struggle of the rank and file in the unions, as well as building the struggle of the unorganized, not to beg Congress or depend on the whole capitalist political system and its spokesmen.

The bourgeoisie hopes through seminars like this one to get better prepared to try to crush the working class. But what they are going to discover is that the working class itself can use their conniving get-togethers to help concentrate its hatred for their attacks and get better organized to battle them in the future, including the building of a national workers organization. ■

## May 1st—International Workers Day



May Day, New York, 1975. As we go to press, the 1977 May Day events are being built in over 20 cities. Next month's *Revolution* will carry a report on these actions.

- **Fight, Don't Starve!**
- **Fight the Rich, Don't Fight their Wars!**
- **Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression!**
- **Down With the System of Wage Slavery!**

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!

# First Battle Vs. Carter's Energy War

Even as Jimmy Carter was putting the final touches on his energy program, Cleveland cops were providing a graphic example of exactly what the "tough approach" and "strict measures" the President wants are all about.

It started on April 1, the day the East Ohio Gas Co. sent off 40,000 gas cutoff notices to customers in the Cleveland area. These threats, and the company's moves to back them up, sparked sharp struggle in Cleveland's Sowinski Park neighborhood.

The combination of low-wage jobs, unemployment and sky high gas bills has put hot water and cooking gas out of the reach of thousands of working class people. As soon as the cutoff notices were shipped out the Cleveland chapter of the Unemployed Workers Organiz-

ing Committee (UWOC) put out a leaflet calling on people to resist "by any means necessary." The majority of people facing the cutoffs are laidoff, on welfare or disability, or work in penny-pinching sweatshops, and the leaflet was greeted with real enthusiasm. A number of Sowinski Park residents were interested in taking up the fight and got in touch with UWOC, so UWOC decided to concentrate their work there, hoping to set an example for the rest of the city to follow.

For three days straight, groups of 20 to 40 people spread out to four homes facing cutoffs. Telephone trees were organized, patrols of bicyclers were deployed and even a small pack of dogs was mobilized to catch the gas company by surprise and run them out of the neighborhood. These activities were backed up by door-to-door leafletting, a neighborhood meeting and a small march, to inform and involve as many people as possible.

At the same time UWOC leafletted gas company workers, explaining the position of the unemployed who cannot pay East Ohio's monster bills. They called on the workers to resist being used against their fellow workers. UWOC also led a demonstration inside the gas company's offices, where a number of customers joined in putting the heat on East Ohio Gas officials.

For the first few days of organizing East Ohio didn't show up, but when they did the organizing paid off. On Friday, April 15, gas men accompanied by police tried to cut a Sowinski Park woman's gas off. She locked her basement and refused to open it for them. She called the UWOC "Cutoff Hotline" and then told the gas men and cops to take off. They did but moved on to cut off several people who weren't at home at the time.

By the time they got to the home of Emily Campbell, 15 people were waiting for them. Emily and several friends and neighbors sat down around her gas valve, which is out by the sidewalk, and told the cops they wouldn't budge. As the cops and gas company supervi-

sors argued with her, members of UWOC trooped up and down the street calling people out to join the fight.

In almost no time a big crowd gathered. The police tried to remove Mrs. Campbell, but only succeeded in tearing half her clothing off. This act enraged the crowd and the police wisely backed off. By now there were over 60 people shouting, waving signs and chanting, "No gas cutoff, roll back the rates!" A dozen cops formed ranks and pushed forward, clubbing men, women and even five year old boys. Finally, the police and gas company gave up trying to cut off Emily Campbell's gas and beat a hasty retreat out of the area. There were no more cutoffs that day.

The struggle in Sowinski Park was all over the news, and people throughout the city were talking about it excitedly. The whole thing was a big blow not only to East Ohio Gas, but to the profit system itself. The ruling class was not slow to react.

On the morning of Monday, April 18, East Ohio Gas came back to the Campbells, accompanied by the police department's "tac squad"! While the sidewalk was dug up so the company could cut the gas off in such a way that it couldn't be put back on, the pigs arrested Emily Campbell for "inciting to violence," held her children at gunpoint and threatened to shoot passersby. As soon as the cutoff was finished, the "tac squad" retreated, leaving the area under the nervous eyes of large numbers of police.

That same night, as Carter spoke to the nation about energy and the need for sacrifices, a demonstration at the city council ripped the mad dog attack on the Campbells by Ohio Gas' hired guns in uniform, and raised the demands of the people against the cutoffs and for lower gas rates and the cancellation of the winter bills.

This battle, which is far from over, not only shows with razor sharpness the real essence of the capitalists' new "energy programs" but foreshadows the kind of resistance it must meet from the American people. ■

are to make sure that their profits are not impinged upon. In the process they will throw dirt on one another, as they have done in pointing the finger at the oil companies for increased oil prices, and as they do the whole stinking mess will become a lot more exposed.

## Carter Demands Sacrifice

Carter says that these will be equitable sacrifices. "Equal sacrifices from every region, every class of people, every interest group." But when in the whole history of capitalism, or any other system based on the exploitation of man by man, have the wealthy ruling classes sacrificed equally with the masses of working people? It's the same old phony song we heard from Nixon with his wage and price controls, the same promise we get everytime they are preparing to stick it to us even harder. What they call equal is the fat cat making \$200,000 a year paying the same \$1 a gallon for gas as the worker trying to raise a family on \$600 a month.

Carter has made a big grandstand play about his "great faith in the American people," and how his administration will be responsible to the wishes of the people. But Carter's soft-sell approach (complete with casual sweaters) went over like a lead balloon when he told people to turn down their thermostats during last winters' cold snap. Now the cardigan sweater has come off, and his announcement that some muscle will be used to back up his "appeal" to the people, was made, appropriately, in a business suit.

Carter's plan is nothing more than an attack on the working class and the masses of people. While the details aren't all in as we go to press, it's already clear that this energy plan must be fought. The prices are already too high and the working people cannot and will not allow themselves to be further ground down by outrageous increases in the prices of energy! ■



They blame the Arabs, they blame nature, they blame the "greedy" consumer. The verses change but the chorus always remain the same: the masses have to pay, pay, pay. People line up for 99 cents a gallon gas in Brooklyn during '73 shortage.

## Energy...

Continued from page 1

tion for profits among them. There is nothing they would like better than to break up OPEC, and they are doing everything they can, politically and economically to accomplish this end. Part of Carter's "conservation of energy" is in fact designed to lower oil imports and put greater pressure on the oil producing countries.

The other side of the energy coin is that the capitalists are not going to develop alternative and even better sources of energy than oil and gas unless they can insure that it will be the most profitable investment for their capital. And there are plenty of barriers to this under imperialism. Capitalists in the U.S. today aren't even investing the capital necessary to replace and modernize their plants and equipment, despite government stimuli like investment tax credits.

When all the wool is sheared away from Carter's seemingly reasonable proposals, the real thrust of what the capitalists are planning stands out naked and ugly. The masses of American people have to sacrifice still yet more. People are going to be hit by big price increases for many of the basic necessities of life. Families that are struggling to keep their heads above water economically, and in forty percent of them both the husband and wife have to work just to make ends meet, are going to have to dig deeper to pay for the gasoline they need to get to work and the fuel they need to heat their homes. Carter's proposals will make certain that the only alternative they face will be to go without.

He talks about only one person riding in a car while the public transportation systems deteriorate as if that was the doing of self-serving and luxury seeking working people. For decades the capitalist class has consciously worked to block the development of adequate public transit. The few recently developed rapid transit systems, such as the much heralded San Francisco Bay Area BART, are geared to serve the needs of the financial interests and are in no way adequate to fulfill the transportation needs of the masses. In a great many cities it is absolutely impossible to get to work without an automobile.

And who is responsible for the shoddy homes that

are built without decent insulation, and deteriorating apartment buildings and flats in all the major cities where people frequently have to stuff newspapers in the windows to keep out the frigid winter air? It's the capitalist builders and slumlords who scrimp and cut costs in pursuit of higher profits. Now the cost of all this, which is always thrown squarely on the shoulders of the masses of people, will be even higher.

### "The Moral Equivalent of War"

If there is doubt whose interests these conservation measures will be in, Carter revealed it with one of his pious phrases intended to line the American people up behind his scheme. "This difficult effort will be the moral equivalent of war." The people in the Cleveland neighborhood who were subjected to gun-waving cops rampaging through their neighborhoods, behind gas company trucks, jacking people up at gunpoint while the utility company turned off their gas for non-payment of outrageously high bills on the very day Carter gave his fireside chat on "conservation" know what this "moral equivalent of war" means.

Just like the bloody wars that the capitalists have waged time and again as the natural outgrowth of their worldwide cut-throat competition, sacrificing the lives of millions of working people on the altar of their drive for control of markets and resources and profit, this new war is an attempt to make the American people make still more sacrifices in their standard of living in order to save the capitalists' "free institutions." The slaves are once again called on to defend the slavemasters and their system. Today we are told we have to wage the moral equivalent of war to save this system. How long before we are told that we have to send our sons and brothers to fight and die on yet another battlefield to save it?

Various aspects of Carter's energy proposals are going to run into trouble from different sections of the capitalist class. He even predicted that from the beginning. Each capitalist is forced to defend his own interests against the rest. Coal bosses are happy to hear that more coal use will be promoted, but they don't want any price ceilings put on what they charge, while those who purchase fuel for their factories demand low prices. Every one of them is united behind a program that insures that the masses of working people will have to pay and pay dearly to try to get them out of their crisis, but they will fight like the band of thieves they

**The "Energy Crisis" and the REAL Crisis Behind It!**

\$ \$ \$  
WHY

• PRICES KEEP GOING UP!  
• INCREASING U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST  
• THE WHOLE SYSTEM IS RUNNING OUT OF GAS

Written at the time of the 1973 gasoline shortage, it contains an update on the natural gas shortage of the winter of '77 and Carter's conservation of energy proposals. Order from Banner Press, PO Box 41722, Chicago, IL 60641.



The local capitalists and their loudmouth mayor Rizzo leveled their big guns to break the transit strike, by redbaiting, stonewalling and a hysterical media campaign. But the rank and file have battled to keep control of the strike, uniting many groups, exposing the class interests of city bigwigs and building rank and file organization.

## Philly Transit Strike Hits Hacks, City

# Thumbs Down On Attempted Sellout

On March 24, 5000 members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) in Philadelphia went out on strike against the South Eastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA). With SEPTA, Mayor Rizzo, Governor Shapp and even their own union officials trying to shove a rotten contract down their throats, they had taken matters into their own hands and broken through. As one worker put it, "We've been kicked around by the state, the city, the SEPTA Board and our own union. Today we kicked back!"

SEPTA's pre-strike contract offer tried to get over with cuts in pay and benefits and eliminating the no layoff clause in the existing contract. Philadelphia, like New York and other older cities, has been hard hit by the crisis of capitalism. Older less profitable plants have closed down or moved out with the result that there is less income, property and sales tax, to maintain the city. The only way out for the bourgeoisie was to pass their crisis onto the backs of the workers.

In May, 1976, SEPTA laid off 345 workers, speeding up the remaining workers by cutting schedule time and rest periods, and began cutting services to the community. Drivers have been forced to run dangerously unsafe vehicles since layoffs in the shop have left them too shorthanded to make necessary repairs. Firings and harassment stepped up as the company tried to crush workers' growing resistance to these attacks. The union leaders' reluctance to make any kind of fight against layoffs and their efforts to stifle rank and file initiative gave the company a green light to further increase harassment and attacks on working conditions.

For months before the strike deadline, SEPTA tried to scare the rank and file into accepting their rotten contract by threatening talk of "hard times," and "Don't expect any money." The union hacks were busy in their role of spreading defeatism, saying, "We'll be lucky to get out of this with our union intact." With this preparation and the knowledge that the first offer wasn't going to get through, they ran in an hour and a half before strike time, March 15, with an offer that was supposed to look good by comparison to the first—32 cents the first year, 28 cents the second year, no cost of living clause for the first year, and nothing about the 180 workers still on layoff, a major demand of the workers. The company and the union sang the same tune, "It's the final offer—there's no more money." To further cool any struggle against the contract, they delayed ratification of it for ten days.

Anger at SEPTA's attacks, the hacks' misleadership and the determination to make the contract a fight was concentrated and given organized form by a rank and file Committee for a Decent Contract (CDC). CDC was formed several months before the strike by union members from seven different depots at the call of Driving Force, a fighting organization of SEPTA workers. Driving Force has been active in the struggles against layoffs, unsafe equipment and lack of protection from criminal attacks. CDC set itself the task of organizing the rank and file depot by depot to vote down any sellout contract brought back by the union leadership, to force the union to build the strike and

to carry the strike through if the union leaders wouldn't. The questions facing the CDC and the rank and file were: could they win a strike if they had to take on both the company and their own union leaders? Could the workers who were down for waging this contract battle win over the majority? And would the ten days to ratification serve to cool everyone off, or could it be used to mount a campaign to vote the contract down?

Many workers were demoralized when they heard the second offer from SEPTA. They knew it was lousy, but what could be done to fight it? But led by CDC, which was rapidly expanding with roots in all the depots, others said—we can vote it down and fight SEPTA. Calling for a NO vote, they showed that the strength and organization existed to build a real fight, with or without the union leaders.

### Depots Shut Down

The first evening of the cool off period, 200 SEPTA workers gathered at Southern depot, just from a call passed by word of mouth. They called for a demonstration at the union hall and the CDC spread the word through a leaflet. The next day 350 uniformed workers with raised fists turned thumbs down on the contract, chanting, "No Contract, No Work" and "We Want Le Donne" (TWU president). Then more than a hundred took off for Luzerne depot and shut it down for an hour and a half. That night over 500 workers gathered at Southern. When the promised appearance

by union leaders didn't materialize, the anger boiled over and 350 workers took off for Frankford depot and shut it down for over five hours.

The company responded by firing 15 men, but both the company and the union officials were running scared. Sporadic shutdowns occurred at Southern throughout the next day and SEPTA offered to rehire the men with 30 day suspensions. The 15 accepted the suspensions under protest, because it allowed them to return to the depots and organize the vote NO campaign. On the day of the vote, workers who had been organized to vote it down, clustered around the voting booths in every location. Many wore yellow armbands saying "Vote No! Committee for a Decent Contract." Whole maintenance crews marched in together in some locations and publicly marked big Xs in the No box, while the other workers cheered them on. When the vote was announced, the contract voted down, the depots exploded. Workers danced and hugged each other. They had done it!

From this beginning, the strike has so far remained in the hands of the rank and file. The night before the strike began, 50 workers attended a CDC meeting to plan out how to mobilize the strength of the workers. They knew that if the battle was to be won, they would have to rely on their own initiative to mobilize their numbers and struggle to keep control of the strike in their own hands.

City officials lashed out at the strikers. Mayor Rizzo's right hand man flailed his arms around before the TV cameras and wailed: "It's anarchy! Can't these union officials control their men? What if everyone did this?" Rizzo swore he'd let the strike go on for 20 years before he'd put another cent on the table and then had the nerve to call the strikers "irresponsible." To set the community against the strike and isolate the workers, the capitalists linked the strike to a fare hike.

CDC responded to these attacks and laid out why the interests of the community lay with supporting the strike. "What is irresponsible? Fighting for the things we need to give our families a decent life? . . . What is irresponsible is *not* fighting to put a little meat on the table, but pouring \$300 million into a tunnel [a proposed commuter tunnel to downtown] to benefit a handful of Rizzo's banker buddies downtown. Not fighting to get the laid off workers back and put more service on the street like we're doing, but spending SEPTA money on new railroads to build up center city while they cut service in the neighborhoods and try to force us to subsidize SEPTA."

The media, stunned by this independent stand by the rank and file, thrashed around for an explanation for the strike and red baited CDC. "It's caused by internal union politics . . . by dissidents in the union who are trying to take over the current leadership." Union leaders reacted in the same way blaming it on a "handful of dissidents." They looked for anything but the real reason—that the contract stunk. SEPTA for the first time in anybody's memory decided not to go to court to get an injunction, "because it wouldn't do any good anyway." The rank and file would stay out regardless and the TWU leadership would either go to jail or side with the injunction. Either way, hopes of union leaders regaining control of the strike would be shot to pieces.

After seven days, the union leaders announced a new set of demands that included all those put forward by the rank and file except the return of the 180 workers still laid off. But they have still been dragging their feet when it comes to building the strike or maintaining the picket lines. Despite this attempt by the officials to regain the leadership of the strike on the

Continued on page 21



The struggle which has jumped off in the last year over attempts by the ruling class in Philadelphia to cut services, raise fares and attack the jobs and conditions of drivers and other workers has laid the basis for the unity and support built for the current transit strike.

## Plan Laid for a Young Communist Org.

# Militant Youth Meet, Map Road Ahead

"And we'll be back on October 8, 9 and 10 with many hundred, hopefully a thousand more of us, standing together saying *no* to the future the rulers of this country got laid out for us. We'll be mapping out plans how we're going to fight around the key issues of youth and all the American people, openly stating our stand of marching shoulder to shoulder with the working class towards revolution and socialism, and letting it be known loud and clear—the future is ours, and we do dare to take it."

The cheers, slapped hands and chants that followed this closing statement were a clear indicator of the enthusiasm, political unity and consciousness developed at a March 26 meeting in Cincinnati called together by the Revolutionary Communist Party to discuss the building of a young communist organization.

125 young revolutionary fighters, mainly Black, Latin and white working class youth, came together from over a dozen cities to take up the questions and tasks around building such an organization. Throughout the day lively discussion, arguments and struggle went on over questions like: youth's role in making revolution; multinational unity and the role of people of the different nationalities in working class revolution; what organizational form will lead the youth to best fulfill their revolutionary role; why this youth organization should have two sections, based in the neighborhoods of our cities and on the college campuses; and what are the key battles and struggles it must be rooted in during the coming period.

A founding convention was set for launching a young communist organization on October 8, 1977. A steering committee was elected to lead already existing groups building revolutionary struggles among working class youth, and the Revolutionary Student Brigade, a nationwide communist student organization, towards building it. Plans were also developed for taking up battles right now among youth in cities across the country, including building towards a youth contingent for the march on the White House on African Liberation Day, May 28.

The future young communist organization being discussed at this meeting will have many important tasks. Over the years youth and students have made many important contributions to the struggle for social change and revolution in this country, and in countries all around the world. It was only five to ten years ago tens of thousands of youth and students marched, rallied and revolted in the front ranks of the Black people's struggle and in opposition to the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam.

While the overall struggles of youth and students are certainly not at the level they were five or ten years ago, the launching of a communist youth organization, and its development and strengthening in the years to come, that's linked and tied to the political leadership and work of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the struggles of the working class, will make great contributions to building a powerful mass movement in this country against the capitalists and all their crimes. It will unite with and develop the struggles of youth and

students in a revolutionary direction and build them as part of a powerful united front led by the working class against the capitalist rulers of the U.S. It will develop and strengthen the ties of the Party to millions of young people in this country—as well as broader sections of the population, and provide a training ground for thousands of youth to develop into class conscious fighters for the working class. The RCP pointed to the necessity for such an organization in its Party Programme and has been working towards building and launching such an organization since its founding.

### Worsening Conditions for Youth

And it is coming at a crucial time. The conditions, the whole world, youth are growing up under are rapidly worsening. Millions of young people growing up in this country are entering into a maddening situation. Growing up with big hopes, dreams and ideas of the world they'd like to live in, with decent lives for themselves, they're finding these dreams and hopes run smack up against life today under capitalism in the United States, 1977.

This is especially sharp for working class youth, seeing their parents work their whole lives and having a harder time than ever keeping their families' heads above water. The sons and daughters of the working class find themselves in a situation where 30% of them can't find any place to work at all—with the percentages going up to 50 and 60% for Black and minority youth. The neighborhoods and cities they live in are rotting and collapsing. Friends, brothers and sisters get caught up in drugs and crime. Military recruiters hang around their neighborhoods and schools like vultures preying on their dead-end situations, drawing them in with phony promises and then shipping them overseas to protect the rich man's profits.

Right now, in the face of all this, most youth are somehow trying to pick up a skill, get a job and squeeze through a decent life. The community colleges, skill centers and nursing schools are completely overcrowded with youth trying to escape a life of long years in the working class slaving away for some boss. The military enlistments are high. For large numbers of youth, especially those from welfare or long-term unemployed families who have found no chance of working at all, a life of somehow "hustling" your way through to survive has been taken up—that by being cool, fending for yourself and coming up with money any way you can, including ripping people off, you'll be able to keep surviving and keep yourself going (with the bourgeoisie particularly promoting this hustle or pimp culture among Black youth).

But increasingly, many youth, and surely many more will do so in the future, are seeing how all these different roads of attempts to eke out a decent life are coming up against a brick wall. The youth struggling to pick up skills at the community colleges or skill centers are finding that not only is it harder than ever to get a job to get out of the working class—it's harder than ever to just get one that will get you *into* the working class, with the

capitalists unable to profitably hire the millions of young people entering into the labor force. Military dropouts are at an all-time high for "peacetime" as the youth see and learn how they were duped with phony promises, and what the rich man really has them in the army for. And the "hustle" culture, while still strong, is starting to be seen as a dead end as a means of trying to make it, with many starting to see that it's a quick way to die—and even if not, it's no way the people want to spend the rest of their lives.

### Youth Anger—Social Dynamite

While the level of struggle and organization among youth is still pretty low, all of this is leading to greater frustration and anger among millions of young people in this country. Anger that the labor department's report on youth worriedly calls "social dynamite." Anger that will be important for the young communist organization to tap, direct and focus into hammer blows at the bourgeoisie in the years to come.

The nine million students living in the U.S. are also finding themselves coming up against the capitalist system as they seek to gain an education or skill that will enable them to get decent jobs and work, make contributions to society, and live in a world free from all the social problems around us. (Presently just over 50% of youth in the U.S. spend at least one semester in college, coming from different class backgrounds, principally the petty bourgeoisie.)

Those working class youth going to community and city colleges to gain skills in hopes of a job are finding their schools getting cut back and closed down one year after another. The students on the major universities of the country, while facing cutbacks, are mainly seeing their education more and more geared to the big business needs of the country, while the social sciences are mere apologists, props and supporters of the status quo.

Students see all this going on in a world where social conflict and problems are growing, not decreasing. Where unemployment is becoming a bigger problem, not less. The steps toward war by the U.S. and Soviets are increasing, not decreasing. And where it's becoming increasingly apparent that this system will not, and cannot, meet the needs of the people.

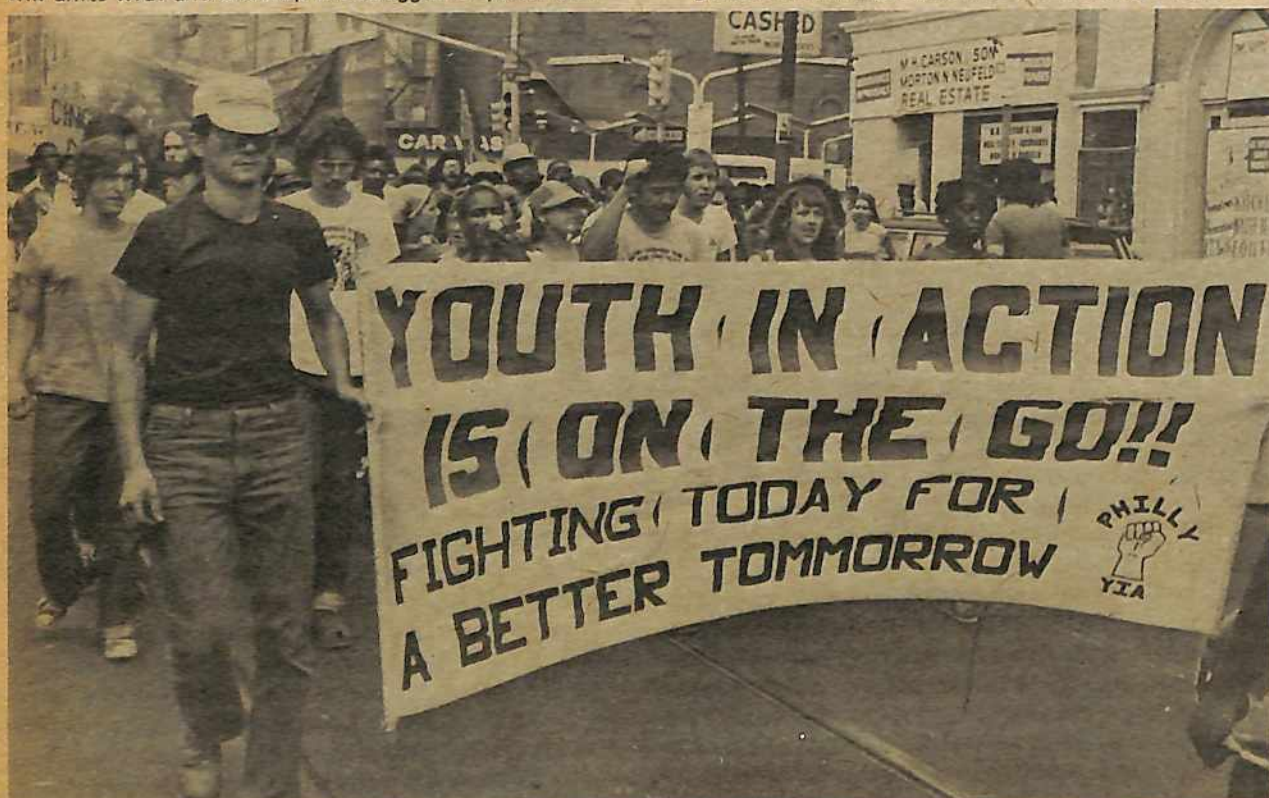
Students, at this time are mainly responding to the increasing crisis by buckling down, studying and hoping to get through the mess one way or another. But increasingly this is also hitting up against a brick wall. And recent struggles on campuses against cutbacks, support for the African freedom fighters and tremendous interest in major social and political questions, such as the international situation, war and socialism, bring out that students will continue their revolutionary tradition in this country. And those struggles that are developing on the campuses now, a small tip of a future wave of struggle to come, are characterized by greater understanding of the capitalist enemy, more organization, developing communist leadership and a desire to unite and stand with all the people struggling in the United States.

In the face of all this, the youth at the March 26th meeting were talking about what type of organization would best serve the needs and struggles of youth and would best develop the youth into a fighting social and political force that would develop into a powerful ally of the working class. They talked about building an organization that leads all the struggles of youth in this country and which is rooted in the two key sections where the youth of the U.S. are concentrated, in the neighborhoods and on the college campuses, leading youth and students to stand up and fight around the issues and attacks coming down on them and all the American people. This would range from going into the streets and neighborhoods to rally youth in battling for jobs, against rotting city conditions and police terror and to support African freedom fighters. And on campuses throughout the country it would mean taking up battles against cutbacks, military ties, bourgeois social sciences and theories, as well as broader political issues concerning all the American people. This will mean developing all these battles and struggles so that the youth and students will hammer at the rulers of the country, weakening and exposing them, will increasingly see the necessity and inevitability of revolution, and will more and more see how their interests lie in standing with the working class.

In addition to building an organization that goes out and leads youth and students to fight the rulers of this country, the youth were talking about the need for an organization that openly offers another road and future to the youth of America. A road other than trying to scramble through the thousand dead ends the rulers of this country offer and have in store for young people—wage slavery, unemployment, war, collapsing cities. A road put out to youth by the young communist organization where the youth are called on to use their skills, desire for change and productive lives to fight for what people need, daring to change this whole world—getting rid of this system and going on to build socialism where the working class runs and rules and constantly transforms what goes on.

The youth talked about building an organization that the youth themselves would take up and build as their own. An organization that, in addition to having its own organizational structure, leaders, etc., would be

Continued on page 21



July 4th focused and unleashed the anger and frustration of youth against the capitalists. As a speaker at the rally put it: "We're standing up, we're not going to let them put us out there to fight their wars...put us out there on the streets to make any kind of hustle we can. We're saying we're not going to take their dope and put it into our heads...We are going to get out there and fight...and when we do we're going to be millions strong."





"Defend the Alliance 9!" "Defend Our Local!" rang out as workers from Local 3059, their families, workers from other plants and members of Dist. 27-28 Steelworkers Organizing Committee marched through Alliance, OH on Apr. 16.

## Steel Local 3059

# Workers Wildcat, B&W Counterattacks

Within the United Steelworkers Union, Local 3059 has become a symbol of the resistance to the treacherous policies of the International. Local 3059 is at the Babcock and Wilcox (B&W) plant in Alliance, Ohio. Last fall it waged a valiant struggle against the receivership it was placed in by the International. Throughout, steel workers in USWA rallied to its support, passing resolutions and sending telegrams, and built a major demonstration at the International headquarters in Pittsburgh demanding an end to the International's tyrannical grip on the local. A short time later the International returned control to the elected local officials.

So it really came as no surprise to fellow steel workers to learn that Local 3059 has been once again engaged in a fierce struggle, this time against harassment, unsafe working conditions and job elimination in the plant. A backlog of grievances had piled up, some men had gotten hurt on the job and the foremen were acting like little Hitlers. A walkout was planned. But following a previous walkout, 27 workers had been threatened with firing if they ever participated in another one. So the District 27-28 Steelworkers Organizing Committee was invited by union members to set up pickets. The committee, which includes workers from Babcock and Wilcox in its membership, is a rank and file organization in Northern Ohio set up last winter. The picket lines were honored and there was a lot of electricity in the air. The plant was shut tight and B&W was getting a taste of righteous anger.

There were some real problems. The strike was solid and spirited the first day, but the threatening cloud of firing hung heavy over people's heads. After some initial difficulties mass pickets were set up, but could not be sustained consistently. The strike lasted about a week, at which point the company agreed to act on some of the major grievances and negotiate the rest. It was further agreed that there would be no reprisals. Victory seemed within grasp. But only a week after people returned to work nine men were fired, including the president of the local and eight other militants.

A new dynamic set in. In the plant a reign of terror was imposed. It became a disciplinary violation for some to talk on the job. The police were frequently outside the plant following two attempts, one by wives and one by the fired workers, to pull the plant out again. Pictures were taken of employees congregating outside the plant. Clearly, it would not be possible to immediately shut it down after the firing.

Yet ways had to be found to reach the people in the plant and carry the struggle forward. There was a tremendous amount of support for the fired men in the plant and in Alliance the firings were viewed as an outrage.

It was with all this in mind that a demonstration on April 16 was called for the express purpose of letting Babcock and Wilcox know that they couldn't get away with these firings and to make the defense of Local 3059 a question for all workers to take up. The slogans of the march were "Defend the Alliance 9" and "Defend Our Unions From Attack." Leaflets went out to shops in town. The fired workers went to city council meetings demanding that a resolution be passed

condemning the company. The local power structure was shaken by the planned march. The local newspaper and radio station refused to carry announcements of the march. People were hounded by police and security guards at the B&W plant when they leafletted.

### Militant March

The march drew some 50 people. It was the first time in the recent history of Alliance that a militant working class demonstration had taken place. Several workers from shops in Alliance turned out to show solidarity along with members of the District 27-28 Steelworkers Organizing Committee. At the head of the procession were the fired workers and their families.

But the march failed to mobilize more than a few B&W workers. In this, it did not live up to its promise. Yet despite this disappointment it definitely put the company on notice that the fight was far from over. And for workers in Alliance, both those working at B&W and at other shops, it was a great source of encouragement, judging from the good response it got and phone calls to the fired workers afterwards. Workers from other Alliance locals are intent on passing resolutions of support in their unions.

At this point the question facing the advanced is how to unite with the people in the plant and break through the obstacles thrown in their path. There exists a considerable fear for their jobs among those still working and among the fired there is some pessimism because of the difficult circumstances. But the fired men are still looked to for leadership. The company is no kinder today because it ousted some of the most active organizers. People want to hit back at the continuing attacks and get these men back on the job. How to exercise such leadership from outside and promote new leadership in the plant under these new conditions while preparing the way for a new offensive is what's being debated out.

The demonstration was a small but important step. It was the first organized response to the firings. Along with other tactics, the upcoming contract negotiations present a great opportunity to link these firings with the continuing abuses in the shop, and there is talk of another strike. The union meetings—still presided over by the fired president—are a vehicle for assessing the developing situation and organizing the fight. And the great support that Local 3059 enjoys among steel workers across the country will add strength to the struggle.

The challenges facing Local 3059 are great. But so is the resolve of the workers. There will be a contingent of Local 3059 workers at May Day this year. It is being taken up by some of the fired men who have come to see the common cause they have with all workers. As the fired president pointed out in his speech at the rally in Alliance, "We've been through it before and we'll be through it again. But so long as the working class of people stick together we'll come out on top."

Letters and telegrams of support can be sent to: Al Stanford, c/o Richard Zink, 960 West Broadway, Alliance, Ohio 44601. ■

# Steel Contract Has Feathers, Gobbles

The new contract in basic steel stinks—that's what workers in the mills are saying about it and that's the truth.

This contract was "negotiated"—if you can call it that—under the so-called Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) forbidding national strikes—and it extends the ENA three more years. United Steelworkers President I. W. Abel, in the swan song of his career before he is replaced by his handpicked successor, rammed the new contract through under the threat that, unless the union agreed to take what it could get, the whole thing would go to arbitration and an even worse deal.

Angry steel workers held demonstrations against the sellout everyone smelled long in advance. On April 8, the last day of negotiations, they demonstrated outside the hotel in Washington, D.C. where they were taking place, and at U.S. Steel's Midwest Division headquarters in Chicago. The next day, the local presidents to whom the contract was presented voted it down 148-143. Abel threw a fit, called this defeat "a bitter disappointment," and, warning that the consequences would be heavy, forced a roll call vote with each local president going on record. Through this, he finally got them to approve it about two to one.

Just as Abel's promises that the ENA would bring about "stability" in the industry and protect steel workers' jobs has proved to be a recipe for seeing jobs slip away while the steel companies step up speedup, job combinations and all kinds of harassment, so also this new contract being publicly portrayed as "a step towards lifetime job security" is actually a step towards more insecurity—another step backwards for steel workers.

The contract doesn't do a thing about the abuses that have given rise to demands shared by a growing number of workers in the mills. When contract talks opened up in February, *The Steelworker* national newsletter organized a demonstration in Washington on the opening day and summarized a series of demands for the new contract. Referring to this, a steel worker told a District 31 Organizing Committee dinner held on April 18 in Indiana to make the contract a battle: "Does the contract get rid of the ENA? Does it stop the job combinations that have caused 200,000 jobs to be lost in 20 years? Does it do anything to stop the senseless maiming and killing of steel workers—the fact that about 10 have been killed in this area so far this year? Does it take on the fight against discrimination that goes on every day against minority workers? That's what makes the contract a sellout, and the rest is just icing."

It's true that the new contract makes some very small concessions to workers with over 20 years seniority—guaranteeing them SUB pay (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) for two years instead of the one year that other steel workers get. But even this is somewhat fraudulent, since the contract requires these older workers to accept any job the company offers them after the first year or lose their SUB pay altogether, even if the job is in another part of the country—and just how far away is yet to be announced.

The rest of the contract is a joke—a 3% wage hike (a total of 80 cents over three years), a cutback in the Blue Cross coverage of probationary employees and life insurance coverage for workers over 65. On the very important issue of contracting out—which means weakening the steel union as outside contractors are used for construction, electrical and other jobs in the mills—the contract calls for a task force to issue a report in two years. As one worker put it when someone tried to sell it on the basis that it provides free eye care in the last year of the contract, "I even have to wait two years before I can go blind under this damn thing."

But the worst feature of the new contract is that in return for the so-called "lifetime job security" it provides, further concessions to the company by the union are still to be negotiated. The possibility of steel workers losing even more to these trade-offs is a real threat.

Most of the local presidents who voted the contract down the first time did so out of fear of what would happen when they tried to present this package to the rank and file (who don't have the right to vote on it), but when push came to shove they were even more afraid of the Abel machine. Nevertheless, at the April 8 Washington, D.C. rally organized mainly by workers

Continued on page 20

## Fraser Breaks Indy Strike

# UAW Local Wages 11 Day Wildcat

An extremely powerful wildcat strike at the Indianapolis Chrysler electrical plant was recently crushed by the open cooperation between UAW Vice-President Douglas Fraser, handpicked successor to Leonard Woodcock, and the Chrysler Corporation. This strike was significant in two respects. First, as the longest wildcat in Chrysler history (11 days), with the rank and file and the local officials taking on the company, the local news media and to varying degrees their own International union, it is an indication of the widespread and deepening militancy of auto workers in the face of the companies' drive for profit. On the other hand, the blatant and very open cooperation between Chrysler and the UAW International—with Fraser's full support Chrysler fired all 23 local officers and reps, along with suspending 44 other workers—shows the fear the International union has of these spontaneous struggles and the extent they are willing to go in cooperation with the companies in an attempt to isolate and squash them.

The strike started three days after a foreman, Marvin "The Crusher" Crutcher, pushed a chief steward, Ed Reyner, over a desk, injuring him and forcing him to be hospitalized. Chrysler cultivates this kind of arrogant harassment and overseer mentality in its cutthroat competition to get a bigger piece of the auto market. The company claimed Reyner and Crutcher were fighting, and suspended both.

Three days later, March 18, they let the foreman come back into the plant, with the steward still suspended. Foreman Crutcher walked into work at 4:00 PM; at 4:30 PM 1,000 second shift workers walked out. During the days that followed production was shut down and not a truck crossed the picket line. 300 to 500 workers were actively picketing, knowing that the company was watching every move. Many workers stayed up all night for days on end, planning the strike and manning the picket lines. They published strike information leaflets, signing them "Chrysler Workers for Justice," countering company lies and threats.

The company countered by getting an injunction limiting pickets to four per gate. On Friday, March 25, they took out a full-page ad in the Indianapolis *Star*, a reprint of a letter plant manager L. S. Wisman sent to all workers, telling people to come back to work.

The Local took on this company attack. The same day they went to the *Star* with an ad telling their side of the story, only the *Star*, showing it knew where its bread was buttered, told the workers the ad couldn't go into the paper until the following Wednesday. Up went a picket line of 25 workers, forcing the *Star* to back down and printing the Local's ad on Sunday. The letter from the plant manager, Chrysler's newspaper ads, and all of the company's threats couldn't break the strike.

### Militant Local History

Local 1226 members have learned a lot through struggles they have waged in the past. Last September they staged a seven day wildcat demanding and eventually winning production jobs for many of the cafeteria workers who had been permanently laid off. Last January the Local went out for 17 days to win a lot of improvements in their local contract. Through struggles like this they had a fairly high level of unity going into this battle and a beginning understanding of the need to rely on the strength of their own ranks. Nor were the local officers the usual "yes men" flunkies the UAW International likes to see. As one picketer said, "I guess we're known as the bad boys around town."

A local like this presented a lot of trouble, not just to Chrysler but to the UAW International. Even spontaneously a bright spark of struggle like this threatens to spread to other plants, especially in the wake of the sell-out of the national contract last fall. This danger is even more real with the growing rank and file organization nationwide in the industry.

In this latest wildcat, the International and especially

the UAW Vice-President Doug Fraser, saw their chance to bust up this militant local. Fraser came to Indianapolis expressly for this purpose. After meeting with Chrysler, he took the following agreement back to the local: 1) Foreman Crutcher would not be at work Monday or Tuesday (but nothing was said about Wednesday or afterwards) to give the Local time to present its case against him; 2) Chief steward Reyner would not be disciplined; 3) No discipline of any union official; but 4) No guarantee against reprisals against the picketers. In other words, the proposed agreement made no guarantee that Crutcher wouldn't be back on the job in a few days and opened the way for the company to harass and fire any number of the hundreds who had walked the picket line. The local officials turned this down, calling it blackmail. At a membership meeting Sunday afternoon the flunky that Fraser sent (he was scared to appear himself) was booed out of the union hall.

Earlier in the day, the International had tried another way to break the strike. Working with the local ex-president, they tried to organize a few workers to invade the local hall, throw out the present local leadership, and take it over for the International. But word got out ahead of time, and hundreds of workers, including scouts with CBs, showed up to defend the hall. Anybody trying to take it over could have had their brains blown out.

Fraser's first attempts to sabotage the strike had ended in failure too. Clearly he and the company were going to have to resort to even heavier repression and more trickery if they were to get this aroused group of workers back into the plant.

The next day, Monday, the company notified the 23 officials that they were all fired, and let it be known that 44 others were to be suspended for picketing. But faced with these firings the workers were even madder, the sentiment ran strong that they absolutely couldn't go back to work now, until everyone had their job back

and Foreman Crutcher was fired.

It took Doug Fraser a second try to finally stick the knife in the workers' backs. 2,000 people attended a special meeting on Tuesday, March 29 in downtown Indianapolis. Workers held up signs that read, "Immunity for everyone—if not, International, go home!" and "Is Fraser union or company?" When local president Larry Schick and the other fired officials walked in, they got a standing ovation. When Doug Fraser was introduced, he was booed by about half the crowd.

For about 45 minutes Fraser pleaded with arguments that by now should be familiar to most workers. At one point a worker in the crowd yelled out, "What do we do with our dignity?" Fraser answered that "We have our dignity" because foreman Crutcher wouldn't be at work when they went back in. Another worker jumped up and shouted, "You mean we're supposed to go back in with no representation?" Fraser replied, "Yes, I'm telling you to go back without representation." And one more time he stated that there were no guarantees from the company about further reprisals.

Following Fraser, local president Larry Schick spoke. He said that although he himself would never go back as long as one member was still fired, he "didn't know what to tell people." The whole thing is "out of control." He didn't want to see bloodshed on the picket line and he didn't want to see the Local in receivership.

District 3 director Sells then called for a straw vote, which was very close, perhaps 55-60% in favor of going back. Sells declared that it was 80% in favor of returning to work and adjourned the meeting. At this point all hell broke loose. Workers yelled at Fraser, "Why don't you just take Wisman's (the plant manager's) job!" One worker held up his UAW jacket and yelled at Fraser, "I'm proud of this. Are you?" Others threw their jackets out on the hockey rink in disgust. About 200 workers pushed down to the front and surrounded Fraser, arguing with him, demanding that the microphone be turned on and the meeting continued. Fraser snuck out under the stands, and when 600-700 workers stayed in the halls, they finally turned the microphone back on.

Now a second meeting began. The big question was how to proceed, to put up the pickets or not? But the International/company had done their dirty work. The struggle had gone a long way but had run up against limits posed by its spontaneous character and lack of rank and file organization. By afternoon second shift people reluctantly returned to work.

The workers of Local 1226 had been successful for 11 days. They had taken on Chrysler, the news media,

Continued on page 20

## One More Outrage In Fred Hampton Murder

The facts of the case are clear and uncontestable. In 1969, the federal government and the FBI were carrying out "Cointel," described by official FBI memos as a program to "disrupt and neutralize the Panthers, prevent the rise of a messiah who could unify the militant black nationalist movement or prevent black nationalist groups from gaining respectability." On the night of December 4, 1969, then Illinois State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan and his aides directed a raid on the home of Chicago Panther leader Fred Hampton. Hampton had been given a sleeping pill by someone who later turned out to be a police agent reporting to Hanrahan's office. Police surrounded the apartment, knocked and opened fire. Over a hundred bullet holes were found going into the apartment—at most there was one shot fired in return. Hampton was shot and killed as he lay asleep in bed. One of the other people in the apartment at that time later testified that when the cops entered, Hampton's bedroom, one was heard to say that he had moved his toe and must still be alive—and they fired again. Another Panther leader, Mark Clark, was also killed and four other people were wounded.

These are facts that have been established in a court of law, all nice and legal, according to the way the bourgeoisie does things. But what is the outcome of the affair? On April 15, after a year and a half long trial in a damage suit brought against Hanrahan and his

aides by the survivors of the raid and the families of the murdered men, Hanrahan walked out of the courtroom legally exonerated—free to run for mayor four days later.

A few years ago, he was cleared of criminal charges arising out of his attempts to cover up the raid. Now the U.S. District Court judge hearing the civil suit ordered the case against him dropped, on his lawyer's motion, before the completion of the trial, without even writing an opinion explaining his decision.

The courts, the people are told, are where one is supposed to go to "redress grievances." But after Hanrahan was acquitted, the courts ordered the family and survivors to pay the court costs of Hanrahan and his aides—\$500,000, in addition to the enormous amount of money the case had already cost them. Their lawyers, who were threatened by the judge all through the trial with one of them even briefly jailed, have now been threatened with disbarment. This is the punishment for "seeking redress" when the authorities wanted a cover-up.

After the judge cleared him, Hanrahan gave a press conference and arrogantly told reporters that Hampton was a "criminal" and deserved what he got.

This is supposed to be a "democracy," we're told, where the law provides "equal protection for all." But there was never any question in court about Hanrahan's responsibility for these cold-blooded murders. The only question was whether or not Hanrahan was doing his job, and doing it "properly." Putting a stop to the Black Panther Party was Hanrahan's job, the court decided, and shooting this Black revolutionary in his sleep was, to the court, entirely "proper."

From start to finish, this case has shown without a doubt the vicious content of the "democracy" of the bourgeoisie. The law protected the interests of the capitalists and their faithful flunkies against the threat that the Black Panther Party would stir up the masses of oppressed people against them. And, after Hampton and Clark were murdered in the name of the law, the law protected his murderers against those who dared accuse them.

An awful lot of people will never forget or forgive Hampton's murder. An outrage like this trial has only revealed to even more people the despicable nature of the bourgeoisie's "democratic" dictatorship.

No judge nor court can ever clear Hanrahan's name nor change what he did. This latest courtroom farce just makes it even clearer that the ruling class that hired this killer still stands behind him and his cowardly crime. ■

## Revolution

*Revolution* is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA (RCP, USA). It is published monthly. All correspondence to the Party should be sent to RCP, USA, PO Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.



Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois meet with Mao Tsetung, Oct. 1, 1962. They were lifelong friends of China.

## Anti-Imperialist Fighter

# Shirley Graham DuBois 1907—1977

Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois, widow of the internationally renowned freedom fighter and Black scholar Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, died on March 27 in Peking, China. Like her husband, Mrs. Du Bois dedicated her life to advance the fight against national oppression of Blacks in the U.S., actively supported the unity and liberation of the African people, and fought to strengthen the links between Blacks and the worldwide struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples.

Mrs. Du Bois was also a true and longtime friend of the Chinese people. She had returned to China in February of 1976 for the fifth and final time to undergo treatment for an advanced case of breast cancer. While there she persisted in working and was preparing a book on women in China.

After her death a memorial meeting was held at the auditorium of the Papaoshan Cemetery for Revolutionaries on April 2, 1977. It was attended by officials of the Chinese government, diplomatic officials and envoys of Tanzania, Zambia, Ghana and Guinea, representatives from other circles, as well as Chinese and foreign friends and family of the late Mrs. Du Bois.

In a memorial speech, the president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, Wang Ping-nan, noted that Mrs. Du Bois "visited China five times and each time she warmly praised and widely propagated the achievements and progress the Chinese people had made, and did a lot of work in enhancing the friendship and understanding between the Chinese people and the people of the United States and the Third World. What particularly moved us is, even when she was gravely ill this time, Mrs. Du Bois never forgot for one moment to collect material for a book on New China. Such friendship for the Chinese people and her staunchness will be engraved in our hearts.

"Mrs. Du Bois has left us forever. The Chinese people have lost a close friend, and the people of the United States, Africa and the Third World have lost a heroic fighter. We are fully confident that the cause of emancipation of the oppressed people and the oppressed nations for which she fought all her life will eventually triumph."

### Two Fighters for Liberation

Shirley Graham was born in Indianapolis on November 11, 1907, the daughter of a Black minister and his wife. Educated in the U.S. and Europe, she was awarded many honors for her research and writing. Long before she became the wife and colleague of Dr. Du Bois, she achieved recognition in the fine arts in her own right, with creative contributions in music, drama and literature. She authored books for children and young adults, including biographies on Phyllis Wheatley, Paul Robeson and Frederick Douglass, Black cultural figures and leaders; and wrote *His Day Is Marching On*, a book about W. E. B. Du Bois.

She composed several operas and plays, including *Coal Dust and Dust to Earth*. From 1936-38, she served in Chicago as supervisor of the Federal Theater Project under the Works Progress Administration. She co-founded the civil rights magazine *Freedom Ways* in 1963, and was a contributing editor for *Black Scholar* magazine. She was also a teacher of music and creative writing.

Mrs. Du Bois' husband, W. E. B. Du Bois, born in

1868, was a consistent anti-imperialist fighter. Although his analysis often fell short of providing a full Marxist-Leninist revolutionary view, he was a pioneer in the field of history and social conditions of Black people in the U.S. He was one of the early organizers of a number of civil rights and Pan-African organizations in the early 1900s, and these groups played a very progressive historical role. He represented the second Pan-African Conference in bringing the case against colonialism before the Versailles Peace Conference after World War I.

Through his involvement in the struggles of Blacks in the U.S. and Africa, he observed that peoples in Asia, Africa and throughout the world were being exploited and oppressed by the same system of imperialism. He became a staunch friend of the Chinese people and their fight for liberation, and publicized the achievements of their revolution. He left the U.S. for Africa for the last time in 1961 and joined the Communist Party, USA. Though the CP was then a revisionist party, there was no true communist party at that time. And, for Du Bois, this was more an act of protest against U.S. imperialism than out of agreement with the CP's line. Du Bois was an example of wholeheartedly putting his intellectual skills in the service of the struggle against exploitation and oppression. Moreover, Du Bois stands out as one of the most important leaders in the struggle of Black people for liberation and against the colonial and imperialist system.

Shirley Graham married W. E. B. Du Bois, who was a longtime friend of the family, in 1951—during the Korean War and a period of intense anti-communist repression. The U.S. government launched a vigorous persecution of Du Bois for his firm stand against U.S. aggression in Korea and the use of Black troops there, as Du Bois put it, "to murder colored folk who suffer from the same race prejudice that Negroes in the United States have long suffered and still suffer; at being almost forced to be the dumb tools of business corporations seeking to dominate China and Asia."

### Persecuted by U.S. Government

Along with the other officials of the Peace Information Center, Du Bois was indicted for treason by the U.S. government. Mrs. Du Bois joined her husband in making two cross-country speaking tours to gain the support of the American people in the upcoming trial. Students on white and Black campuses were among those who responded and formed defense committees all over the country. Alarmed, the bourgeoisie made sure its press and media maintained a news blackout on the case. Still, mass indignation kept growing, and the government was forced to acquit Du Bois, while continuing to hound and blacklist him and his wife. But Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois would not bend and give thanks to the bourgeoisie, and tirelessly attacked and exposed the government's harassment and imprisonment of communists. In 1952 Dr. Du Bois with the help of his wife published *In Battle for Peace*, a book on the indictment and trial, and openly thanked communists throughout the world for their unwavering support.

The U.S. bourgeoisie stepped up their surveillance of the Du Boises, and sought to destroy their reputation and influence among the American people. Their manuscripts were rejected by most publishing houses; their

lectures refused by colleges and universities; their mail tampered with and sometimes withheld; their neighborhood in Brooklyn was bombarded with government agents questioning neighbors about their visitors and activities. Black publications were warned not to carry any more writings by W. E. B. or Shirley Du Bois, or to even mention their names. The central office of the NAACP, of which Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois were once leading members, denied permission to local branches to sponsor their speaking engagements.

### Refused to Be Silenced

Despite their dwindling income and increasing hardship, Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois refused to be silenced or swayed from their beliefs. Their travel restricted by the government, they spoke out and wrote whenever and wherever possible. After enormous pressure from many Americans and foreign countries, the ban on travel of Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois (and of their fellow anti-imperialist fighter and good friend, Paul Robeson) was temporarily lifted in 1958.

Mrs. Du Bois and her husband took advantage of this period to travel extensively. They especially looked forward to visiting Africa and witnessing firsthand the progress made under socialism in China and the Soviet Union. Du Bois was the only non-African invited to make a speech at the All-African Conference in Accra, Ghana, but Soviet physicians advised him against making the journey because of his failing health. So he entrusted his message to his wife, who went to the conference herself and delivered it, reading in part:

"Africa, ancient Africa has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! Which way shall Africa go? First, I would emphasize the fact that today Africa has no choice between private Capitalism and Socialism. The whole world, including Capitalist countries, is moving toward Socialism, inevitably, inexorably. You can choose between blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union, you cannot choose between Socialism and Private Capitalism, because Private ownership of capital is doomed....A body of local private capitalists, even if they are black, can never free Africa; they will simply sell it into new slavery to old masters overseas."

Du Bois adds in his autobiography: "The address was greeted with applause. Later Shirley and Mrs. [Paul] Robeson with the help of Tom Mboya, the chairman, secured the removal of Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa flag from the assembly hall." (p. 404)

### Friends of China

Afterwards, Mrs. Du Bois and her husband traveled to China as guests of the Chinese government. Dr. Du Bois was honored in Peking on his 91st birthday, and later he and his wife met and talked with Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai. In the eight weeks they spent together in China during this visit, the couple made radio broadcasts and spoke to the Chinese people about the oppressive conditions in the U.S. Upon their return to the U.S., the State Department again demanded back their passports, and government persecution of them intensified.

In 1961 Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois left the U.S. without official permission. Upon the invitation of President Kwame Nkrumah, they went to live and work in Accra, Ghana, where Du Bois died in August 1963. His death was announced at the historic March on Washington, D.C., and a moment of silent tribute followed from the hundreds of thousands who had been inspired by his leadership in the civil rights movement.

Mrs. Du Bois remained in Ghana and revisited China as the representative of Ghana at the Association of Afro-Asian Journalists. She also spent ten years in Cairo, Egypt, and later became a Tanzanian citizen. In 1970 she was denied reentrance to the U.S. by then Attorney General John Mitchell and the Justice Department. In the same year she was asked to lecture at Fisk University in Nashville but the State Department refused her visa on the grounds of her political activities. There was a public uproar against this, and she was finally readmitted to the U.S.

In 1975 in one of her last public talks, Mrs. Du Bois addressed a gathering of Black scholars, old and young, expressing her confidence in the bright future ahead:

"Imperialism, with its exploitation, oppression and aggression is a badly wounded Beast—while Humanity is rising in strength throughout the world....Lift up your heads and look beyond narrow confines! We, the people, have much cause to rejoice. Black people have cause to celebrate; the Third World, the World of Color, no longer slumbers. Everywhere there is movement, everywhere is the sound of marching feet—coming on—coming on!"

In a private conversation with Mao Tsetung in Wuhan, China, Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois discussed their work in the fight for Black liberation in America. When her husband mentioned mistakes he felt he had made, Mrs. Du Bois remembered well Chairman Mao's reply: "The only deplorable mistake a man makes is when he lies down and lets the enemy walk over him....The Communist Party of China has made all the mistakes there are to make!...But we never give up!" This too sums up the never ceasing spirit of struggle left us by Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois. The peoples of the world will surely make real their dream of a world free from all exploitation and oppression. ■



Actions like the takeover of the Soldiers and Sailors monument in Cleveland helped acquit Ashby Leach of 13 counts of kidnapping, although he was convicted of lesser charges.

# Leach Trial Victory: Major Charges Beaten

On Tuesday, April 5, the trial of Ashby Leach came to a close. It was a bad day for the Chessie Railroad System (C & O). Ashby Leach, the Vietnam vet who had seized their offices eight months earlier demanding that Chessie honor the GI Bill, was found innocent on 13 counts of kidnapping and convicted on three lesser charges. He was sentenced to 3-15 years and is now free pending appeal.

This is a great victory considering that Leach was tried in the media as a cold-blooded terrorist. His name was linked with murderers like the Nazi sniper in New York State. His bold act was said to have opened the floodgates of "lawlessness." It can honestly be said that had mass support not been built for his case he probably would be languishing in some hellhole for the "criminally insane." That a jury would acquit him of the most serious charge, kidnapping, which carried with it a life sentence, says something about the ability of a mass movement to raise the real issues of the case. That the judge was forced to release him says that Ashby was not simply tried in the sensationalistic atmosphere created by the bourgeoisie, but was being tried amidst growing support for his cause.

Ashby's supporters crowded the courtroom and the corridors that Tuesday. After the verdict was read people cheered the victory. Chanting "Free Ashby Leach, Make Chessie Pay!" people marched out of the courthouse vowing to continue the fight until all the charges are dropped and until Chessie is forced to honor the GI Bill and compensate veterans denied it in the past.

The courts presented the case as the "People of Ohio vs. Ashby Leach." Through the months of building the defense movement the tables were turned. It became "Ashby Leach and the People vs. Chessie and the Fatcats." The Ashby Leach Defense Committee in Cleveland and West Virginia and Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) chapters throughout the country took the case on aggressively.

In the plants, in neighborhoods, on the campuses, people organized to expose the true facts of the case. As the campaign and trial progressed the issues were sharpened up: Ashby and tens of thousands of other vets were used as cannon fodder in an imperialist war in Vietnam; all the while companies like Chessie were making millions off that war; then the guys who made it home alive can't even get the GI Bill. Do you have to be a lunatic to hate and fight this outrageous situation?

## "Kiss of Death" for Chessie

Chessie was clearly on the defensive. They sent spies to trail Ashby and VVAW members at meetings and rallies. During the trial, in an internal memorandum, Chessie said that if the truth of their treatment of vets got out it would be the "kiss of death" to their image. In fact, the company tried to coach witnesses and offered them special legal assistance.

Ashby had said that he would be vindicated by "ordinary folks." And this was the direction things went in. One juror explained to the press following deliberations,

"We felt he got the shaft. I support him 100%. I think his cause is just. I almost feel some official from Chessie should be put on the stand and go on trial."

The trial began in mid-March and the courts took over where Chessie left off. They were out to get Ashby and stop the support movement. They tried to stop Ashby from being one of his own lawyers. But Ashby and his supporters beat that. The courts tried to stop people from demonstrating, or being anywhere near the court (except for a tiny handful who could squeeze into the small courtroom). They tried to cover up Chessie's crimes by conducting the fastest trial in town. But people beat them on all of this.

Of course, behind every one of their maneuvers, from refusing to allow key defense witnesses to testify about how Chessie treated veterans to denying the right of the defense to call Cyrus Eaton (owner of Chessie) to the stand, lay the desire to keep the real issues from surfacing. But it was precisely the ability of the campaign to get the real issues out and build mass support that made the difference.

## Support Rallied Broadly

Veterans took up the call to "close ranks around one of our own." The VVAW organized a nationwide speaking tour for Ashby. Thousands of people around the country heard him speak. In Kent, Ohio, for example, 200 students came out. When the evening was over almost all of them gave Ashby a standing ovation.

Workers saw Ashby as one of their own, too. It wasn't just because he was a railroad worker and vet—and many people had gone through just what he had—but because he took a stand against oppression. He was saying in a concentrated way what people in all their daily battles and skirmishes with this system are saying: we won't let this system walk over and crush us. His name came to be associated with a spirit of resistance.

Chessie, needless to say, spent thousands of dollars to advertise how happy its workers are. This coming from a company that couldn't carry through with a merger a few years back because the unions wouldn't buckle under to accompanying changes in work rules and from a company which has hundreds of letters from other vets buried in its files demanding their GI benefits. But a truer picture was seen at the C & O yards in Huntington, West Virginia where workers lined up to sign the support petition. A banner signed from Chessie workers was carried at the march before the trial started. And Ashby was visited and written to by other West Virginia railroad men who backed him.

Petitions were signed in shops and plants in Cleveland and all around the country. In the steel mills in Cleveland, a lot of workers wore stickers on their hard hats saying, "Free Ashby Leach." A workers' dinner was attended by 80 people, most from basic industry.

All kinds of people—doctors, lawyers, professionals—stood behind Ashby Leach. The support work culminated in a large demonstration of 350 veterans, workers, students and youth from Cleveland and other cities who marched proudly and militantly through the streets of Cleveland. The old Soldiers and Sailors monument was seized and the chant "Free Ashby Leach!" filled the downtown Public Square. The demonstration was one of the largest to be held in Cleveland in years.

The campaign sent reverberations through the city. Ashby's case was hotly discussed and debated. Workers began to speak of the organized support Ashby had. And this could not escape the attention of the bourgeoisie. Now it was no longer Ashby Leach, the lone desperado, but Ashby Leach and "his misguided followers." And just as Ashby became a symbol of resistance, Chessie became a symbol of oppression. This was a far cry from the corporation's carefully cultivated image of itself as a benign and progressive enterprise.

The Chessie offices in Cleveland and elsewhere became the scenes of militant demonstrations. As final arguments were nearing in the trial, the company was hit where it hurts when one of its trains was stopped dead on the tracks. It was 100 cars long, carrying coal from Newcastle, Pennsylvania, on its way to the steel

mills. Supporters blocked and boarded the train, holding it for over an hour. It was plastered with stickers and signs, and members of VVAW who organized the action announced to the press that there'll be no business as usual for Chessie because their business as usual is messing over Vietnam vets and railroading Ashby Leach.

The only political line around which people could be mobilized was that Ashby Leach went up in that tower fighting for the rights of all veterans and all people. He shouldn't go to jail. The fatcats who run this country are the real criminals. *And it is right to fight back against them.* It was neither a case of sheepishly apologizing for what he did nor simply saying that all we had to do was go out and do what he did and everything would be settled.

Fundamentally it was a question of showing how Ashby's action was a spark of resistance—which drew clear and unmistakable lines—that could advance our struggle if we built off of its militancy and righteousness. An interesting footnote to this was the utter refusal of the Trotskyites and revisionists to even poke their noses into the case. They ran for cover, scared by Ashby's just stand. ("Guns, hostages, a burning hatred for the system? This guy must be some sort of nut.")

## Controversy

But, there was a lot of controversy stirred up by the case, and among many people there were searching questions raised as to how do you fight back. In two steel workers locals, supporters attempted to raise resolutions backing Ashby. They failed to pass. "I agree he had a case," some people would say, "but he went about it the wrong way." Over time, however, as people began to hear the facts of the case and relate them to their own experience, opinions began to change. For years Ashby had written letters and requested meetings with Chessie officials and gotten nowhere. The "right way" according to the ruling class is to grit your teeth and bear with injustice or go through their dead-end channels.

Did his action and the support built have a positive effect? Did it more sharply expose the abuses of the system? Are the problems and just demands of veterans better understood as a result? Are more people involved in the fight for veterans rights? Have we struck a blow against the system? By going deeply into these questions important advances were made. For many workers the case became an important point of reference, exactly because it boldly raised issues of right and wrong and questions of tactics and mass struggle.

People saw how the trial was conducted, in a kangaroo court fashion. People saw that the prosecution could not rest its case on some argument that the U.S. war in Vietnam was right or that Chessie had the right to deny benefits to vets. It could only assert that Ashby broke the law. And the question immediately arises, just who is served by these laws, then? In discussions people would talk about injunctions during strikes and defying them. Or the fact that laws had to be broken during the civil rights movement to fight discrimination, and that laws explicitly uphold oppression. Is it not right to use force in the pursuit of what's right?

"But what if you or someone in your family was held hostage?" was another question often raised. Ashby was not declaring that the employees of Chessie were the problem. He wasn't saying that they must pay for the company's abuses. His actions and demands were aimed at the people that own and run Chessie. Of course, no one likes to be caught in the middle, like the office people taken hostage. But in any fierce struggle there can be no guarantees that innocent people will not be inconvenienced, or even caught in the cross fire. The point is that the majority of people in society suffer at the hands of the system and are fighting back, in smaller or larger numbers, in more or less organized ways against the minority of exploiters who rule over us. The cause of actions like Ashby's is the system which oppresses people for profit, and they won't end until the system is ended.

One of the most powerful moments in the trial came when Ashby took the stand. He was grilled mercilessly by the prosecutor. "You took hostages, you intended to hurt them!" Ashby retorted that while he was completely serious about taking the hostages, he hurt no one. But more importantly, he yelled back, "Don't talk to me about innocent people and hostages, and about people getting hurt. I took 13 people hostage. The U.S. government took half a million U.S. servicemen hostage and murdered 50,000 of them. I'm in possession of criminal tools when I tap someone on the head, but a B-52 dropping bombs on women and children is not a criminal tool. I'm forced to risk my life in Vietnam for the rich, why can't I risk it for a good cause?"

The fight continues. Ashby is out on appeal and will probably be retried in 6 to 9 months. VVAW intends to intensify the struggle to make Chessie honor the GI Bill; a new chapter has been built in Cleveland and others have been strengthened. Ashby's courage and determination won the respect of many people. But it was the mass support, the mass outrage over the charges leveled at him and the abuses he fought, that resulted in this trial victory. "Free Ashby Leach!" became a militant rallying cry for thousands and a victory—by no means a complete one, but a victory nonetheless—was won. And it has inspired people to carry the struggle forward. ■

# Zaire ...

Continued from page 1

its actual dirty work, so too the U.S. is trying to work through various African and European countries as well as by direct intervention.

U.S. shipments to Zaire during the invasion has so far only amounted to \$15 million, according to the Carter administration. But these figures should be judged in the light of recent revelations that U.S. military hardware funneled through Zaire to the U.S.-backed factions during the Angolan civil war amount to many times the few million that was officially announced, since it included such tricks as listing the value of automatic pistols supplied to the Mobutu government at \$5 each, and so on. Certainly Morocco's offer to send troops to aid Mobutu was American-inspired, to say the least, even without speculating on what the U.S. government might have promised Morocco in return. And once again, there have been ads in the papers—such as the *Fresno Bee* (Calif.)—for American mercenaries to fight in Zaire.

Both superpowers have tried to maintain a low profile in this conflict and to basically hide what's going on. The U.S. government had UN Ambassador Andrew Young running around telling the public that "we shouldn't get uptight" about "a few communists" in Africa, while of course the U.S. government was uptight as hell and scrambling like mad to find ways to intervene in Zaire without letting it show.

This current Soviet-backed invasion is almost an exact rerun of previous Western imperialist maneuvers there, showing that these latecomers to the imperialist scene have learned their lessons well.

Zaire is one of the biggest and richest countries in black Africa and its location in the middle of the continent is quite strategic. Until only 17 years ago, it was owned outright by Belgium, which looted its copper, diamonds and cobalt, using the virtual slave labor of Africans. This oppression led to one of the most powerful revolutionary upsurges in Africa up to that time. The Belgians were forced to grant formal independence to the country they'd once arrogantly called "the Belgian Congo."

A new government born in this struggle, led by Patrice Lumumba, moved to take back the country from the Belgium imperialists and nationalize its mines so that the labor of the people could go to build up their country and not to make European exploiters



# ALD...

Continued from page 2

phasis on groups like youth and students who have already been in some motion around the question. It is natural that Blacks will tend to be most responsive to the campaign, but a clearly multi-national demonstration will not only make for the most powerful blow at the bourgeoisie, but also show in practice the possibility and desirability of multi-national unity.

The question of uniting all who can be united is particularly sharp because there are other forces with their own plans for African Liberation Day.

One such is a motley array of dogmatist forces clustered around the Workers Viewpoint Organization, which has been doing its utmost to split and wreck the African Liberation Support Committee for some time now. WVO's ambition openly stated in its press is to turn ALSC into a "propaganda organization of the advanced" where WVO can "discover and train" "advanced elements" and drag them out of the struggle to swell its scanty ranks.

It is in this spirit that WVO has addressed the question of African Liberation Day this year. First, they oppose the very idea of a broad coalition (and the sectarian practices they have promoted in ALSC have objectively hurt ALSC's reputation with other forces with whom unity might be possible). The main activity they propose for ALD is not struggle against imperialism,

rich.

## Imperialist Splitting and Subverting

This situation was more than the imperialists could stand. The Belgian big capitalists hired the police force of the province of Katanga, where the mines are located, and with European officers threw together a mercenary army to break off the province from the rest of the country and keep it for Belgium. The U.S. ruling class, which wanted to replace Belgium, backed a so-called "United Nations" force to put a stop to the Katanga breakaway and at the same time put down the revolution led by Lumumba and bring the whole country under U.S. control. In the UN, the Soviet Union went along with the U.S.

Lumumba had emerged as one of the main representatives of the African peoples in their fight for independence and liberation. But faced with the immediate necessity of putting down the powerful Belgian-backed force in Katanga in order to keep his country from being torn apart, he underestimated the imperialist nature of the U.S., which at that time was trying to use the fact that it had no outright colonial possessions in Africa, to pose as a "friend" of the African people in their struggle to win independence from the European colonialists.

A bitter lesson was learned in the Congo. Although the Katanga secession was defeated, Lumumba was murdered—with the complicity of the CIA, according to recent revelations in the bourgeois press—and U.S. imperialism took up where the Belgians had left off, with Belgium as its junior partner in the loot.

Since then, Zaire (as it was named under Mobutu) has become the most important black pro-U.S. government in Africa, with the most U.S. investment, the most U.S. "aid" and the biggest CIA station in black Africa. From all this it's plain to see why the U.S. government doesn't want to call attention to what it's up to in Zaire—and it's for sure that the U.S. imperialists are trying to use the Soviet-backed invasion to make Zaire even more dependent on the U.S.

How these former Katanga mercenaries ended up in the pay of the USSR is a real exposure of the nature and hypocrisy of the Soviet social-imperialists and their flunkies.

## Looking for New Sponsors

After their defeat, the Katanga mercenaries fled across the border into neighboring Angola, at that time ruled by Portugal, where they found employment fighting for the Portuguese against the Angolan liberation movement. Then, in the fall of 1975, after the Portuguese were defeated, and on the eve of the date set for the country's independence, these mercenaries were hired on by the pro-Soviet forces within the MPLA to attack the other liberation groups. Shortly after, the Katangese forces were joined by Cuban troops in driving to bring Angola under the Soviet heel.

Now, as the Katanga mercenaries have once again crossed back into Zaire and are engaged in an all-out war with the Mobutu government, the Soviets and their friends in the world are hailing these forces—which call themselves the "Congo National Liberation Front"—as "liberators," when in fact they have always served reaction and of course still do.

To explain away the history of these forces, the pro-Soviet press and some less openly pro-Soviet (but very loudly pro-Cuban) types are claiming that the Katanga mercenaries have changed in character. The weekly *Guardian*, which often uses the Cuban press

but a two day conference to discuss why the Soviet Union is the main danger to the people of southern Africa and the whole world! WVO's aim is to establish this theory—which amounts to nothing but social chauvinism in the U.S.—as an ALSC principle and to use it as a lever to drive out of ALSC any forces which are not subordinate to them. The best answer to this attempted sabotage of ALSC and African Liberation Day will be a large and powerful demonstration which, as a byproduct, will further expose and discredit WVO's poisonous brand of "Marxism-Leninism."

Far more significant in this year's ALD are various Pan-Africanist forces, chief among them the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) headed by Stokely Carmichael. Pan Africanism is a bourgeois theory which holds that there is some common spiritual bond of "Africanness" among all people of African descent which is stronger and more real than bonds of nationality and class. To the extent to which it draws young Blacks into anti-imperialist struggle, there is certainly a basis for uniting with Pan-Africanist forces, while struggling for and developing the correct line, without which the movement will invariably wind up in a dead end.

The AAPRP has also called a demonstration for Washington on May 28th. Carmichael has thus far tried to keep ALD entirely in the grip of AAPRP and has not sought to unite with any of the other forces active or potentially active around African Liberation Day. The AAPRP wants one of the major themes of ALD to be that only with Africa "united under a socialist government" can blacks (throughout the world, including especially the U.S., have a "national home." This

service *Prensa Latina*, claimed one week that these mercenaries had been "politicized" (by which it can be guessed that they mean won over) by their "experiences" in Angola; then the next week turned around, and, forgetting this claim, made the contradictory assertion that most of the original Katanga mercenaries had died and that "the majority of the current front fighters are young men"—presumably pure of the past history of the Katanga mercenary army.

The tactics of splitting and subverting have been used again and again by the imperialists. The Belgian imperialists tried to exploit the question of Katanga for their own ends in the early sixties to oppose the real liberation of the people. In the late sixties in Nigeria, the imperialists tried to exploit the question of the province of Biafra to split it way under imperialist control.

The most outstanding example is Bangladesh, where in the early 1970s the Soviet Union backed India in wresting away the eastern portion of Pakistan and setting up a new country there under Indian control. At that time, many people were confused about the situation, because the masses of people in East Pakistan had been rising in revolt against the Pakistani government and righteously so. But the main aspect of the establishment of Bangladesh was that it was born out of Indian aggression and the power grab of social-imperialism in that region. The nature of the Bangladesh government which emerged from this aggression, and the exploitation and oppression of the masses there, can leave little doubt in retrospect about the reactionary nature of this so-called act of "liberation." Although the Bangladesh government which emerged as a satellite of India and the USSR has since been overthrown, recent developments in the region don't change the nature of those original events.

## Does it Hurt or Help Imperialism?

The lesson of all this reaffirms the Marxist position summed up by Stalin in appraising the maneuvers of the imperialists in the oppressed countries half a century ago. These situations, he said, have to be seen "from the point of view of the actual results, as shown by the general balance sheet of the struggle against imperialism, that is to say, 'not in isolation, but on a world scale.'"

The Soviets are on the move in Africa, trying to use the armed liberation struggles as an opening for their own intervention, and as Angola proved, the meddling of the USSR, like the meddling of the U.S., brings only setbacks for the revolutionary struggle. In the context of the situation in Africa as a whole and the imperialists' aims there, the invasion of Zaire is a dangerous threat to the overall struggle and a dangerous precedent for more of the same. The trampling on the independence of countries which have long been victimized by imperialism is a foul crime no matter what banner it is cloaked in.

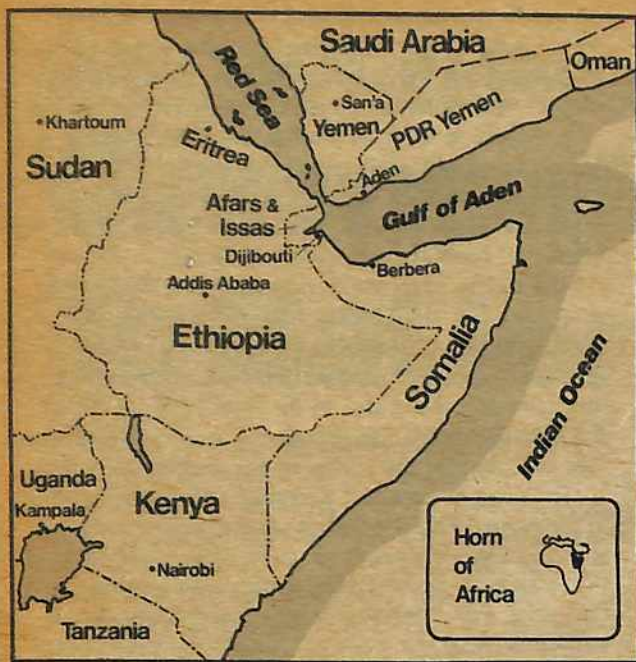
From the point of view of the situation within Zaire itself, if the current reactionary regime is replaced by another pro-imperialist regime whose power is established through force of invasion, this too would be a setback in the conditions for the revolutionary struggle in Zaire, a struggle which is sure to end in the overthrow of all of imperialism's servants, including the present regime.

From this point of view—from the question of whether it actually advances or goes against the struggle of the people of Zaire, Africa and the whole world against the imperialist system and the two superpowers who head it up, this invasion of Zaire is completely reactionary and must be opposed. ■

nationalist appeal not only will tend to alienate many from other nationalities and by obscuring the actual relationship between the situation and struggle in southern Africa and the U.S., fail to mobilize the Black masses to the fullest, but it also does not concentrate the fire of ALD on the target of U.S. imperialism.

Carmichael's proclamation that the march is in support, among other things, of the "socialist countries," including the USSR, Cuba and so on, is a big obstacle to a united action. It is not only sectarian—it would be incorrect to make support even for the *genuine* socialist countries in any way a condition for taking part in ALD—but worse still it holds up as a friend one of the two main enemies of the African people.

Unity with the forces around AAPRP would contribute to a strong African Liberation Day, but it is by no means a precondition for a powerful demonstration. The campaign building up to May 28 is already well underway and will be escalating in coming weeks with stepped-up organizing, actions to turn the spotlight on the role of U.S. banks, corporations and schools in plundering southern Africa and supporting the white settler governments there. Hundreds of thousands of people will become aware of African Liberation Day, and deepen their understanding of the struggle in southern Africa. This will strengthen the base for building a broad social movement in solidarity with the liberation struggle there, while the core of such a movement is forged stronger in the actual ALD demonstration as thousands march to the White House, turning their anger and understanding into action, fighting a battle against imperialism and national oppression in Durban and D.C. alike. ■



# Repression, Struggle Mount In Ethiopia

Confronted with deepening and growing popular revolutionary struggle, the military junta which has ruled Ethiopia for the last three years has launched a barbaric "liquidation campaign" against the masses. Massive repression has been growing in Ethiopia since September of last year, but it took a qualitative leap following a February 3 coup within the junta in which a hatchet man named Colonel Mengistu wiped out his rivals. This has accompanied intensified repression and military action against the Eritrean people, who live along the Red Sea and who have long been ruled and oppressed by, and have long resisted, Ethiopia's rulers.

Over the last several weeks alone many hundreds of militant workers, peasants, teachers and students have been cold-bloodedly executed. Stories come out of the country of wanton killings in urban and rural areas. For example near Addis Ababa, the capital city, the bodies of one hundred students between the ages of 13 and 20 were found by local inhabitants thrown in a ditch and half eaten by hyenas. The small village of Jarri became the scene of another mass execution—57 bodies were found, all shot with their faces burned beyond recognition (the butchers of the Ethiopian junta pour hot tar on live faces so that dead bodies won't be identified). In Addis Ababa itself, all residents were ordered to stay indoors for 72 hours recently while the "Flame Brigade"—Zionist trained security forces following in the footsteps of Hitler's storm troops—carried out a house-to-house search for arms and suspected revolutionaries. Many of those arrested were executed or brutally tortured.

In an effort to cover up its class nature and counter-revolutionary terror the junta has proclaimed itself "revolutionary," even "Marxist-Leninist," and trying to build socialism in Ethiopia. But these wild claims have

nothing to do with reality.

The present day Ethiopian state is a continuation of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial, comprador bourgeois rule that existed under Haile Selassie. That antique dictator and these class relations were propped up by U.S. imperialism which had built Ethiopia up as the main U.S. ally in the area. Important military and CIA facilities were built in the country.

## Revolutionary Upsurge

But in February, 1973, the proletariat, peasantry, soldiers, students and teachers rose up in revolution following a three-year famine which caused the death of more than 500,000 peasants (Ethiopia is mainly a peasant country). A key factor contributing to this uprising was the growing armed struggle of the Eritrean people against national oppression which increasingly undermined Haile Selassie and made it impossible for the ruling class to rule in the same old way.

A massive general strike, factory occupations and street fighting swept Ethiopia's cities. The peasants started armed seizures of their land, seized the grain and property of the landlords, chasing them out of the countryside. Rank and file soldiers mutinied everywhere. Students, teachers, urban poor, people from oppressed nationalities staged massive well-coordinated demonstrations. The masses raised revolutionary and democratic slogans, including some directed against U.S. imperialism.

However, without the guidance of a proletarian party the movement fell under the leadership of petty bourgeois opportunists, mainly within the military. Muzzling revolutionary slogans these military men gained some popularity, pushing Haile Selassie out of the way and instituting a phony land reform program. But the new junta did nothing more than replace old oppressors with new ones and put cosmetics on the semi-colonial, semi-feudal Ethiopia that had existed under the old dictatorship. Basically internal class relations remained the same and U.S. imperialism scurried to maintain its hegemony, stepping up its "aid" to the new junta.

But since February, 1974, the military dictators have known no peace as the massive internal and external contradictions that propelled their ride to power have continued to give rise to struggle, threatening to topple their shaky rule. As the revolutionary rhetoric of the junta has become exposed, the mass struggle has once again surged forward more deeply and thoroughly revolutionary than before, despite fierce repression.

For example on May Day, 1976, massive demonstrations were held in all the major Ethiopian cities denouncing the junta's continued rule. On September 19, 1976, a strike opposing the junta's labor laws and for higher wages, by employees of banks, water, electrical and telecommunications, insurance, newspapers and supermarkets paralyzed the capital city. At the same time the peasants' struggle has grown with land takeovers on the rise and the peasants beginning to arm themselves again to deal their own justice to feudal reactionaries. Leading much of this struggle has been the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP) and its military arm, the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Army (EPRA)—and consequently much of the recent terror has been directed especially against them.

One of the struggles that threatens the junta the most is the 12 year armed struggle of the Eritrean people. Militarily this struggle has continued to win victories. Despite the fact that the bulk of the Ethiopian army is stationed in Eritrea, there are several areas where the junta's military dare not set foot. Politically the Eritrean struggle has helped expose the junta as they talked about "Marxism-Leninism" and "socialism," on the one hand, but waged a vicious campaign of repression against an oppressed people on the other.

This struggle, which has gained tremendous strength over the years, threatens two of the three main ports used for Ethiopian trade. (The other port is located in the former French colony of Afars and Issas, due to become independent in July, 1977 and an object of intense superpower contention because of its strategic location.)

In a wild attempt to crush this struggle the military junta recently tried to mobilize poor and landless Ethiopian peasants to invade Eritrea, offering them free land in return for helping to crush the revolutionary struggle there. But this plan was ill-starred and collapsed before ever getting off the ground. For one thing, with the Eritrean people armed and mobilized this invasion would have been met with fierce resistance and untold thousands would have been killed. For another, it was clearly a trick by the junta to turn the spearhead of struggle of the Ethiopian people away from them and towards the Eritreans. Clearly what was needed was for the Ethiopian peasants and soldiers to refuse to fight their Eritrean brothers and to turn their fight instead against the junta. To a large degree this is what happened with the whole fiasco turning into a further exposure of the junta. For example, when the administrator of the city of Gondar tried to address the May Day rally last year and call upon the demonstrators to march on Eritrea, the microphone was wrenched from his hands and he was stoned. He escaped with his life only due to soldiers who opened fire and shot dead 13 demonstrators.

These intensifying internal contradictions accentuated the factional divisions within the junta itself. One of the key differences that developed between the military dictators was over how best to curb the forward march of the revolution. It was these contradictions that led to the coup within the junta by Colonel Mengistu on February 3 this year and the unleashing of the white terror directed against the struggling masses.

## U.S.-Soviet Contention

Fishing in these troubled waters have been the two superpowers. Ethiopia and the entire "horn of Africa" have become a center of sharp contention between the U.S. and the USSR given their strategic location at the mouth of the Red Sea and importance to communications and transportation (especially oil) between Europe, Asia and Africa (see accompanying article on the Castro, Podgorny trip, p. 15).

For its part the U.S. has been trying to further strengthen its foothold in Ethiopia even following the recent coup. Besides increasing its foreign aid, a number of top CIA operatives have been sent into the country. G. McMurtrie Godley, a notorious U.S. butcher known for his role in aiding the Phalangist forces in Lebanon in 1974-76, the U.S. puppets in Laos in 1969-73 and the anti-Lumumba forces in the Congo in the early 1960s, was recently appointed U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia.

But given the growing hatred and struggle of the Ethiopian people against U.S. imperialism, a government too closely associated with this superpower is like having an albatross around its neck. The Soviet rulers have tried to take advantage of this situation to further their own imperialist aims in the area. Even before the recent coup when the Soviet position was advanced they had tried to buy influence, building, for example, a technical school in Assab and getting a lot of students to go to the Soviet Union for technical training. They have also tried to win influence within some struggles against the junta. Revisionists around the world, who had praised the junta's attempt to build "socialism" in Ethiopia, gave a standing ovation when Colonel Mengistu came to power in the recent coup and began slaughtering the Ethiopian revolutionary masses. Radio Havana, for example, heaped lavish praise on Mengistu's extermination campaign, calling it the suppression of "anarchists" and "counterrevolutionaries." Castro visited the country on his recent trip through Africa and held intimate talks with Colonel Mengistu as the latter was ordering the most gruesome and blood-chilling of his atrocities.

Given these shifting alliances the U.S. has started to hedge its bets as they did in Angola. At the same time they are continuing to support the Ethiopian junta they are increasing the support they have given all along to the so-called Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), a group of reactionary big landlords and aristocrats, who lost power when Haile Selassie was overthrown but still control local armies in parts of Ethiopia and dream of making a comeback. They are also vying to win Afars and Issas and Somalia to their camp and trying to gain influence in the struggle of the Eritrean people, thus giving them the possibility of locking Ethiopia out of any seaports if it should fall into Soviet hands.

Overall the situation in Ethiopia at this time is very complex with the Mengistu dictatorship trying to prop up its rule on the blood of the people and the two superpowers scrambling to outdo each other for control of the entire area. But despite heavy repression, the masses are on the move and the colonial, semi-feudal ruling class is becoming further exposed and isolated. The situation provides an excellent possibility for this struggle to advance towards liberation against all oppressors, both internal and external. ■



Demonstrators in Addis Abba march against the repressive military rulers of Ethiopia.

## Would-Be "Bwanas" On the Hunt

# Castro/Podgorny Take African Safari

Cuba's Fidel Castro and Soviet President Podgorny circled the African continent like two buzzards last month, with Castro flying from capital to capital trying to line up victims and Podgorny swooping down to try to drag off the meat.

Castro visited eight different Arab and black African countries, traveling with a retinue of top central committee members and generals. At each stop he repeated the message, "Without the strength and might of the Soviet Union, the imperialists would have divided up the world again." In other words, the very existence of independent Africa is possible only because of the USSR.

Castro put forward this prescription for Africa in his speech in Somalia: "The revolutionary peoples must struggle together, the revolutionary peoples, who for centuries were subjected to colonial oppression, must strengthen our alliance with the world revolutionary movement, the socialist countries and especially the Soviet Union . . . The Soviet people is the firmest and most loyal ally of all of us who struggle for independence and revolution."

Flying in just behind Castro to three of the countries he visited was Podgorny, traveling with a 120-man delegation, ready to sign up any takers Castro lined up. When this gruesome twosome finished their work, Podgorny flew back to Moscow on April 4 and hung around the airport for a few hours to be on hand for a full-scale welcome for Castro, whose plane was also greeted by the big boss Brezhnev himself, Foreign Minister Gromyko and many other head honchos. After a banquet in which Castro toasted his hosts with the declaration that "Humanity will ever be thankful to the Soviet Union for what it has done," Castro and the Soviet top leadership closeted themselves for a few days of intense talks.

Castro had visited Algeria, Libya, Somalia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola. Podgorny had followed up in Tanzania, Mozambique and Somalia and visited Zambia as well. The choice of countries involved and some of what's been made public about their expedition makes it clear what the Soviets are focusing on in Africa.

### Horning in on the "Horn of Africa"

One of these focal points of Soviet attention is the countries bordering on the Red Sea, in Northeast Africa and the Mideast. With a number of severe setbacks for the USSR in North Africa, including Egypt's break with the Soviet Union and Sudanese President Numeiry's successful smashing of several Soviet-backed attempts to overthrow him, the USSR has been trying to rig up a pro-Soviet regional grouping of Somalia, Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) and the French territory of Afars and Issas, due to become independent June 27.

Control of the area involved means controlling a choke point for the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, which together form a strategic waterway for links between Europe, Asia and Africa. This waterway has long been a point of contention between the imperialist powers. Recognizing its importance, the U.S. is trying to maintain the upper hand by trying to form a pro-U.S. grouping of countries in the region, working especially through Saudi Arabia.

That's why Castro and the Cuban press gave so much importance to his visits to Somalia and Ethiopia, which are real problems for the USSR in carrying out their plans. The Soviet Union has long flooded Somalia with Soviet arms, including a comparatively large number of tanks, encouraging Somali claims to territory now in Ethiopia. In return the Soviets have gained an important naval base in Somalia—giving the lie to Podgorny's often-repeated claim during his trip that the USSR "seeks no military bases in Africa."

Now, since the recent coup within a coup in Ethiopia (see article page 14), the USSR and other Soviet bloc countries are courting the Ethiopian government like mad. But the Soviets are running into the problems inherent in their unprincipled juggling act. In Ethiopia, where until just recently the USSR tried to gain influence in the Eritrean struggle against the Ethiopian government, they have now suddenly switched, seeing an opportunity to use the pressures of the Eritrean rebellion and the general revolutionary upsurge against the government to try to convince the Mengistu government that Soviet "support" is the only way out. But this, in turn, has led to new problems with Somalia against Ethiopia. Adding fuel to the fire is the

fact that Somalia has claims on Afars and Issas which could be swallowed up after its independence, while Ethiopia depends for much of its commerce on the port of Djibouti in that territory.

To deal with this situation, Castro visited first Somalia, the PDRY and Afars and Issas. Castro disappeared from public view for 24 hours—reportedly returning to Somalia to press for its agreement to the plan—and Podgorny followed up by an unscheduled stop in Somalia at the close of his African tour. After his negotiations with the Ethiopian government Castro sent 100 Cuban military advisors to train Ethiopian troops in counter-guerrilla methods to put down the struggle in Eritrea.

Of course, the Soviets' attempt to carve out a "sphere of influence" in the Red Sea is no more "anti-imperialist" than the U.S.'s attempts to do the same. Both are efforts to impose the superpowers' interests on the countries of the region—and both are trying to subvert the resistance to imperialist interference. For example, the cause of cooperation against superpower meddling was advanced at several recent conferences of government leaders in the area.

### Southern Africa

In southern Africa, Castro and Podgorny wheeled and dealt in the same way, selling Soviet "aid" as the only way that the struggle in southern Africa against the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa could be successful. They concentrated on the so-called "frontline" states, those bordering the two white-controlled countries. In Zambia, Podgorny journeyed to a town near the border with South Africa and, looking out from the heights across to the south, pledging himself to the "liberation" of Rhodesia and South Africa.

The words might have sounded fine, but the content of that pledge boiled down to meetings between Podgorny, Joseph Nkomo, a leader of Zimbabwe forces, who has long been favored by the USSR (and the U.S. as well), and Oliver Tambo, a leader of the South African National Congress, which the Soviet Union has worked to control for years. Whatever arms and so on that Podgorny might have pledged these two well-known "moderates" are certainly not to advance the cause of liberation, but to advance social-imperialist interests and hold back the mass revolutionary struggle.

In Mozambique, where the Rhodesian government has conducted hundreds of border raids in the last year against Zimbabwean liberation forces there, Podgorny solemnly declared to Mozambique President Samora Machel, "Brother of mine, you will not be alone in the struggle." Mozambique and the USSR signed a 20-year friendship treaty which provides for an unspecified amount of Soviet economic "assistance" and trade, Soviet political "aid" such as "assistance" in training Mozambican cadres and some clauses which opened the possibility of direct Soviet military intervention in the area.

Although the Soviets obviously have designs on using the struggle against the U.S.-backed white racist regimes to get its own snout into southern Africa, hegemonic dreams aren't the same thing as achieving hegemony.



"Good boy, Fidel." Front man for social-imperialists gets embrace from the boss upon arrival in Moscow, fresh from the Castro/Podgorny road show in Africa.

Nowhere in these frontline states has the USSR fulfilled its intentions entirely. In Tanzania, for instance, Podgorny was given a cool reception, with no public appearances, and Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere used the occasion to point out that the USSR had supplied very little military hardware to the armed struggle in Rhodesia and South Africa. (In fact, until very recently the USSR and its favored forces opposed armed struggle in Rhodesia.)

Nyerere has urged that if the Soviets want to give aid they should do it through the Organization of African Unity rather than picking and choosing whom they support according to their own interests—a request that the USSR has so far turned down. This shows very well how Soviet "aid" is for purposes of gaining influence and control and has nothing to do with supporting the liberation struggle.

### Angola Example

In fact, Castro's stopover in Angola, billed as the highlight of his shuttle diplomacy, Cuban/Soviet style, provided a grim example of what it means to rely on the USSR and its junior partners.

Since consolidating themselves in power last year, the Soviet-favored forces who've come to govern Angola have signed treaties tying Angola's coffee and other export crops to the USSR, while leaving untouched Gulf Oil Corporation's huge oil operation which continues to be a main pillar of Angola's economy. Economically, the country hasn't moved an inch towards becoming more independent.

According to most reports, the number of Cubans—about 15,000 troops during the civil war—has grown by thousands more, including not only military men but administrators and all sorts of "advisors." Even the bus system is run by Cubans—over a thousand Cubans have been brought over to drive buses.

"It is logical," Castro announced in a speech in Luanda, "that now that the war has ended, the number of Cuban fighters in Angola is diminishing and the number of civilian workers for the reconstruction of the country is increasing." "Logical" indeed—according to the logic of imperialism, which leaves the country more dependent than ever on its new masters.

Castro's journeys around the country to review his troops in various places is a disgusting example of what kind of "aid" the Soviets and their partners have in mind—because no matter how you might try to excuse it or explain it away, the fact is that a year later Cuban troops still dominate the country and they're acting like they always will.

In the last two decades nearly every country in Africa has won its formal independence, the national liberation struggles have surged forward and won many victories. In white-ruled southern Africa the people are rising up stronger and more determined than ever. While the U.S., which once posed as the "friend" of the African people in their struggle against old-style colonialism has now been generally exposed, suffering heavy setbacks and defeats, the USSR is trying to use the fact that at least recently it had no colonies in Africa, along with its "socialist" cover, as a way to pose as a backer of African independence.

To sneak its snout in all over the continent, the USSR is attempting to take advantage of bourgeois and petty bourgeois African forces, offering the "bait" of providing a "shortcut" to liberation and the economic development of countries left poor and weak by imperialism. In fact, though, the struggle to free each country from imperialism's political and economic grip must be based above all on the efforts of the masses of people themselves or the only "shortcut" will be to domination by yet another imperialist power—as the bitter lesson of Angola shows.

But it is still very clear that the superpowers haven't been able to determine the course of events in Africa, despite all their maneuvers. Try as the superpowers do to smother it, the flames of revolution have grown into a raging fire shaking imperialism in Africa and the whole world. This is what makes the superpowers' scheming here so desperate. ■

## CUBA: The Evaporation Of a Myth

From  
Anti-Imperialist Revolution  
To  
Pawn of Social-Imperialism

by the  
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Rips the mantle of socialism off Castro's Cuba. Carefully documents its slide from revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism into the clutches of the Soviet social-imperialists. Lays the basis for understanding the role Cuba is now playing as the front man for Soviet efforts to ensnare the people of Africa in its tentacles.

50 cents. Order from RCP Publications, Box 3486  
Chicago, IL., 60654

## Push for Tariff War

# Garment Hacks Go To Bat for Bosses

Picket signs could be seen spreading for blocks in many cities on April 13 as the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) turned out thousands of union members for rallies and demonstrations. But it wasn't a mobilization against the garment bosses to demand decent wages and an end to sweatshop conditions. In fact many garment companies cooperated in organizing the rallies. It was what the union leadership billed as a one day nationwide work stoppage to dramatize their demands that the Carter administration take action to protect the garment and apparel market from foreign imports. "American Jobs Must Be Saved: Don't Buy Imports," "300,000 Apparel Job Opportunities Lost Due to Low Wage Imports!" "Carter—SOS—Save our Shops, Curb Imports," read the signs passed out for the workers to carry.

It's not uncommon to see the union hacks, the companies and the politicians line up arm in arm. But when they do so while spouting their concern for jobs and the livelihood of the workers it's a sure tip that there is something phony going on. Here were the same garment bosses, who scarcely let people leave their machines or cutting tables for a bathroom break, lining people up to leave work for several hours to go to these rallies.

The ACTWU and the ILGWU ran nationwide newspaper ads that were virtually identical with one run by Burlington Industries, one of the nation's largest and least unionized apparel manufacturers, which the Amalgamated has allegedly targeted for a major unionization campaign. Both cried out their concern for the jobs of workers in the industry. Both ads described textile workers as an "endangered" and "imperiled" species. Both call for drastic changes in the Multifiber Textile Arrangement, the international trade agreement between the U.S. and other countries governing the import of textiles and garments that would limit the amount of foreign goods that can be imported.

This unity is not really surprising, since the essence of their position boils down to "what's good for the company is good for the workers." The leaders of the garment unions say that these protectionist measures will save American jobs, and on the surface it seems like they might be right. If American garment and textile manufacturers are doing well, won't they produce more and thus hire more workers? This is the same logic run out behind campaigns like that pushed in the auto industry recently: "Buy an American Car, Save an American Job."

But it doesn't work that way. Import restrictions do sometimes temporarily prevent the loss of jobs in a few industries, but more fundamentally they sharpen the competition between the capitalists and intensify the economic crisis.

The garment and textile industry are not some little island that can be secured from the chaos and constant economic dislocation that results from the workings of capitalism. Even if imports were kept out and U.S. manufacturers could grab 100% of the domestic market, the intense competition between domestic producers would continue, with the larger, more modern and capital intensive plants driving under the smaller, more marginally profitable shops and throwing workers out of jobs. If U.S. auto makers, for example, were able to eliminate foreign competition what would you hear then—"Buy a Gremlin and Save Your Job," or "Buy a Ford and Save a Real American's Job."

But more broadly, the erection of tariff and quota walls to protect the U.S. market from imports invites retaliatory moves from other capitalists that block the export of U.S. goods, cutting into U.S. production, intensifying the international capitalist crisis, and throwing people out of jobs here.

### No Boundaries in Profit Search

This competition between the capitalists inevitably forces them to try to wring greater profits from the labor of the working class, whether by making fewer workers produce more through speedup and mechanization or by moving their plants and investment to areas where they can pay lower wages.

Electronics companies like Zenith and RCA who are calling for quotas on the import of Japanese color TVs have been pushing the Buy American line big. For the last couple of years Zenith has been running television commercials that proclaim the patriotic fact that all their color TVs are manufactured in the United States and the great pride the company takes in the quality work done by their employees. However, these patriots

fail to mention the fact that virtually all of their black and white TVs are made in Taiwan or that 60% of the Japanese Sony color TVs marketed in the U.S. are manufactured in this country. Similarly, many of the components for these American made color TVs are actually manufactured abroad and sent here for assembly.

RCA graphically demonstrated its concern for American jobs a few years ago. They used to have two big TV plants in Cincinnati, Ohio and Memphis, Tennessee. The Memphis plant employed 4000 workers, mostly Black women. RCA had built it hoping to take advantage of the South's low wages and weak unions. But they got a jolt when the Memphis workers, supported by their fellow workers in Ohio, brought in a union and led an 11 week strike. In response, RCA closed down both plants in 1971 and moved their entire black and white production to Taiwan—where wages are 14 cents an hour and strikes are illegal.

Maybe if RCA's workers had been as patriotic as their bosses and had agreed to work for 14 cents an hour the company wouldn't have been "forced" to move away.

The fact is that the export of capital is as integral to the imperialist system as those made-in-Taiwan components are to the "American made" color TVs.

The working class as a whole does poorly whether the capitalists are making high profits or not. The real source of the capitalists' profits is the labor of the working class, which creates new value in the process of production. The less the capitalists have to return to the workers in the form of wages, the greater their profits. That's why they set up shop in nonunion areas or in places like Haiti, South Korea, Thailand and Taiwan, where the miserable wages of the workers are guaranteed by reactionary regimes backed up by the military might of the U.S. imperialists' government.

The competition between the capitalists also drives them to force more labor out of each individual worker, while churning out a greater number of products with fewer workers through the use of more modern machinery and greater mechanization. Marx pointed out that the battles of the capitalists for profits are won less by recruiting than by discharging the army of labor. American Motors, for example, is in bad shape in its competition with the other American auto makers, not to mention their Japanese and European competitors. They tell their workers, "If we don't do better, you'll lose your job." And they use that argument against the auto workers' demands for wage increases. But caving in to this will still result in jobs lost. If AMC were able to increase their profits and come up with increased capital for investment, it wouldn't mean more jobs for auto workers in the long run. They would have to use that capital for what they most desperately need: massive retooling and increased mechanization and modernization of their assembly lines to make them more competitive with the Big Three. And the fact that all these auto giants are pursuing the same

wild course at once means no results are guaranteed—except anarchy, fiercer competition, more dislocations and jobs lost.

This is the same thing that is behind the investment tax credits proposed by Nixon, Ford and now Carter to "stimulate economic recovery and generate jobs." They hand over to business a big tax break for any new investment they make in plant and machinery, machinery that will, in the hands of the capitalists, only eliminate more jobs in the long run.

And to the extent that the capitalists are able to eliminate their competitors and more thoroughly monopolize their markets, they will take advantage of it to raise prices, increasing the burden on the already strapped worker.

### Carter vs. Union Leaders

While they have no concern for the jobs of the working class, even from their own limited perspective the majority of U.S. capitalists perceive that the instigation of a tariff war is not in their interests at this time. The refusal of the Carter administration to go along with those capitalists and union leaders that are demanding import quota reflects this opposition of the capitalists to protectionist policies now. They do like the political climate—the national chauvinism and the "we're all in the same boat" attitude that these protectionist demands attempt to whip up among the working class. In general, however, low tariffs and minimal quota barriers to trade have worked to the advantage of the U.S. capitalists. And the most powerful of them have huge direct investments in the "foreign" companies that are exporting goods to the U.S.

They are also worried about the growing economic and political crisis in other capitalist countries, particularly in countries like Britain, France and Italy. They talk about protectionist measures retarding the worldwide "economic recovery," but they are also concerned about the political implications of increased economic pressure—conflicts with their NATO allies and the struggle and revolutionary development of the working class in these capitalist nations.

But the fact that the majority of U.S. capitalists are against protectionist measures now does not mean they will not go for them in the future as their economic crisis intensifies. They did it in the 1930s and most of them supported the 10% surcharge Nixon levied against imports in 1971. It merely means that at the moment they feel they are in a strong enough position in their international competition with other capitalists that the situation does not warrant increased protectionist policies and their inevitable repercussions. So they continue to extol the glories of "free trade."

They want the freedom to operate in any country they choose, but they also want to protect their own markets at the same time. The fact is that the trade wars that have plagued the capitalists in the past and are being urged by some now are a natural outgrowth of the capitalist system itself and its vicious cutthroat competition for profits.

### Protectionism Weakens Workers

Politically these protectionist tariffs and quotas and the "common interest between capitalist and worker" campaigns that are used to promote them are an effort to gut the ability of the working class to stand up and fight for its own interests. If there is anything that is certain in this world, it is that the working class has nothing in common with the capitalists and that includes their trade wars.

Continued on page 18



Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D., NY), better known for his chauvinist attacks and slurs on the people of the Third World while UN Ambassador, gesticulates from platform crowded with garment union hacks at NY rally calling for protectionism. They preached the common interests between workers and capitalists and demanded quotas to insure the bosses' profits, claiming that this will save American jobs.





Indian people rejoice at news of Indira Gandhi's defeat. The popular sentiment against her repressive measures was partially responsible for her ouster. But it has not resolved the contradictions in Indian society nor ended the exploitation and repression the masses suffer at the hands of the Indian ruling class and the imperialists.

## Indian Masses Still Face Poverty, Oppression

# Indira Gandhi Booted Out of Office

On March 16-20, tens of millions of people in India went to the polls in an election that turned Indira Gandhi and the Congress Party out of the government. Among the Indian masses there was a great sense of relief and joy at deposing Gandhi, who for the past 22 months had imposed an open dictatorial rule—"the Emergency"—which she used to clamp down even harder on the Indian people and attack the bourgeois opposition forces as well.

The Western press was ecstatic at Gandhi's defeat. Typical was an editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* which wrote: "Speaking of human rights, India has just given the world an extraordinarily moving demonstration of a nation's love of freedom. Through peaceful balloting tens of millions of Indians, many of them impoverished and illiterate, have repudiated the authoritarian rule of Indira Gandhi. The system of parliamentary democracy in this dominant nation of South Asia is vibrantly alive, a fact that should buoy the forces of freedom everywhere."

Naturally, all the talk about the "restoration of democracy" has nothing to do with concern for the Indian people. Indeed, many of the measures taken by Gandhi especially during the last year of the Emergency (aimed at maintaining India as one of the most lucrative areas of investment in the world) had won favorable reviews from such prestigious "forces of freedom" as the *New York Times* and the U.S. State Department. What really made the U.S. ruling class and their European partners in plunder joyful is their hope that the change in government will enable them to edge out their arch-competitors in the Soviet Union, to whom the Gandhi regime mortgaged India, and once again exercise hegemony over the world's second largest country.

### Reactionary Rule

A short five years ago Indira Gandhi was at the peak of her authority. India, financed and armed by the USSR, successfully dismembered Pakistan, ripping off the eastern portion of that country and forming Bangladesh. Through savage repression, the regime was able to temporarily subdue powerful peasant rebellions throughout India, particularly in the province of West Bengal, which were under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist forces.

With this as the backdrop, Gandhi's Congress Party, together with its faithful supporters in the revisionist pro-Soviet Communist Party of India, won a sweeping victory in the 1972 elections under the slogan "Abolish Poverty."

It was a promise to the masses that the Indian bourgeoisie will never be able to fulfill.

Since achieving independence from Britain in 1947, India has been governed by the Congress Party, for much of that time headed by Indira Gandhi's father and India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. During the three decades of Congress Party rule the Indian people had been fed promises of socialism, of peace and nonalignment, of an end to foreign plunder—they have been fed many promises but little else. India remains an impoverished, backward country with one of the lowest standards of living in the world.

Under Congress Party rule, the Indian masses were assured that the country would escape the conditions resulting from centuries of colonial and imperialist plun-

der by following the policy of nonalignment and building up a large "public sector" (state owned) in the economy. But this policy has only led to India becoming a land fed upon by both of the superpowers and where their contention for control has been particularly sharp.

Since the 1960s the New Czars of Moscow have pumped billions of rubles to the Indian government for the purchase of Soviet exports, to build various types of heavy industry and in military aid. As a result of this, the majority of India's heavy industry—for example, steel, petrochemicals, etc.—is owned by the state, run by Russian technicians, and heavily mortgaged to the USSR. This growth in the public sector has in no way increased India's independence, made it a bit "more socialist," and certainly has not benefited the masses of people. In fact, a good chunk of the steel forged in Soviet "aided" mills is exported to the USSR itself, despite the fact that India has one of the smallest per capita consumptions of steel in the world.

While the Soviet Union has concentrated on allying with big sections of the bureaucrat-capitalists at the head of the Indian regime, the U.S. and other Western imperialist powers have continued the more traditional forms of imperialist exploitation, by direct investment by the monopolies and by acting through large sections of India's big private capitalists and feudalists.

Both superpowers have used their huge investments in India not only as a source of great profits, but as a lever to try to utilize the Indian regime in pursuing their global political, economic and military goals. For example the U.S., in these instances backed by the then only just emerging social-imperialists, was instrumental in turning the Indian army against China as part of the effort to encircle China, provoking a series of border incidents in 1959 and 1962. Similarly, the U.S. tried to use the reputation of India as a nonaligned and self-proclaimed anti-imperialist country as a cover for U.S. aggression in Vietnam. For many years, Indira Gandhi refused to take a stand in opposition to that imperialist war.

But with the heavy Soviet penetration into India through the public sector, it has been the New Czars who have been the main winners in the battle to use India as a pawn in their superpower contention. The 1971 aggression against Pakistan was initiated only days after the Gandhi government signed a twenty-five year "friendship treaty" with the Soviet Union, which pledged each country to come to the military aid of the other in the event of "attack." This treaty made a mockery of any remaining pretensions of nonalignment on the part of the Congress Party regime, and was a formal recognition of the fact that the USSR had gotten the upper hand in the Indian regime.

### Resistance Mounts

Unfortunately for the Indian bourgeoisie and their superpower masters, it is a scientific truth that, as Mao put it, "Wherever there is oppression there is resistance." No people will suffer silently and "nonviolently" while being held in the kind of conditions of poverty and exploitation that face the Indian masses.

The flames of revolution that swept through great portions of India's countryside in the late '60s were only the sharpest focus of the Indian people's struggle. Throughout Indian society, resistance has mounted as the attacks on the masses of people have intensified.

As discontent seethed among the masses, and as the rivalry between the two superpowers was becoming increasingly desperate—not only in India but throughout the world—deep fissures developed within the Indian ruling circles. Indira Gandhi's replacement as Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, led one of many breakaways from the ruling Congress Party in 1969.

During the 1970s opposition to the Gandhi regime mounted, not only among the people, but also from the opposition parties and leading sections of the bourgeoisie and feudal landlords. Indira Gandhi retaliated by nationalizing the banks, a move hailed by her backers in the Kremlin as a "step toward socialism," but which in fact was nothing but an attempt to strengthen the section of the Indian ruling class she represented at the expense of her rivals.

Finally, in 1974, Indira Gandhi declared the infamous Emergency, after she was ordered to vacate office by an Indian judge, pointing to Watergate-type election abuses in her 1972 campaign. Under the Emergency the leading figures of the opposition political parties were thrown in jail. Rigid censorship was placed on the press. Public assemblies were outlawed. And, of course, even greater repression was leveled at the masses. Among the first victims of the Emergency were tens of thousands of railroad workers in 1974 who were waging a strike against the government owned railroads, only to be met with massive repression at the hands of the army.

The Gandhi government found itself increasingly isolated. Indeed, the only major organized political force that remained supportive of the government and operating legally was the revisionist Communist Party of India.

Adding to the oppression of the masses of the Indian people was the "birth control" campaign initiated by Gandhi and led by her spoiled brat son Sanjay, who Indira hoped would follow in her footsteps as India's ruler, just as she had taken over from her father, Nehru. With a huge percentage of the Indian people living on the verge of starvation, the only way the reactionary regime could try to solve this problem was to eliminate the "surplus" population. The main thrust of the campaign was the sterilization of men. Not only were pressures of all sorts used to try to force men to have vasectomies, in many instances all pretenses were dropped and men—even unmarried boys—were forcibly rounded up and given vasectomies against their will. In some instances this led to rioting which was brutally put down by gunfire.

"Too many people" has been sighted by the U.S. bourgeoisie as well as the Gandhi regime as the source of India's food problem. But India's most precious resource is her people, as is the case in all countries. The whole attempt to forcibly cut down on the population is vicious exposure of the havoc wrecked upon India by the semi-feudal and semi-colonial system. The fight against the forced sterilization became an important reason for Indira Gandhi's downfall.

With her regime becoming increasingly isolated and under attack, Indira Gandhi made a desperate, and losing, gamble in calling for general elections, releasing many of the bourgeois opposition leaders and loosening controls on the press.

The election campaign brought about a coalition among all of the bourgeois opposition parties. Four of the parties, including Desai's Socialist Party, joined together to form the Janata Party and ran on the slogan "Democracy or Dictatorship." Gandhi's troubles were further compounded when a member of her inner circle, Jagjivan Ram (the self-proclaimed "leader" of India's "untouchables") saw an opportunity to increase his own power by jumping the Congress ship at the critical moment and joining with the opposition. The Communist Party of India (Marxist), which, while opposing the USSR and the CPI, is itself a revisionist party making its main task winning seats in Parliament, also joined with the opposition.

The election results were a stunning defeat for Indira Gandhi. Both she and her son Sanjay (who was seeking his first seat in Parliament) were defeated in their own districts. The revisionist CPI, allied with the Congress Party, lost two thirds of its Parliament seats, despite desperate last-ditch attempts to try to put some distance between itself and the Congress Party.

After considerable haggling within their own ranks, a new cabinet was formed with Desai as Prime Minister and with Ram, the Congress defector, being made Defense Minister. Among the first proclamations of the new government was a statement by Desai that "if the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty involves any want of friendship with others then it will have to change" and other statements that warmed the hearts of the rulers of the U.S. Desai also promised to work toward "socialism" and, echoing the words of his Congress Party predecessors, promised to "abolish destitution within ten years."

Although the Emergency has been lifted and all of the bourgeois politicians released from jail, as many as 150,000 revolutionaries languish in India's prisons, usually shackled in chains. Of course, repression against the masses of people and revolutionaries will remain, showing the deception of the new leaders' election slogan of "democracy or dictatorship."

Indira Gandhi's defeat reflects the growing opposition among the Indian people to being preyed upon by vultures both domestic and foreign. The new government will not be able to fulfill the aspirations of the Indian people and will no doubt be met by further, intensified, resistance. ■

## Has Two Aspects

# OL's Draft 'Program': Trite- And Wrong

The October League, going under the alias of the Organizing Committee for the Marxist-Leninist Party or OC for short, has after, lo, these many months produced its draft "program." (*Call*, April 4, 1977) It must be quite a disappointment to members and sympathizers of the October League who've had to wait for it so long. Some of it is downright foolish, more of it is confusing and the whole thing is, for want of a better word, trite. And beneath it all is the erroneous ideological and political line of the O.L., no less rancid than it has ever been.

Considering the extensive study and reprinting of various historical and foreign contemporary programmes that has gone on in this country over the last few years, not to mention the RCP's *Programme* (from which a number of "borrowings" are evident in this new effort), the O.L.'s lengthy labor has produced a real molehill of a program.

To ease the reader into the document, the first three paragraphs of this travesty are devoted to dumping on the "Gus Hall clique" of the "revisionist social-fascist" CPUSA, the long-extinct P.O.C., C.L., P.L., the Revolutionary Communist Party, Trotskyites, unnamed "centrist groupings" and finally that "right-opportunist anti-party bloc," the Revolutionary Wing.

After this burst of invective, it settles down and the reader faces several pages of the most rhetorical and superficial examination of a number of the important points anyone billing himself as a communist must address—the party, crisis, the woman question, etc. To cite just one example, the present day-to-day struggle of the workers over the terms of the sale of their labor power to the capitalists, discrimination, the right to organize and so on is shuffled into a section on why, as the first paragraph puts it, "it is the task of our Party to win the trade unions to socialist revolution and communist leadership."

This typifies the O.L.'s static and narrow approach to the class struggle—not to mention their obvious appetite for union office. The development of the entire class struggle is pictured as depending on driving the labor lieutenants of capital out of the trade unions, when the real relation is the opposite—it is in the course of developing the overall struggle of the workers that the struggle to reconquer the trade unions from control by agents of the bourgeoisie must take place.

Nowhere in the program does one find any sense of the working class becoming conscious of itself as a class and transforming itself in the course of struggle. Not even in the section on the united front is there anything on how taking part in struggle alongside of other

classes and strata is necessary for the proletariat to "develop consciousness of its own historical role as capitalism's gravedigger" (*Programme of the RCP*, p. 103).

### Still Pandering

Another point which bears singling out is the program's continuation of the O.L.'s record of pandering to and promoting narrow nationalism. One such appeal is the obligatory advocacy of the "Black Belt nation" as central to Black people's struggle, although what it is and what it really means are left vague, to say the least. This is just more of O.L.'s old trick of playing up to emotionalism around the correct, though not central to the Black struggle, right of self-determination and giving this emotionalism a pseudo-Marxist cover. The veneer of heavy sounding phrases covers the real situation—no real scientific analysis of the condition and the struggle of Black people is given, no real explanation is offered.

Likewise, the document renews the O.L.'s call for a "Black united front"—without, of course, dealing with the objective contradiction between this and the United Front Against Imperialism strategy or, for that matter, the utterly wrong "main blow" approach the O.L. has been pushing lately, which includes a wrong approach toward middle forces in society.

To whom could such a programme possibly be of value? It's hard to say. The lack of analysis on the particulars and tasks of the U.S. revolution means it has little utility as a guide to revolutionary practice for communists—and what direction it provides is wrong.

On the other hand it can't be of much use to advanced workers interested in communism. Important scientific concepts crop up once or twice without a word of explanation: surplus value, productive forces, subjectivism. Worse still, some are used in a highly colloquial and misleading manner for such an important document as a programme—women "without a job are exploited as a cheap reserve army of labor." (Perhaps the O.L. would be so kind as to take one of the articles in their "commentaries on the Draft Program" series in *The Call* to explain how someone without a job can be exploited.) In short, the program assumes a knowledge of Marxist-Leninist terms but doesn't explain or apply, and often perverts, Marxist-Leninist principles.

### The Last Straw

For those in and around the O.L. who are serious

about making proletarian revolution in the U.S., this travesty of a programme may be the last straw. They have been whipped around outrageously by a totally careerist leadership. Who can forget the O.L. in the role of the little Dutch boy, plugging its finger in the dike to hold back the "fascist tide" of one section of the bourgeoisie, while calling for help from the "anti-fascist section" of the bourgeoisie to "stem" this tide—a tide which evaporated from the pages of *The Call* only a little while later? It is easy to imagine the embarrassment of O.L. cadre who spent two years trying to wade through—and push on others—Marty Nicolaus' "definitive work" on the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, only to be suddenly informed that it was totally revisionist and without merit.

All this typifies the O.L. leadership's methods—although changes of line have been more than frequent, acknowledgement that these vacillations have even taken place has been rare indeed and genuine and thoroughgoing self-criticism entirely absent.

The fact is, despite their leaders' reckless evasions of the truth, not all O.L. members can be counted on to forget such flip-flops (or to read only the desperately distorted and defensive anti-RCP "polemics" in *The Call* without checking out *Revolution* for themselves).

People who thought they were joining a revolutionary organization have been told by M. Klonsky and Co. that they must uphold reactionary butchers and imperialist lackeys like the Shah of Iran as fighters against "hegemonism" and then criticize Iranian revolutionaries who wish to overthrow him. The pages of their newspaper scarcely criticize the U.S. bourgeoisie for its crimes in Angola but rather focus on those in the ruling class who are out to "appease" the Soviet Union—like the Joint Chiefs of Staff!

The "draft program" is itself part of a sudden left swing after years of rightism as the O.L. leadership girds itself for its plunge into "partyhood." The same trade union officials the O.L. waddled after so slavishly a year ago have now become the targets of the proletariat's "main blow" in the revolution. (While this term is pretty much absent from the "draft program"—a surprising omission of what the O.L. endorsed as the "fundamental strategic rule of Leninism" not long ago—its content remains.) The revisionist CPUSA is described for instance as "the most dangerous and insidious of all bourgeois parties."

Many in the O.L. are doubtlessly sick of being told to "fight left errors" with right opportunism and then right errors with left opportunism, and never getting anywhere. We urge such people not to let their disillusionment and disgust with the October League embitter them against genuine Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary struggle of the American working class and people.

There is a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party with the correct line in this country, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. There is much work to be done, and in spite of the O.L. and others of its ilk, the struggle of the American working class will continue to advance inexorably toward revolution, socialism and communism. ■

## Imports...

Continued from page 16

The garment industry is a good example of this. Time and again the hacks who head the ILGWU and the ACTWU have beaten back and sabotaged rank and file demands for wage increases and benefits, claiming that such gains by the workers would make the companies less competitive with foreign manufacturers and would drive them to run away to lower wage areas as they have already done in droves to the South and places like Taiwan, Mexico and South Korea.

This "help the company's profits, save your job" line is also what the garment unions have used to justify lending union funds to the companies and, as they have frequently done, suspending the payments the garment shop owners are supposed to make into pension funds, sometimes for years. So when these shops do close down the workers are often times left holding the bag with no pension benefits.

If sucked in by this poisonous bait of "common interests" and protectionism, workers are left in a worse condition even in the short run. Having abandoned their fighting position, their independent stand, they are in a badly weakened position to fight the attacks that are certain to come down on them, no matter how "cooperative" they have been.

On an international scale protectionism is an attempt to pit the workers of different countries against one another by promoting the idea that the workers have more in common with their nation's capitalists than they do with their fellow workers, exploited by the same capitalist system, and in many cases by the very same capitalists, in other countries.

U.S. garment and textile companies who drive their workers like slaves in sweatshops for miserable wages in the U.S. are suddenly very solicitous for their jobs and propose quotas on Japanese imports that will further unemployment for Japanese workers, and will

force Japanese capitalists to erect their own tariff walls, creating more unemployment for American workers. All this is done in the name of protecting the jobs they will eliminate in a minute if it means more profit.

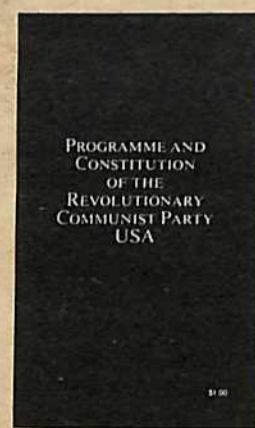
The leadership of the garment and textile unions decry the use of cheaper foreign labor to produce goods once made in American shops. A few years ago they were running an openly racist campaign against these "foreigners" who they said were stealing American jobs. Now they are a little slicker. They point out the miserable wages that the "greedy" capitalists pay in low wage areas like South Korea. But it boils down to the same thing, promoting national chauvinism and opposing the interests of the workers in one country to those of workers in other countries.

The capitalists constantly wage their war for the control of markets and the maximization of profits because that is the nature of the capitalist system. Whether these are wars between the capitalists of one country, trade wars between capitalists of various countries, or military wars between various capitalist nations for the control of world markets, they must of necessity attempt to enlist the support of the working class to fight these wars. Through their agents and partners in the top leadership of the trade unions they constantly push the idea that it is in the interest of the workers to sacrifice and fight for their profits. And who do workers end up fighting? Their fellow workers who have been forced into the army of opposing capitalists, whether in a protectionist trade war or on the bloody battlefields of inter-imperialist wars.

These lies of the "common interest between capital and labor" are nothing but attempts to bind workers into the continued misery of wage slavery—whipped about like the tail on a dog. In this situation the workers are damned no matter what are the short run fortunes of "their" capitalist. It is true that workers will be thrown out of work if the capitalists they work for are driven out of business in these wars of competition. But it is also true that workers will be thrown into the streets if the capitalists are successful in their war and are able to obtain even cheaper labor or mechanize to stay ahead of the competition. And this

"success" by some capitalists at the expense of others is just a manifestation of the anarchy and crisis of capitalism. It can't buy them or their workers any lasting peace or security. It is precisely this reality that shows that the working class must cut through—and reject—this "common interest" nonsense and chart its own course, fight for its own interests, not the capitalists' profits.

The battle of the working class is not at the side of the capitalists, it is against them. The stand of the working class is to fight the rich, not their wars. ■



## Programme and Constitution of the RCP, USA \$1

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.

The *Constitution* of the RCP summarizes the basic *Programme* of the Party and sets down its basic organizational principles which enable it to carry out its tasks and responsibilities as the Party of the working class.

Prepay all orders to RCP Publications, INC. PO Box 3486 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

# Workers Org...

Continued from page 3

mediate battles as they come up, but in a more overall and consistent way. The national workers organization will be a most important form for uniting these workers and unleashing their initiative to act as a lever mobilizing and a lightning rod concentrating the potential strength and power of the working class across the country in taking up the most important battles facing it.

## Present Situation

Such an organization is not only possible because of the present situation—the sharpening up of contradictions and the growth of the working class struggle—but is also more and more of a necessity for the workers' struggle to take the strides forward that it can and must.

While the intensification of the contradictions of capitalism has led to more hard fought battles of the working class on many fronts, it is also necessary to take stock of the other aspect of things—that precisely because the "ante" has been upped and the stakes are so much higher, the masses of people generally are often hesitant to leap into struggle, though when they do so they fight with even more determination and in more open defiance of the capitalists and their agents, for the very reason that the stakes are higher. The waves of struggle that swept the country during the 1960s, especially the high tide of the Black liberation struggle and the movement of students and others directed particularly at the U.S. ruling class' war on the people of Vietnam, could not and have not continued in the same way.

These struggles struck powerful blows against the rulers of the country, and those involved in them increasingly saw the capitalist system as the source of injustice and oppression in society. But along with winning victories, these movements ran up against their own limitations—that they were not based among the masses of workers. For only the working class has the strength and power and the position in society—pitted directly opposite the capitalist rulers—to persevere in the fight, unite all who can be united, and push the struggle forward toward eliminating the source of all oppression.

Today it is all the more true that there are no easy victories. The bourgeoisie is in no position to grant concessions to the workers easily; on the contrary, gains won through struggle in the past are being nibbled—and more and more often, chopped—away at. The political climate spread by the bourgeoisie itself is less and less based on the deceptions they spread about a steady improvement in the life of the masses (an illusion that found some basis in the experience of the masses in the post World War 2 decades), but increasingly demands sacrifice from the people.

Because of this situation, large numbers of the workers are not yet convinced that the road of sustained mass struggle is not only necessary but is the only road forward, and, of course, only a very small percentage of the workers have been won to the necessity for the complete overthrow of the capitalist class. Much of the struggle of the workers is of a sporadic nature, with battles, large and small, breaking out more and more frequently but also being hit back hard by the bourgeoisie and its agents.

All of this underlines the necessity for exactly the type of organization that is to be formed—an organization that will be able to take advantage of the sparks of struggle that the capitalist system of exploitation constantly gives rise to and enable them to be fanned as broadly and deeply as possible among the working class.

## Fight in Unions

The active fighters amongst the workers have run up against the limitations of the low level of organization that presently exists among the rank and file. Large numbers of workers, especially in basic industry, are organized in trade unions, which themselves were the result of bitter battles waged by millions of workers. But these unions are controlled at the top by traitors to the working class, who attempt to use the very apparatus of the unions as a weapon against the rank and file in the service of the capitalist exploiters. The fight to take back these unions is an important battlefield in the class struggle, one which the formation of a national workers organization will help to advance; but at the same time, as the call states, "we cannot and will not wait to kick the rats off our union ship before we start standing up for ourselves. The enemy we face is more than the traitors who have seized our unions and the battles we must wage are bigger than the fight to control our unions."

While there have been many types of organizations of the rank and file that have developed through struggle in the last period, many of these organizations have reflected the sporadic nature of the workers struggle itself; they have sprung up in the course of particular



1000 angry workers greet scabs in 13 month Milwaukee meatcutters strike. Battles like this, which became a rallying point in the class struggle, have helped lay the basis for the formation of a nationwide workers organization. Once formed, it will aim at bringing to strikes and battles against oppression on every front, the organized strength of the working class in every industry and area.

battles but have disappeared after those fights have ended or receded. At the same time, there have been significant advances in the last period in building some more permanent forms of working class organization, built upon the solid foundation of those workers who see the need to wage a consistent fight, not only against those exploiters whom they directly face, but to link up with other workers and other sections of people in the different arenas of struggle against the whole class of exploiters.

Where these organizations have been built, be they on the plant, industry, or area-wide level, they have played an important part in advancing the struggle of the working class, helping to bring the organized strength of the working class into numerous battles. Indeed, the national workers organization will be organized along the lines the workers themselves are organized in production, based in the plants and industries, and will also have forms to bring together workers from various industries in different cities and metropolitan areas that will enable the workers to take up key battles in the given areas.

But these organizations that presently exist also run into the objective fact that the working class is one class throughout society, that many of the battles that the class must take up are nationwide, from national contracts to struggles against attacks coming down on the masses of people from the government, such as the present cutbacks in unemployment compensation.

For these reasons the idea of forming a national workers organization has struck a responsive chord among those workers who are involved in struggle and want to fight for the interests of the working class. And because the formation of a national workers organization will provide an important weapon in the hands of the workers to advance their struggle to a new level, the basis exists for significant numbers to be won to attend the founding convention and from there to attract workers to its ranks from around the country.

One important feature of the national workers organization will be that it will be a place where those workers who see themselves as part of a class in battle with the capitalists can discuss and struggle over exactly what the interests of the working class are and how

to carry out the fight. This discussion and struggle is part of what will give the organization a lively internal life and help to advance the understanding of its members.

At the Cleveland meeting, for example, there was lively discussion over whether the purpose of the national workers organization should be just building solidarity between the struggles different sections of workers are waging now in their industries and unions or whether, while taking up this task, the organization must aim to bring workers into the fight against every manifestation of oppression the masses of people face in society, concentrating the force of the working class on major battles at every point in the struggle.

The main struggles workers are presently engaged in center around the fight to defend their standard of living, working conditions, etc., in the face of all the efforts made by the capitalists to try to squeeze more out of their labor. The strikes and other forms of resistance that arise out of this conflict are important sparks to be built on in advancing struggle throughout the working class—as was the case, for example, in the massive wildcat strikes waged among miners that won widespread support. The formation of the national workers organization will make it easier to fulfill this important task, in the face of the constant efforts of the capitalists and the top union officials to promote every possible division among workers and to narrow the scope of and stomp out these struggles.

## Strongest Force Against Oppression

At the same time workers are not only attacked on the job, but, along with other sections of the people, are victims of all the abuses that grow out of the capitalist system of exploitation.

Especially as workers come to see that the same class of exploiters who torment them on the job daily are responsible for all of the injustices and oppression in society, they see the need to hit back against each of these abuses, and join together with others throughout society to do so. This is the basis for the national workers organization: to take up more than just the resistance the workers are forced to wage on the job and in their unions, to help the workers movement more and more take on the character of a fight against all oppression and to play the leading role within that overall fight. As workers increasingly take up the battles against different manifestations of oppression—and do so in a more organized way—it not only strengthens the movement of the working class itself, but gives great inspiration and encouragement to all those who suffer at the hands of the ruling class.

The working class is the most powerful force in society. Not only does it create the vast bulk of society's wealth, but it is welded together in the process of production and in its daily battles. Since as a class it has no interests in any type of exploitation or oppression, as a class it is the most consistent opponent of oppression in all its forms. This fact of modern society constantly reasserts itself in a thousand ways and is felt, to one degree or another, not only by the workers themselves (and of course the capitalists, who tremble at every stirring of the workers), but by people throughout society. The formation of this organization and the subsequent strengthening of the working class' ability to fight on all fronts will be an important part of spreading resistance to the capitalists among broad sections of people as they see coming into motion the one force in society that is truly capable of turning things upside down.

Resistance to oppression is a fundamental feature of all class society, and as the crisis intensifies, as the masses of people are asked to sacrifice more and more to the needs of the profit system, their resistance will

Continued on page 20

# Subscribe

## Subscription Rates:

U.S.—six months, \$2; one year, \$4; one year by first class mail, \$11.

Canada—one year, \$6.50; by air mail, \$11.

Other Countries—one year, \$7; by air mail, \$18.

Bookstore rates available.

Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ for a \_\_\_\_\_ subscription.

Begin with \_\_\_\_\_ (month) issue.

Surface \_\_\_\_\_ Airmail \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_ I would like to be part of a monthly sustainer program for REVOLUTION. I will contribute \_\_\_\_\_ \$5, \_\_\_\_\_ \$10, \_\_\_\_\_ \$15 a month (or more \_\_\_\_\_) for one year. This includes a one-year subscription.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Please make out checks or money orders to RCP Publications, at P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

## Workers Org...

Continued from page 19

grow. What is still lacking in this country today is the working class as an organized force, under its own banner and in its own class interests, entering the battles raging in society as part of its overall struggle against the capitalist exploiters. This is what will give strength and solidity to all the various battles. As the *Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party* puts it, the more resolutely the working class fights for its interests as a class, the broader the sections of the people it will win to stand with it in this fight against the capitalists.

### Relationship to Party

Another important question that was dealt with at the Cleveland meeting, and which will continue to come up as the national workers organization is being born and grows, is the relationship between this organization and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), which is helping to initiate it.

The national workers organization will not be, of course, a communist organization. Most of the workers in the U.S. today who see the need for systematic and organized struggle against the capitalists, who see the need for the fight against all oppression, do not yet see the need for the forcible overthrow of the rule of the capitalists, to build socialism and advance to communism.

As the political party of the working class, the RCP takes on the responsibility of giving leadership to the struggle of the working class (and its allies) on all fronts. Communists do not lead the workers movement according to whim or fancy (and those phony "revolutionaries" who attempt to do so always end up isolated from the working class and acting as an obstacle to its struggle). The movement of the working class stems from the actual relations in capitalist society that compel the workers into struggle just as they compel the capitalists to attack the workers and the masses of people.

The Party can play its vanguard role only insofar as it helps build the actual struggle of the working class, helps advance it by grasping the laws governing its actual development, and on that basis bring to the workers the understanding of the ultimate product of the class struggle: revolution and the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

To do this the Party participates in and helps build many forms of organization of the working class and other sections of the people—the trade unions, rank and file caucuses and other organizations in the work places, organizations formed to fight particular abuses (like police repression or deportations, etc.). Precisely

because the national workers organization will be such an important weapon in the hands of the working class, the RCP sees helping to build it as one of its crucial tasks in the period ahead.

One important part of the life of the national workers organization will be that it will enable large numbers of workers and communists to discuss and struggle over what questions the working class must take up, what the line of march must be, and where the struggle is heading. As the struggle advances, as it must, into a more overall onslaught of the working class against the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist system, the questions will sharpen among large numbers of workers about what the ultimate aims of the working class struggle are, what will be necessary for the working class to achieve its emancipation.

As workers take up the fight to change society, and do so in a more and more organized and all-round way, an increasing number will come to see more clearly what it means for the working class to fight for its class interests and, in the process of debating out in the midst of battle what these interests are, come to see the central role of the working class, its strength and power, and its ability to rule and remake society.

In the course of debating these questions, while continuing to build the struggle among ever broader sections of people, many of the workers who join the national workers organization will come to agree with the full Programme of the RCP, and the Party will take in fresh members from the ranks of the most active and class conscious fighters. In this process the Party will also be able to deepen its understanding of the objective situation in the country, of the sentiments and understanding of the masses of workers, and on this basis be better able to fulfill its role as the political vanguard of the working class leading it to complete emancipation.

### Build the National Workers Organization!

The working class stands on the verge of making an important leap forward in its struggle, building an organization whose very formation will bring together workers from around the country who are actively involved in battles on many fronts and will enable these struggles to be built more broadly, as campaigns of the working class. And the organization will grow in significance as the workers struggle which spawned it also grows, providing an important center of leadership within the working class to pull together its strength and struggles.

The enthusiasm with which workers in Cleveland took up the task of calling for a national workers organization and the growing response of workers around the country to the call is testimony to the fact that the formation of the national workers organization is a pressing need of the struggle, truly a bold step for the working class in advancing its struggle, and a step that will succeed. ■

## Steel...

Continued from page 9

from Sparrows Point, some local presidents came outside and spoke against the ENA and the deal Abel was trying to push through. Already some of the anger boiling up among the workers in the mills is beginning to build up steam.

### Local Issues

The national contract left undecided a number of local issues that will be dealt with in local contracts. But in addition to these issues, the whole general dissatisfaction with the national contract is being reflected in strong sentiments in favor of local strikes in many places.

Republic Steel in Chicago is likely to go out. In U.S. Steel's Chicago Southworks, the Local voted to protest the national contract, and when the question of ratifying the local contract came up, the president was forced to call off the meeting. One local at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point (Md.) plant voted unanimously for a local strike. In a number of other mills workers are circulating petitions calling for local strike votes.

The bitterness against the sellout runs deep. But at the same time the fact that the rank and file has no vote on the matter and the general grip that the Abel machine has on the rank and file has meant that many workers don't see how anything can be done about it or any alternative to just trying to make the best of it. The union leadership has yet to really get its propaganda machine into gear around the contract, which means that some of the hardest fought controversy around it is yet to come.

To help the sentiment against the sellout take a concrete and organized form, people around *The Steelworker* national newsletter have put out "ballots" which are being passed out to steel workers in large quantities, with a box to vote the contract up or down. At U.S. Steel's Southworks, in one day alone, 494 workers turned in "ballots" and only 16 of them voted in favor of the contract. In addition to leaflets, a *Steelworker* broadsheet on the contract and other agitation, the "ballots" are an important way of making steel workers' sentiments visible and felt. They are being collected to be presented at a demonstration against the contract *The Steelworker* is calling in Pittsburgh on April 22, which will include a march at the headquarters of the International Union and U.S. Steel, demanding that there be no more takeaways and that the International meet all requests for authorization of local strikes, and building the movement against the sellout.

This contract is a big step backward for steel workers. But the contract battles in the mills have only just begun, and the companies and their union henchmen are finding that a signed contract doesn't mean the workers have resigned themselves to being sold out. ■

## Unemployed...

Continued from page 4

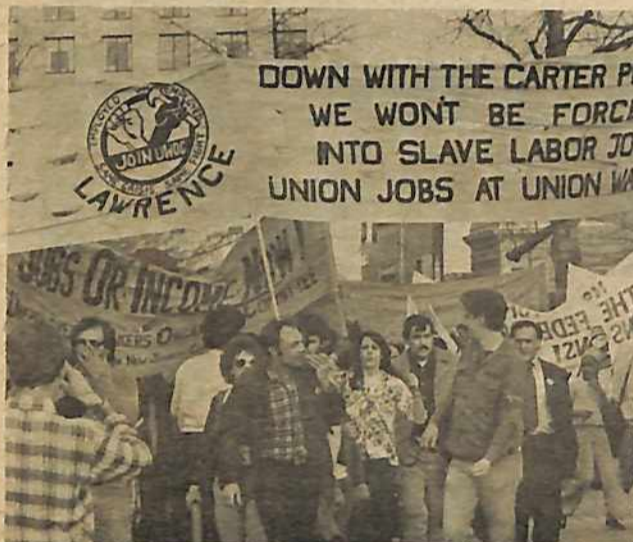
what the capitalists are seeking to do is reduce the workers to the shantytowns that came to be known as "Hoovervilles" during the 1930s. That same evening the demonstration at the Meany award dinner was held.

In the course of the campaign some advances were also made in building unity between employed and unemployed. On the initiative of the rank and file, resolutions were passed against the cuts and against the slave labor provision in several locals, often in the course of sharp struggle with the local union heads.

From their experiences in fighting blow for blow against the bill, people saw more clearly the nature of the struggle and the possibility and necessity of getting organized. UWOC organizations grew qualitatively in their numbers and influence in many cities, and a new chapter was developed off the campaign in Washington, D.C., a city filled with unemployed construction workers and maids laid off from the big hotels. The campaign against the cuts was a good example of waging big battles with small organized forces—and increasing the forces as well as the general sense of organization in the process.

### Next Phase of Struggle

All this will be brought to bear in the next phase of struggle. Against the bourgeoisie's attempts in this period to crush the working class into the dirt and rally people behind its banner of "We refuse to pay these guys not to work," the unemployed organized into UWOC will be raising "Union Jobs at Union Wages." Chapters are drawing up plans now to turn this slogan into a battlecry and carry this demand into every job program they set up at below union wage, into every unemployment center where workers are being forced into slave wage jobs, onto every picket line in unity with workers who are fighting wage cuts and union busting. At the same time, they will also raise "Down with the Slave-Wage Provision of P. L. 95-19," and will be organizing around this demand at



the unemployment centers and, when the time is right, in every shop and union. In this way and in connection with fighting through on state-by-state benefit cuts, the working class will raise its demand for Jobs or Income—jobs from government or industry at wages workers can live on, or enough income to cover the cost of living for all periods of unemployment—and that demand will come alive in these struggles and become a material force.

To help build these struggles, sum up the situation, and strengthen organization by consolidating off the actual advances made in the last campaign, UWOC will be holding a national delegates conference in the middle of June. The conference will include elected delegates from each chapter and be open to the participation of all unemployed workers who are interested in building the organized struggle of the unemployed.

While waging these struggles, the working class will be keeping its eye on October 31, when the remaining federal extension will be cut and thousands driven off benefits after 39 weeks. The war continues, but the unity, the conscious organized strength of the unemployed, as part of the working class movement, made great strides in the battle. Being able to see further and clearer, the core of conscious organizers has grown more solid. The strengthening of this core will greatly strengthen the struggle of the unemployed, enabling more and more workers to come into the battle. ■

## Indy Auto...

Continued from page 10

court orders limiting pickets. On top of it all the courts were talking about a \$238,000 a day fine against the Local as long as they stuck it out. Still the workers held firm.

### Need for Organization

But the actions of the UAW International, especially of Doug Fraser, to crush the strike were too much for the workers to break through at this time. Without a rank and file organization bringing together the advanced workers to sum up and help lead the struggle, systematically exposing traitors like Fraser and spreading the struggle to other plants, the UAW International was able to spread just enough dissension and confusion in the Local to break the strike.

The struggle at Local 1226 is not over, however. The terms of going back in are that all 23 elected officers and reps are fired. And around this blatant effort to bust up the whole Local the International UAW and Doug Fraser stand exposed as the company representatives they are.

Workers at Local 1226 are summing up the need for more rank and file organization and with the help of other auto workers are continuing the struggle. Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF) is circulating petitions against the International's actions and in support of Local 1226. These are going out nationwide to workers at all the auto companies. There are demonstrations planned at regional offices around the country, and at Solidarity House. As AWUF said in a leaflet calling for support, "...it must become the fight of all auto workers. Those who have remained silent up to now must speak out. This is union busting, with the top leadership of our union taking the lead....Stand Up to the International! Stand Up for Local 1226!" (For copies of the petition, or further information, get in touch with AWUF, [313] 893-8350.) ■

# SEPTA...

Continued from page 7

one hand, while undermining it with the other, the spirit of the strikers remains strong and the control of the strike has remained with the rank and file.

## Keeping Initiative

Early in the strike a car caravan of 15 cars and 55 strikers organized by CDC drove around the city from one depot to another, building a fighting spirit and ending with a circle around City Hall, honking and tooting, reminding Rizzo that if it's a 20 year strike, he'll suffer every minute of it.

Driving Force organized a demonstration on April 9 to support the strikers and marched on City Hall to demand that Rizzo negotiate. They united many forces against the city rulers' attempts to drive the strikers into submission including a community group, Coalition for Better Transportation in the City (CBTC), which has been active in fighting cuts in services and fare hikes. To further build support for the strike and link the interests of the community with the strike, while exposing the interests of Rizzo and his class, Driving Force and CBTC are laying plans for another demonstration around the demands, "Contract Yes! Fare Hike No!—Rizzo's tunnel has got to go!" There are also moves among such other forces as the NAACP, which attended the first Driving Force rally, the AFL-CIO Council and others to support the strike and force Rizzo to negotiate.

## Role of Organization

Key to convincing workers that there was a road forward, even against the company and union hacks combined, was the growing organization of the rank and file led by Driving Force. By organizing the workers as an independent political force, by taking up daily questions and not accepting the limitations put on the struggle by the union leadership, it has been able to lead big battles. It has spurred fights against unsafe equipment, layoffs, the contract, etc., and through these struggles and others brought out to SEPTA workers the situation facing them on the job as part of the overall struggle of the working class. When SEPTA laid off 345 workers last year, the union leadership claimed nothing could be done—SEPTA had no money. Driving Force and other workers were able to force the union leaders into action: refusing overtime, safety checks, a threatened strike on July 4th. They won back 30 jobs.

When CBTC blockaded a depot last August, following a cut in service to a Black community in North Philly, Driving Force members went to the action and united with it and helped get the line returned to service. When CBTC shut down two depots in October, Driving Force played a big role in winning drivers to stand with the blockade and refuse to drive. The company, cops and their own union leaders tried to get them back on the job, but their response was clear, "Hell No! We're standing with our class." CBTC took up the Driving Force demands: "Restore the Cuts in Service, Rehire Laid Off Workers, No Fare Hike!"

In these struggles, Driving Force has brought out repeatedly who the enemy is: the city government and the powerful banks and businesses that control it and the whole country. In the course of building these battles, they have exposed the union leadership for what they are—representatives of the bourgeoisie. Exposed them not by whining "we can do better" like opportunists hungry for union office, but by jamming them into a corner where they had to side openly either with the workers or the company. By uncovering the class interests that lay behind the attacks on SEPTA workers and all workers, Driving Force has raised the consciousness of the workers of the need to take up each battle as part of the overall class struggle. It is an example of the kind of organization that is needed in every plant and industry in the country, waging toe-to-toe battles in every major fight and raising the unity and consciousness of the workers in the process.

The SEPTA strike is an example for the working class showing that workers can unite and fight back against both the company and the union leaders if they get in the way. But it can't be done without organization. As one striker put it, "We couldn't have really done this without Driving Force. A lot of times you'd be thinking something and they'd say it. Then they'd say what to do about it." Driving Force and CDC are sharp tools for building the struggle of the working class and advancing its interest. Because the importance of these types of organizations in struggle is becoming clearly demonstrated to the SEPTA workers, several of them have responded to the call to build workers' organization on a national scale. They are participating in building for the founding of a national workers organization in Chicago on Labor Day weekend. As one worker put it, "Once you stand up and take a look around, you see your strength. After that you don't ever want to be on your knees again." ■



Students and youth have historically been in the forefront of the peoples' struggles against the imperialists, fighting boldly and militantly. In the '60s, they were a catalyst for the mass movements that exploded in opposition to the oppression of Blacks and the war in Vietnam.

# Youth...

Continued from page 8

a place where young people would learn and study more about the world as they battled to change it, where hundreds and someday thousands of youth would take up the study and application of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in the course of going out and fighting the bourgeoisie and all the attacks they bring down on the people.

## The Basis Has Been Laid

The basis for building a young communist organization among both sections of youth has been laid. Among working class youth a number of organizations have begun to develop over the last year that have started to take up many important battles and political issues among the youth—fighting for jobs, against rotting city conditions and cutbacks, doing programs around *Roots* and the liberation of Black people, as well as taking up building for future activities like May Day and African Liberation Day. Through all these activities these organizations, many of which are called Youth In Action, have begun to become a fighting political force among youth—a force that leads youth to refuse to go along with many of the things coming down on them and all the people, as well as a force that refuses to go along with the way this whole system is set up. The groups themselves have also started to become centers for struggle and development of political line on how to fight around different issues and attacks, and how to turn this world upside down so the working class is in command. And as the March 26th meeting brought out, a number of working class youth are taking up and starting to master revolutionary theory and are applying it to many of the practical problems and difficulties that come up in going out to unite the people to fight the bourgeoisie and its attacks, and change the world.

Among students, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, which has been a communist student organization for a year and a half, exists on well over 50 campuses throughout the country—including expansion and development into a number of schools in the South. The Brigade is presently waging a national campaign around support for the southern African people's war for liberation—and is building towards regional demonstrations in New York, Chicago and San Francisco on April 22, 23 and 24, and will be building for African Liberation Day's march on the White House on May 28. The Brigade over the last year has built a number of campaigns around major political issues, in addition to waging many immediate battles concerning students, such as cutbacks, military recruiters, etc. The RSB's experience in building struggle, and as a functioning communist organization, will make important contributions to the formation of a powerful young communist organiza-

tion.

At this point, in terms of building ongoing struggle and political organization, the working class youth section is much more undeveloped and fragile. The groups are at a much more uneven state. A number now are starting to become a fighting political force among youth, as mentioned above, while others are still just getting started and off the ground. And it is only right now that young communist fighters are developing among the working class youth to take up building this organization as their own.

The further development of the working class youth section is a critical task over the next six months in building the foundation of the young communist organization. It was for this reason that the initial organizing meeting in Cincinnati was geared in terms of numbers, orientation and discussion to the working class youth section—to release their initiative around taking up as their own the building of a young communist organization. Around 15 members of the RSB, including its national office, attended and participated in the meeting.

At the meeting the youth showed they were readily taking it up. They discussed, struggled over and united around key questions that are critical for the building of a young communist organization, ranging from the necessity and inevitability of revolution, can the working class successfully build socialism, multinational unity, and a number of other points concerning youth's role in making revolution and what organizational form will best bring forward the youth to take up this task.

## Why Revolution Is Needed

Throughout the opening discussion the youth brought out why they saw the need for making revolution. One youth after another blamed the big bankers and capitalists for forcing people to live the way they have to. Dozens of examples came out.

Youth who work at hellholes like McDonald's, Gino's and Burger King brought out how bosses take advantage of youth's desperate need for work and lack of experience to be worked like dogs for minimum wages or less, and how youth would keep getting treated like this as long as there was a system set up so that the rich make millions off working people's sweat and labor.

The youth from New York brought out what amounted to 50 ways the rulers of this country mess you over—bringing out what the city crisis of NYC has meant to the people living and working there. Many other youth spoke out as well, angrily indicting the millionaire capitalists for their rotting cities, unemployment, armies around the world, crime, drugs, etc., along with bringing out how many have seen their parents work hard as hell, year after year, only to be having a harder time than ever trying to keep their families well clothed, fed and schooled.

As the new labor force in society—the emerging sec-

Continued on page 22

# Youth...

Continued from page 21

tion of the working class that's looking to sell their ability to work so they can eke out some sort of decent life—many of the youth brought out the future they can look forward to under this system. A good example brought out was the retired workers who have been waging the fight against evictions at the International Hotel in San Francisco. Here the youth talked about seeing those who've worked 40 or 50 years and now are too old to keep up with the backbreaking work the bosses need for their profits. Now most are unemployed and what do they have to show for it? One or two rooms of low-cost housing. And even this the capitalists are trying to take away because they don't get enough profit off low-cost housing. This future of spending a life slaving away for some boss is the future that millions of young people face in this country, and that's the "best" of the lot as the capitalist system continues to falter and fall into deeper crisis.

## Can the Working Class Build Socialism?

After discussing how the working class has no class interests in exploitation, the youth struggled over whether it was inevitable that new leaders or forces under socialism would try to take over and "live in heaven, while millions live in hell." The Soviet Union was given as an example of how this had happened and a few spoke out pessimistically about the idea that socialism could be successfully built.

A number of youth spoke out around this point, cautioning against this pessimism. They stated that while what happened was tragic for the working class in the Soviet Union and working people all around the world, the knowledge and understanding of how and why new capitalist rulers emerged under socialism should strengthen our ability to prevent the same thing from happening when the working class in the United States seizes and controls state power. They pointed out that understanding this danger pointed to the necessity of continuing the revolution under socialism so that the working class more and more runs and rules all aspects of society, and examples of how this has gone on in China were brought out.

Furthermore, it was pointed out that while there would certainly be many difficult struggles under socialism where new exploiters would try to bring back capitalism even under the guise of speaking in the interests of the people, don't think the working class could get duped so easily. By building off our long years of living under the hell of capitalism, off of the experiences and pain of making revolution, and the unity, consciousness and organization necessary to make it—and our understanding of the need to continue to wage class struggle under socialism and to develop the forms to carry this out—we could stop new exploiters from gaining power and returning us all to living under capitalism.

It was around the point of the leading role of the working class that a member of one of the YIA's, who has been in the World Community of Islam, raised that he had been told that communists had sold out Black people in the past. Here a number of people, both Party members and others, pointed out that it was certainly true that the Communist Party, USA had sold out the struggle of Black people. At one point the Communist Party had been a revolutionary force that had led many important battles opposing the discrimination and oppression of Blacks and other minorities, from the Jim Crow laws and legal lynchings of Blacks in the South to the defense of the Scottsboro Boys and Angelo Herndon, Black youth who were framed for different crimes in the '20s and '30s. The Communist Party, USA had taken up these battles against the oppression of minorities as part of their overall developing of the class war in the United States, leading the battles of the unemployed, the great union drives of the '30s, opposition to the different imperialists' moves to war, etc.

But, it was said, in the 1950s the Communist Party was no longer a party that stood for revolution; they had given up and were now willing to compromise with the bosses and politicians who run this country. The Communist Party no longer fought for Black people's liberation or against the discrimination and oppression of minorities, but this wasn't simply a question of racism or national chauvinism. Rather it was a part of their overall selling out of the working class and struggles of the American people against the capitalists. Now a new communist party exists, the Revolutionary Communist Party, that stands for the liberation of Blacks, stands against the discrimination and oppression of minorities, as part of its standing for the highest political interests of the working class.

A Black youth from Milwaukee spoke out about how she had first gotten involved thinking that racism and discrimination was the whole problem facing Black people and she wasn't sure who the source of it was. Now as she's gotten involved—been involved in struggles like cutbacks against minority programs, fought for jobs for all youth and built and marched in the July 4th "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years, Let's Get

Them Off Our Backs!" demonstration, she has seen that it's the capitalists, who, while stepping awfully hard on Blacks, step on the entire working class of all nationalities. From this and seeing things like the meatcutters' strike where Black and white workers stood strong against the bosses, and the marches such as have gone on at May Day, she had seen where the power of fully changing this society lay—in the hands of the working class. She now considered herself a communist, who stood for the liberation of Blacks and minorities from oppression as part of the overall struggle to emancipate the working class.

Many of the youth spoke out how building multinational unity was critical to the youth organization, that the question of national divisions is often one of the sharpest questions hitting youth, many of whom grow up in segregated neighborhoods and who often have their anger and rebelliousness steered by the bourgeoisie to fighting one another.

Coming off of this discussion the question of why the working class must lead the revolution was gone into. A number of the youth, and Party members, brought out that this did not simply mean that youth only march in things like May Day demonstrations or the March 5 demonstration in D.C. against the unemployment benefit cuts, though it was a good thing for the youth to march shoulder to shoulder with the working class at rallies and marches.

It meant that it was in the interests of the working class, and the political line of the Party of the working class—that stands and fights for its highest interests—to build a powerful youth and student movement in its own right, that fires out and hammers at the bourgeoisie and all its attacks on youth and the American people. It was important to grasp what Mao stated to a group of youth in explaining their role in the Chinese revolution, that they were in "a certain sense a vanguard." This is not in the sense of being able to lead the revolution through to final victory, but that youth's characteristics of rebelliousness, desire for change and initiative, if properly tapped and led, can enable them to be a spark to all of society, fighting over and raising important issues of struggle and concern to the American people and the working class.

Different youth brought out a number of examples of this, drawing on youths' and students' role in the Black people's struggles in the '60s, the powerful anti-war movement against the U.S. war in Indochina, talked to at the start of the article. The recent uprisings in South Africa were also brought out, where Black youth and students had rebelled against the forced teaching of a colonial language. This sparked off struggle throughout South Africa, including the workers who took the battle to a higher level as they refused to work and demonstrated against the hated apartheid system—rocking the white settler regime at its foundations. A number of other examples of struggles that youth had taken up in neighborhoods recently that brought forward many other people into battle were also brought out.

Historically this has been a most important contribution of youth and students to the overall revolutionary struggle. This has been particularly true in terms of standing up and opposing wars of aggression by the imperialists, both because of the general characteristics of rebelliousness of youth and the particular way moves to war affect youth—being the force that's brought into the imperialists' army to fight for their profits. And this will no doubt be an important struggle of the youth of the U.S. in the years ahead, as the talk of "national service acts" and return of the draft are developing as the overall contention of the U.S. and the Soviet Union heats up, their conflicts heighten and their steps toward war escalate.

## Why a Young Communist Organization?

The liveliest discussion of the meeting was around what type of organization would best serve the struggle and needs of youth and the overall revolutionary struggle. Here, the key question was getting down on the particular situation that young people are in. Not only do millions of youth face many immediate hardships and difficulties—but millions of youth are facing the burning question of what the hell are they going to do with their lives.

For years they have been trained to be the future wage slaves of the bourgeoisie. Now, as they are becoming so, they are not only trying to avoid the pitfalls of unemployment, the army, drugs, crime, etc., they're also looking for one way or another to start off and develop a decent life, to find a way they can use their skills, make a contribution to society, etc.

The youth need an organization that not only gets out in the streets and fights for the people, but offers them a future and road where they can put their lives to the best possible use. The road of serving the people, daring to change the world, fighting for the working class, making socialist revolution, and going on to building a whole new world! And this is why a communist youth organization needs to be built—an organization that would openly offer this road and future to the youth as they stand at a crossroads in their life, while taking up their battles and fighting for them.

When talking about the future faced under capitalism the youth bitterly spoke out. A number spoke out

about how they literally live in fear for their lives, and their friends' and families', when thinking of life in their neighborhoods and cities. And they felt helpless seeing all this go down—cities rotting, crime shooting up, as they sat around unemployed.

Youth denounced the army, which they had gone into hoping it to be an escape from unemployment and trouble, and a place to find a skill, only now to find there was plenty of trouble in having to protect the profits of the rich man. Many youth talked of friends getting caught up in drugs and crime. The youth from Cincinnati brought out how a friend had committed suicide—with all denouncing the capitalists' inability to provide youth the chance to lead productive, useful lives for bringing this all on. Unanimously the youth at the meeting saw this as a key question that must be taken up in the course of building struggle.

A number of youth did raise points that will have to be taken up to put the young communist organization on a solid basis. One was the very basic point that the members of the young communist organization must have at least a beginning understanding of Marxism-Leninism. Only in a few places had this task been taken on in a well organized and thorough way, with some people saying they still needed to learn some basic points about Marxism. Over the next six months an important task will be to initiate, develop and popularize the study among youth of Marxism, grounding the foundation of the working class youth section, along with the student section of course, in the basics of Marxism-Leninism, as they continue to move ahead, building the struggle of youth and building towards the founding convention.

Another key question that came up was around the level of anti-communism among the people, and what would the response be as the groups went into the streets and neighborhoods as an open communist organization.

Some youth spoke up, stating that at the very least we'd have a tough time getting people to listen to us if it was openly called a communist organization, and at the very worst...well, it was a quick way to die. Others argued that openly standing for communism put the groups out there in clear opposition to the rulers of this country, and that this was a good thing that would speak to many of the qualities of youth—their rebelliousness, desire for productive lives, etc.

All of the youth agreed that going out and building struggle as an open communist organization would certainly be much more controversial than building struggle under the name "Youth In Action."

While one could point to certain difficulties that will arise for openly standing for revolution and communism, the groups could and should take advantage of the controversy and struggle that come from it, understanding that the fact that communism is supposed to be terrible and outlawed according to the powers that be can, through struggle, be turned into a good thing—something that makes it worthy of checking out, given the rebellious inclinations of youth. They had to bring out who was the source of anti-communism and why, and how it was the same source of all the rotten conditions that people are forced to live under. They had to be clear that the youth organization stood for communism and socialist revolution just as it stood and fought against the many rotten conditions throughout society—because that was the best road forward for the people.

In addition to that, people stated that the youth organization should see it as one of their tasks to stand up against the views that the capitalists have promoted about communists. While the capitalists continue to come down on the people, the young communist organization will lead repeated struggles, develop into a force that stands and fights for the people, exposing the rich as the source of the social ills throughout society—and would make it more and more clear what communists stood for, and who promoted and profited from anti-communism.

Many spoke out and said while there was anti-communism, more fundamental were the questions hitting youth at this critical time, posing the real need to openly offer to them the future of fighting for what the people need, standing with the working class, setting their sights high, and using their lives to go full steam towards socialist revolution.

The youth spoke out against a tendency to just throw out the word communism lightly—keeping it very general and not explaining it. The young communist organization would not simply run around just saying "communism," and offering a better future. For while openly standing for communism it would root this in taking up the struggles of youth, and would bring out of these battles and all social and political issues, how they tied in with the overall situation youth and the broad masses of people face, offering to youth a road of fighting for what people need, standing with the working class to knock down the bourgeoisie and move on to where the working class rules. The youth united around developing agitation and propaganda that put out communism in this kind of popular way, building off peoples' actual experience.

Around all these points, from the study of Marxism to the level of anti-communism and how to overcome it, there was a good deal of struggle, discussion and even arguing, with all agreeing that these points should be

Continued on page 23

# Youth

Continued from page 22

further taken up and discussed as we moved towards the founding convention and the launching of the young communist organization. The draft proclamation for a statement that calls for the formation of such an organization, that will be posted on city streets all across the country, was read out, unanimously voted for and endorsed by the most thunderous cheers and ovation of the day.

## Neighborhoods as a Base

Another important discussion held at the meeting was around where the working class section of the young communist organization should be based. In the development of the groups that already exist this question has not been taken up sharply enough, and this has led to a couple of different tendencies and weaknesses.

For one, there's been a tendency to only go from one part of a city to another, looking to unite with and develop struggle. Simply doing this leads to problems—the groups being scattered throughout the city; failure to develop any consistent base to become any type of ongoing social and political force among youth; pulling the "advanced" who join the groups away from their friends, neighborhoods and knowledge of social conditions toward building battles only in other parts of the city; and a failure to continue to do consistent revolutionary work among youth unless there was some spark of struggle going on in some part of town.

The youth at the meeting brought out how in some cities either high schools or community colleges had become the group's main base of ongoing activities, and the various problems that had come up from this. They brought out how both of these concentrations of youth should be taken up as part of developing the main base for the working class youth section—the neighborhoods.

Why neighborhoods? The youth at the meeting summed up two major reasons. (1) It's the area where all youth are concentrated, spend their most time, have their most friends. This includes those that are unemployed, marginally employed, high school, community college students, etc., especially those youth that are a year or two out of high school, unable to find any work. (2) It's where the contradictions are most sharp around the capitalists' inability to provide people with any type of decent, productive life. It's the main place where youth see the social conditions of this system going down, seeing their neighborhoods and housing rot, cops coming down, etc., while they are forced to hang around, unable to change the way people are more and more being forced to live.

Off of this, the youth talked about a "one, two punch" in going back to their cities, to both develop a consistent base for their activities while continuing to expand and build struggle in all parts of the cities. One punch is the task of concentrating in key neighborhoods and becoming an ongoing fighting political force, taking up battles for jobs, support for the African people, major social and political questions, etc. The other is continuing to unite with sparks of struggle that fly up throughout a city among youth, such as resistance to police murder and repression, rotting city conditions, etc., building those battles to the maximum and developing out of them new neighborhood bases for the communist youth organization.



*The rebelliousness characteristic of youth in a repressive and exploitive society is a tremendous resource for the working class in its revolutionary struggle. Its enthusiasm and innovativeness, its daring and determination can be a spark for struggle throughout society.*

After summing up all the points that had been taken on throughout the meeting—the need for revolution, youth's and the working class' role in making it, and all the others—the youth, though exhausted, took on discussion over what were the key areas of work for the coming period.

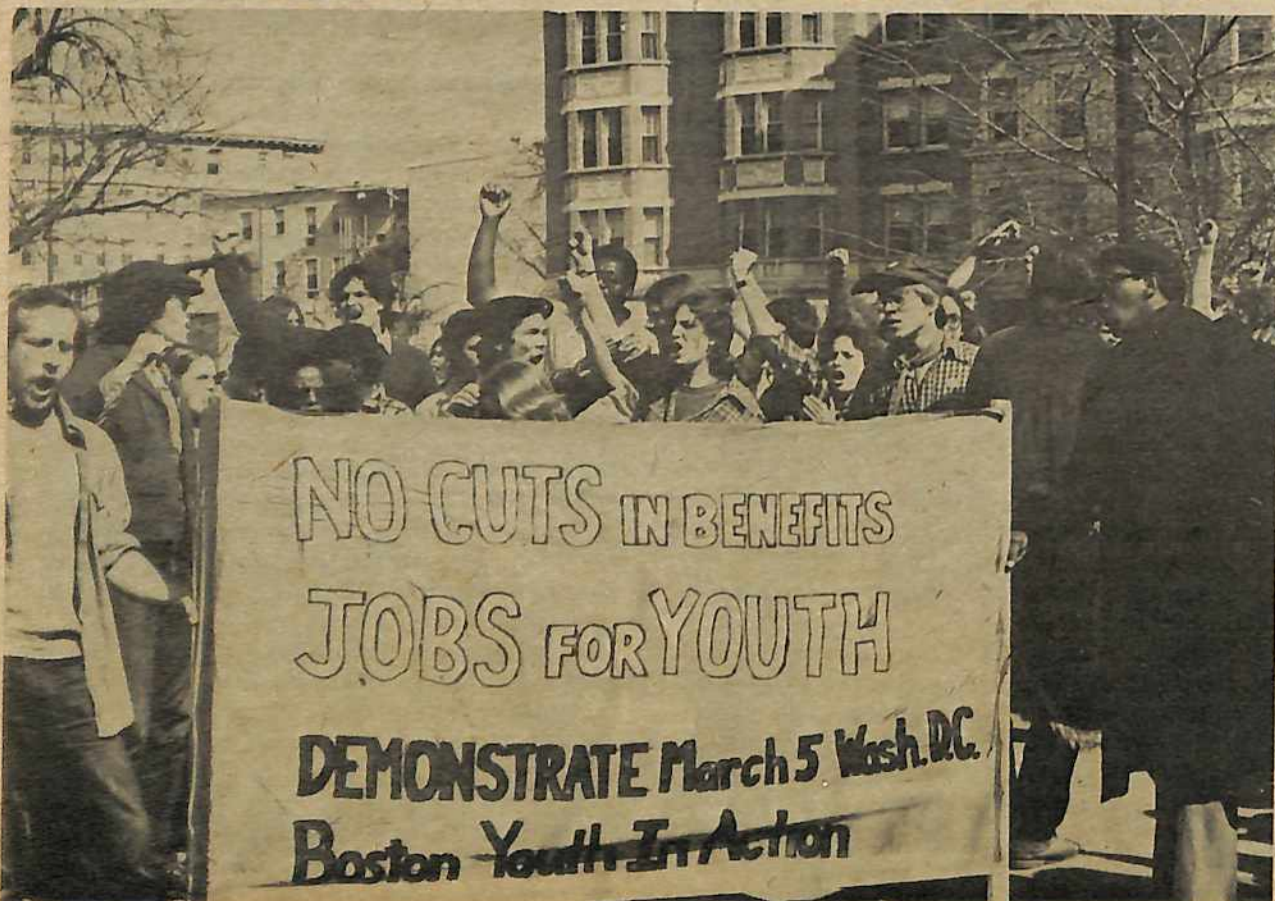
A lively report from one of the youth groups on the struggle in southern Africa was given that brought out the nature and present level of struggle of the African people against the white minority governments, their U.S. imperialist backers and the drive of the Soviet Union to enter through the back door.

The report brought out the need to support the African people's struggle as part of the overall tasks of supporting the revolutionary struggles that are standing up to, weakening, and exposing imperialism, especially ones directed against our own rulers. It brought out the need to oppose moves of the U.S. toward wars of aggression and the continuing conflicts and drive to world war of the two superpowers, as they seek to divide up the world in their drive for power and profits.

In addition to this, the youth brought out many of the feelings of solidarity that Blacks in the U.S. feel towards the struggling African people. Both face discrimination and national oppression from the same enemy, the U.S. capitalists.

After going into the importance of taking up the struggle, the youth brought out different ways to do this. Plans were made to do various educational projects, street corner agitation with props like large passbooks, showing slide shows, movies and programs in the streets of neighborhoods at night as the weather warms up, building for speakers from liberation forces in different neighborhoods.

The youth talked of taking up battle against the Krugerrand, the gold coin banks have been selling to generate dollars for the South African economy, such a battle that could knock the Krugerrand out of the banks and bring out to thousands how U.S. capital in-



*The capitalists come up with nothing but phony job schemes for youth, offering them jobs at slave wages or getting them to work for peanuts in jobs that have been taken away from their parents. In D.C. March 5, youth put them on notice they weren't accepting this future and would fight alongside their parents for jobs and a decent life.*

vestments hold up and profit from apartheid. Plans were also made toward doing different material aid projects for the liberation forces, and it was agreed to develop all this work in support of the African freedom fighters towards building a powerful youth contingent at the march on the White House on African Liberation Day, May 28.

One of the last discussions centered around battling for "Jobs for Youth" throughout the summer. An opening report brought out the widespread nature of the issue to youth and went into how unemployment is a hardship to youth that goes far beyond simply being stuck with no money. Nothing brings out more clearly how this society has got nothing to offer youth. Unemployment is a major source of youth getting demoralized, caught up in crime, drugs and gangs—as well as being a major factor for the many confrontations youth have with the police. Unemployment is the major cause of frustration and anger of youth, though this anger is not yet consistently directed or focused at the enemy.

It was also spoken to how many of the future government youth programs would seek to divide the youth off from the rest of the working class. This is what is behind many of these public works type proposals that Carter is talking about to "help the youth." Hire youth at slave wages to do the jobs workers have been laid off from or won't take because they cannot feed their families with the wages. Opposing these job programs to get the youth to scab on the entire working class will be an important part of the future youth organization—while continuing to stand and fight for jobs for youth.

Plans were developed so that the youth group would start to become a fighting force among the youth around the issue of jobs. Calls for activities and agitation at the many sign-up dates for youth programs were united around—where the need to fight for a year long job program at union wages would be brought out. Developing struggle around the presently existing city and federal job programs for youth was also talked about. Almost always breaking down during the summer—getting called off or pay held back—these programs can be important targets of struggle, though they are limited because they are mainly geared to 14-17 year olds. The youth united around battling inside them, while also raising the call for the year-round job program that would seek to bring forward and unite older youth to fight for the jobs they need.

Since the meeting a number of groups have also talked about developing campaigns in neighborhoods during the summer that would struggle around rotting conditions in the neighborhoods like crummy youth centers, uncollected garbage, and abandoned houses with rats. Such struggles could be linked to the struggle for jobs for youth.

As the meeting drew to a close, elections were held for a steering committee that will lead and guide the groups toward the founding convention. In the coming months the steering committee will be on top of putting out a good deal of the material that's needed to build towards the convention—proclamations, calls, posters, etc.—in addition to developing forms that will unite broad numbers of youth around the young communist organization in the course of each wave of activities that the youth groups build.

For instance, regional conferences will be held a few weeks after the ALD demonstration that will sum up the Africa campaigns, developments in building the young communist organization and then make further plans for developing campaigns and further waves of activity—as well as the means to continue to build toward the founding convention. In addition to this the steering committee will sum up the progress toward this convention, how some of the problems and contradictions that were brought out around developing it are being taken up and overcome.

The March 26 meeting was an important step forward in developing the initiative of working class youth to take up the building of a young communist organization as their own. The youth clearly saw the importance of the tasks confronting them—as brought out by the participation, heated discussions and struggle that characterized much of the meeting. The political understanding of many was deepened around key questions and a good deal of political unity was forged by the groups that were meeting together for the first time. Plans were developed to build key battles in the coming period, as well as plans to build towards the founding convention of the young communist organization.

The task is now to go back to the neighborhoods and cities, deepening the understanding of points that were taken up at the meeting while putting many of the ideas and plans talked about into practice that will unite youth to fight the bourgeoisie and change the world. This ranges from developing the campaign around African liberation to the battles for jobs, and the study of Marxism-Leninism. In all these ways the various youth groups will make important steps towards building a powerful working class youth section of a young communist organization that will dare to stand up and change the world, and lead the youth and students to become a powerful social force that will stand for revolution, become a powerful and valuable ally of the working class in its war for freedom. ■