



REVOLUTION

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

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Actions Combat Capitalists' Election Offensive

The elections '76 roadshow spectacular is touring every nook and cranny of the country, as the capitalist ruling class tries to get people to cast their vote of confidence in the system no matter which candidate they choose. But as the candidates have tried to carry their poison to the people in the TV debates and through personal appearances at factories, schools and elsewhere, organized forces of the working class have been there to expose the capitalist interests the election farce serves and to advance the real interests of the working class.

The bourgeoisie's election campaign has had to be even more widely promoted this year than usual because so much of their political and economic system has become exposed to people in the last few years. This capitalist political offensive is being met by a political campaign of the working class, which will culminate in mass demonstrations on election day, November 2. These demonstrations and other actions are being called nationally by the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC), joined locally by other organizations under the slogan "Politicians Fight for \$\$ Interests—We Must Fight for Our Own!" and demanding "Jobs, Not Hot Air!"

The Debates

The main gimmick in the capitalists' electoral arsenal this year has been the TV debates, which have been all but force-fed to people by the elimination of all other national TV programming and the tremendous amount of publicity that they've been surrounded with. These debates, explained one bourgeois newspaper, "hopefully might stir public interest at a time when participation in the political process is discouragingly low." But in fact workers and others have seized on these debates as a good time to fight for another kind of interest altogether. At the first two, the slogans rang out loud and clear, even though the TV and newspapers tried to ignore them.

On the night of the first Ford-Carter debate in Philadelphia on "domestic issues," 300 workers, veterans, students and youth demonstrated outside, and the chant "Democrats, Republicans, We Don't Care. We Want Jobs, Not Hot Air!" filled the streets. While inside the hall Ford and Carter were busy calling each other liars and generally proving that the only important difference between them was who they thought should live in the White House, the demonstrators outside were putting out the stand of the working class, "We Won't Get Stepped On By the Elephant or Kicked by the Donkey." Speakers pointed out that for all their publicized battles, both candidates, like all politicians, are really fighting to serve the interests of the rich owners and businessmen who run this country, and the people of this country have to fight against their class for our own interests.

The first debate failed to do as much as the capitalists had hoped, exactly because there was so little

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Thousands of Ford workers saw their '76 contract as a way of fighting years of attacks, including proposed takeaways. The rank and file acted on this from the beginning to the end of the strike. (left) Walkout at Milpitas, Ca. Ford plant on night strike began. (right) AWUF demonstrators at union council meeting let the top officials know what the rank and file feels about the settlement being pushed on them.



Despite Ford Sellout

Auto Workers Advance Struggle

The national Ford strike of 170,000 workers has been settled after four weeks although a number of local contract fights continue around the country. The focus of struggle in the auto industry now shifts to the other auto firms: Chrysler, General Motors and AMC.

Although a sellout contract was finally forced on the Ford strikers, significant gains were made in the battle of the rank and file to break the chains of the two headed monster: the auto companies and the UAW International leadership. Not only did the contract barely (and questionably) squeak through among Ford skilled tradesmen, who vote separately on the contract, but the 40% "no" vote among production workers was one of the largest rejection votes in UAW history. These blows delivered to the Ford sellout seriously undermine the momentum the International UAW hopes to bring to its attempts for similar sellouts at Chrysler, GM and AMC.

By playing a very active role in exposing the Ford sellout and bringing out the real demands of the rank and file, Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF) grew in influence from a loose amalgamation of chapters around the country into a significant social force in the auto industry, looked to more and more by thousands of auto workers during the strike as a nationwide center for pointing the way forward and leading the struggle against both the auto companies and the top officials of the UAW. These gains are sure to have a big effect on the development of future struggles in auto as well as an influence on struggles throughout the working class.

Well into August it was clear that the capitalists

were going all out to avoid a protracted strike in the auto industry when the contract expired on September 14. They knew both the power that a long term national auto strike could have in dealing a blow to their "economic recovery" (of profits) as well as the influence it could have on workers outside the auto industry. According to the bourgeois press, auto workers were too highly paid and too contented, or at least too worried by recent layoffs, to go out on strike.

In these efforts the bourgeoisie was aided by Leonard Woodcock and the rest of the UAW Executive Board. One UAW official referred to the early days of bargaining as "a love in." Woodcock himself stated that "there are no issues out there for our people to get emotional about." To justify their do-nothing stance the UAW bureaucracy spread the political line that auto workers were only asking for "their fair share, equity in the companies' huge profits"—in other words, the auto workers and the auto companies had a mutual interest in keeping profits high. Since these profits have been increased through grinding speedup, job combinations, forced overtime, layoffs, etc., this political line laid the basis for the UAW leadership avoiding these real issues throughout the negotiations while making phony demands primary.

Takeaways

But it soon became clear that the Ford Motor Co., together with the other auto companies, was out to use the contract talks as a way to push through some outrageous takeaways. Despite their overall profits rising in the last few quarters, with cutthroat competition between them very intense, with more outlays necessary for automation and new model changeovers, their rate of profit was down. Ford proposed that the rank and file pay much of the Blue Cross and Blue Shield health costs, probationaries take a pay cut of \$1 an hour, the grievance procedure be changed to tighten up on the right to strike, and other attacks.

During this time AWUF exposed the nature of the negotiations that were taking place. A national demonstration and conference were called, the third issue of a national newsletter and many local leaflets distributed,

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**Conference on International
Situation Nov. 13 see p.7**



1000 angry workers, doctors and people from the community mobilized on Sept. 24 to demand the opening of North Central Bronx hospital. This struggle has won a major victory, forcing the city to agree to open NCB, and is a big advance in organizing the mass resistance to the New York City cuts.

Big Advance In NYC Crisis Fight

It is less than a year since President Ford signed the federal aid bill for New York City and giant headlines blared out "City Saved." But for the majority of people in the Big Apple this "salvation" just means things are going to hell a little faster. As the attacks on the people of New York have snowballed, resistance has grown on many fronts, especially around health care. The recent battle to open a newly-built hospital in the Bronx, one of NYC's five boroughs, highlights the nature of the struggle in the city today.

The famous three year save-the-city plan Ford announced last Thanksgiving basically provided for three years of federal loans, to be repaid pronto. This "aid" rounded out an elaborate plan supposedly designed to end New York City's budget deficit (which was then \$700 million) and get the city back into the municipal bond market which had been closed to it since March, 1975, when the city's financial crisis began getting really severe. The city debt was refinanced so bondholders would have to wait a little longer for their payments, a far more pleasant prospect for them than outright default. The civil service union hacks connived with the city to "invest" millions of dollars of their members' pension money in practically worthless city securities.

Cutbacks at Heart of Plan

But the foundation of this plan was budget cuts on a monster scale, cuts that are dealing a crushing blow to the quality of life for people in New York. In the last year 51,000 city workers have been laid off, a dozen firehouses padlocked, the bulk of the city's day-care centers shut down and cultural and recreational facilities cut back or closed.

Four main areas were singled out for attack: Transit, where fares were raised 15 cents and service cut back drastically; the City University system, where the open admissions program won seven years ago was cut out and tuition imposed for the first time; the regular school system, where 10% of the schools have been shut down; and health care, where a third of the city's hospitals and over 50 clinics have been axed.

Hardest hit by these attacks have been Black and Latin people who fought for years for victories like open admissions and clinics in the ghettos, and who are the most dependent on the city's services.

The scale and intensity of these attacks make it clear that New York City is the front line in the attempt by the capitalist class to solve the "crisis of the cities," which is just one symptom of the overall crisis in their rotting system. Over the years, the struggle of the working class and masses of people for a better life has wrung from the capitalists many concessions in the form of different services provided by the various levels of the government. Of course, as with any con-

cessions, the capitalists have tried to snatch back these services and, failing that, make the people themselves pay for them through higher taxes and speeding up civil service workers.

Unleashing such massive attacks, the ruling class knew, would create plenty of new problems. And they have been as careful as possible in their approach to these. Day by day they chip away at services, a cut-back here, a layoff there, a closing in some other borough, chip, chip, chip. When, as happened last spring, massive cuts simultaneously in many areas cannot be avoided, they try to say "Whew, that was rough, but we're still alive and now we're over the hump and everything's on the up and up from here." And of course the usual propaganda barrage about city spirit and sacrifice and so on is being run down by every paper, every politician, every public figure and also many athletes, entertainers and so on.

Streamlined Rule

Along with this familiar hand-is-quicker-than-the-eye method of attack, the capitalists have had to make some rather interesting adjustments in the very way they rule to try and push their program through. Local politicians, no matter how loyal to the ruling class, want re-election and are too sensitive to pressures from various interest groups. The City Council and the rest of the usual machinery for passing laws is too slow and inefficient. Early in the city crisis, N.Y. State set up the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), made up of leading bankers, businessmen and politicians. This Board streamlines capitalist administration in NYC by giving orders to the city government to implement and serves as a form of struggle among the capitalists.

For all its power, the EFCB has two giant headaches on its hands. One is that its brainchild, the three year save-New York plan, is only digging the capitalists into a deeper hole. The first year of budget cuts has already cost the city tens of millions of dollars in state and federal grants and matching funds because the program getting the grant or the funds being matched are gone. Layoffs and inflation have forced more people onto welfare. The budget deficit has kept on growing, and now tops the one billion dollar mark! The cuts so far haven't done the job and EFCB spokesmen say "The worst is yet to come." They refuse to report their plans for the coming year, except to say the budget cuts for years two and three of the plan will be 5 times what they were for the first year and that the only way to judge what this will mean is on the basis of the attacks so far! Even if some miracle succeeds in balancing the city budget by late 1978, the fact is that not only will they tear the city apart in doing it but that,

balanced budget or not, no bank is going to sink even small change into NYC bonds from now on anyway.

Mass Resistance

The other problem facing the EFCB—not to mention the class they belong to and are working so hard to rescue—is the masses of people. The attacks so far have met widespread resistance from people in New York. They have occupied firehouses, daycare centers, health facilities and libraries to keep them open. They have marched, petitioned, demonstrated, gone on rent strike. Every week, fresh attacks bring hundreds of people into battle. Although the struggle so far has been spontaneous, scattered (tending to focus on one or another particular issue), and has suffered many setbacks, the fact is that conditions for more powerful, organized and sustained struggle in New York City are ripening.

This is all the more true because of the degree to which "leaders" like politicians, trade union officials, ministers and other "community spokesmen" have lied, doubletalked and in the end gone along with attack after attack on the living standards of the people. Their appeals to rely on the political process are going to ring even hollower as the people are to be battered by assaults five times as intense and wide ranging as those they have already suffered.

People in New York City are very conscious of the questions they face: What is happening here? Whose fault is it? Can anything be done? How can we fight? The situation is ripe for the working class to take up the struggle around the city crisis in a big way, to unite with other sections of the people under attack and to aim the struggle sharply against the ruling class whose crisis it is.

August Hospital Strike

This is the direction in which the struggle in NYC has been moving. August saw the first major walkout by city workers since the sanitation strike of 1975. When 1300 new hospital layoffs were announced, 18,000 hospital workers citywide hit the bricks. Doctors and nurses rallied to their sides; workers from other industries and people from the communities around the hospitals joined the picket lines. The militant strikers were picking up momentum until the leaders of their union, District Council 37 (DC37) of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) pulled the rug by "saving" the jobs—at the expense of giving up the \$450 cost of living allowance the workers had coming!

Despite this sellout, the strike was overall a victory. Not only did it block a major round of layoffs, but it pointed the road ahead, showing that the crisis can be fought successfully by uniting broad numbers of people behind the working class around demands that speak for the interests of the masses and hit at the real enemy.

NY-NJ United Workers Organization

The New York-New Jersey United Workers Organization (UWO) has been discussing and fighting the city crisis since the UWO was formed by rank and file groups and individuals in different industries early this year. The group exists to take up key battles of the workers as well as those of other sections of the people and build them into broad campaigns of the working class.

The UWO summed up from studying and analyzing the situation, taking active part in battles like the DC37 strike, and taking the question of the crisis to fellow workers in the shops that the attacks on health care were the key issue to build at the present time. It effects broad numbers of people sharply. Furthermore, it is a sharp and shocking exposure of the EFCB and the ruling class who are more than willing to let people suffer and die for lack of medical attention when it is dictated by their economic and political interests.

The attacks on health care in New York have been sharpest in the Bronx. Over the last year and a half,

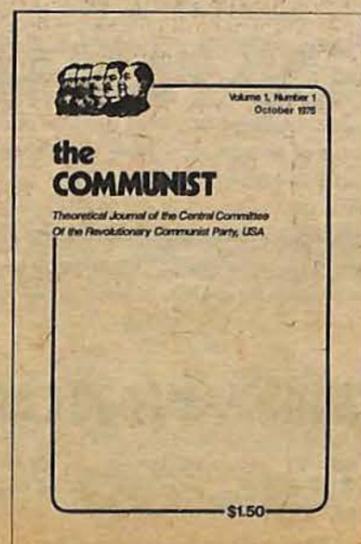
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The Communist

The first issue of *The Communist* will include articles on the following subjects:

- †On the character of World War 2
- †Capitalism, crisis and the commodity
- †Bourgeois right, economism and the goal of the working class struggle
- †More on the correct understanding of capitalist restoration in the USSR
- †Bourgeois democracy and the U.S. working class

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Class Struggle Key Link

Chinese People Will Carry Out Mao's Line, Continue Revolution

With the death of Mao Tsetung and its aftermath, and on the basis of reading the special supplement on his contributions in last month's *Revolution* (and the supplement in *The Worker* newspapers across the country), many workers and other people have raised the question: what will happen now in China, with Mao gone will the revolution continue?

We can only answer that we are confident that the Chinese people, who suffered so greatly under the old society and who have struggled so heroically, with the leadership of Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, to overthrow their exploiters and oppressors and to create a new socialist society under working class rule, will—guided by Mao's line and teachings—carry forward their great revolutionary struggle and defeat one after another the attempts to prevent their further advance and drag them back to the old society.

But, some people have asked, what guarantee is there that the revolution will not be turned around, as happened in the Soviet Union? The answer is that there is and can be no absolute guarantee of this kind, because, as Mao himself repeatedly emphasized in leading the revolution in China, and pointing the way forward for workers and oppressed people around the world, even in a socialist society such as China today there are still classes and class struggle, there is still the basis for bourgeois forces to seize power from the working class and for capitalism to be restored.

Socialist revolution is bound to triumph and communism—a society without class differences—is bound to be achieved, not only in China, but throughout the world. But, along the road, there can be reverses and temporary setbacks, even after the working class has overthrown the old exploiters and established its own rule, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The basis for preventing capitalist restoration is for the working class led by its Party to constantly raise its level of consciousness of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—in the course of struggle against the forces of capitalism and to unite the broad masses of people to continue making revolution to eliminate, step by step, the inequalities and other things left over from capitalist society which provide the breeding ground for capitalists to arise and the potential for capitalism to be restored.

This is the direction that Mao gave in leading the Chinese people's revolution down to his dying breath and which has led them to victory after victory in defending and consolidating their rule, building socialism and beating back attempts to reverse the revolution. Within the past two years he pointed out that, while in the main socialist forms of ownership had been established in China, "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works."

Here Mao was summarizing crucial lessons for the working class. Lin Biao himself, a former leader of the Chinese Communist Party and state who became a complete traitor to the revolution, was already gone from the scene, having died in a plane crash while fleeing to the Soviet Union, after his treachery, including an attempt to assassinate Mao, had been uncovered and defeated. But, despite the fact that Lin Biao was dead, Mao, applying exactly the opposite method of the bourgeoisie, went beyond merely dealing with a plot and led the masses in going deeply into the *line* of Lin Biao, recognizing its revisionist nature and developing a mass campaign to criticize and oppose it at its roots.

Mao speaks of "people like Lin Biao." Who are such people? They are those who emerge within the Communist Party and socialist state, especially at its top levels, who take their positions of leadership as the basis for pushing their own private interests and try to use them as the basis for restoring capitalism, which is based on the private accumulation by a small handful of the wealth produced socially by the masses of working people.

Bourgeois Right

But why, as Mao stresses, would it be quite easy for such people to rig up the capitalist system if they come to power? Because, as he points out, the commodity system, wage differentials, and what is called "bourgeois right" still exist under socialism.

This means that the communist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his

needs" is not and cannot be yet realized; instead the guiding principle is "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

And further, money is and must be used to exchange commodities. Although workers are no longer forced to sell their labor power and no one lives by exploiting the labor power of others, workers are still paid wages with which they must buy the means of life—food, clothing, etc., as well as entertainment and so on. And workers with greater skill and knowledge must still be paid higher wages than those with less skill and knowledge.

More, even where wages are equal, two different people have different sized families, different numbers of people in the family working, and so on, so that "equal pay" results in actual inequality.

In addition, in the countryside in China, socialist ownership does not, in the main, take the form of state ownership, but *collective* ownership by groups of peasants, organized into communes. These communes sell products to the state, and income is divided among the different peasants according to their work, and some other standards. Here, too, commodity relations and exchange through money continue to exist.

As Mao states, all this can only be restricted—and not fully eliminated—under socialism. Its final elimination will only come with the achievement of communism.

In fact, as Mao also pointed out, "Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois right. We ourselves have built just such a state." This, in fact, is exactly what the proletarian state, the dictatorship of the working class, is. Mao, and Lenin, refer to it as a "bourgeois state without capitalists" because, on the one hand it is a state controlled by the masses of workers, not by the capitalist exploiters; on the other hand, however, the fact that a state is still necessary indicates that there is still a need to suppress a part of society—though, again, in the case of the proletarian state, as opposed to all other, previous forms of states, it is the majority of working people who suppress the minority of would-be exploiters, to prevent the restoration of a system of exploitation.

But it is also a "bourgeois state without capitalists," because forms and relations which characterize capitalism—such as commodity relations and bourgeois right—still exist and are administered by state institutions, and along with this there are still the "three great differences" in society: between mental and manual work, between workers and peasants and between town and countryside.

Basis of Class Struggle

These differences and inequalities, sores and scars on society left over from capitalism, all provide the basis for class differences, for capitalist forces to be created, and for capitalism to be restored. What outlook to take toward all this, and what policies to adopt to deal with this situation, is and will remain for some time, the focus of sharp struggle within China, and all socialist countries. In essence this is a *class struggle*, a struggle between the working class in power and the forces of capitalism within socialist society itself.

The line of the working class in this situation is to *restrict* the differences, and inequalities, the operation of the commodity system and bourgeois right, to reduce them, step by step, in order to finally eliminate them. The line of the bourgeoisie is to give full sway to these differences and inequalities, to expand the sphere of operation of the commodity system, bourgeois right, etc. But, of course, since the socialist system has been established and the hatred of the masses for capitalism, and their determination not to be dragged back to it, are seared deep and the need to advance toward communism is increasingly deeply grasped by ever broader sections of the people, bourgeois forces under these circumstances cover their line with claims that it will help speed up the process of building socialism and achieving communism. This means that the class struggle under socialism is not only *sharper* than under capitalism—since the bourgeoisie is fighting to restore its rule and system of exploitation and prevent its elimination as a class—but is also more complicated.

The history of China, since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, has been a history shaped exactly by such acute and complex struggles. With the founding of the People's Republic, the imperialists, feudal landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists (capitalists who used the state to accumulate capital to exploit

workers) who plundered old China were defeated. But immediately the question was sharply posed: which road will China now take, the road of socialism, or the capitalist road?

There were many, including people within the Chinese Communist Party itself, who had joined the revolution in its first stage, before the liberation of the country, and fought to overthrow the old order, because it left no room for them to develop their own fortunes. For them, the revolution had now gone far enough; the old exploiters were overthrown, and it was their turn to set themselves up, "in business."

Their line and outlook, their class nature, was well described by Lenin, who wrote, "As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it—they grabbed, let me have a go too—indeed, every one of them is the source of a new generation of bourgeois." And, in fact, while the old exploiting classes do pose a real threat to socialism, especially in its first years of existence, in socialist society it is the *new bourgeoisie* who constitute the greatest danger—after all the old exploiters are generally well known and deeply hated by the masses, while the new bourgeoisie are generally members of the revolutionary party in power.

In China these people resisted the socialist transformation of ownership. But, again, they covered themselves by pointing to the fact that the socialist transformation of ownership had to be accomplished step by step, and could not be done in one stroke. In China, at that time, while the means of production formerly owned by the imperialists, landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists were immediately confiscated, it was necessary to phase out ownership by smaller capitalists in the cities over a period of years and to develop collective ownership among the peasants in the countryside step by step, leading the masses of peasants to advance from one stage to the next. The capitalist forces at that time, especially the new bourgeoisie within the Communist Party and government, came up with "theories" about how capitalism is necessary and "exploitation is a merit." In short, they wanted to expand, not restrict, capitalist ownership.

Through sharp struggle, throughout society and within the Communist Party, these particular "capitalist roaders," as they came to be called, were defeated. By 1956, socialist ownership had, in the main, been established, in both town and countryside—although, in the countryside socialist forms of ownership were still at a primitive stage of development.

Ongoing Struggle Between Two Roads

But, due to the legacy of domination and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, China's economy remained still relatively backward, with a low level of machinery and technology. Again, at this point, in the late 1950s, sharp struggle broke out, especially within the Party and state, about the road forward for developing China's economy. Once again, this was a struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, but now it was not over preserving private ownership in exactly the same way as before.

The capitalist roaders insisted that the Chinese people could not develop the economy mainly through their own efforts, that they had to go slow in socialist construction and rely on foreign countries for machinery and technology and that, in the countryside in particular, development of higher forms of socialist ownership would have to wait until industry—relying on foreign "aid," which really meant plunder by foreign capitalists—could provide them with the basis for mechanization.

At the same time they pushed the line in military affairs, not of relying on the political consciousness of

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Revolution

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China...

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the soldiers and masses of people as the decisive factor and not on the strategy of people's war to defeat aggressors, which had won liberation in China in the first place, but on weaponry as the decisive factor and on the organization of the armed forces along essentially the same lines of structure and command as bourgeois armies. While it has been important to modernize China's weaponry, the kind of armed forces they wanted to build would have required a distortion of the economy and also reliance on foreign countries for military hardware. In fact these people pushed dependence on the Soviet Union in particular at the very time it was trying to bring China under its domination.

Once again, through sharp struggle, these capitalist roaders were defeated, despite the fact that in the years 1959-61 China suffered serious natural disasters and the sabotage of the capitalist roaders in power in the Soviet Union, led by Khrushchev, who withdrew assistance—even blueprints for uncompleted factories—when China refused to accept Soviet domination. And the result of this struggle was that the Chinese people overcame these obstacles and not only prevented capitalist restoration but made great leaps in the development of their economy.

Through all these struggles, it was Mao Tsetung who led the masses of Chinese people in defeating the capitalist roaders and advancing in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Party was also strengthened. But, despite the great advances, China's economy was still at the developing stage, and for this and other reasons indicated earlier, the basis for bourgeois forces to arise within socialist society still existed.

In fact, these bourgeois forces, headed by Liu Shao-chi, then President of the People's Republic and second-ranking member of the Communist Party, had succeeded in gaining a powerful foothold in the socialist state and a powerful apparatus within the Communist Party.

With these positions, they worked to turn the Party and state into a basis for capitalist restoration. In particular, in the sphere of culture, they kept portraying on the stage representatives of the exploiting classes and promoting the outlook of the exploiters in every way they could.

Among the Party members and government employees they pushed the poisonous idea that they should "work hard" so as to advance themselves. They tried to camouflage this with talk about combining public and private interests, which actually meant that the thing to do was to appear to work for the public interest in order to advance personal interest.

Among the masses they pushed bonuses, piece-work and capitalist-type rules and regulations of work, with the aim of getting the workers to compete among themselves and forcing them to produce, not in the interests of the working class to advance society, but for the benefit of administrators and managers who were given control over the enterprises. All this, they said, would "develop production," which, according to them was the key to building socialism and achieving communism. In fact, what it came down to was production for the benefit of these bourgeois forces.

Obviously, by this time, in the early 1960s, the situation had become very serious. As Mao was to sum up later, "From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority—leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were. . . But they followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's, just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." In short, working class rule and socialism were in real danger of being destroyed from within.

Cultural Revolution

During this period Mao and other revolutionary leaders worked to develop the means to mobilize the masses themselves to defeat these capitalist policies and to hit back at the capitalist roaders who promoted them. Finally, in 1966, such a form was developed—the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, called that because it began and had much of its focus around the question of revolutionizing culture, to sweep off the stage the representatives of the exploiting classes and their reactionary outlook and to replace them with figures and works of art and culture that put forward representatives of the working class and the masses themselves struggling not only to overthrow the old exploiters but to continue the revolution to defeat newly arising bourgeois forces and root out the basis for capitalism.

In a period of three years—1966-1969—the Cultural Revolution was waged in the form of great mass struggles, involving hundreds of millions of people. Compared to all previous struggles in new China, the Cul-



A government official (left) at a "May 7 Cadre School," living and working for a time among the people of the countryside. This practice and others like it, developed in the main during the Cultural Revolution, are called "socialist new things." They are important steps in narrowing key differences in society including between city and country, workers and peasants, and between mental and manual labor—helping lay the basis for future communist society where knowledge cannot be monopolized for private gain and the working people master all aspects of society. Their continued existence and development have been, and will continue to be, a focus of sharp class struggle between revolutionary forces and those who wish to return to capitalism.

tural Revolution was much more massive, widespread, much more sharply battled out and also much more complex.

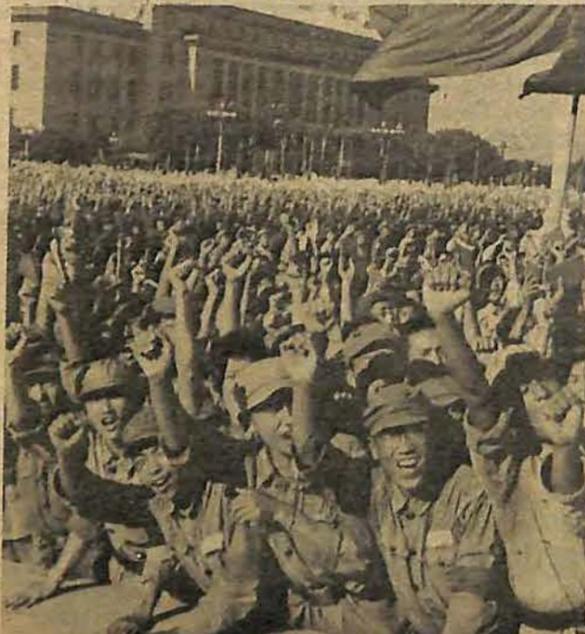
But through the course of this, the masses, led by Mao Tsetung, not only smashed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi in the Party and government, but made many new advances, not only in raising their consciousness, but in actually transforming relations and institutions in society, and in pushing forward production. Political struggle, class struggle, was more and more clearly understood to be the decisive factor in building socialism.

Mao summed up the correct relationship between politics and economics, between fighting against capitalism and capitalist relations on the one hand and carrying forward production on the other, in the slogan, "grasp revolution, promote production." This summarized the great lesson that it is only by continuing the struggle to revolutionize society in all spheres that the productive forces of society can be liberated; it was a concentration of the great truth expressed by Marx 100 years earlier: "the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself."

This was a great blow against the capitalist roaders, who said that class struggle was unnecessary any longer in China, that it was "dying out," and that the main task was to develop the productive forces—by which they meant machinery and technology, negating the fact that it is the working people themselves who create these means of production in the first place and that what holds back their further development at this stage of history is not lack of hard work by the workers, but the fetters of capitalist relations.

Through the Cultural Revolution many aspects of capitalist relations and remnants of the old exploiting society were dealt heavy blows—though they were not and could not be completely eliminated yet. Not only was culture transformed to serve the working class in carrying forward the revolution, but bonuses and other "material incentives" (bribes to get workers to compete with each other) were struck down in many places and wage rates were simplified and wage differentials narrowed.

The policy of having Party and administrative cadre



At the height of the Cultural Revolution young Red Guards greet Mao Tsetung, who gave their movement great support.

do productive labor part of the year was greatly strengthened. The educational system was completely transformed, putting the emphasis on linking theory with practice, study with productive labor; and educated youth (the equivalent of high school graduates in this country) were sent to work, especially in the countryside, or into the People's Liberation Army, which also engaged in productive labor as well as military training.

Engineers and other technical workers, cultural workers, doctors and others also began to take part in productive labor, together with the masses, while engineers, technicians, medical workers, cultural workers, were developed from among the masses themselves. With their consciousness raised through the storm of struggle in the Cultural Revolution, large numbers of workers repeatedly volunteered to do extra work without pay—to help develop more backward areas, advance society and support revolution worldwide.

Socialist New Things

All these victories won through the Cultural Revolution, these policies and relations which reflected the further revolutionizing of society and the people, came to be called "socialist new things." They struck at the differences and inequalities left over from the old society, further restricted bourgeois right and the operation of the commodity system, and dug away at the soil breeding capitalist forces. They were enthusiastically embraced by the masses of people.

But, of course, they were also hated and sabotaged whenever possible by bourgeois forces, who saw the soil of capitalism, which had given rise to them in the first place, being dug up. They tried, in one form or another to protect their "estates" of capitalist soil. And such bourgeois forces continued to arise, because although some of the soil engendering them had been dug up, not all of it was, or could be.

For this reason, Mao summed up that, just as the Cultural Revolution "is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism," still "the present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future."

Such revolutions would be necessary for a long time, Mao said, exactly because, as he recently emphasized once again, the basis for capitalist roaders to emerge in the leadership of the Communist Party is still there, and will be for a long time. Sure enough, after the mass upsurge of the Cultural Revolution and even with the many victories, the "socialist new things," achieved through it, new bourgeois headquarters arose again within the Communist Party Central Committee.

Lin Piao

Riding the crest of mass struggle, and the revolutionary role played by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) during the high tide of that struggle, Lin Piao, then Defense Minister, tried to use his position and the PLA as a power base to establish himself as head of the government, a position he hoped to use to strengthen an apparatus loyal to him to oppose Mao's leadership, to oppose the continuation of the revolution and to restore capitalism.

Of course, because of Mao's immense popularity and deep respect among the masses of people, Lin outdid everyone else in declaring loyalty to Mao, but he

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UMWA Convention

Top Hacks Feud, Attack Rank & File

The rank and file has always fought to build this Union and make it a fighting organization. But still it is run by this handful of self-seekers backed up by the companies and government. They spend their hours hatching schemes for controlling the rank and file and waging the endless war over which hack will get his fingers into which pie. . . The time is coming for us to stop this sordid game [played] at our expense. This International Convention gives us a good opportunity. We must boldly expose these traitors to the rank and file for what they are. And we must unite to break all chains on the rank and file—from an open letter to the rank and file from the Miners Right to Strike Committee.

The 47th Convention of the United Mine Workers of America was held in Cincinnati in the last week of September. Both rank and file miners and high union officials had a big stake in the outcome of this event. The top leadership of the UMWA viewed it as a chance to step up their efforts to put an end to the militant struggle of the rank and file.

Since his elections, Miller, who rode to power on the back of a rank and file reform movement which smashed the grip of the old Boyle machine, has since been confronted with a massive upsurge of struggle coming from the ranks. There have been more than 4,355 strikes since the '74 contract was signed, including two major wildcats against the use of court injunctions and for the right to strike that shut down the bulk of the nation's coalfields for several weeks each. From the moment he got elected, Miller's efforts have been directed to sabotaging and smashing the rank and file movement which he rode to power. The union hacks hoped to come out of the convention with a new collection of handcuffs and muzzles for the rank and file.

The convention proceedings themselves were marked by a series of attacks on mine workers from the leadership and by infighting between Arnold Miller and other union bureaucrats contending over who could best put the screws to the continuing struggle in the coalfields. But the voice of the rank and file was also strongly felt on some major issues inside the convention. And there were many miners who weren't about to let the union officials pull off their shenanigans uncontested.

While they billed the convention as "the voice of the rank and file," the International hacks did everything they could to stop rank and file participation. Delegates went to the convention not knowing what the agenda was and committee members were not allowed to tell anyone what had been or what was going to be discussed.

Miller's 10 Point Program

Miller was not about to let his 10 point program to stop wildcats, a thoroughly rotten scheme adopted by the International Executive Board after the Black Lung strike in March, come under attack at the convention. But a test of it came up in the form of a struggle over a resolution putting forward one of the points. When Miller tried to get through a constitutional amendment to hit rank and file miners who "foment or lead a strike which endangers the welfare and integrity of the organization" with suspensions and fines, he got a taste of the anger the masses of mine workers feel about his anti-wildcat measures.

The hall exploded with outrage and not one delegate responded to Miller's repeated call for a second. This was a real victory for the rank and file who have witnessed over the past year what a blatant attack this suspension/expulsion threat is. "It would have torn the union apart," was a strong sentiment. Some didn't openly back it for fear of what the rank and file would do to them when they got home. Many more honestly saw it for what it was.

Miller's forces were able to block several resolutions from getting to the floor which called for the lifting of the suspensions leveled several months ago by the IEB against two members of the Miners Right to Strike Committee who had played leading roles in the Black Lung strike.

Another major convention struggle was around making the right to strike a contract demand. The wildcat of 120,000 miners in August against the companies' use of court injunctions and for the right to strike made clear the determination of miners to fight for this right. Even Miller and other IEB members were forced to talk about going for a "limited right to strike" as a contract demand at the same time as they were trying to break this summer's strike, although the specific wording was not worked out.

Of course the hacks immediately set to finding ways

to cut any substance out of this and turn it against the rank and file. Union vice-president Trbovich announced that he supports the right to strike because it would mean less strikes and charged that "these strikes are destroying our union."

Right to Strike Committee Demonstrates

On the third day of the convention members and supporters of the Miners Right to Strike Committee demonstrated outside the convention to expose the attacks being leveled by Miller and the union leadership and to focus attention on the rank and file demands. These demonstrators carried with them the feelings of thousands of miners about company attacks, lousy pensions, injunctions, Black Lung benefit denials and sellout leadership.

They carried banners and slogans reading "Break the chains on the rank and file—abolish the IEB's 10 point program!" "We won't settle for crumbs—15 years for Black Lung benefits," "Drop the suspensions," "The UMWA is a fighting union—not a company union," "Build a strike fund for '77," "No suspensions, expulsions or pulling locals' charters," "Make the companies drop all the lawsuits and fines," and "We demand the right to strike in the contract and the constitution." The struggle against Miller's 10 point anti-wildcat program and for the right to strike were the key issues raised by the Committee before and at the convention.

The factional fighting and power plays in the union leadership between the Miller forces and the Trbovich-Patterson faction took up much of the convention proceedings, but amounted to a fight between two packs of dogs. It served to cover a political attack directed at the struggle of militant rank and file mines.

One form this took was an orgy of red-baiting opened up when Trbovich charged that Miller's administration was "infiltrated" and dominated by communists. Miller quickly upped the ante by denouncing communists and blaming the struggle in the union on "outside" communist agitators, and reiterated how he had been trying to put an end to this struggle. Both sides used the red-baiting to lump together several reporters and salesmen hawking newspapers from several self-proclaimed "communist" organizations whom they proceeded to throw out of the convention with militant rank and file non-communist miners and genuine communist miners, attempting to direct at "these people" the anger felt by mine workers at the constant attacks from the companies and the sellout union leadership. The thrust of this attack was not so much aimed at communists as it was at the recent powerful struggles of the rank and file.

They used the red-baiting to try and direct attention away from the real struggles facing the rank and file and their own sellout role. They call every honest fighter for the rank and file a communist. This is the same

broken record that the bourgeoisie's agents in the unions play every time workers take the fight against the companies into their own hands.

Of course these attacks are also used to slander communists in the union, playing on the ocean of anti-communist propaganda the bourgeoisie pours out daily. But at the same time that they attempt to spread fear and confusion about communists "out to destroy the union," they pump hard at their own efforts to push the miners' struggle safely into the channels of lobbying and relying on political "friends of labor" and the political process. This came down to trying to tie the UMWA to the tail of the Democratic donkey by promoting Jimmy Carter as the answer to all problems.

Carter Billed as Savior

The hacks were also successful in their effort to insert the Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC) into the Constitution as the official vehicle for miner's political action and increase the COMPAC assessment from \$5.20 to \$7.00. This is a slap in the face to the rank and file, some of whom have seen COMPAC more and more for what it is—an organization which devotes the bulk of its money and energy to leading the rank and file down the endless road to nowhere of lobbying Congress and tailing after various ambitious representatives of the class of capitalists.

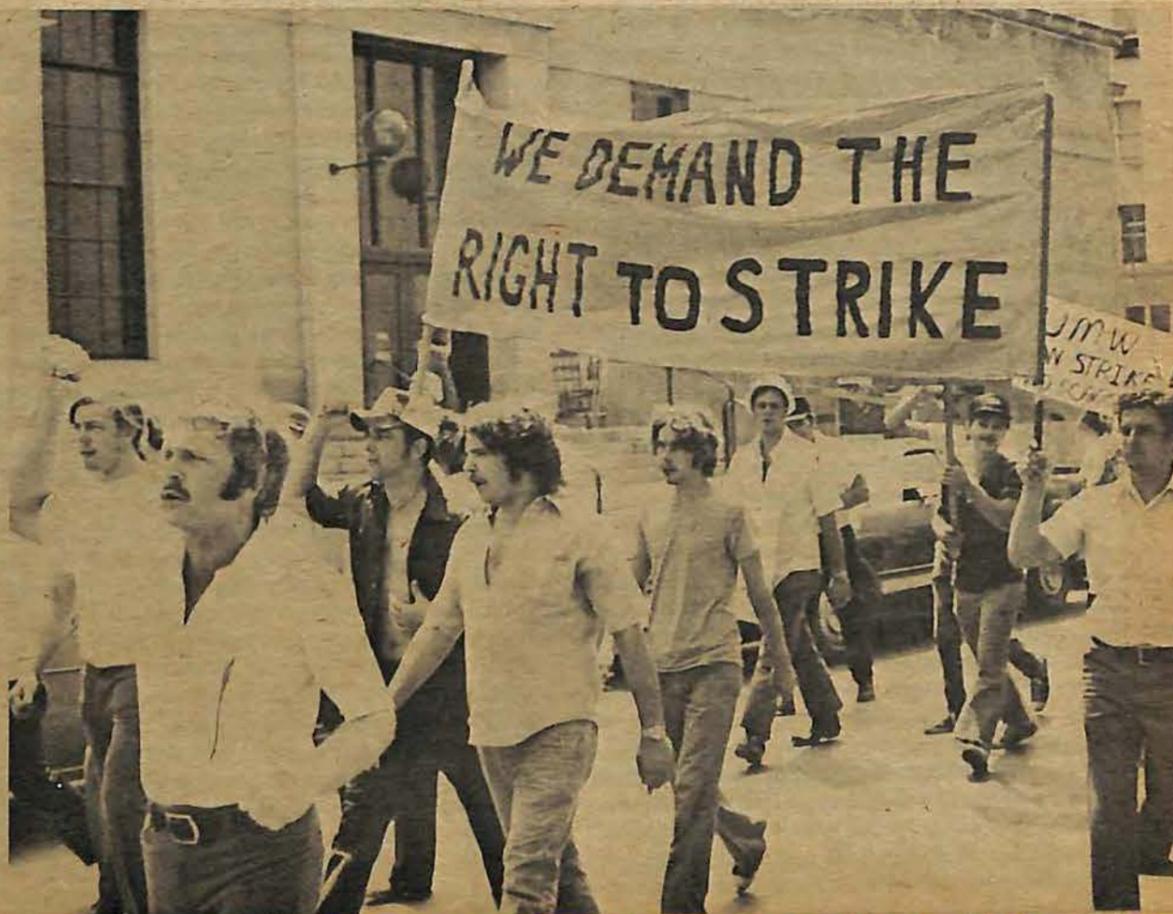
In fact the angry sentiment against politicians was so strong at the convention that after a campaign speech for Jimmy Carter and the Democrats by UAW vice president Irving Bluestone, delegates made it plain they didn't want to hear any of this. Most delegates stayed away from a banquet for Democratic vice-presidential candidate Mondale and West Virginia Democratic candidate for governor John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV, despite the offer of free food and drink.

The UMWA top officials' anti-communist crusade and their promotion of the Democratic Party are two aspects of the same policy. Their concern is not keeping out "outside" political influences, which is impossible as miners are part of society as a whole. They are trying to promote bourgeois politics, sometimes by portraying working class politics—the politics of class struggle—as something alien to the miners' struggle, other times by claiming that the only way to make advances is to rely on the "friends of labor" in the capitalist government.

All in all, many strong resolutions were approved at the convention for the upcoming contract—from equalizing pensions to dental and other health care demands, to the demand for the right to strike. But passing resolutions is not the same as winning demands. And just as the reason these resolutions got through in the convention at all was because of the struggle of the rank and file, the demands will be won by the struggle between the miners and the companies and by breaking the chains with which the union officials attempt to bind workers in this struggle.

The convention was also the opening salvoes of the dog fight between Miller and Trbovich and other closely allied forces for the presidency of the UMWA.

As the Miner's Right to Strike Committee open letter put it: "In every issue that confronts the Miners' Union, we must ask: What will strengthen our organization and our ability to unite in struggle? And what will disarm us, leave us passive, chained to courts and politicians? . . . Everybody knows we need unity. But we can either 'unite' on our knees, begging for mercy, or we can build FIGHTING UNITY, on our feet, the only kind that brings victory." ■



The coal bosses try to chain workers to the mines and the union hacks stand ready at hand to offer them new locks and handcuffs. Mineworkers have shown they will not lay down to efforts to strangle their ability to fight back.

Reactionary Coup In Thailand

On October 6, Thailand's ruling class and U.S. imperialism resorted to their more ruthless naked form of rule in Thailand to shore up their greatly weakened position in Southeast Asia. Police and military units, armed and financed by the U.S., in a coordinated and calculated attack together with their organized reactionary supporters, brutally suppressed student demonstrators at Thammasat University in Bangkok. They moved on the university, which has been a hot spot of struggle in the country, with machine guns, grenades and anti-tank weapons, killing 39, including several by hanging and burning, and arrested 1700. The military in seizing power abolished the constitution, national assembly and all democratic rights, imposed press censorship, began a nationwide sweep to round up all firearms and suspected revolutionaries and converted the courts into military tribunals to sentence the 3000 arrested nationally and thereby ended a three-year attempt to rule under the cover of bourgeois democracy.

The coup is a setback for the Thai people and their struggle against U.S. imperialism, wiping out the gains won in the 1973 uprising that toppled military rule and won democratic rights and other concessions. Thailand's rulers and their U.S. backers were acting out of desperation in the face of the Thai people's growing struggle and the changing situation in Southeast Asia. Since 1932 when the absolute rule of the monarchy was overthrown by the military, Thailand has been mostly ruled by a series of military dictators who replaced each other in power every few years through coups. While Thailand has never been a direct colony of any imperialist country, this small handful of military rulers has always sold themselves in neo-colonial fashion to the principal imperialist power in the area, offering up the country's rich resources and labor force to the imperialists' plunder and exploitation in return for the enforced protection of their rule.

Tool of U.S. Imperialism

Thailand since the late 1950s has been a strong right arm of the U.S. in Southeast Asia. It served as the main base of operations for the U.S. air war over Indochina with B-52 squadrons and over 50,000 U.S. troops stationed there while Thai military units fought against the liberation forces in Laos and south Vietnam. But the Thai people resisted the plunder of their country and strongly opposed the use of it as a base to bomb their neighbors. Throughout the '50s and '60s, small guerrilla forces fighting in the impoverished countryside of north and northeast Thailand and on the southern border with Malaysia were growing in strength and support. Finally in October 1973, the widespread corruption and suffering of the masses of people erupted in popular uprisings in Bangkok, spearheaded by demonstrations of tens of thousands of students against the government's service to the U.S. imperialists, and forced the overthrow of the military dictatorship of General Thanom who fled the country.

Thailand shows the effects of imperialist rule. The urban conditions are the worst in Southeast Asia. Workers in Bangkok are forced to live in squalid slums in areas of the city which were and still are swamps. Textile workers, the largest manufacturing group of workers, slave in factories largely owned by Japanese, U.S. and European companies for 8¢ an hour. In the countryside millions of farmers are landless, tied to a feudal landlord system, crushed by taxes, debts and farm prices kept low by government decree.

Under the three years of civilian rule, the basic conditions and class relations in Thailand remained the same, nonetheless, it was a period of great advance in the Thai people's struggle. The masses were able to take advantage of the possibilities for open and legal organizing as well as the changing situation as a result of U.S. imperialism's crushing defeat in neighboring Indochina.

After 1973, for the first time, mass struggles of urban workers, peasants and students broke out which broadened tremendously the scope and organized forces within the movement for national democratic revolution. Labor unions were formed for the first time in years, agitating around increased wages and better conditions and attacking "American, Japanese and Tai-

Continued on Page 7



Africans responded enthusiastically in Soweto to the news of rejection of Kissinger's Rhodesia plan.

Kissinger Rhodesia Scheme Attacked

The U.S. imperialists have been loudly trumpeting Secretary of State Kissinger's recent trip to southern Africa for negotiations with John Vorster of South Africa and Ian Smith, head of the white settler regime in Rhodesia as proof of their "morality" and commitment to majority rule in southern Africa. But this sudden change of policy on the part of the U.S. imperialists was nothing more than a transparent effort to hang on to their political and economic domination of the area in the face of the inevitable defeat and overthrow of these white minority regimes.

The results of Kissinger's "sabotage shuttle" were immediately called out for what they were and rejected by the liberation forces of the people of Zimbabwe. They vowed to continue the armed struggle, not just to drive out the white ruling class, but to end the exploitation of the Zimbabwean people. In addition, the presidents of the black African states of Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and Angola also rejected the Kissinger proposals, saying that the "proposals outlined by the illegal and racist regime... if accepted, would be tantamount to legalizing the colonialist and racist structures of power."

The goal of the U.S. efforts was to (1) Strengthen the hand of the Smith regime by ending the revolutionary armed struggle being waged by the Zimbabwean people and the removal of international economic sanctions against the Rhodesian government; (2) Insure that any black majority government that comes to power in Zimbabwe would be pliable to the interests of the western imperialists; (3) Buy time for the beleaguered apartheid government of South Africa; and (4) combat growing Soviet influence throughout the area.

According to Kissinger's plan a transition government would be set up immediately to draft a new constitution and direct the transition to majority rule within two years. This "council of state," as it was to be called, would have 50% black and 50% white membership. But a provision requiring a 2/3 vote to pass any provisions insured white control. The chairman of the council would be a white appointed by the Smith regime, as would the key ministries of Defense and Law and Order, the police powers of the state. As part of the plan, the U.S. and Britain and other western imperialist governments would inject large amounts of capital to stimulate the failing Rhodesian economy, to the benefit of the Rhodesian ruling class and foreign investors.

In return for the Smith regime's "compliance" with these proposals, all countries were to lift their economic boycott of Rhodesia (never honored by the U.S. anyway). Most importantly, the imperialists would guarantee that the military struggle against the Smith regime would be stopped immediately.

Smith quickly announced that his regime would go along with the Kissinger plan, knowing full well that the leaders of the Zimbabwean peoples' struggle would never agree to such an ugly charade. The Rhodesian ruling class recognized that it was politically difficult for the U.S. and Britain to continue to give open support as long as they refused to agree to majority rule. But here was a way they could say, in effect, we agree to majority rule in two years, but these Africans won't go along with a reasonable plan. So we expect the U.S. and Britain to support us militarily and economically against attacks from the liberation forces. According

to Smith, Kissinger gave his "guarantee" of exactly this.

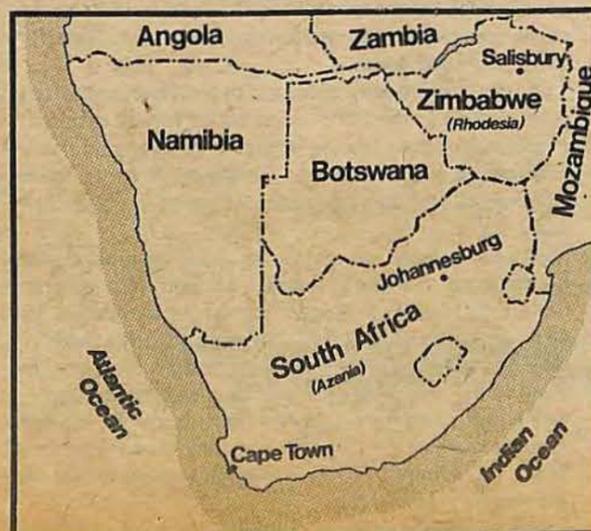
The U.S. policymakers see the unlikelihood of achieving their maximum goal, the preservation of the status quo. They are willing to jettison Smith and his regime, if they can insure that they will be able to control a new black government in Zimbabwe—pro-Western and anti-communist they describe it. The Kissinger scheme certainly would have guaranteed such a government. But the much heralded "agreement" was never even agreed to by the parties concerned—it was an imperialist ploy. At least the U.S. hoped it would serve to temporarily defuse the situation, enhance its role as the powerbroker in the area, and lead to some settlement based on a modified form of these proposals that would still accomplish the same thing.

The latest development came when the British announced that they are convening a conference in Geneva to bring all the parties together and hammer out a solution from scratch, but certainly to be based on the two year timetable, some form of coalition government and, the Western imperialists hope, an immediate end to armed struggle.

The Soviets, who are making a big push to replace the U.S. as the dominant imperialist power in southern Africa, have denounced the Kissinger proposals. The Soviets don't want to be frozen out of the imperialist maneuvering going on and do not want a settlement that would leave the U.S. in the saddle. They are making noises about supporting the "armed struggle" in Zimbabwe, but this is clearly only an attempt to advance their own imperialist interests.

But to a certain extent the Soviet intentions have been already exposed through their activities in Angola. Spokesmen for Zimbabwean liberation forces have reiterated that the liberation of their nation can only come as a result of the armed struggle of the Zimbabwean people.

It is possible that representative of the liberation forces will participate in these negotiations. It is certain some opportunists who want to advance themselves on the basis of the people's struggle will be there. But the liberation forces have also made it clear that any negotiations will be carried out on the basis of the continued armed struggle to defeat the reactionary, settler regime. ■



Nov. 13, New York City

Conference on Int'l Situation

Broad support for the Conference on the International Situation, War, Revolution and the Internationalist Tasks of the American People, scheduled for New York City on November 13, is rapidly growing. A call has been endorsed by some 40 organizations and individuals and is being circulated to further broaden the base of the conference.

Responding to requests to make it easier for some groups to participate, the three lines that the conference was structured around were changed to four. The first line was divided into two. Both lines, as before, view U.S. imperialism as the overwhelming main enemy of the peoples of the world but now the conference committee recognizes two lines: first, the view that the Soviet Union is a progressive force and natural ally of the peoples of the world; and second, that the Soviet Union is a reactionary, oppressive, much lesser imperialist power.

The other two lines around which the conference is organized remain unchanged. One is that the contention between the two superpowers is heating up and pushing things toward world war while prospects for revolution are increasing, and inside the U.S. the main blow should be directed against U.S. imperialism, while opposing it and social imperialism on a world scale. The other is that the contention between the two superpowers is the chief determinant of events, while the factors for revolution are also growing, and that the USSR is variously the main danger, the main enemy, the most dangerous, etc., and should be the focus of the main blow of the peoples' struggles around the world, while opposing U.S. imperialism.

Many more forces are now anxious to participate, but several problems exist. In particular some forces, out of narrow organizational interests, refuse to participate and discourage others from doing so. Several smaller groups are waiting for these forces to move and are encouraging them to participate so that this crucial, life and death issue can be broadly discussed. The sponsors of the conference are firmly united on moving forward at this point, building off the advances that have already been made and providing every opportunity for further participation. In this way the conference will happen, despite efforts by those who place their own interests before the clarifying of these issues to prevent it.

The staff of the conference will be putting out a brochure—a spectrum of views reflecting the different lines and will be shortly putting out a list of speakers, workshops, participants, the structure of the evening debate, etc. ■

Thailand...

Continued from Page 6

wanese imperialists who came and invested in Thailand with the cooperation of the ruling class and tyrants to exploit us and make us slaves." With urban unemployment over 10% since 1973, the first strike wave in decades swept Bangkok, involving 850 strikes and 200,000 workers in 1973-74, winning wage increases. Farmers' groups were formed in most provinces, seizing land, attacking landlords and tax collectors and demanding higher rice prices. A national Farmers Federation of Thailand was formed. Students organized school by school and united nationally in the National Student Center of Thailand, demonstrating by the thousands and going out systematically to build ties with workers and farmers. The people's war within Thailand continued to move forward, led by the Communist Party of Thailand. This guerrilla activity has to date touched 30 of Thailand's 71 provinces and succeeded in liberating over 2000 villages and over one million (out of Thailand's 40 million) people.

The main foundation of Thai foreign policy since the end of World War 2—close military, political and economic collaboration with U.S. imperialism—was severely shaken by the total defeat of the U.S. in Indochina and the struggle of the Thai people. Touched off by the Mayaguez incident, when Thai bases were used to stage attacks on Cambodia, demonstrations fired the people's resentment at the U.S. presence and succeeded in kicking the U.S. military out. Throughout the summer of 1975 the 27,000 U.S. combat troops and B-52s began to be pulled out and by July 1976 all U.S. combat troops were out of Thailand for the first time since 1962. Although several hundred American advisors and technicians remained to train Thai troops and man major communication installations, formal American use of Thai bases is today denied.

In the face of the mass struggle at home and the changing international situation, the Thai government had to take some measures to lessen its dependence on

and control by U.S. imperialism. Thailand established diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and Cambodia, and reopened its borders with Laos.

But even while gains were being won in struggle since 1973, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in the Thai ruling class have been busy preparing to turn things around. The U.S. faces greater difficulties because of the rising struggle of the people of the world and the increased and bitter competition with their imperialist rival, the USSR. Indochina was a major defeat and has cost them dearly in every nation in Southeast Asia. Revolution is on the rise, not only in Thailand, but Malaysia and the Philippines as well. These countries have made moves to lessen economic, diplomatic and military dependence on the U.S. The Soviet navy is increasingly active and Russian economic cartels have begun challenging and beating the U.S. and her allies in banking, raw material purchases and shipping contracts throughout the region. Under the civilian regime the government opened beginning economic and diplomatic ties with the USSR.

U.S. Seeks to Recoup Losses

U.S. imperialism has unleashed a determined campaign to recoup the losses they've suffered in recent years, playing on the very real fears of the Southeast Asian ruling classes of their own people in order to reestablish a common capitalist alliance. The U.S. is determined to concede no nation, no market, no people in their scramble to maintain hegemony. They tell the rulers of Southeast Asia, "Your only choice to sticking with us, on our terms, is the revolutionary wrath of your own people." Thailand is a case in point.

The Thai army is 150,000 men strong and backed by \$1 billion in U.S. arms and equipment. While military aid continues at significant levels today, including 16 new F-5 jets, this force is nowhere near the shield for the Thai ruling class that the direct U.S. military presence has been for 14 years. With liberated Indochina on its borders and with the armed forces of the Thai national liberation struggle increasingly successful, defending territory and shooting down government planes; with the struggles of the masses at a high tide and deep links being forged between the student, worker and peasant movements; and with Thailand's econo-

my in a shambles because of the worldwide depression, the military and most of the ruling class saw no future for themselves or their class in an independent neutral Thailand.

Throughout 1974 and '75 several large, militant and armed groups were formed to "defend the nation, monarchy and religion." Navapol and the Red Guars (wild buffalo), an adult and youth organization of 50,000 and 25,000 members respectively, were formed with members of the military police, vocational schools and unemployed. They increasingly attacked and assassinated student, worker and farmer activists, killing 34 in the election campaign of 1975, and sought to realign the government. But the civilian rule of the last few years has gone from one political crisis to another with the government largely powerless to do more than sit out the current conflict. The decision to seize power was made back in January 1976 by the military (no doubt with U.S. knowledge), but they waited to set things up and organize for a coordinated and powerful assault. In late summer of 1976 they smuggled General Thanom, who led the last military government, back into the country disguised as a Buddhist monk, knowing this would be met with student demonstrations. Then on October 6, the military and their groups moved, smashed the students, deposed the government, and in the name of order and good of the country, seized power.

The U.S. ruling class responded with relief. One day of horror pictures of hanging and burned Thai students and then relief that things were back to normal. The *New York Times'* final analysis was that the indecision and lack of control of the last three years was over and corruption could now be "channeled in a more orderly manner that businessmen can count on." U.S. imperialism is back in the saddle in a much more open, direct way.

But history is not a spinning wheel and try as they might the U.S. and Thai ruling classes cannot turn things back to 1973 or 1963. History has moved forward in Thailand and the struggle of the Thai people is rooted at a much deeper and firmer level today. This bloody maneuver by U.S. imperialism is both desperate and a death knell for their system's hold on the Thai people. The struggle continues in many forms and will surely break out stronger and hotter in the days to come. ■

Call to a Conference on the International Situation, War, Revolution and the Internationalist Tasks of the American People

What's going on around the world? Where does the threat of war come from? What is the role of the U.S. and the USSR? Of China? Of Cuba? And what are the duties of the American people in the international struggle against imperialism and oppression?

These are not idle questions confronting only a few. They arise directly from the real events around the world that are shaping the history of the 1970s. And just as those events affect the lives of millions so the actions of the millions affect the course of events.

Debate over these issues is raging. It could not be otherwise. In the pages of newspapers, in the statements and actions of groups and organizations, in the evermore serious discussions among the masses of American people.

These are life and death questions. The world is in great turmoil, the contradictions are sharpening on all continents, in all countries. The very forces who through struggle stood together against the U.S. ruling class' war in Vietnam in the 1960s now debate, putting forward different analyses, different answers, different directions for action and struggle. And now, just as then, the actions of the people can make a crucial difference in the struggle worldwide.

There is an urgent need to both sharpen and broaden the debate—to put the different views and ideas and trends squarely and clearly before the greatest number of people.

This conference on the international situation can be a big step in that direction. Through panels, workshops, speeches and debates the struggle can go on in an open and lively manner that will surely attract great numbers of people concerned with these issues, probably thousands. That is how we are building this conference—to clarify and focus questions, to sharpen differences and pose answers and directions for all of us to wrestle with. It is not a conference only of academics or experts or only of Marxist-Leninists or only of veteran activists. It is not a conference that will strive to come up with a "working unity" or to build a permanent coalition.

The Committee for the conference is working to make this conference a success: a conference like this needs to be very well organized, publicized and built for, in order to make the greatest advances.

We call on you to join us in building this conference and debating these burning issues.

In the spirit of active internationalism and lively struggle,

Aijaz Ahmad; James Aronson; Richard J. Barnet, Institute for Policy Studies*; Ella Bone; Blacks in Solidarity with South African Liberation (BISSAL); James Caldwell; Rick Clemmons, People Incorporated*; Professor Nancy Chance; Professor Norman Chance, Anthropology Department, University of Connecticut*; Romir Chatterjee; Charles Coe; Faculty Action; Professor Richard Falk, Center of International Studies, Princeton University*; Faye Glasser; Harold Glasser; David Gordon, New School for Social Research, Economics Department*; Group of Khmer Residents in America; Tom Grunfeld; William Hinton; Indian Peoples Association of North America (I.P.A.N.A.); Iranian Student Association; Clark Kissinger; League of Revolutionary Black Workers; Bill Livant, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, Regina*; Linea Roja Movimiento Revolucionario 14 de Junio; Tapson Mawere, Chief North American Representative, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU); Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR); Professor Seymour Melman, Columbia University*; National Conference of Black Lawyers; National Lawyers Guild, Hofstra Chapter; Professor Sam Noumoff, Associate Director, Centre for East Asian Studies, McGill University*; Revolutionary Communist Party; Revolutionary Student Brigade; Carole Rosen; Sadu Sadanand; Professor and Mrs. E. San Juan; Mark Selden; Bob Snow; Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW); Professor George Wald, Biologist, Harvard University, Nobel Prize winner*; Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

* for identification only

9 AM Session: Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Amsterdam Avenue at 111th Street

Afternoon Panels: 116th Street and Broadway, Columbia University

7:30 Evening Debate: Hunter College Auditorium, 69th Street at Park

(for more information call 212-568-7346)

Takeover Exposes GI Bill Cuts

Free Ashby Leach!

"I stood and looked at the Soldiers and Sailors Monument. Then I looked up at the Terminal Tower—at that Castle of Capitalism—and I knew what I had to do. . . The barrel of my shotgun was stuffed with all the letters I've written to change the system for vets."

In these words, Ashby Leach, a 30 year-old Vietnam veteran, described his decision to take over the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad (Chessie) offices in the Terminal Tower Building in Cleveland. His situation, like that of thousands of other vets, called for drastic action. He had served as an army medic and had been awarded the Purple Heart. He had seen first hand the hypocrisy of a system which preached freedom and democracy but which threw away young men's lives for the holy cause of profits. Following his army service he became an apprentice mechanic at Chessie and found out what kind of "gratitude" awaits vets.

Five Year Battle

Under the GI Bill, veterans in such apprentice programs are allowed to get VA assistance during job training. The VA pays the difference between what an apprentice is paid and journeyman wages. When Ashby demanded that Chessie honor the GI Bill and give him these benefits they refused. Thus began a five year battle between Ashby and the Chessie System that resulted in the takeover of the Terminal Tower offices of the company in Cleveland last month.

At one point, he and his wife held a demonstration in their hometown of Huntington, W. Va., in front of a hotel where an executive of the Chessie System was staying. The Chessie official came out to talk with Ashby and promised him his GI Bill benefits if he attended college. Ashby took a leave of absence to enroll in a vocational education program and then tried to get his old job back. Chessie refused to give it to him. Chessie's policy towards veterans is "like a gob of spit. . . They gave me the shaft just like they were giving the Vietnam vets the shaft," Ashby stated.

For 5 years Ashby continued his fight for his rights as a veteran. After innumerable visits, 500 letters to various company and government officials protesting this kind of treatment, still nothing was done. (On August 4 he wrote to each and every member of Congress regarding this situation.) His visits and letters were all ignored. Yet on no account would he sit still. On August 26, he took over the Chessie offices. "There was nothing else I could do, no where else to turn and nobody who would listen," he said later. Millions saw it on nationwide TV and, finally, Chessie officials agreed to meet his demands. Outside the Terminal Tower, thousands of people gathered—many raising clenched fists and cheering. Ashby Leach had made a statement that not just vets, but everyone who's been messed over and pushed around by the system could take as their own.

Many of Ashby's friends had died on the battlefield. Others, returning to the states, their lives ruined, turned to dope and crime. But most came back and were hit by the harsh realities of life under capitalism and many began seeing that they had a battle to wage right here at home, whether it be in the factories, unemployment lines, schools or VA hospitals. Vietnam veterans became active opponents of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Organizations like Vietnam Veterans Against the War developed to defend the rights of vets and oppose new threats and acts of war by the rulers of this country. More and more vets joined up with other forces and sections of the population to fight all the abuse heaped on us by the system. It was in this spirit that Ashby acted.

No sooner had he surrendered to the police than Chessie went back on its promises. The media made him out to be a lunatic. The police now allege that he harmed several hostages. The courts have indicted him on 16 counts and his bail has been set at \$450,000. But Leach hurt no one. His demands—that Chessie extend all benefits of the GI bill to its vets and that past employees who have been cheated of these bene-

fits be reimbursed—are just demands. And this is exactly what the big corporations like Chessie and their hired politicians and administrators can't stand—that their filthy lies and promises have been exposed.

What happened to Ashby Leach, the abuses he got from Chessie and from the whole system, are typical of what's happened to vets in this country as the GI Bill comes under attack, and thousands of vets are denied benefits one way or another.

Defend Ashby Leach

This is exactly why the ruling class came down so heavy on Ashby—they want to turn his positive example of fighting back into a negative one—that if you stand up against the system, you'll get crushed. And this is why it's all the more important for the veterans movement, and the whole working class, to take up Ashby's defense. A movement must be built to free Ashby Leach that will further expose the abuse of vets, build on the fighting spirit he showed in Chessie headquarters, and fight like hell to keep him out of jail. Such a struggle to defend Ashby Leach can be important in developing the organized, collective struggle of veterans.

On September 16, 25 vets and supporters demonstrated in downtown Cleveland, at the site of the takeover, demanding freedom for Ashby, extend and expand the GI Bill, and that Chessie honor the promises made to veterans they agreed to during the takeover. In spite of a pouring rain, the picket got an enthusiastic response from hundreds of passersby, who voiced their support, and asked for extra leaflets to give to friends and co-workers. On the other hand, Chessie executives were extremely uptight, summoning a dozen cops to the scene and threatening vets with arrest when they tried to speak with them. The picket was also strongly attacked on local TV. It's clear that the capitalist class would like everyone to forget Ashby Leach and the fight for veterans benefits.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War, a national fighting veterans organization, plans to make a real fight out of this case. A petition drive is in the works, along with plans to pack the courtroom on the first day of the trial. By taking up this campaign, veterans can strengthen the movement for decent benefits, and at the same time, expose and weaken the capitalist class.

As Ashby told a member of VVAW: "I have stood up not only for the veterans, but the people as a whole, and I am confident the people will stand up for me." ■

I Hotel Eviction Battle Heats Up



The capitalists don't give a damn if the residents of the I-Hotel have a place to live or not—they want their "right" to suck profits out of this valuable real estate. But the hotel residents say to hell with your profits, and thousands of people have rallied to support their struggle.

national Hotel." "Muni workers support International Hotel." Garment, electronics, warehouse and hospital workers were represented along with youth and students. A dozen farmworkers drove several hours from Salinas to attend the rally.

Mass leafletting, mini-rallies and posterage has been intensified all over Chinatown and throughout San Francisco. On one occasion I-Hotel supporters caught one of the people that Four Seas Corporation had hired to go around and tear down the posters. Passers-by stopped and joined in yelling at him and forced him to admit who had hired him.

Heavy pressure has been applied to several directors of Four Seas Corp. who have businesses in Chinatown. Picketlines have been set up in front of a store owned by one of them. On one occasion shoppers stopped and stood next to the door of his store, telling would-be shoppers to boycott. Others have joined the line.

In one incident, an older woman, obviously annoyed by the picketing as she picked through ginger piled next to the door, asked, "What's wrong? I always shop here." A 30 year resident of the hotel explained, "The owner of this store is trying to kick us out. We're boycotting his store until they withdraw the eviction order. You know how much rent is going up and the rich keep tearing down what's left of low rent housing. Where are we supposed to live?" As the woman threw the ginger down she said, "That's not right—I really didn't know." Overwhelmingly the response to the boycott was "Yeah, the rich think they can kick us around like garbage. Boycott them! Make them hurt!"

Demonstrations have also hit the home of another director of Four Seas and the home of S.F. Sheriff Hongisto who is in charge of carrying out the eviction order. When Carter and Ford came to town for their

second debate, I-Hotel supporters joined with others who had been demonstrating outside the debate under the slogan "Politicians Fight for \$\$ Interests, We Must Fight for Our Own." Then they and others went to a meeting hall to confront the sheriff who slinked away muttering things like "Have faith in the Mayor."

On several occasions they have confronted Mayor Moscone who has tried to defuse and sidetrack the struggle through phony schemes and lies, making it clear to him that tenants weren't being taken in and that they knew their victory would be won through struggle, not by relying on elected officials.

On October 12, an I-Hotel contingent marched in the San Francisco Columbus Day parade to publicize the fight. They were given enthusiastic support from people along the parade route.

The fight to save the I-Hotel and the Victory Building has become a broad issue throughout the Bay Area. The leaflets, petitions, car caravans, and demonstrations have laid bare the root of the rot of the whole system and aroused the anger and fight of thousands by agitating around the fact that the capitalists and their flunkies would throw retired workers out in the street in order to make higher profit out of another parking lot or high rise building.

The stakes in the I-Hotel battle have become high indeed and were reflected at a recent court hearing about the case. A lawyer for the sheriff's department pleaded with the judge, "We need as much time as possible to prepare. This is going to be difficult." This same judge who futilely ordered tenants out last May, nervously granted the delay saying, "if there is any trouble in this eviction, there could be an insurrection all over the city." Residents of the I-Hotel and others throughout the Bay Area have been battling for years—they will not back down now. ■

The eight year fight against eviction of the residents of the International Hotel in San Francisco's Chinatown-Manilatown continues to intensify (see article in the August 15, 1976 issue of *Revolution*). On September 3 the California State Supreme Court denied the tenants a delay of the eviction order issued earlier by a San Francisco judge pending the appeal of that decree. Then on September 22, a local judge ordered the eviction enforced by the beginning of December.

These latest moves have only firmed up the resolve of the tenants, mainly retired workers, and their supporters to redouble their efforts, take the offensive and hit hard again and again until the authorities withdraw the eviction order. They have taken out their fight, reaching hundreds of thousands of workers, people of oppressed nationalities and others throughout the Bay Area and have gained broad support.

After the September 3 Supreme Court decision, people active in the I-Hotel struggle held a meeting to map out plans. A tenant of a nearby hotel asked rhetorically, "Well, what are we going to do, move or fight?" The answer was strong and clear: fight! This fighting spirit of the 70 and 80 year-old residents of the I-Hotel and their supporters in response to every threat by the capitalists has been a tremendous inspiration to many. It has mobilized thousands to their side and it symbolizes the growing strength of the working class being built through this and many other battles.

Hundreds have signed up for a phone tree to be alerted if the capitalists try to go through with the eviction threat. A rally on September 12 was attended by over 500 people, including residents from nearby hotels and workers from different industries. Signs of solidarity read: "Postal workers stand with the Inter-



Farmworkers have always advanced through militant struggle. But the UFW leadership's message in the recent convention was not to build on this, but to put their hopes on a peanut grower.

Hold '76 Election Convention

UFW Leaders Chart Dead-End Course

On September 5 the United Farmworkers Union held its first "political endorsement" convention in Fresno, California. It featured a host of politicians like State Senator Altorre and U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, along with several guest hacks from other unions. But the spotlight was reserved for the Georgia peanut grower Jimmy Carter, who addressed the convention by telephone. He assured the farmworkers attending the convention, who have fought tooth and nail for 10 years against the class he represents, that he was *with them*, and supported Proposition 14, the farmworker union election initiative.

No doubt Carter let loose with quite a roar of laughter after he hung up the phone. After all, he built a fortune squeezing wealth out of the labor of farmworkers on his peanut plantation. He pays the workers according to their "merit" which to all capitalists means as little as possible (he pays less than even California growers). And, of course, he has done nothing to further unionization among "his" workers.

The capitalist press made a big deal out of the convention's endorsement of Jimmy Carter for president. But for many of the disgusted farmworker delegates themselves, other farmworkers who watched the convention, and many who never bothered to come—it was a complete farce.

The show's script was written well in advance with farmworkers not allowed to play a single part except to clap at the appropriate times. In many of the ranches that sent delegates from the Salinas Valley, turnout was light at meetings to select delegates. This is significant in light of the fact that farmworkers have consistently turned out in large numbers when they have seen the importance. Workers were told very little about the convention at all.

The furthest thing from the convention was the discussion of the problems of farmworkers themselves. The workers were assured that at the convention there would be microphones on the floor to use—but this turned out to be a lie, since farmworkers were not even allowed to ask questions, or talk about anything.

Of the 1,100 delegates at the convention somewhere around half were non-worker volunteers from the cities, appointed union officials (since in the UFW none are elected), legal staff delegates, etc. The resolutions committee, which nominated certain candidates to be voted on by the delegates, was selected by the union leadership. No real discussion or vote ever took place on anything. As one delegate from the Salinas Valley put it, "Why did they bother to send us here? The union could have saved a lot of money by just having the executive board endorse Carter and the rest."

Proposition 14

The farce in Fresno was meant to lend the prestige farmworkers have among millions, due to their courageous and determined struggles over the years, to the capitalist election circus which is losing its ratings among the American people. In return, the UFW leadership is to get the support of the Democratic Party for Proposition 14, an improved version of the Agriculture Labor Relations Act which was passed last year.

The ALRA is the expression, in law, of what farm-

workers had won in fact from the bourgeoisie on the battlefields throughout California's agricultural areas, where rising up tens of thousands strong they defended successfully the right to organize. Though the ALRA accomplished what the bourgeoisie hoped it would, taking struggles out of the fields and confining them in legal battles, the growers would like to feel they can beat unionization. For this reason growers have tried to sabotage many provisions of the law (including blocking funding for the Board supposed to enforce it) and are opposing Proposition 14 which would give union organizers legal access to the fields, make the firing of workers helping to bring in the union an offense punishable by fine, etc. Still, with their aim of using the law to tangle all struggle in legal clauses of their legal system, many in the ruling class are not terribly worried about it. That's why Carter, a grower himself, can support it.

The ALRA gave farmworkers the legal right to vote in elections to decide which union they wanted. In the six months in which elections were held (between August '75 and January '76) farmworkers voted in large majority for the UFW under whose banner they had fought to organize.

The top UFW leadership saw in the ALRA the chance to realize their dream—to become leaders of a bigtime union. Overnight they forgot nearly everything the rank and file had been fighting for, save one, contracts. To prove to the bourgeoisie that they could be trusted with the "responsibility" of running a union of thousands of farmworkers, the UFW leadership set about to squash all rank and file militancy, strikes, etc. and prove that they, rather than the Teamsters who had originally come into the fields to smash unionizing, could put an end to the strikes, and bring "peace" to the fields.

Interharvest Sellout

Key to suppressing the initiative of the rank and file and proving themselves as genuine hacks was the sellout of the Interharvest contract last year. Interharvest is the second largest lettuce company in California. Lettuce is the stronghold of organized farmworkers. Interharvest has had a UFW contract since the general strike in the Salinas fields of 1970. The 1970 strike won UFW contracts in several large ranches and significant improvements for farmworkers throughout the Salinas Valley. Since then the growers have been forced to grant workers under Teamster contract somewhat higher wages, to try to diffuse the struggle.

Last year, at the height of the activity around the union elections, workers at Interharvest voted 98% in favor of the UFW continuing to represent them. The workers felt their strength and unity and were ready to take on the company in a battle that could have challenged wage levels throughout the industry and would have received broad support from workers in other industries.

In various meetings and discussions, some informally pulled together by the workers on their crews, demands were formulated, including a minimum of \$3.50 an hour, overtime pay, protection against mechanization, a reopener clause, etc.

Only lipservice was paid to the weapon of the strike on the part of UFW officials. In fact no preparations were ever made for a strike. Instead union officials tried to turn things upside down claiming the rank and file wouldn't stick together more than a week of striking, and that a strike would hurt the elections to be held in other ranches under the terms of the ALRA, since workers wouldn't vote for a union that would lead them to strike! As a result, the union leadership succeeded in preventing a strike and forcing a mighty lousy contract down the workers' throats.

New Teamster Tactic

The growers were beaten in their attempt to defeat unionism in the fields. They have fallen back on a strategy of keeping farmworkers divided between two unions. The Teamsters, through years of scabbing and strike busting, have earned the deep hatred of farmworkers, and in the election campaign lost a lot of ground. The sellout of the Interharvest contract gave them an opening to try and recoup some of their losses. Trying to put on a new "militant" image the Teamsters of late have initiated some strikes, at least one of them, in Delano, hard fought. While in some cases growers have given in to granting higher wages than those under UFW contracts (in some cases as much as 6-10% higher) because they prefer the Teamsters, in other cases the growers have resisted. In at least two occasions the ALRA has been used to declare strikes illegal much to the satisfaction of the growers. Commenting on the ALRA action against the Delano strike, an editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle noted that the law was working.

Now that the UFW leadership has securely wedded themselves to the Democratic Party machinery, much as the AFL-CIO has been for years, their message to the workers is that victory is at hand, that the struggle is nearly over. As one official put it at the convention, we've got pretty much what we want, now we must get "friendly" politicians elected to defend what we have gained. In other words, stop fighting and put your future in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The realities of life as they are have torn some rather large holes in this scenario. Even with the recent increases in wages over the past year, wages have not kept up with rising prices. In fact in some jobs, improved techniques have decreased the amount of work, hours have been reduced and take home pay is down. The disastrous condition of the Mexican economy has forced thousands more North in search of work. Jobs are harder and harder to find and the harassment from the immigration police is a daily affair.

Lettuce growers, facing increased competition and declining profits are rushing towards mechanization which would wipe out thousands of jobs. The daily harassment on the job increases as the growers continue to try and whittle away the gains of the past and demoralize the workers. This, in the face of the sell-out policies of the UFW leadership, has given rise to increasing widespread anger among farmworkers, and a growing realization of the need to organize to turn things around. A growing number of workers are realizing the necessity of uniting the rank and file to smash through the barriers the bourgeoisie is attempting to erect in their path. ■

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"T-Shirt Day" at Detroit's Ford Rouge plant. Workers in auto plants around the country wore AWUF "No sellout in '76" T-shirts as part of pre-strike organizing to put out real demands and expose Woodcock's "more days off" shuck.

issues and build a sense of unity and purpose around the rank and file's real demands. These activities helped spark discussions on the picket lines and overall received enthusiastic support.

By putting out a correct line and program, and then by persisting in organizing around it while at the same time exposing the union officials' program, AWUF was able to begin to focus and direct much of the anger of the masses against the two headed monster of the company and the union hacks. Through repeated experience, summed up in AWUF leaflets and bulletins, more and more people began to see whose line and program would lead things forward against the real enemy and whose would lead things into an ambush.

AWUF Grows

With this growing understanding a lot of workers have come forward, during the strike especially, saying "This is exactly the way I feel. It's time we did something about this mess. I want to join up with this." AWUF's Detroit telephone number received hundreds of calls in the four weeks of the strike. From these calls and other contacts AWUF expanded its work to other plants by joining with these workers to leaflet their plants. By paying attention to deepening and expanding its organization during its nine month existence they have grown from a couple of chapters to 22 today.

The UAW leadership exposed its line even further through its actions during the strike. They made no attempt to shut Ford down tight.

But early in the strike the International was dealt a sharp setback at Local 245 which they had ordered to continue working. There hundreds of skilled workers from other locals, along with many production workers, set up picket lines supported by Local 245 members, which forced the Local Executive Board to call the complex out on strike.

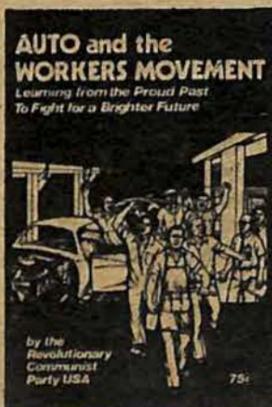
In many such cases the rank and file took the initiative in the union and through their own actions set up 24 hour pickets in opposition to the International's order and fought to keep out outside contractors, foremen and salaried personnel.

These actions represented an uphill fight by Ford workers throughout the strike to show the company

This pamphlet lays out a battle plan for auto workers and points to the method for building today's struggle against the auto companies and their class and breaking the handcuffs of the union officials. It contains an exciting concise history of the great struggles to unionize the auto industry, including an analysis of the role of the old Communist Party, USA.

44 pages

75c



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

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and members of AWUF agitated broadly in their plants.

Bourgeois propaganda to the contrary, there was much rank and file anger, although mainly scattered and unsystematized, around both the real attacks that have been coming down in the plants over the last three years and the fact that Ford wanted to intensify these attacks under the new contract. Knowing they couldn't get over on the rank and file by continuing "peaceful negotiations" under these conditions, the UAW Executive Board changed its tune a little and eventually called a strike.

But given their political outlook the strike, to them, was not really conceived primarily as a weapon to hurt Ford Motor Co., let alone advance the overall workers' struggle, but as a weapon to force a settlement through on the rank and file as quickly as possible. They knew that Ford had stockpiled enough cars to last 4 to 5 weeks. They counted on 4 to 5 weeks of striking without a clear focus, without preparation and with bills piling up and mouths to feed, as the way to get auto workers back to work, glad to get a paycheck again.

But to the rank and file the strike represented a real opportunity. The strike helped bring forth a lot of anger over the abuses of the last three years and beyond. Most workers, including many who had been apprehensive about a strike before, agreed that now was the time to hit back at the company, to fight against the worsening conditions including the new attacks proposed by Ford, and to win some real demands.

Fully aware of how workers' consciousness can be sharpened in a strike, the UAW International did all it could to dampen the spirit, spreading confusion and demoralization. While workers walked off the job angry over wages, speedup, forced overtime, etc.—Woodcock moved quickly to dispel any notion that the strike was concerned with *those* things. In the first days of the strike he put more emphasis than before on the "shorter worktime demand," sending out letters to that effect to each local. Around a plan which only called for a few more days off, the International, along with the media, blew up their efforts to mythic proportions. Winning this, the grand scheme went, was the answer to more jobs and an historic advance towards the four day workweek—a "trailblazing step" that would set a precedent to be followed by other unions.

But while the media plugged this "visionary plan" all they could, it was met with little enthusiasm and much disbelief by the auto rank and file. Here the International was again planning an "historic advance" as they did against forced overtime in the '73 contract. But many remembered the "advance" then amounted to "limiting" the company to an outrageous 54-58 hour week, following which the International failed to fight at all around forced overtime for the next three years. This, along with the officials' refusal to give even lip service to many of the most pressing demands of auto workers, made all the hoopla over short workweek sound hollow indeed. AWUF continually worked to sharpen up the contradiction around this and other phony demands of the International vs. the real demands of the rank and file.

In contract bulletins distributed nationwide and especially through an "Open Letter to Leonard Woodcock and Ken Bannon," AWUF worked to articulate the real sentiments and anger of the rank and file. In these bulletins, distributed in the tens of thousands, along with press conferences, radio, press and TV coverage in many cities, AWUF helped to sharpen up the

and the International that "we aren't going to just passively sit this out." The significance of these actions lay not only in the material damage they threatened to the company but in raising questions for larger numbers of workers and in sharpening the contradiction between what it meant to wage a real vs. a phony strike. And while the International sought to keep everything safe, limiting picket duty to a handful going through the motions, actions where the rank and file took the initiative gave them a real sense of its power and experience in collective struggle.

The biggest blow to Ford and the International UAW was dealt during the ratification procedure. The strike was beginning to send shock waves out to the centers of high finance. The stock market itself was affected—when it seemed the workers might stay out the market fell sharply, when the contract was approved it spurted ahead 15 points the next day. Shutdowns and slowdowns were fast approaching in the steel, glass and parts plants feeding into auto. (About one out of six jobs in U.S. manufacturing is auto related.) Anxious to get the thing over as fast as possible the entire ruling class went into action to get the Ford rank and file to approve the tentative agreement reached between Woodcock and Ford.

The media especially was cranked up for the hard sell. Workers around the country heard about the "historic breakthrough" of auto workers—what they claimed to be 13 (actually only 8) more days off spread over three years. In some places the press attempted to divide auto workers off from the rest of the working class by spreading fear about coming layoffs if the strike continued. TV cameras zoomed in on one Ford striker who said he wanted to go back to work. CBS national news carried an interview with a rank and file striker who told about how great the contract was—only it turned out this "rank and file striker" was Mike Rinaldi, President of Local 600, Ford's largest local at the Rouge complex. Any resistance admitted to was portrayed as skilled workers fighting because "their special demands were not being addressed"—opposition among production was not shown. For example, when AWUF held a picket line of mostly production workers at the UAW's National Ford Council meeting the Detroit stations put forth the demonstration as an example of a skilled trades protest.

Backed by the might of monopoly capital, the International UAW tried to railroad the contract through in record time. They sent their slickest talking International reps to whitewash the contract in quickly called ratification meetings. They called for a vote so fast in many places that thousands didn't even know about it or hadn't had time to familiarize themselves with the details of the package. Then to top it off, in many places in the country they padded the vote. At Locals 400 and 900 in the Detroit area officials refused to check off names as people voted and many voted several times. At the Ford, Mahwah, New Jersey local more people voted yes than even voted.

Resist Sellout

But despite this railroad, and in some cases because of it, many rank and file Ford workers fought back. The sentiment of many was, we are out for something, let's not go back in with nothing. Previous experience in the contract struggle of '73 and in day-to-day struggles in the plants had taught many to smell a rat when the International talked about how "great" the settlement was.

AWUF systematized this sentiment and built a strong vote no movement. By putting out leaflets overnight, agitating to thousands of strikers at food stamp offices and centers where strike benefits were being distributed and calling a demonstration at the meeting of the National Ford Council, AWUF put out its line broadly. Even before the final touches were on the sellout, AWUF had exposed many of the details and called on Ford workers to prepare to vote it down. *Contract Bulletin No. 3*, distributed nationally, ripped the mask off the tentative agreement: Cost of Living (COLA) money was to be diverted from active workers' paychecks to give \$600 to retirees—but retirees got no COLA on their pensions and Ford paid nothing; a pitiful wage increase plus only 11 cents new money the first year; 13 more days off over three years but 5 less paid Christmas holidays over three years; reduction of overtime restrictions which would lead to more forced overtime.

Bulletin No. 3 then went on:

"Did we go on strike for this bullshit? NO!

"We face speedup. Job overload and job elimination. Forced overtime. Harassment. Ford's takeaways for the contract. That's why the rank and file wanted to hit Ford with this strike. Now, just as our strike is starting to cut into Ford's stockpile and really threaten their profits—now Woodcock tells us we should go back to work. Just when our power is really starting to shake Fords up, Woodcock tells us this is the best we can do. It's not. This contract stinks. It doesn't begin to deal with many of our most important problems. In many ways it's an attack. It deserves to be voted *down, down, down*.

"Fellow Ford workers. This strike has meant many hardships for us and our families. Continuation of the

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strike will mean further sacrifices. But there is no way in hell we can let them drive us back to work until we see real changes in these rotten conditions we've slaved under."

The bulletin ended by laying out the real demands around which the rank and file needed to gain improvements before going back to work.

A Focus for Anger

The arguments raised by AWUF for continuing the strike became the topic for discussion everywhere, giving focus to the anger of thousands. So powerful was the effect of some of the leaflets that one of them became a topic of discussion at the bargaining table on the last day of negotiations, with Woodcock holding up the talks for over an hour until he was informed AWUF was only "a small rump group." It turned out that he was the ass though, because he didn't understand that a small group speaking to the real sentiments of the masses can organize and lead big battles.

This is exactly what happened. The vote of skilled tradesmen had been expected to be close but the final margin of just 489 votes out of 17,000 votes cast (and this was obtained through vote manipulation) was so close that spokesmen from the International openly admitted that "we are in trouble" the day before the final vote was tabulated. But the real surprise to them was the 40% no vote among production workers. In fact, momentum actually grew for a unified production and skilled rejection and by the last day of voting nine locals rejected the contract. Up to then only two locals

had voted rejection.

In some places around the country the anger of the rank and file couldn't be bottled up any longer. At Local 863, Ford Sharonville (Cincinnati) workers voted the contract down 2074 to 184 for production and 519 to 125 for trades. As the International rep tried to hard sell the contract at a ratification meeting rank and file workers in disgust stood up in the aisles and tore up copies of the proposed agreement.

At Local 600, Ford Rouge in the Detroit area, workers at the power plant walked off the job for the first time in 34 years, *the day after the ratification vote.* (They had been working throughout the strike.) They stayed out several days in opposition to the International, the company, and whoever else wanted to try to force them back in, threatening to keep the whole complex closed.

At Ford Milpitas (near San Jose), Local 560, the International sent a representative who told the meeting that the strike was over, before everyone had even voted. People got so mad they simply walked out on the guy and production voted the contract down.

All this lays the basis for further advances in auto. For one thing the experience of this strike has taught many auto workers about the need for closer unity to be built between skilled tradesmen and production workers. The strong no vote among skilled trades (also true in '73 when Ford's tradesmen voted the contract down but had their veto nullified) reflects the fact that they were better organized and more mobilized during the strike than production workers—a development which has grown sharper over the last few years. For example it was mainly the force of hundreds of tradesmen that shut down Local 245 in the Detroit area, a skilled trades unit, and tradesmen were very active in organizing the no vote in many locals.

This movement of tradesmen represents a real threat to the bourgeoisie and they did all they could during the strike to channel it into a narrow craft union direction. The bourgeois press talked about how the trades

were angry about being dominated by the majority in the UAW (production workers) and emphasized the demands of some UAW skilled trades hacks for separate representation. The agents of the bourgeoisie tried hard to split trades and production using the tradesmen's veto to power over the whole contract as a storm center of controversy. While production workers were told that tradesmen are greedy and just out for themselves, tradesmen were told that production workers are satisfied, foolish and too hungry to think for themselves and, given this, that the trades' best bet was to be concerned only with themselves and to rely on their veto power. With their skill and higher pay there is a basis for this narrow craft outlook to get over among tradesmen.

However, both skilled and production accumulated rich experience in the Ford strike which can be the basis for further unity. AWUF tried to join actions initiated by tradesmen and, under the slogan "skilled and production unite," direct them away from narrow craft demands.

They spoke at meetings and helped build the demonstrations called by the International Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), while at the same time struggling against the narrow craft outlook and opportunism of its leaders. When skilled workers walked out at the Rouge power plant, AWUF went to the picket lines and helped build that struggle as far as it would go. Many tradesmen responded by helping to pass out AWUF leaflets.

These activities, combined with the 40% no vote and the fact that there is a growing rank and file movement among production workers, have had a significant influence on many tradesmen. By continuing to build a common struggle against the two-headed monster and struggling against both the narrow craft outlook of tradesmen and the outlook among production workers that tradesmen are just out for themselves, these advances can be some of the most important coming out of the strike.

There is also the basis for further advances at GM, Chrysler and AMC when the contract comes up there. AWUF has put out a national broadsheet, summing up the Ford strike for all auto workers, and calling for continuing and intensifying the battle at the other companies. With word on the sellout that came down at Ford spreading, the battered ship may sink under the blows of these other auto workers when the International tries to sail it through there.

The International knows this and has been telling these other workers that their contract is a closed question, that they can expect no more than the "concessions" won at Ford. Combined with this they spread the threat that a strike at these other companies could run into Christmas vacation, with the workers losing their Christmas holiday pay.

But many auto workers already feel there is no way in hell that they should be bound by the rotten terms of the Ford settlement—a settlement which itself takes away five paid days at Christmas over three years. This is something they have to live under for the next three years and many aren't going to let it be railroaded through without one heck of a fight.

Local 599 at GM, Buick in Flint, Michigan and the local at Chrysler's Twinsburg (Cleveland) Stamping plant have already come out officially against the Ford settlement. The rank and file at GM Sterling Stamping (Detroit area) forced their local to take a stand against the terms of the Ford contract and at GM Hydramatic (Detroit area) the rank and file passed AWUF's demands after the Ford settlement. And on October 10 at Local 140, Chrysler's Dodge Truck in the Detroit area, AWUF organized a large rank and file turnout which forced through a resolution denouncing the Ford settlement as a sellout. Afterwards the local officials, uptight about this action, jumped a number of workers. Obviously they are afraid workers at Chrysler and the other companies will learn too much about this contract.

Around the country workers in many GM, Chrysler and AMC plants wore armbands supporting the Ford strikers and are passing petitions denouncing the Ford settlement.

Sinking the sellout at these other companies is not going to be easy though, with the International and the entire ruling class proving in the Ford settlement that they will go all out to get a yes vote by hook or by crook. It is important for the rank and file at these other plants to get organized to vote no, preparing to create enough of a movement, where possible, to stop the vote from being stolen. At the same time people must be prepared to seize the initiative from the International during this vote no movement, force a strike if necessary, and make it a real strike which wins some of the real demands of the rank and file.

The gains made so far in these '76 auto contract struggles, if consolidated, have a significance for the entire working class. The struggle shows that it is possible to fight the two-headed monster, even when one head is as entrenched and "centralized" as the UAW top officials, and make significant headway. Of course, the bourgeoisie sees the cracks developing in its armor and is sure to counter-attack, where it can get away with it, with firings, strong arm tactics, and stepped up re-baiting. The IUE gangster attack at GM, Frigidaire in Dayton, Ohio (see Aug. 15 and Oct. 1, 1976 *Revolution*) certainly proves this. But the struggle of auto workers, like the entire working class, is growing in the face of the capitalist crisis and with a leadership which unites all who can be united against the real enemy, these difficulties, too, can surely be overcome. ■



By organizing around a line and program that speaks to the real needs of the masses, AWUF is helping to build a strong rank and file movement within the UAW directed at both the auto bosses and the union bosses. The sellout contract almost got shot down at Ford and could face rough times at other auto companies.

UAW Ag-Implement Contract Struggle

Hot on the heels of the sellout contract at Ford, the UAW International leadership is pushing ahead to make a deal with the companies in the agricultural implements industry. Just as in auto, the UAW is making the focus of its demands "getting more jobs by getting more days off." In fact, the UAW pioneered its "short workweek" shuck in the agricultural implements industry in 1973 with a plan that gave a little extra time off for perfect attendance—welcomed by the companies as an absentee control plan.

Contracts expired on October 1 and workers at John Deere Co., the target company for the UAW negotiations, walked off the job. Workers have had it with the bosses' practices of outside contracting, tabling of grievances, constant re-timing of jobs, attacks on job classifications, speedup, forced overtime and the barrage of takeaway proposals put out by the company for this contract, aimed at hard fought gains that have been won in past years.

International Harvester offered a proposal that would give a wage increase of 34 to 43 cents the first year and 3% in the second and third year. The company's proposal for more time off is linked to a plan to start hiring part-timers who would not be covered by seniority or other union benefits.

As usual, the UAW leadership is attempting to keep the rank and file in the dark about the union's demands and the progress of the negotiations and is making every effort to keep a lid on rank and file strike militancy.

Meanwhile the companies are stepping up their harassment of workers, for example, the firing of several 20 plus year employees at Harvester in the Chicago area, in order to pile up grievances which they hope to trade off for union concessions in the local negotiations.

But the rank and file determination to fight is there, as was demonstrated by a one day wildcat at the East Moline, Illinois Harvester plant on October 13 and by the Waterloo, Iowa Deere plant where workers took on the union officials' refusal to build an effective strike.

The union leadership had refused to keep pickets up on the weekends and kept them manned for only 12 hours during the day. Of course the company was moving goods in and out freely during the time when no pickets were up. After the workers themselves set up a voluntary 24 hour picket they decided to push the hacks. Sixty workers charged into the local president's office of the Iowa plant and told him that they could never shut the company down unless the union set up 24 hour pickets. When the president tried to hide behind the excuse that the committeemen were running the strike, the workers stormed into a committeeman meeting. The committeemen put up all sorts of excuses to why they couldn't get up a twenty-four hour picket. But the workers said "we are going to have the pickets up 24 hours and that's all there is to it." The committeemen and the International reps present had no choice but to agree. ■

RCP Holds Elections Forums

The Revolutionary Communist Party is holding meetings in many areas around the country in October and early November, to bring out its view on the meaning of the '76 elections to the working class in its struggle with the capitalist rulers. Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, is speaking on this important question in a number of cities. So far, he spoke in New York City to an audience of about 275 people on October 1 and in Milwaukee on October 17.

In Milwaukee, the speech was preceded by a dinner. Over 175 people of all nationalities, mostly workers and working class youth, responded to the speech with loud applause and a lively question and answer session.

Before election day comrade Avakian will speak in the following cities:

Chicago, Saturday, October 23
 Detroit, Sunday, October 24
 Cincinnati, Thursday, October 28
 Cleveland, Saturday, October 30
 Los Angeles, Monday, November 1

The times of the programs will generally be in the evenings. More specific information will be released in the local areas. The meetings held by the Party and these speeches are an important part of the battle around this year's elections. Below are a few excerpts from the speech in Milwaukee which highlight some of the points that will be made in all the upcoming programs.

"There are some differences between them. Let's look at how they argue it out. Carter gets up and says, 'Ford is corrupt. He's tainted with Watergate, he doesn't care about the people who are unemployed, he doesn't care if inflation is as high as it is. He's just going to let

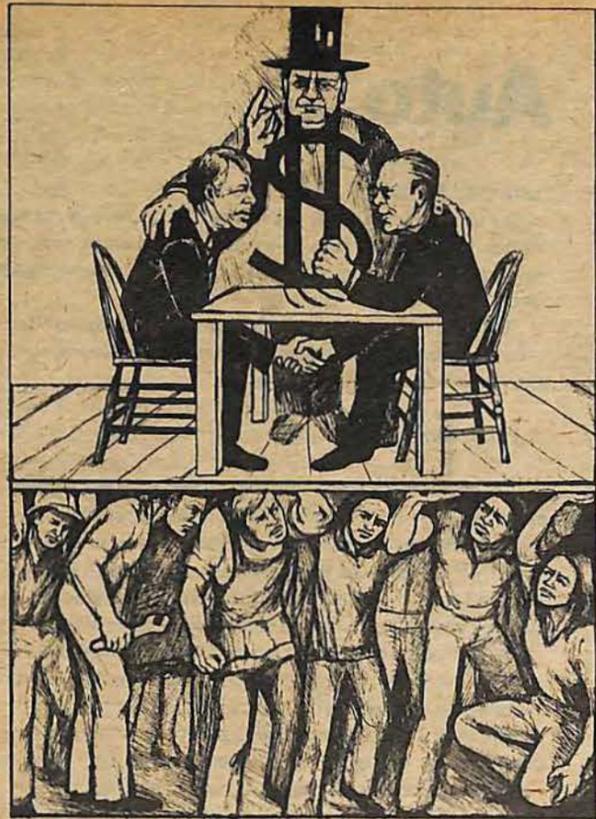
things go that way if it's needed to help big business.' And Carter's right.

"And Ford gets up and says, 'Jimmy Carter is a liar. He's not going to create more jobs. All of his programs can't even be paid for, they're going to create more inflation even if he tries to implement them. And he's a shuck and a fraud.' And Ford's right.

"Because either way you turn either one of their programs is only going to continue this system and continue to try to soften us up for more attacks. That's the nature of the whole setup."

"How can you represent capital and labor at the same time? How can you speak for the slavemaster and the slaves at the same time? Right there you know that they're liars. Anybody that gets up and says that they represent the slavemaster and the slave at the same time is a liar from the get go. And that's the first thing we've got to understand. We don't talk about representing the slaveowner and the slave. We represent the slaves and that's all there is to it. And we're determined that we ain't going to be slaves no more. That's all there is to it!" [Applause]

"Once we begin to understand what they're doing to us, we can see that this election is not just a shuck, not just 'no solution.' It's an attack on us. It's an attempt to get us out acting for our slavemasters to give them a stamp of approval to keep us enslaved. They come along and say, 'You're going to have one of them anyway. You might as well vote because, even though neither one of them is any good, you're going to have one of them anyway.'



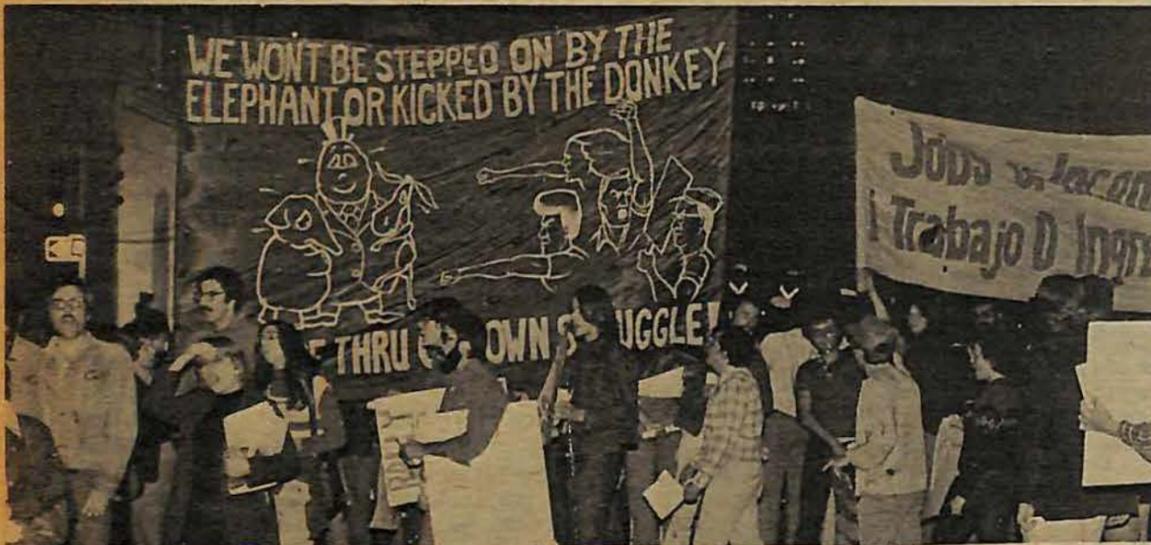
"They're telling us something and we should learn from it. What they're saying is, 'You're going to have exploitation anyway, have oppression anyway, you're going to be robbed and attacked and cheated and see your kids go without shoes, see health care cut back, we're going to have all that anyway no matter which man is elected.' And they're telling the truth even though they're trying to tell a lie. We should learn from that truth. All they're saying is that as long as we have capitalism we will have exploitation and oppression anyway so you might as well vote for it because the real candidate is not Ford or Carter, the real candidate is their so-called free enterprise system, their actual system of wage slavery that we're being asked to vote for." ■

all the stops to present Carter as the greatest friend of the Black and working people since Roosevelt. The 50 or so people picketing outside, however, reached out to a big number of people in the neighborhood to put the lie to the whole show. This was brought out strongly by an older Black worker who asked to use the microphone, saying that he had been born in the ghetto and it was still the ghetto and no politician had ever changed that. Carter is a phony just like FDR was, he declared, and through the experience of two wars and the depression he'd seen that all any politician cares about is lining the owners' pockets at the workers' expense.

Students Take Up Campaign

The candidates and their bigshot defenders have also met strong opposition in their campus attempts to try to draw students into their con game. At the University of Illinois at Champaign, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, student organization of the RCP, challenged a local Democratic city councilman and the "register to vote" crowd to a debate. In front of about 150 students, the claims that students should put their faith and hopes for change on the power of the ballot box were torn to shreds. Later, when Mondale came around, thousands of students made things so hot for him that he had to leave early. When he launched into his usual vague promises about giving people jobs, the hall erupted into chants of "How? How? How?" until he finally retreated.

In addition to these direct confrontations, the campaign has been going out widely on a day to day basis. UWOC elections' posters are beginning to spring up. In many areas, there has been street corner agitation, combined with leafletting, and the campaign is being taken into the plants and built there as a real issue. In this, a national UWOC leaflet and button with the slogan, all building toward the election day demonstrations, have been very helpful in uniting with the distrust and disgust that the masses have towards the election farce and building, through concrete actions, the political independence of the working class. All out November 2nd! ■



While Carter and Ford filibustered through the first debate in Philadelphia, 300 workers, vets, students and youth outside expressed the sentiments of millions who are sick and tired of the donkey-elephant circus that leaves only a smelly residue after the show is over.

Elections...

Continued from Page 1

difference between the candidates that the whole thing was boring as hell. So with the second debate, in San Francisco, Carter and Ford really launched into each other a little more, slapping and thumping at each other. But for all the smoke there was little fire since their positions were basically identical. Again, the real struggle was between the working class and its allies and the bourgeoisie. To build up for this action, UWOC held an afternoon rally at an unemployment center, followed by large-scale leafletting across the city, and a car caravan which included floats and a truckload full of workers and youth.

This Ford-Carter debate about foreign policy showed how the whole ruling class sees the need to step up their contention and preparations for war with the Soviet Union. Members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, who have already seen what imperialist war means, spoke to the rally outside to denounce the danger of war and the criminal maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists to prop up their interests in South Africa and elsewhere.

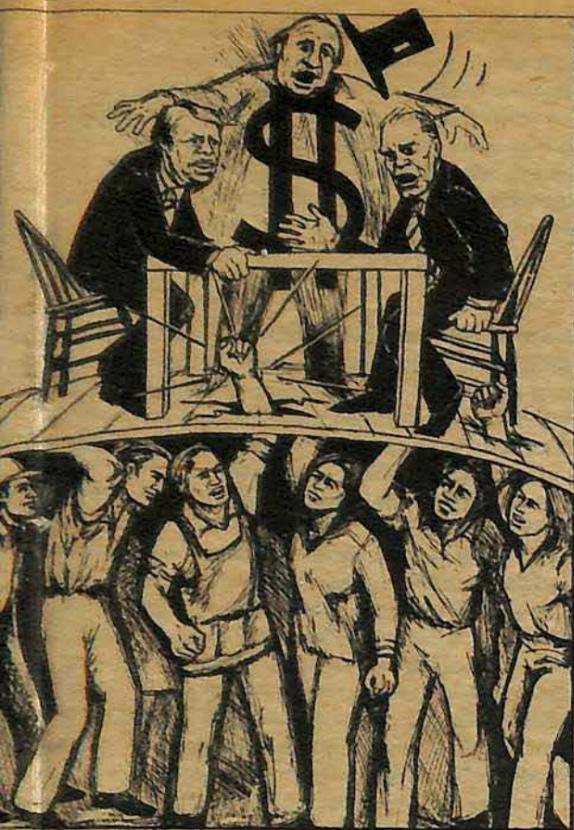
But the bourgeoisie's attempts to pull the electoral wool over the masses' eyes aren't confined to the TV screen, and the campaign by the working class to expose the sham of bourgeois elections and bring forward the interests of the working class took on the candidates

in the flesh when they showed themselves among the people. When Carter came to glad-hand the morning shift at the Allis-Chalmers agricultural implements plant in Milwaukee one day, UWOC members and other workers, unemployed and employed, were there to denounce him declaring "Victory Through Our Own Struggle, Not the Elections."

Later, when vice-presidential hopeful Mondale came waltzing into Racine, Wisconsin to speak at the Labor Center there, he was wearing a UAW jacket like Carter had before him. A speaker at the UWOC-led picket line ran down how the UAW leadership's sabotage of the Ford strike went hand in hand with their attempts to tie the working class to capitalist politicians. One union hack challenged the demonstrating workers, "If you're not for Ford or Carter, who are you for?" A picketer yelled back at him, "We're for the working class!"

This was the message that came through when Carter visited Chicago. At a mainly Black church on Chicago's South Side, the Democratic Party machine pulled out

All Out Nov. 2!



CP & SWP Election Campaigns

Fresh Paint On 'Democracy' Facade

Besides the election show in the main ring between Jimmy Carter and Jerry Ford there are numerous other minor parties running candidates for election. Two of them the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), claim to be for the workers and oppressed people and claim to be revolutionary, socialist and communist. They have succeeded in getting themselves on the ballot in many states and they are campaigning as the "real alternative" to the two main capitalist parties, the Democrats and the Republicans.

The CPUSA and the SWP are taking their campaigns to the factory gates, to the neighborhoods and onto the campuses. They have bought time on TV for political messages. They are getting free time on TV to reply to editorials and are popping up in the news as they file a flurry of court suits, demanding to be treated equally with the Democrats and the Republicans. More people have heard the political message of these two parties this year than any in recent memory.

But these election campaigns, like the parties that spawned them, are not revolutionary, socialist or communist. Not only are they not the "real alternative" for the workers and oppressed people, they are actually attempting to further shackle the people to the trap of bourgeois democracy, to the rule of the exploiters.

Both parties are working the same side of the street. Both "expose" the promises of Carter and the Democrats at every turn and then elaborate a program that will "really deliver" for the masses, a gift from the "real party of the workers."

A "Vote With Clout"

The CPUSA asks, "Would you vote for your boss to be shop steward? Then why vote for his candidate for public office?" But why vote for Gus Hall, the CPUSA's presidential candidate, who has a snowball's chance of hitting the White House? The CPUSA's strategy does not foresee winning a major election right now. So, they say, casting a vote for Gus Hall is casting a "vote with clout."

Roughly, this means that the more voters pull Gus's lever, the more scared the bourgeoisie, and especially the more "liberal" of them in the Democratic Party, will get. Out of stone cold fear of this vote, the capitalists will suddenly forget their own class interests and begin dishing out all sorts of goodies to the people. The capitalists who have defended their regime a hundred times with bullet and bomb will be put to flight by the terrific force of paper ballots. Jarvis Tyner, Hall's running mate, summed this up in saying, "If the bourgeoisie spends millions to stop communism in Italy, Portugal, Chile, Angola, etc., a big Communist vote will make them spend millions in the U.S. on the cities."

The CPUSA lays out an election program with far more lavish promises than Fritz Mondale would have ever dreamed: jobs for all, massive social service programs, an end to racism and injustice, and peace and dis-

armament.

The program the Communist Party, USA is running is "a people's anti-monopoly coalition," "a new legal framework," and detente with the Soviet Union.

The heart of the program—and what it promises will really deliver the goods to the people—is the "people's anti-monopoly coalition." Its policy is to "lessen the burdens on working people by compelling shifts in surplus value from monopoly to working people through governmental budgets and at the point of production. . . ." An example of this is cutting the military budget by 80% and funnelling the money saved into social services. (What these "communists" want the U.S. government to save the other 20% for is unclear, maybe just enough to invade Mexico or shoot down demonstrating workers?)

Why exactly are social services getting slashed and what could possibly "compel" the capitalists, short of revolution, to disarm themselves?

What the CPUSA "anti-monopoly coalition" ignores—or more to the point, tries to hide—are the laws of capitalism. First off, they imply that the cutting of social services in favor of big defense budgets is some kind of reversible "policy." Money sunk into libraries, garbage collection and fire protection returns no profit for the majority of the capitalist class. It is a fact that the capitalists are caught in a profit squeeze, they can't grab enough capital through "normal" means to fuel all the necessary new investment. New York City is just the sharpest example of what this capital crisis means for cities—it's happening all over—as non-productive capital gets moved out and over into profit-making ventures.

War & Detente

Lenin, whom the CPUSA claims to uphold, pointed out more than 50 years ago that imperialism, with the relentless drive for profit of competing great powers, always drives towards war, independent of any "policy" on the part of this or that capitalist. All the votes in the world never will get the bourgeoisie to disarm. The CPUSA program includes a big push for detente—"world peace"—as if the capitalists can lay down their arms and be friends with everybody.

"A few years ago, at big demonstrations, we sang the song 'All We Are Saying Is Give Peace a Chance.' Well, now in this election year, we are again saying, 'Give detente and peace a chance,'" says Gus Hall, CPUSA candidate for President. The two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, are driven by the laws of imperialism to constantly reach out for more people to exploit and more markets to dump their goods. Where one is on the offensive, the other defends and vice versa. This contention, often carried out under the banner of "detente," has led to armed clashes by proxy in Angola, showdowns over the Mideast, and covert political infighting as in Portugal.

Instead of facing the truth—and arming the masses to understand this imperialist clash and its class basis—the CPUSA spreads lies and illusions by upholding on the one hand the peaceloving, "socialist" Soviet Union and condemning on the other the vile, evil U.S. military-industrial complex which is preventing more enlightened imperialists in the U.S. from wholeheartedly embracing detente. If only the U.S. voters will turn back the boys from the military-industrial complex, then peace and 80% of the military budget is ours!

The whole show serves both imperialist bandits fine, a world where war or peace is a matter of policy among reasonable men and where the Soviet Union is the socialist motherland and so, by definition, cannot be aggressive. But it's just not that way.

This detente trick, this whole illusion pushed by the CPUSA, is dangerous. Besides, of course, pimping off the deepfelt desires of millions for peace, the CPUSA serves up the slogan, "Detente means jobs." This is only the flip side of another equally deceitful and deadly bourgeois line, "War means jobs," put out by Scoop Jackson and his bunch.

Either line is poison for the working class, both mean more power in the hands of the bourgeoisie because they line up the working class right behind the capitalists, hoping and pressuring for salvation within the workings of their system. But neither the illusion of detente nor the misery of war will cure unemployment, which is part and parcel of capitalism. Should workers be reduced to the useless task of weighing the number of jobs detente would supposedly mean compared to a small war or maybe a world war? For the working class the task is to expose the sham of detente,

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E. Europe And the Great Liberators

One of the finest moments in the second Ford/Carter debate came when Jerry claimed that the countries of Eastern Europe were not dominated by the USSR. Carter's eyes lit up like pinball wizard and he pounced on the statement, declaring that the opposite was true and that he stood for the liberation of those countries from the Soviet yoke. Ford, either realizing he'd said something awfully stupid or maybe just slow on the uptake, claimed that what he really meant was that the people there—singling out Yugoslavia, Poland and Rumania—still longed for freedom and that they resisted Soviet domination.

For several weeks following the going was rough on the Eastern Europe issue. Carter charged around on a white horse carrying a torch as the liberator of oppressed peoples as Ford lamely tried to insist he'd always been in favor of liberating Eastern Europe and that's what he'd been talking about in the first place. Why, Ford stammered, as his aides whipped out old xeroxes of "Captive Nation Day" speeches, he'd even been to Poland and had a chance to talk to the people! Finally though, Ford was forced to admit what had been clear to everyone all along—he'd stuck his foot about two-thirds of the way down his pipes.

Of course, most of Eastern Europe is dominated by the Soviet Union—certainly Poland. As social-imperialists they have put together an empire there and are benefitting quite nicely from the labor of the workers. But then the U.S. has an empire too.

What if Ford had slipped Puerto Rico in there with Poland. Then what? Would Carter have claimed that he'd always been for the liberation of Poland and Puerto Rico? Now that would have been news! Lucky for Jerry the Vietnam War wasn't still on. Maybe he would have dragged out more "liberation" stories to explain why the government was flying B-52 carpet bombing raids.

Well, anyway, it's good to see that the next president, whoever he is, is all fired up for liberating the whole wide world. Only, it's going to be real news to blacks in U.S. supported racist South Africa, or to the people in Taiwan and Korea who have U.S. troops stationed all around or to the Palestinians who see all those U.S. weapons pouring into Israel.

Both candidates are really serious about all this "liberation" jazz, though. Leaving aside arguments about a billion here or a billion there, they both want to spend tens of billions of dollars to get ready for the next war which would undoubtedly be fought in the name of "liberation" by both superpowers—each seeking to liberate the countries and peoples under the domination of the other and establish their own economic, political and military control. ■

Elections '76

Capitalists' Desperate Deceit vs. Workers' Growing Struggle

The real political struggle of the election year is not the phony choice they offer of picking between two brands of poison. It is the struggle of the working class to beat back these attacks and forge its own future.

by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

15 cents

CP & SWP...

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the real contention, the real drive to war and build up the working class struggle against war preparations, unemployment and the real source of all these miseries—the imperialist system.

The CPUSA's "new legal framework" is one that would "outlaw all forms of racism and abolish all anti-democratic and repressive laws." In fact, the whole history of the civil rights and Black liberation struggle of the last 20 years shows that the basis of the oppression of Black people is capitalist exploitation and, while the struggle has won some democratic rights, real equality is impossible under capitalism no matter what laws proclaiming formal "equality" are passed. And the CP's only purpose in raising this "legal framework" is to hide this lesson, resurrect old fairy tales and use this "framework" to confine and squelch real struggle against national oppression.

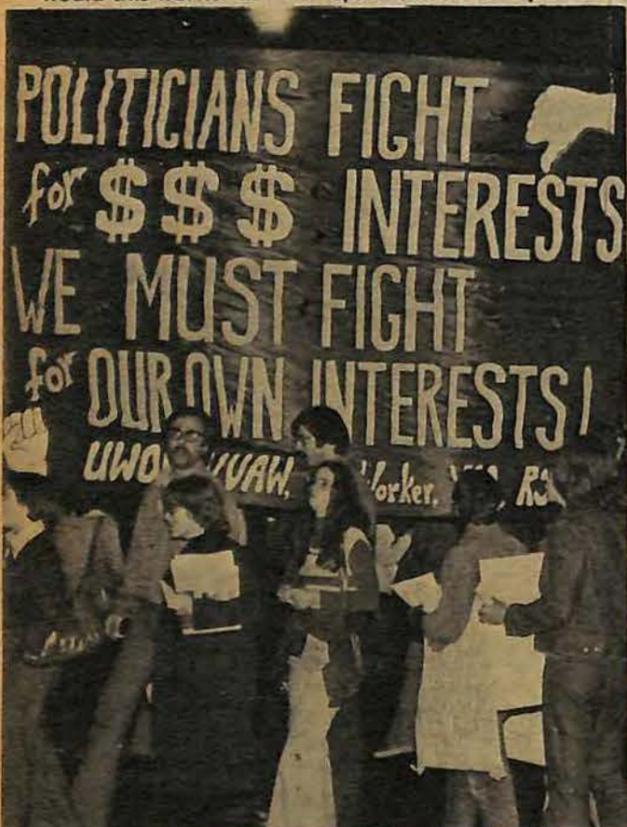
"Fulfill the Promise"

Then comes the clincher of the CP's election campaign. With the current political system increasingly discredited after Watergate and a thousand other exposures, up steps the CPUSA to pretty it up by posing as this system's revolutionary inheritors. "The fulfillment of the democratic promises of the Declaration of Independence," they say, "are still the unfinished business before the people." This then is supposed to be the revolutionary goal of "communists" and the historic task of the working class—to extend the existing "democracy" to cover the workers and minorities as well as the capitalists.

But the real question is the class question—of which class rules society. How is it possible to speak of equality and democracy when millions are forced to labor just to survive so a parasitic few can reap the fruits of this in immense wealth and power? Only on the basis of establishing the rule of the working class by overthrowing the capitalist system and its class relations can the working class end all forms of oppression, practice its own democracy and exercise dictatorship over the overthrown class of exploiters.

This is the real truth, pointed to by Watergate and a thousand other recent events where the face of the enemy has become clearer. This, of course, the CP will not bring out, but works overtime to hide by peddling their view that the task of the working masses is not to make their own revolution, but to somehow finish the bourgeoisie's, begun 200 years ago and long since over. To make exploitation and oppression, the heart and soul of capitalism, more "fair" rather than do away with them.

Along with all this goes the CP's slick TV commercial pitch to "put a worker in the White House" (presumably much better than putting a peanut grower in the White House, Jimmy Carter's angle). And what would this worker do? Perhaps this was best expressed



The CPUSA and the SWP try to outdo Carter and the Democrats in offering up election year promises to "the working man." But the hopes they hold out are false and all they amount to is glorifying the political setup of the present system of misery. Only through their own struggle can the workers wring concessions from the capitalist rulers and carry through to victory.

by Gus Hall himself on a recent *Tomorrow* show on TV: When he was asked if a communist president could work with a Republican-dominated Congress, Hall eagerly answered yes. Rockefeller, for example, will be relieved to hear that he can still have all of his blood-sucking "rights" under the CP's revolutionary view of future society. All this just underscores that "putting a worker in the White House" has nothing to do with the working class taking political power.

Somewhere—but not in their election literature for the masses, only in the party theoretical journal for fellow party members—the CPUSA finally 'fesses up: "No measures, however, short of socialism can completely eliminate...the basic contradictions of capitalism." But this evades the basic question—how to get there? A big vote for Gus? Really get the Democratic Party all freaked out? The point is the CPUSA does not lead the struggle forward towards *revolution*, the *only road to socialism*. The CPUSA has covered up the class nature of bourgeois democracy, obscured class exploitation, twisted the nature of the capitalists' laws and hidden the class content of the contention between the two imperialist superpowers. This is the net effect of their "communist" election program.

The CPUSA's concoction of "communism," though feeble today, is of great potential commercial value to the capitalists. With more and more misery each year's harvest, the masses demand that life not continue in the present way. The bourgeoisie must convince the masses that such change can be won without revolution, without overthrowing bourgeois rule. This service the CPUSA willingly provides.

"Put Socialism on the Ballot"

In a time when "our democracy" is getting very frayed around the edges, we find a new push behind the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and their "socialist alternative." And what is this "socialist alternative?" Making this "democracy"—bourgeois democracy—work.

This year, with Peter Camejo heading up their ticket, the SWP is running its most extensive campaign ever, with candidates for all sorts of offices in 33 states. Just getting themselves on the ballot they claim is a big victory for the masses. In doing this they are "defending the democratic rights of the majority" and "putting socialism on the ballot." Unlike the CPUSA whose main hope is to build its "clout" with the Democratic Party and push them "leftward," the SWP entertains hopes of winning a position here or there, if not this election year, maybe the next.

The SWP has been getting a lot of coverage in the bourgeois press lately with their civil suit against the FBI spying on them. They hope the publicity will overcome their lack of reputation among the masses. They are quite proud of their suit against the Feds. "History will record," they declare, "that the most important event of the bicentennial was not a bunch of ships sailing up the Hudson, but the defense of the Bill of Rights by the SWP, which has mobilized public opinion and exposed the FBI and government for what they have done."

What the SWP is really all about can be learned by looking into their suit against the government. The FBI had been spying on them for 35 years and had not found a single piece of evidence of an illegal act. The SWP worked hard to convince the government that there was nothing illegal about their party or its activities. What was actually in question was whether the SWP was really a threat to the status quo. The SWP finally won. On September 14, the Attorney General of the U.S. ordered the FBI to keep its mitts off the SWP: They were no threat to capitalist rule, they were no danger.

Which is it? Is socialism and working class revolution harmless and acceptable to the capitalists or is the SWP's "Socialism" a sham, a lie, a trick? Of course, it is the latter.

The heart of the SWP's election program is the "Bill of Rights for Working People." This would give people the right to a job, to live in any neighborhood they wanted to live in, etc. But just as the SWP forgets that full employment was officially made government policy in 1947, open housing in the mid-'60s, and so on. Obviously, it takes more than fine-sounding proclamations to bring about change, it takes struggle and ultimately revolution.

Another fairy-tale illusion the SWP promotes is the possibility of "letting the people vote in a referendum before the country is dragged into any more wars." Electing "peace candidate" Lyndon Johnson in '64 showed that the American people didn't want to go to war in Vietnam but that hardly made a difference to either LBJ or the bourgeois rulers he represented. The capitalists tried to make an example out of the Vietnamese liberation struggle, to drown it in blood and "persuade" other oppressed people not to rise up. To say a referendum would make it otherwise, is to try to turn history upside down.

Much of the SWP's program boils down to petty-bourgeois appeals for "democracy" in the abstract, democracy for everyone, including, it seems, for the oppressors as well as the oppressed. The SWP so loves the bourgeoisie's democracy they've demanded it be extended to Nazis organizing on campuses. When the scholarly Professor Shockley tours the country to speak

about how Blacks and other minorities are genetically inferior, the SWP demands that no one interfere with his right to speak! They have even attacked the Revolutionary Student Brigade, the RCP's student group, for shutting down this reactionary dog.

Playing to people's desire for real change, the SWP says all this will only be possible "if the government itself passes completely into the hands of the majority—the masses of working people."

The State

What the SWP's stinking opportunism has in common with the CPUSA is a total abandonment of the Leninist analysis of the state. "...the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power, which was created by the ruling class..." (Lenin, *State and Revolution*, FLP, p. 9, emphasis in original)

This points to the real role of the campaigns of both the SWP and the CPUSA. It comes to more than simply the sum total of their ineffectiveness and the pocketful of illusions with which they litter up the scene. Their real effect is to be a kind of advanced guard for the bourgeoisie, filling a breach the capitalists and their "regular" politicians cannot fill—putting a "communist" and "socialist" label on some increasingly discredited political snakeoil, fixing up what is unfixable, the capitalists' political system. The CPUSA and the SWP prop up the very illusions the bourgeoisie promotes among the masses by portraying the state apparatus—the government, the legal framework, etc.—as some kind of neutral "high ground." Right now, the capitalists occupy that high ground but the masses must seize every opportunity to advance their struggle and prepare for the opportunity to push them off and seize the heights for themselves.

But "the state is an organ of class rule, an organ of oppression of one class by another; its aim is the creation of 'order' which legalises and perpetuates this oppression. ...A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism. ...it establishes power so securely, so firmly that no change, either of persons, of institutions, or of parties in the bourgeois-democratic republic can shake it." (Lenin, *State and Revolution*, FLP, pp. 8 and 15-16, emphasis in original)

What Lenin is driving at is that the whole state apparatus, the army, police, courts of law, bureaucracy, etc., was created by the bourgeoisie to serve the bourgeoisie. That state apparatus is ultimately defended by the guns of the army. In spite of illusions spread by the CP and SWP to the contrary, is there any real reason to believe that the U.S. ruling class, who have overthrown many a legally constituted government overseas, would sit still and let some "socialists" legislate away the bourgeoisie in their own backyard without resorting to the same violent methods?

Taking all this into account, it's clear that to cast a vote for Gus Hall or Peter Camejo is not even a protest vote, it is only a sign to the bourgeoisie that their servants are doing their jobs well in prettifying up their system.

The elections are an important arena for struggle between the working class and the exploiters and cannot be ignored. The tasks of communists around elections are the same whether or not the Party actually fields a slate of candidates. V.I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks participated in elections in Czarist Russia successfully and were able to advance the workers' cause. The lessons Lenin summed up apply to the working class struggle today and also are a good yardstick by which to judge which class the CPUSA and SWP serve.

"Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed masses at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the formal equality proclaimed by the 'democracy' of the capitalists and the thousands of real limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into wage slaves. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the masses to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction that the agitators and propagandists of Socialism are constantly exposing to the masses, in order to prepare them for revolution!" (Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, FLP, p. 24, emphasis in original)

Millions of Americans are disgusted with the present political setup. There is a growing feeling that the two main parties, the Democrats and Republicans, are owned lock, stock and barrel by the rich and can't really serve the masses. It is an excellent time for exposing the farce of bourgeois democracy and raise the correct feelings of the masses to a solid class understanding of the system. And it is for this reason that the CP and SWP election campaigns are all the more treacherous. They obscure the rule of the handful of exploiters and hold up the illusion of progress, even socialism, coming from the bourgeois political process.

The questions the masses have about the present system must be answered truthfully, exposing the class relations, oppressed and oppressors, exploiters and exploited, that lay at the root of all misery. The struggle of the masses must not be channeled back into the system but must be broken out of those bonds, to aim towards the day when the working class will rise up and lead the masses forward to socialist revolution. ■

Chicago's Southwest Side

Behind the Conflict In Marquette Park

In recent months a neighborhood in Chicago has been the scene of fighting in the streets, rock throwing, Black and white people at each other's throats: July 17, 1000 whites, mainly youths gather in Marquette Park, many throw rocks at Black marchers. August 19, the Martin Luther King Movement declares its intention to march again, daring another incident to take place. August 20, the American Nazi Party say they will have a countermarch. August 21, 2000 whites gather on Western Avenue to keep Blacks out. Off duty policemen are discovered to be involved in the attack on Blacks.

All of this has taken place in Marquette Park, a white largely working class neighborhood on Chicago's Southwest side. Chicago, even more than most U.S. big cities, is strictly segregated. Boundaries of school districts have been consistently redrawn as neighborhoods change, to keep the schools segregated. The bourgeoisie has been able to enforce a pattern of segregation and re-segregation. Many neighborhoods have "changed," that is, gone from virtually all white to virtually all Black in short periods of time as banks have followed the policy of redlining. The real estate vultures sweep down on areas promoting panic selling and "steering" Black families into areas slated for the expansion of the Black ghettos. As the neighborhoods have gone from white to Black, all the features of national oppression have followed—greater crime, deterioration of social services, rapid deterioration of housing, etc. Naturally this type of situation leads to tremendous hardship and suffering for all concerned while the capitalists rake in profit hand over fist. It also magnifies the social antagonisms that national oppression creates.

The Nazis, reactionary scum, say that if Blacks move into the neighborhood they will bring with them run-down houses, unsafe streets—a decaying community. The Martin Luther King Movement (MLKM), marching under banners of open housing, decent schools and no segregation—legitimate demands touching real concerns of Black people—point the finger of blame at white people.

The reactionaries promote the notion that the FHA (Federal Housing Authority) protects the Blacks and gives them a good deal. In fact, the FHA is a vulture that preys mostly on Blacks, but also on any other people it can get its claws into, and exists to insure profits for capitalists.

The Nazis put out that it's Black people that are the cause of the deterioration of the neighborhoods. In actuality, this deterioration begins before the first Blacks move in. It is a product of systematic destruction by the financial institutions and government. The people who live in those neighborhoods, as well as those who move in, are the victims.

To the vast majority of people, this country seems to be going to hell. The cities are falling apart, schools closing down, social services cut back. Unemployment is high. Working conditions and wages are being attacked. Crime is on the rise. For people of all nationalities it's a struggle just to survive. In this situation people are getting very angry, and the capitalist rulers of this country—whose system is the cause of all these problems—are trying to get the people to fight each other for the crumbs, to blame each other for the misery we face.

The capitalists look for hot spots like Marquette Park, where the racial tension they foster has been high in recent years, to set the fuse and ignite the people in open combat—white against Black. They want to convince us that we can never unite to fight the common problems we face; they want to make us feel that the only way to keep from being pushed under is to fight each other.

What is really going on? Who's really to blame? Can anything be done besides Blacks and whites fighting each other? Can we really unite? These are questions asked by many people.

The people in Marquette Park don't want to see their neighborhood go downhill like they've seen happen in other communities. It's only been a few years since West Englewood, the community next to Marquette Park, went down and people next door see the handwriting on the wall.

West Englewood is a clear example of enforced deterioration. Between 1970 and 1973 the western part of the area turned from a majority white to mainly Black—3200 homes changed hands in three years. Now the housing there is falling apart; the unemployment rate and welfare rate is much higher; crime is worse. It has the third highest number of foreclosures in the city.

Who is to blame for this? The Black people who live

there? No. The white working people of Marquette Park? No. The capitalists are responsible. These Draculas in top hats and their city planners map out areas of the city for speculation, ravage the neighborhood to meet their schemes, make a killing and leave the people to suffer the consequences.

The one thing the capitalists are interested in is profit. When it comes to housing and our neighborhoods, they are not concerned about providing decent homes for the masses of people, but about financial speculating.

West Englewood was a neighborhood where many people had paid off their mortgages, and in recent years they mainly needed loans for home repairs. But the capitalist vampires need to tap a main artery like a 30-year mortgage, not a measly little blood vessel like home improvement loans. So they look to more lucrative areas of investment like the suburbs and the lake-front—new blood, new mortgages—and cut way back on, or even deny, loans to the older neighborhoods.

This is redlining, and in West Englewood, an older neighborhood where home repairs are necessary to prevent rapid deterioration, it was like the kiss of death. As the neighborhood began to deteriorate, those people who could afford to moved out. And as the "for sale" signs went up, the real estate and banking vultures swooped down to make a killing.

It was when deterioration had already begun to set in that the area was opened up to Black homebuyers. The capitalists keep Blacks and whites segregated, and keep Blacks living in even worse condition than white people for their own purposes.

While they present it as "inevitable racial differences" that we can't live together, in fact they have systematically built up this inequality to make more profits and keep the people fighting among ourselves for the crumbs. In West Englewood, they used panic peddling among the whites, hounding the white homeowners with stories of how they would lose all the money they put into their houses if they didn't sell right away forcing people into selling dirt cheap to the mortgage bankers. They even hired Black gangs to terrorize people and commit crimes to "prove" to the white people that their community was no longer safe to live in.

FHA Preys on Homeowners

The Blacks who moved in were offered FHA mortgages. A popular myth that FHA puts out is that their loans are to benefit low-income people, to help them buy a house. But what it really is is one more way to prey on the people, particularly Black people, in order for the capitalists to rake in more profits.

Houses sold on FHA loans are supposed to meet certain regulations, but the mortgage banker is the one who guarantees that the house is in good condition. The mortgage banker, however, is interested in only one thing—making money. He doesn't care if the furnace is on the skids or the wiring is about to go. So he will sell a house in any condition he can get away with.

This wouldn't be good business if it wasn't for the fact that the government guarantees payment to the banker if the person who buys the house can't make payment for whatever reason. So it's actually in the interest of the real estate and mortgage bankers for the house to turn over many times. It's in their interest to sell a house that the buyer can't afford to fix up, that he abandons. They can foreclose on him, evict him, collect from the government and start all over again.

This is what is happening in West Englewood. In April 1975, there were 338 mortgages facing foreclosure there. And this turnover is what the capitalists are aiming for in Marquette Park, now a stable community with a large percentage of paid-up mortgages. Marquette Park is already redlined, and the houses on the eastern border between the Penn Central tracks and Western Avenue that have been sold to Blacks are FHA mortgaged.

To speed this process along and to add even more to their profits, the savings and loans in the area (led by Talman Federal Savings and Loan) along with the government have targeted West Englewood for "rehabilitation." These jackals clean up by forcing deterioration on a neighborhood and then do it again by "rehabilitating" the same community.

For profit these bloodsuckers look at the people of Marquette Park as just so many bodies to be moved out of the way. The masses of Black people are just so many bodies to be picked up and hurled into Marquette Park, seemingly at the white people

there. And overall, everyone's living conditions are relentlessly driven down.

This is the situation that the capitalists have created for the sake of their profits and are now trying to use to drive a bigger wedge between the masses of Black and white people. They are trying to blame the people as the cause of their own misery.

At their bidding in doing this are a group of political sewer rats, the Nazis. The Nazis have been able, by seizing on some real concerns that people have, to organize a number of people in the last year, mainly youth. They have been active in firebombing the cars of some Black people in the area and generally terrorizing Blacks who move into the neighborhood or even venture into the park.

These scum take real things that happen to people like deteriorating neighborhoods and crime, and twist them around and pervert them to lay the blame on Blacks. They build up and strengthen the poisonous idea that Blacks are inferior to whites and that segregation and the oppression of Blacks will solve the problem white people face. They (like their idol Adolph Hitler in Germany) are nothing but tools of the capitalist exploiters and vicious enemies of all workers, Black and white.

Martin Luther King Movement

Also at work in pointing the blame in the wrong direction is the Martin Luther King Movement. They try to take advantage of the real and just demands Black people have—decent housing, decent schools, and the right to live and go where they please. But the leaders of the Martin Luther King Movement have not aimed the struggle at the capitalist ruling class, instead they target the masses of white working people as the enemy. Furthermore, they make no serious challenge to the whole system of de facto segregation and offer no program to fight it, instead simply talking about the right of Blacks to move into Marquette Park, without any plan of how to fight for this important democratic right without it being made meaningless, as the bourgeoisie institutes the whole pattern of block busting ghetto-ization which would leave Marquette Park in the same conditions as the neighborhoods most Black people are forced to live in now.

The leaders of the Martin Luther King Movement realize that they have no following among the people now, and right before Labor Day weekend announced that they were not going to hold any more marches to Marquette Park until January. They said they are now concentrating on the question of crime. However, the change of direction is most likely an effort to get more of a following, build on people's hatred of the Nazis and their terror, and make a bigger comeback.

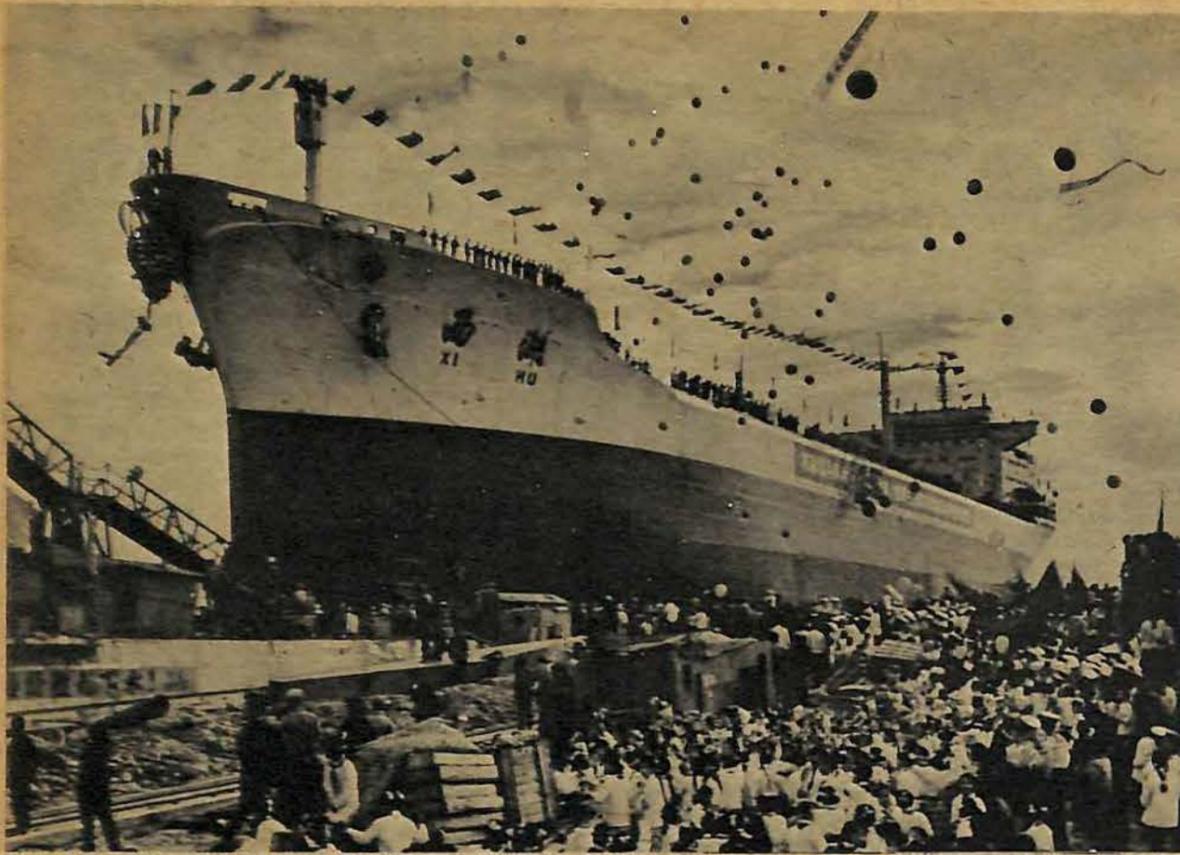
The capitalists are trying to use these forces and the struggle in Marquette Park as a direct attack on the working class and masses of people. The majority of people in the Marquette Park area are not out there throwing rocks. Many of them see that the problem has to do with the real estate and financial interests, but they see no clear solution. The idea arises: we can't fight the banks and real estate, but we can keep the Blacks from moving in, and that will hold off the deterioration of the neighborhood.

United Struggle Necessary

Other plans have been promoted to try to pressure real estate companies and savings and loans to fund "buffer zones" between Marquette Park and the West Englewood community. But all these plans for preserving Marquette Park will remain a harmful illusion unless the fight to defeat segregation in housing is taken up and the special problems facing the masses of Black people in the area are addressed as part of developing a united struggle. It is neither just nor beneficial to any section of the working class to maintain segregated housing.

The banks and the rest of the capitalist class act only out of one concern—their profits. Driven by this aim they will continue to try to play both sides of the fence, playing off Black against white and laughing all the way to their vaults. The only way to avoid being ruined separately is a program of united struggle that is aimed at the capitalist class and the whole way they profit by ruining neighborhoods and enforcing segregation.

The working class has to look at the problem squarely and see that although the capitalists try to hide behind many different disguises, whenever we dig into the problems that confront us, we find their ugly face. It may be difficult but the fight must be taken on for decent housing and neighborhoods; for equality, particularly in this case, to smash segregation in housing and the extortion of higher rents, taxes, prices, credit and insurance rates in the minority communities; and the fight against foreclosures, evictions and repossessions. It is only by uniting, Black and white together in this fight and building strength through it that it will be possible to begin to turn back their attacks and strike at the many chains they try to bind the workers in. ■



Recent launching of China's first 50,000-ton oil tanker. By taking initiative into their own hands and practicing self-reliance Chinese workers have accomplished many things so-called experts said could not be done. Such achievements have greatly increased through the raging mass political struggles of the Cultural Revolution.

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tried to turn Mao into a harmless idol, while opposing the revolutionary line that Mao had formulated and fought for.

This tactic is nothing new in the history of the revolutionary movement. More than 60 years ago, Lenin pointed out that, as Marx's analysis and the revolutionary science he founded were more and more proved to be correct, "This makes it necessary to fight against him hypocritically, not to oppose the principles of Marxism openly, but to pretend to accept it and at the same time to emasculate it by sophistry, to transform Marxism into a holy 'icon' that is harmless for the bourgeoisie."

This is exactly what Lin Piao tried to do, saying that learning a few quotations from Mao—or better yet, just memorizing them—was good enough, and that the masses did not need to really study Mao's works, or the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, that, in short, they did not need to grasp the science of revolution.

With this device Lin Piao did succeed for a while in fooling many people. He even held sway for a time in the Party's Central Committee. But as the struggle developed, led by Mao, Lin Piao's camouflage wore thin and he became extremely isolated.

Behind all this lay Lin Piao's line, which was essentially the same as that of Liu Shao-chi—that the task was not to make revolution, but simply to "develop production," that the workers should stop waging the class struggle and just produce more—profit—for Lin Piao and his bourgeois clique.

Lin Piao, while pretending to support the Cultural Revolution, and even parading around as a great leader of it, actually opposed its great achievements and slandered the "socialist new things" it produced. It was because of this rotten line, and the practice and eventually the desperate actions it led him to, that Lin Piao, like other ringleaders of the bourgeoisie within the Party before him, suffered complete defeat. All this struggle resulted in still further political strengthening of the working class and the Party.

Teng Hsiao-ping

But, again, the conditions, the soil, that gave rise to people like Lin Piao and Liu Shao-chi, that made it possible for them to emerge in leading positions of the Party and state, have not yet been eliminated, and cannot be for a long time. This became very clear within the last year, when Mao once again led the Communist Party and the masses of Chinese people in struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping, and the handful of capitalist roaders gathered around him in the Party and state leadership.

Before the Cultural Revolution Teng had been a leading member of the Party's Central Committee and the state and for some time had been a leader, together with Liu Shao-chi, of a bourgeois headquarters. During the Cultural Revolution he was exposed and criticized and forced out of his positions by the masses.

But, Teng was a person with experience in administration, in economic planning, military affairs, etc. Under the conditions of socialism, where the contradiction between mental and manual labor, as well as the other differences and inequalities referred to earlier

still exist, people with such experience are necessary—and they can serve the masses in building socialism, if they take up the outlook and carry out the line of the working class.

After he had been criticized and removed from office during the Cultural Revolution, Teng later made a self-criticism and pledged himself to uphold the achievements of the Cultural Revolution, support the "socialist new things" and work for the interests of the working class in transforming society. On this basis, and in accordance with Mao's policy of uniting with all those who can be won to stand with and serve the working class in making revolution, Teng was returned to top positions in the Party and state.

But, once having assumed these positions, Teng again tried to use them to put over basically the same policies he had promoted before, together with Liu Shao-chi—"material incentives," forget about class struggle and just "develop production," restore the old educational system to produce "experts" with no real knowledge of proletarian politics or production, etc.

As before his aim was to restore capitalism, and as an important part of this he also slandered and opposed revolutionary works of art and culture that were the fruits of the Cultural Revolution and the continuing class struggle.

But, through the high tide of the Cultural Revolution and other struggles against capitalist roaders and their policies since then, the masses of Chinese people had considerably raised their consciousness, their ability to recognize and their determination to fight against the bourgeoisie. So, while flagrantly promoting policies that would restore capitalism, Teng, and those who followed his line, tried to suit their capitalist program to the present stage of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In the first years of the People's Republic, when the question was replacing private ownership with socialist forms of ownership, capitalist roaders like Teng had been a leading force in opposing this step. But now, with socialist forms of ownership in the main established, Teng tried to promote capitalist ownership not through advocating a return to individual forms of ownership, but through turning *socialist collective ownership* into *collective ownership serving a clique of bureaucrat-capitalists*, whom Teng wanted to promote into leadership of the state and various ministries of the economy.

Form and Content of Ownership

This is exactly how the Soviet revisionists have restored capitalism in that country, and a crucial lesson that Mao summed up from that experience is that the key question is not whether or not the form of ownership is collective, or state ownership, but who controls the state and who controls the collective ownership—the bourgeoisie or the working class.

Teng Hsiao-ping's line and actions are another proof of the fact that, once Marxism has been taken up by the masses, and still more once the stage of socialism has been reached, bourgeois forces that arise must and will pursue their aims in the name and disguise of Marxism and building socialism.

The particular form that this took, as exposed by the latest struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping, is that he tried to misuse three guidelines—or directives—formulated by Mao in a way to oppose the class struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, and in particular to oppose the campaign led by Mao to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This campaign called particular attention to the question of bourgeois

right and the need to restrict it, along with the three great differences and other remnants of exploiting society.

The three directives formulated by Mao for building socialism in the present period were on: studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and preventing revisionism; promoting unity and stability; and pushing the national economy forward.

But Mao had stressed that the main question was class struggle. Teng, on the other hand, put forward the line of "taking the three directives as the key link," raising several things on an "equal" level and not distinguishing which was principal. With this he hoped to push the main thing, class struggle, into the background—or more accurately, push the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie into the background and actually bring to the fore the struggle of the bourgeoisie to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

"Productive Forces" Line

He did this under the cover of promoting production and "modernization," howling that the economy was in a mess and trying to whip up a "hurricane" of production to blow away class struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. As with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, this was the same line of "develop the productive forces," negating the crucial question of which class holds state power and controls the means of production, and negating the need to continue the revolution against the bourgeoisie, and to restrict and step by step root out capitalist relations of production, still surviving under socialism, in order to further liberate the productive forces and emancipate mankind.

Teng, and those who followed his line, tried to play, once again, on the fact that China's economy, though it has made tremendous strides since the liberation of the country in 1949, is still not highly developed. This bourgeois headquarters tried, as those before it in China, to take advantage of any difficulties in developing the economy, to appeal to and promote narrow, selfish interests among the masses, and play on contradictions among them—for example between workers and peasants and between workers with different skills and wage levels—to set them up for a capitalist restoration.

Teng also wanted to sell out China's resources and people for foreign technology and machinery—in other words, reduce China to a dependency or colony once again.

Along with this Teng pushed a policy of "rectification" of the Party, which meant driving out proletarian revolutionaries, including those who had come to the fore during the Cultural Revolution, and bringing back into the Party, and into leading posts, revisionists and degenerates of all kinds who had justly been cast down by the masses during the Cultural Revolution, who were still unrepentant and who wanted to "settle scores" with the masses and their revolutionary leaders. In addition he tried to stir up people who had been criticized during the Cultural Revolution, but still had leading positions, to oppose and reverse the advances made through the Cultural Revolution. He also tried to sabotage Mao's line of training millions of successors to carry forward the revolution.

In thinly hidden form, Teng slandered the Cultural Revolution and many of its achievements as "ultra-leftism." While there was "ultra-leftism" that came up and interfered with the Cultural Revolution at times, the real fact was that Teng Hsiao-ping was a rightist who represented the bourgeoisie in attacking the Cultural Revolution and the continuing struggle of the proletariat. To cover himself on this point, Teng tried to reverse the correct summation of Lin Piao, claiming that he was an "ultra-leftist." While Lin Piao and his gang did carry out certain "ultra-left" phrasemongering and actions, the main form of Lin's line was, as Mao summed up, *rightist* like Teng's.

Along with this Teng pushed the common policy of all those who put forward the "theory of the productive forces," that developing production itself would revolutionize productive relations, revolutionize the Party and the masses, thus opposing and reversing Mao's correct line, "grasp revolution, promote production."

But just as Teng Hsiao-ping was riding high, at the beginning of this year, Mao Tsetung once again led the Chinese people in exposing and fighting against his bourgeois line and headquarters. Blasting away at Teng's line and inspiring the masses to struggle against it, Mao sharply and emphatically stated, "What 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

This, of course, did not mean that Mao regarded the other directives, or stability and unity in particular, as unimportant. But, where there are classes there will be class struggle, and the unity and stability of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economy can never be absolute. The bourgeoisie will always try to disrupt and destroy them and the masses must always wage struggle against the capitalist-roaders, or the "unity and stability" that will be achieved will be that of restored capitalism—which, of course, cannot achieve "unity and stability" at all.

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One of the big salvos in this battle against Teng's line was the publishing on New Year's Day this year of two poems, originally written by Mao in 1965, on the eve of the Cultural Revolution. In these poems Mao forcefully described how the Chinese people had transformed their country through hard and heroic struggle, and drew the inspiring conclusion: "Nothing is hard in this world/ If you dare to scale the heights."

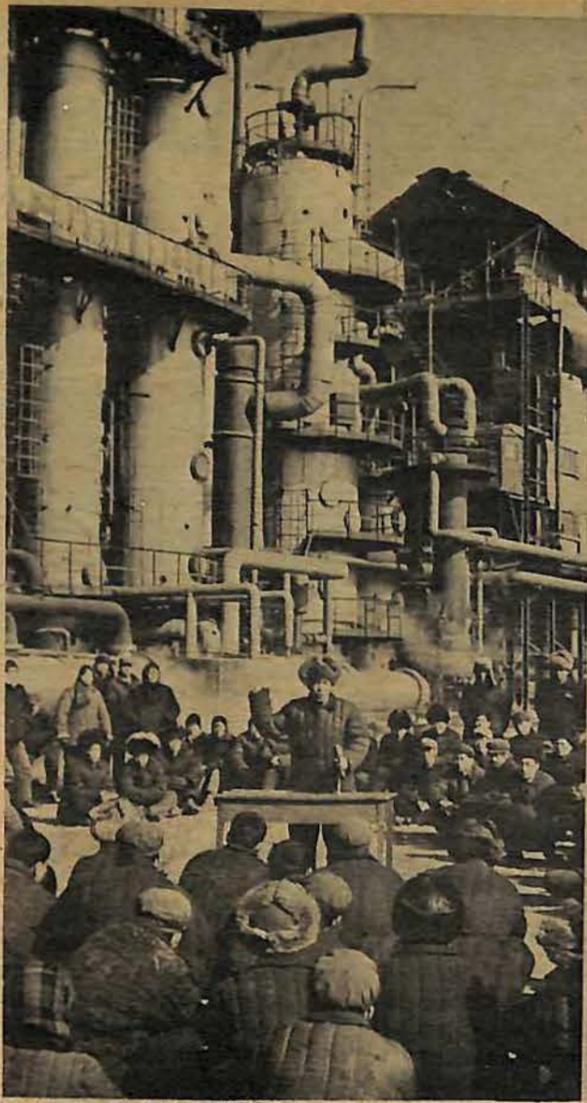
He pointedly ridiculed the pitiful outlook of revisionists—people like Khrushchev with his talk of "gou-lash communism"—who were terrified by the struggle raging throughout the world between the revolutionary peoples and the reactionary forces. Using the form of a dialogue between two birds, with the sparrow in the role of the revisionists, one of these poems describes how "A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff," whining that "This is one hell of a mess! Oh I want to flit and fly away. . . To a jeweled palace in elfland's hills. . . There'll be plenty to eat./ Potatoes piping hot/ With beef thrown in." To this the other bird, putting forward the outlook of the proletariat, replies, "Stop your windy nonsense! Look you, the world is being turned upside down."

These lines and the poems generally, were a sharp attack on the revisionists and their "theory of the productive forces"—what the people want and need is not revolution to liberate themselves and the productive forces but just production with the promise of "plenty to eat"—in other words that the masses of people are backward, are only good to work as slaves, can only think about the most narrow and short-sighted personal interests and certainly cannot transform society through class struggle. The publication of these poems struck deep at Teng Hsiao-ping's attempt to rally reactionary forces, promote backward sentiments and play on contradictions among the masses; and it acted as a rallying call for the masses, summing up powerfully their own experience that through great struggle comes great advance and out of great turmoil and upheaval comes greater unity for the cause of revolution.

Mao has stressed that it is crucial to "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above board, and don't intrigue and conspire." But the first of these—practice Marxism, not revisionism—is the key. What Mao is stressing here is not blind obedience to authority but adherence to a correct line, and unity based on that.

If Marxism is not practiced, if the proletariat in power does not grasp Marxism and apply it to fighting against the bourgeoisie, then the bourgeoisie, the revisionists within the Party in particular, will not only resort to splitting and conspiracies, according to their nature, but they will succeed in splitting the ranks of the masses and conspiring to restore capitalism. This is another way of saying that class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.

Mao also made clear, once again, the class basis of revisionists like Teng Hsiao-ping and how the capitalist roaders, at each stage of the socialist revolution, jump out and use different means at different stages to oppose the forward march of the masses. "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right



Workers at Taching Oilfield meet and denounce Teng Hsiao-ping's attempt to deny and bury the key link in making revolution and advancing society—class struggle against the bourgeoisie. By carrying out the correct political line and relying on their own efforts Taching workers created a giant oilfield and made a great contribution to making China what "authorities" said it would never be—basically self-sufficient in oil.

in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."

With the guidance of Mao's line and teachings, the Chinese people were able to recognize the line and policies of the capitalist roaders, headed this time by Teng Hsiao-ping, and to beat back their attempts at reversing the achievements of the Cultural Revolution and restoring capitalism. But this defeat of Teng Hsiao-ping and the blow directed against the bourgeoisie in this struggle does not mean that the bourgeoisie has been eliminated, that their attempts to reverse things have ended, and certainly not that the struggle against the conditions and relations that give rise to the bourgeoisie and the emergence of capitalist roaders within the Party can be ended.

Long and Historic Task

In fact, this struggle must go on now and will go on for many generations, perhaps even hundreds of years, until in China—and throughout the world—the soil engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie is completely dug up and communism finally achieved.

The bourgeoisie, when it was on the rise and staging revolution against the feudal system, suffered temporary defeats and setbacks. In the countries that are capitalist today, it took the bourgeoisie a consid-

erable period of time to consolidate its rule and establish the capitalist system. This is an historical fact.

The proletariat—which, unlike the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, aims not at substituting the rule of one exploiting minority for another, one system of exploitation for another, but at establishing for the first time in history the rule of the majority, the working people, and eliminating all exploitation and class differences—is bound to suffer setbacks and reverses along the road to achieving communism world wide, and is certain to have to carry out its struggle far more thoroughly and for a much greater time than any previous rising class in history. But its final victory and the ultimate achievement of communism is also certain; the key to this is the continuation of the class struggle until classes have been finally eliminated.

This was a great lesson that Mao Tsetung had summed up and which he led the masses of people in China—and throughout the world—in grasping as a crucial weapon in their struggle. This was the line he formulated for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the course he charted for advancing to the eventual realization of the great goal of communism.

Mao also understood that there could be reverses and temporary setbacks. But more than that, basing himself on, applying and developing Marxism, he understood and led hundreds of millions to understand that, even if such setbacks occur, they cannot reverse the forward march of history or prevent the proletariat, the driving force in history at this stage in mankind's development, from continuing to make revolution.

As Mao summed up from the history of China, "In China, since the overthrow of the emperor in 1911, no reactionary has been able to stay in power long. The one who ruled longest (Chiang Kai-shek) did so for only 20 years, but he, too, fell once the people rose in revolt. . . If the Right stages an anti-Communist coup d'état in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population."

And the history of the Chinese revolution, in particular in the last 27 years, since the founding of the People's Republic, with the great struggles of the Chinese people, guided by Mao's line, to continue the revolution and prevent capitalist restoration, make it clear that it will not be easy for any Rightists to seize and consolidate power and restore the old society.

The tremendous revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people, and in particular the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have tempered millions and millions of the masses in China. Through these struggles they have greatly raised their ability to recognize genuine Marxism and expose sham Marxism, to expose and combat revisionism, disguised as Marxism, and to eventually see through any tricks and ploys and defeat, one after the other, capitalist roaders who emerge at the top level of the Communist Party itself and attempt to carry out the policies of capitalist restoration.

Line Decisive

As Chou En-lai said in his report to the 10th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, "Chairman Mao teaches us that 'the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.' If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our Party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx. Lin Piao wanted to 'have everything under his command and everything at his disposal,' but he ended up in having nothing under his command and nothing at his disposal. The crux of the matter is line. This is an irrefutable truth."

We are confident that the Chinese people, guided by the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung, through all the twists and turns, will: continue to make revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; continue to carry out the campaign to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combat and prevent revisionism; continue and deepen the struggle against the reactionary line and policies of Teng Hsiao-ping and all other capitalist roaders; continue to uphold, consolidate and build on the great achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, defend and expand the "socialist new things" and restrict bourgeois right and the other soil engendering capitalism; and continue to grasp, ever more deeply, in the course of struggle, the correct line charted by Mao to advance in making socialist revolution, continue to support the world revolutionary movement and, together with the people of the world, eventually achieve the goal of communism.

We are confident that, following Mao's line and practicing Marxism in opposition to revisionism, the Chinese people will build even greater unity around the cause of carrying forward the socialist revolution and continuing to build socialist China as a great bastion of strength and a bright ray of light for workers and oppressed people throughout the world. ■



People's Liberation Army men study and discuss why the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential. This important campaign initiated by Mao Tsetung is an important struggle to further advance the understanding and mastery of the working class of society and to combat capitalist roaders.

NYC...

Continued from Page 2

three of the four municipal hospitals there were shut down, Fordham, Morrisania and the old Lincoln. A new \$210 million Lincoln Hospital had been built to replace the old one, notorious as the "butcherhouse of the Bronx" and scene of intense struggle by workers and the community for decent health care in the late 1960s and early '70s. But the new Lincoln has only been half opened and draws more patients than ever because of the other closings. Overcrowding in wards, understaffing, long waits in the emergency room and deaths from lack of attention and distance from the hospital have been the result.

North Central Bronx Hospital

But none of this was necessary. The city had built a brand new \$110 million hospital, North Central Bronx (NCB), to serve the Morrisania and Fordham areas. But the Emergency Financial Control Board refused to permit it to be opened. "Not enough money in the budget," they proclaimed, even though the hospital was fully staffed by workers, nurses and doctors (transferred from the closed hospitals) who had readied it for opening and now stood all day with nothing to do!

The New York-New Jersey United Workers Organization entered the battle in the beginning of September. It called a picket line and rally to coincide with a press conference NCB doctors had called to express their outrage that the hospital wasn't open. 250 workers and staff came out—all raising one loud demand, Open NCB Now! The Battle of NCB was on.

The rally started the whole hospital buzzing. The workers inside took advantage of being there 8 hours a day with no work to do to discuss the issues involved in the hospital being open or closed. They met in small groups for hours to figure out how to get it opened—why was it closed, what were the politicians and union chiefs doing? Members of the UWO came every day and took part. In short, NCB was a hotbed of anger and of political debate and discussion.

The union, DC37, wasn't saying much, and was doing nothing to organize the workers. The workers, the UWO, and hospital professionals took up the fight and started to spread it. That weekend, a car caravan took the word out throughout the Bronx, telling people about the battle and calling on the community to join in. The workers set another demonstration for in front of the hospital in the middle of the week. This campaign spoke not only to the needs of the people, but to their desire to somehow take on the city crisis.

By the day of the demonstration, the hospital was ready to explode and the struggle had spread throughout the Bronx. The NCB fight was front page news in New York's papers. Every day more of the dirty truth came out. The EFCB was planning on selling NCB to a private hospital—in fact, it had been built right next to private Montefiore Hospital with that idea in mind. The people of the Bronx would lose a city hospital even if the new building opened.

Support grew like wildfire. Workers and doctors at other city hospitals began to look at NCB as their battle. Petitions in the community were filled as soon as they hit the streets. Politicians and poverty pimps scrambled to get on board the bandwagon after being silent for months. Even the hospital administration had to sign up to Open NCB. Pressure on the EFCB and the state and city government was building every day.

1000 March

The demonstration was big with over 1000 people, many from the Fordham and Morrisania communities. The streets rang out with chants of "Open NCB!" as the march wound its way through the streets around the hospital. This was the most powerful showing so far, and as one marcher said, "If the EFCB didn't know by now, we say that this hospital is going to be open."

At this high point of struggle, the question of how to move forward was a big one. Workers and doctors from NCB, the UWO, the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR), and other forces stepped up their discussions and plans. The struggle to open NCB was growing into a full battle against the EFCB and their plans to drive down services in New York.

For one thing, the trick of opening the hospital only to sell it to a private hospital had to be answered. This became even clearer as the city fathers announced that two more city hospitals, with over 1000 beds, were going to be closed. There could be no question that the bankers and their pals in government were out to destroy the whole city hospital system, to cut out totally a vitally needed service, and further drive down the quality of life in New York. From small discussions and mass meetings all through the hospital, a new demand grew—Open NCB As a City Hospital. NCB workers began to link up with workers at Lincoln and go to other city hospitals with the news of their battle.



"Open NCB as a public hospital, no ifs, ands or buts" rang in the streets as demonstrators took the battle against public health cutbacks to the door of the NY City Emergency Finance Control Board.

Doctors and other staff spread the word citywide through MCHR leafletting and bulletins. A victory at NCB could be a big push back against the whole attack on health care.

The battle had been dealing some blows to the enemy, but the EFCB was standing firm. The workers and others in the battle began to get deeper into the questions—who is the EFCB? Why is the city crisis happening? Will Jimmy Carter and the Democrats solve the problem like the union says? In the course of struggling around questions like these some people began to see that the real solution to the crisis hitting everyone was in building up the struggle of the working class united with the masses of people and aimed straight at the class of bankers and bosses responsible for it.

The next week there were more demonstrations and car caravans, but they were smaller than the week before. Some people were losing hope, as the struggle seemed headed for defeat. After the 1000-strong march, what more could be done to make the point?

At this low point, the union misleaders jumped in to try and put a lid on the struggle and take the initiative out of the hands of the workers and change the terms on which the battle was being waged. The rank and file, organizing the battle and aiming it against the EFCB and the class they serve, was a real threat to the union leaders who had been leading the workers down the dead-end road of sacrifice too long.

The union hacks announced they had a "secret plan" to open the hospital. They told everybody to sit tight and wait for further instructions before taking action. And they said the workers should only listen to them and nobody else.

Workers Map Out Action

The entire hospital staff held a mass meeting. They demanded action now, not later. As for this "wait for instructions" stuff, if they had done that in the first place, they never would have gotten anywhere. But what kind of action should they take? The masses wanted to go right to the door of the EFCB and get the hospital open. Marching around the block wouldn't do the job, or going through the community just passing the word.

A group of workers and staff together with members of the UWO and MCHR met to sum up where things

were at. They had fought in the recent hospital strike and many other battles, and knew that it would be disastrous to sit still and let things slip away. A battle has to go forward, to keep pushing at the enemy. The group united to form a permanent committee, the NCB Action Committee, to mobilize the workers and their allies, regain the lost momentum and push forward to victory.

Demonstration at EFCB

The Action Committee issued a call for a demonstration at the EFCB offices in Manhattan for the end of that week, and then went through the hospital organizing for it. At the same time, they linked up with all forces who were for opening NCB as a city hospital to join in the demonstration. And they went to the press and TV and told them to cover the actions, because news was going to be made right then and there. As one worker said, "We are not going to the EFCB to beg or to let them know we need a hospital. They already know that. We are going to put it to them straight. This hospital will open as a city hospital."

Momentum picked up again. DC 37 was pushed to support the demonstration and promised to rent buses for NCB and other hospitals.

Workers and staff started building for the EFCB demonstration—painting signs and banners, distributing leaflets to the community. The UWO put out a leaflet to workers in shops and factories around the city to build further support for the Battle of NCB.

The day of the EFCB demonstration was rainy and cold. But the hundreds of marchers heated things up. Chanting "Steal Our Hospitals? No Way! Make the Bankers and the Bosses Pay," the demonstrators pointed their fingers straight at the killers responsible for the hospital closings and the whole city crisis. A huge picket line marched with high spirits and blocked the whole street. And the rally showed the broad support the struggle had won. Hospital workers, doctors, UWO and MCHR members and community people, and, feeling the heat, union leaders, clergymen and even the head of the City Health and Hospital Corporation—all demanded that NCB be opened as a city hospital and fast. A group of leaders went in to negotiate, but the strength and organization of the workers united with the staff and the community had already set the terms of the negotiation straight—no ifs, but or why nots, just tell us when.

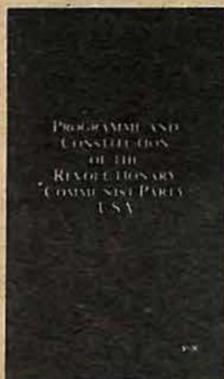
Big Victory

As a result everybody from the city to the EFCB to the state have agreed North Central Bronx Hospital will be opened soon. But this victory, like the jobs saved in the hospital strike, is only the lesser part of what was won. The NCB Action Committee talked about the broader effects of the battle in their statement to the EFCB:

"This fight has been an inspiration to millions. We've proved that we don't have to sacrifice a thing to pay for the city crisis. We've shown that we can unite... and that we can win, too... We're going to continue and to organize ourselves and fight. Let's make this just the first of many blows that we throw, as we build our fight for a better life."

There is no doubt but that the ruling class will try to snatch back this victory, aided by politicians and other opportunists who jumped into the fray as it neared victory.

All their efforts, however, cannot wipe out the victory that was already won or stop the fight to have NCB open as a city hospital. And they cannot stop this victory from serving as a springboard for the United Workers Organization and for the people of New York City to take on the other threatened hospital closings and build a powerful movement against all the hundreds of attacks the desperate capitalists are preparing to save their hides at the expense of the masses of people. ■



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