



REVOLUTION

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

25¢

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Launch a Nat'l Workers Group All Out to Chicago September 3-4!

The working class stands on the verge of an historic advance. It now has within its grasp in the immediate future the possibility of making a qualitative leap forward. It can step onto a new stage in its battle with the oppressor, one in which it has greater freedom to deal the ruling class the justice it deserves. The formation of a national workers organization is now only a few short weeks away!

Are you tired of being stepped on and pushed around? Have you ever tried to organize your fellow workers to fight back? Have you ever dreamed of changing the world?

If you answer any of these questions yes, you owe it to yourself and your fellow workers to come to Chicago on Labor Day weekend and to bring as many other workers as possible. If you consider the questions of organization and struggle against the owners important you must decide now to register and plan to be there. If you have something to say about the working class rising to its feet with its head held high, throwing off the forces that hold it down, you have a responsibility to be at the Pick Congress Hotel in Chicago on

September 3 and 4, make your views known, and help make the decisions that have to be made about how to move forward. This is the basic message that the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization is taking out to many thousand workers nationwide in these final weeks before the founding convention. And it is a timely and crucial message.

The importance of as many workers as possible signing up to come to this convention grows with each passing day. The eyes of our fellow workers, the eyes of our enemy will be on this convention. It will be an important test of strength, the first national mobilization of the new organization, concentrating in one place at one time the worker activists from around the country. It must be a success for the national workers organization to be formed on a solid foundation.

And all indications are that it will be successful.

Call Goes Out

The word of the convention and the national workers organization is spreading from coast to coast. Tens of

thousands of posters blare out the call. The national speaking tour has already rolled through the East, the South and parts of the Midwest and is now heading into the West, meeting enthusiastic gatherings all over.

The response from active fighters is testimony to the necessity of such an organization and the possibility of building it. It shows that the formation of a national workers organization is the key link at this moment to advancing the struggle of the class. In New York City, 350 workers, not counting their kids, attended the picnic that raised over \$1000 for the Organizing Committee, one of many such picnics held all across the country.

Or consider, for example, the fields of North Dakota where 150 Mexican and Chicano farmworkers came out to hear a representative of the Organizing Committee and see a film on the Farah strike of 1972-74.

And the same is true from coast to coast—in many ways, on a small scale and a big scale—workers are coming forward to check out this national workers organization and more and more joining in the battle to build it.

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Angry Actions Rip Fascist Grouplets

The past few years have seen an upturn in activity by fascist groupings such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, with some Nazis even pulling together a national convention to try to unite scattered Nazi grouplets into a national party. Even more significant, these small, isolated groups have been given a big shot in the arm by the capitalists' media, who have seized every opportunity, and created others, to give these social misfits all sorts of free publicity. And finally, in response to all this, there is a growing anger swelling up among the masses of people against these reactionaries, which found expression in three actions directed against these groups during the July 4th weekend.

The Klan and the Nazis are making their push around "fighting for the interests of white people" in such arenas as busing and housing. They run the line that with civil rights, minority hiring and quotas, and what government social services there are, the government of the U.S. is screwing over whites in favor of Blacks and other minorities. Further, they say, the government which is selling out whites is controlled by the Jews.

The climate for the Klan and Nazi filth has grown more favorable since the bourgeoisie began in a big way to take back the gains the masses won through the struggles against national oppression and attempting to turn them against the masses. Most, but not all, of the various busing plans are examples of this, attacking already low educational standards for both Black and white working people under the guise of "equality" and allowing Black children to go to "good" schools. More and more, when white workers are turned down in the employment office, they are told that it is be-



In Chicago, the Nazis called off their scheduled march and when the Run the Nazis Out Coalition took the battle to their headquarters in Marquette Park, were protected behind police lines. In Columbus, Ohio, the Klan tried to go ahead with their rally and got clobbered by angry demonstrators.

cause the company "must hire the niggers, that's the law." In a hundred different ways the capitalists have tried to tell whites that Black people are to blame for the deteriorating conditions that plague everyone.

In the main, however, the bourgeoisie is not running their racist divide and conquer routine by having big name politicians or "responsible citizens" like bank presidents step out in public. The media is making the same point by publicizing these reactionary punks and laying the groundwork for "respectable" reaction more subtly. Today, to rely on such an open expression of such views would only be a big exposure of their narrow capitalist interests.

So, while the ruling class is probably not funding them (though wealthy reactionaries here and there whip their checkbooks out) nor do they need to at this time, groups like the Klan and Nazis provide a valuable service to the bourgeoisie. With the help of capitalist publicity, "after all, they are news," these scum do raise up the banner of extreme reaction, of vicious racism and national chauvinism.

In the short run, too, these reactionary grouplets are useful to capital, such as in Chicago's Marquette Park. There, in a changing neighborhood being victimized by the Talman Federal Savings and Loan and as-



sorted real estate vultures, the Nazis have been able to spread confusion and lead some whites to blame Blacks for the problems. The Nazis have organized youths to attack Black motorists driving through the area and have made cowardly night bombing attacks on Blacks who move into the area. All this has made united struggle by Marquette Park and neighboring Englewood, a Black community, against the real enemy much more difficult.

In publicizing the Nazis and Klan, the media have been very careful to steer clear of any open endorsements of their political line. They have made a big point about "freedom of speech," everybody has a right to their views, it's a free country, etc., and then let these groups spill their reactionary crap all over page one and the airwaves.

The rise of Nazi and Klan activity has brought forth struggle against it, as people of all nationalities have struck back. In previous issues of *Revolution* we reported on two demonstrations, one of them involving 1500 people, against the Klan in Florida, which is supposedly part of their "stronghold" in the South.

A few months back in San Francisco, local Nazis set up a bookstore. It attracted a lot of attention and was

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Workers Buck Union Busting

St. Louis O.C. Helps Build Strike

The strike of 1500 United Steelworkers Union (USW) members at the Hussmann Refrigeration plant near St. Louis, Missouri is a powerful angry battle of the working class which members of the local Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization have played an active and powerful role in building. It stands as an example both of the militant determination of working people not to be pushed around, driven down or sold out and of the immense value a national workers organization can have in building working class resistance to the attacks of capital.

When their contract expired May 1, the Hussmann workers took a hike, expressing their marked lack of enthusiasm for the company's offer which includes closing the union grievance committee and cutting job bidding rights to ribbons. (See July 1977 *Revolution*).

If there was any doubt about the union busting intentions of Hussmann, a subsidiary of the Pet, Inc. conglomerate, they were dispelled when the company put office personnel and supervisors to work and hired a couple hundred scabs to try and get production out. After a few scabs got what they deserved, the company scurried to the courts and got an injunction that said only two picketers were allowed within 100 yards of the gates at any one time. The local leadership accepted this passively and put forward that the strike now consisted of waiting out the company.

It was at this point that the Organizing Committee members from other St. Louis plants went down to talk with the strikers and decided to link up strongly with them. Aided by the O.C., groups of dozens of strikers held picket lines and demonstrations to build their struggle—at the police station against the injunction, at a local newspaper which was forced to drop the company's "help wanted" ads and at local and state unemployment authorities who also agreed to stop recruiting scabs.

To spread word of and support for the strike throughout the class in St. Louis, the O.C. organized a general boycott of Pet, Inc. products, focusing on the large 9-0-5 liquor store chain, with picket lines at the stores, leafleting and mini-rallies at plants, communities and even a St. Louis Cardinals' home game.

Showdown over the O.C.

Some local officials attacked what the O.C. members were doing, claiming their activities were illegal and threatened the strike and that they were out to raid or wreck the union. Many active strikers stood up against this, having seen that the O.C. was doing plenty to help build the struggle. Furthermore, the O.C. members had from the beginning clearly put forward a broad class perspective, making it clear that they were not some trade union outfit out to take over or replace USW Local 13889, but a fighting workers group interested in building every important struggle of the working class and people against the capitalists.

A showdown came at the June 25 meeting of the local, when the officials tried to keep Organizing Committee members out and the great majority of the 150 workers present demanded they be admitted and permitted to speak. The O.C. speaker said, "All over, workers are under attack and fighting back like at Hussmann. The Organizing Committee is trying to build unity in this fight among all workers. And like we are trying to build the Hussmann strike, we are taking up and building all kinds of fights nationwide." During the speech the workers stood for several ovations, and by the meeting's end, officials who had attacked the O.C. feared isolation so much they shook O.C. members' hands and said what they were doing to build the strike was fine.

Building off this momentum, the O.C. at first put forward a proposal to continue focusing on work with the unemployed and the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC). But sentiment among the strikers was stronger for hitting at the scabs, who were getting out some production and had gone unchallenged too long. The O.C. called off a scheduled demonstration at an unemployment center and instead held a meeting.

Twenty-five strikers showed up, with demoralization and outrage at the do-nothing union leaders both strong tendencies. People wanted action and the next day, July 8, a picket line of 40 broke the injunction, and intimidation attempts by the chairman of the local's official picketing squad were exposed and he backed down. Workers started discussing how the strike could be rebuilt.

Meanwhile, the company had gone all out to build a back-to-work movement, sending letters to the strikers

that said if they didn't return to work by the 18th, they would be canned and replaced. A handful of union members started crossing the picket lines. But the union officials chose to ignore this company offensive.

O.C. members and other strikers drew up an open letter to the strikers denouncing the back-to-work movement and calling for a unity rally at the plant on Thursday, July 14, to counter it. This was distributed at the union office on the 13th when everyone came to pick up their strike benefit checks. The day became one long rally itself as workers discussed the issues of the strike and how to proceed.

The next day over 60 strikers were joined by supporters in a strong picket line. When one striker was busted, most of the march adjourned and reconvened inside the police station, demanding he be set free. At this point members of the local negotiating committee arrived, upset and angry, to say that the International had insisted that a vote be taken on the company's latest "offer"—the same as its first offer, only for three years instead of one! The International had scheduled the vote for Monday the 18th, the date the company's ultimatum was up, further confirming for many workers just what role these traitors were playing. The local called for a meeting in a park on Saturday to decide what to do on the 18th.

At that meeting, 200 to 300 furious strikers were present and the local leadership was talking tough: "This is a sellout, vote it down, screw the International." When an O.C. member asked for recognition, some hack said no outsiders could speak, "we got enough problems already." Shouts arose of "let him speak" as workers repeated what they had said every time the O.C. was red-baited or "outsider"-baited: "These guys are all workers. The unity we've got, they helped us build." By the end of the meeting the officials were on record as denouncing the sellout, demanding a standing vote Monday and endorsing, "like we have all along," the O.C.-initiated 9-0-5 boycott they had previously denounced as illegal and dangerous.

The Fight Heats Up

An International hack got up at the Monday morning meeting and to the resounding boos of 1100 workers read the company's proposal. He then said that the union wasn't recommending a yes vote. The strikers cheered. But, he added, he wasn't recommending a rejection vote either. These were the last words he had the nerve to utter. After the negotiating committee recommended rejection, the standing vote was unanimous—1100 workers said No Way!

As the workers left the hall, the O.C. held a rally outside to sum up where things were at. Strikers spoke, including some who had seen the Battle of the Bicentennial film at the National Organizing Committee's speaking tour forum the night before, and raised the slogan "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years, Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!" to applause. The O.C. summed up the no vote as a victory and called for intensifying the fight and spreading its lessons. It proposed a general workers rally downtown at Pet headquarters on an upcoming Saturday. A negotiating committee member got up at the rally and announced there would be mass picketing at the plant the next day. A worker got up and said, "Hell, let's go right now!"

About 150 workers headed down to the plant and hit it right around lunch time. A bunch of scabs dining at McDonald's got the break they deserved, and two cars and a scab truck were smashed. The next day 60 scabs didn't show up to punch in. Through this all the cops stood by paralyzed. The vote and the militant action that followed forced extensive TV coverage, breaking through the media blackout that had been imposed on the strike. An O.C. spokesman also made the news, calling for support for the strike and people to come to the Labor Day convention in Chicago.

The next day, Tuesday, 60 strikers and some supporters showed up before the plant opened. Fights broke out with scabs and two workers were arrested. Again a rally was held inside the police station. The cops refused to let complaints be filed by the workers except one at a time. As workers came out to the rally to report how the cops tried to intimidate them into forgetting the whole thing, the strikers and O.C. members summed up, "This is the whole way they work, not just the cops but the whole system. They try to divide us and take us on one by one. This is why we need unity!"

More Advances

The next day, July 20, saw the strike advance again. Eighty strikers came to an O.C. meeting called near the plant. They discussed what had to be done, how to involve more people, what kind of picket line tactics were necessary and so on. The negotiating committee sent a representative to say that the majority supported the O.C., showing that some had been won to working closely with the O.C. and others jammed into it by the workers' sentiments.

The meeting proposed that at the next union meeting a proposal be raised for the downtown march and rally on August 6, and the local and the O.C. fight to mobilize not only individual workers but jam the central labor council into supporting and building such a rally. This would be a big step in making the Hussmann strike a real battle of the whole working class in the St. Louis area.

The powerful unity and understanding arrived at through discussion and debate at the meeting was demonstrated as soon as it ended. The workers headed down to picket the plant. Where the previous days' demonstrations had been uneven, with some people picketing, some throwing stuff at scabs, some standing by and watching, on this day all the strikers and supporters marched in a disciplined and unified fashion over the yellow 100 yard boundary line the cops had painted on the roadside and right up to the entrance to the plant where they set up picketing as the cops watched helplessly, announcing 45 minutes later, to considerable laughter, "We've decided to give you the right to do this."

A spirit of determination and initiative prevails as we go to press. When the company sent out a letter claiming the union vote wasn't "fair" and included a mail ballot for a "poll" on ending the strike, a bunch of workers went to the local officials and wouldn't leave until they set up to send a letter to every worker telling them to deep-six the company's trash, not to answer it and give the company fuel to whine about "intimidation" of the strikers.

The Organizing Committee has developed significantly during the course of the strike. The workers who are active in the O.C. have been learning the lessons of the strike right alongside the strikers—not only how to conduct a strike and deal with hostile or vacillating union officials, but things like the importance of united action and the role played by the media and the cops (who have yet to bust a scab for assaulting a striker, even when the victim and witnesses have tried to press charges). The St. Louis O.C. members, now including a number of active Hussmann strikers, are looking forward not only to pushing the struggle on to victory, but to sharing its lessons with their brothers and sisters in Chicago on Labor Day weekend. ■

A National Workers Organization A Powerful Weapon for Our Class



50¢

A big step forward for workers nationwide will be taken in Chicago this Labor Day weekend. A national workers organization will be formed by participants from dozens of industries, dozens of cities across the country. This pamphlet explains the view of the RCP on this national workers organization—where it fits into the development of things today and in the future, and how it will become a vital force in developing the struggles of the working class and the American people.

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Party's Basic Organization

Rooted in Making Revolution

The *Constitution* of the Revolutionary Communist Party states that, "Party branches shall be set up as the basic units of the Party, along the lines of the organization of production and society, in order to be most rooted in the actual struggles of the working class and the masses." Why is it that the basic organization of the Party is structured in this way and how does this relate to the overall role of the Party—to lead the working class and masses of people in overthrowing capitalism, establishing socialism and advancing to communism?

First of all, as Mao Tsetung has summarized it, "Marxists regard man's activity in production as the most fundamental practical activity," through which man not only comes to better understand the relations between himself and nature, but "also gradually comes to understand, in varying degrees, certain relations that exist between man and man." ("On Practice," *Select- ed Works*, Vol. 1, p. 295) It is in their role in production, the way they are organized in carrying out production and their relationship to the system of production, that workers have their fundamental character as a class. It is in production that the fundamental contradiction of capitalist society—between socialized production, represented by the working class and private ownership, represented by the capitalists—takes direct, concrete form. And it is the socialization of workers in production that provides the *basis* for them to develop the outlook and the organization necessary to overthrow capitalism, eliminate the contradictions characterizing the capitalist epoch and move mankind forward to a whole new stage, communism.

As the *Programme* of the RCP points out, "In their everyday life workers pour their sweat into production and, in capitalist society, experience the life-killing exploitation on which the system is built. They take part in struggles, together with fellow workers and others, against the abuses and outrages of the capitalist system." And as stated in a number of places by the Party (including the report from the Central Committee, excerpted in the June and July 1977 issues of *Revolution*) today it is in the economic struggles of the workers, the struggle against their employers around wages, working conditions, etc., that the "center of gravity" of the Party's work must now be concentrated. This is because, to quote that CC Report, "the economic struggle is now... where in fact the workers, as *workers*, are waging their battles and in the embryonic way they are beginning to develop a sense of themselves as *workers* by fighting against an opposing group of employers."

Every Factory a Fortress

But in the fundamental and strategic sense the Party is not rooted in the plants and other work places mainly in order to lead the workers in waging the economic struggles, though today that is the "center of gravity" of the Party's work and at all times under capitalism this is a very important part of the class struggle. Beyond this, however, the Party must be organized along these lines in order to be able to turn every "factory into a fortress," not just, or mainly, of economic struggle but a political stronghold of the working class in waging the fight against the capitalist class on all fronts, around every major social question—whether it is war, the oppression of minority nationalities, a major strike, etc.

In order to build every "factory into a fortress" of this kind in the broadest way the working class needs not only its vanguard Party but also mass organization, uniting Party members and many other workers who are not communists, to wage struggle in the plants and industries and overall to mobilize the working class in the fight against all oppression, of the working class and other sections of the people as well. This is the great significance of the formation in the very near future of a national workers organization.

Still, without the leadership of its Party the working class cannot be mobilized to fight for its interests in the fullest and most fundamental sense. This is true in the short run, in particular battles the workers wage, but more than that it is the case that the abuses and outrages that spur the workers to battle cannot be ended, and the plunging of society into crisis, war and massive suffering and destruction cannot be eliminated without the working class rising up and leading the masses in revolution to sweep away the cause of it all—capitalism. And as the Party's *Programme* emphasizes, "In order to become conscious of itself as a class, and to know and change the world in accordance with its revolutionary interests, the working class must have

the leadership of its own political Party, a Party that takes part in and leads the battles of the working class and its allies against the capitalist rulers and consistently points the way forward toward the goal of overthrowing the rule of capital, building socialism and advancing to communism. In every country where the working class has seized and held power and continued on the socialist road, it has had the leadership of such a Party." Without such a Party it is impossible for the working class to emancipate itself from the chains of capitalist wage-slavery, and only when the working class, in every country, is led by such a Party can it move forward to finally emancipate mankind as a whole from the shackles of class society altogether.

Political Line and Organization

It is on the basis of this understanding, on the basis of recognizing not only what the fundamental contradiction of capitalism is but that it can only be resolved through socialist revolution, that the Revolutionary Communist Party builds its basic organization where the workers are concentrated in production. And it is this understanding that must guide the work of all the Party units in all work they carry out, both in building the economic struggle and in the broader sense working to turn every "factory into a fortress" in the way summarized before.

This understanding and the organizational principles that flow from it are directly and completely opposed to the reformist and revisionist organizations that claim to represent the working class, or "the people." For example, the Communist Party, USA (CP) is organized not on the lines of production, with its basic concentration in accordance with the concentration of workers in production, but along the lines of bourgeois electoral districts.

Organization flows from political line, and the reason the CP is organized in this way is that it holds and promotes the line that "socialism" can and will be achieved peacefully, through the process of elections. This, of course, is a perversion of Marxism-Leninism and of the scientific truth that it reveals: that all social revolutions, all transformations of society in which one system replaces another, are and must be achieved through the forcible overthrow and then the forcible suppression of one class by another, and that the state—the government apparatus, especially the armed forces and bureaucracies—is the instrument of one class for the suppression of another. All of history bears out this truth. This has been proven to be true even in the case of revolutions in previous eras where one exploiting class overthrew and took control of society from another—for example in the bourgeois revolutions of the past few centuries where the capitalist class captured power and replaced the feudal system with the capitalist system. Still more is this the case with socialist revolution, where the working class has the task not of overthrowing one system of exploitation for another, but of abolishing exploitation and class divisions altogether.

Clearly, then, whether to be organized on the basis of being rooted where the workers have their character as a class and their concentrated strength or on the basis of electoral districts that blur class distinctions and cover up the nature of the system and the state is a fundamental question of ideological and political line, of basic class outlook, aims and program of struggle. And it is one of the hallmarks of the CP in this country and revisionist parties in other countries that with their ideological and political degeneration came the transformation of their organization from one based in industrial concentration to one based on electoral districts or other similar forms.

This question is also a crucial one in terms of victory or defeat in the class war against the bourgeoisie. One example is the history of the Communist Party in Germany, during the late 1920s and early 1930s, a period marked by deepening crisis and mass discontent, a period characterized by great turmoil and punctuated by periodic uprisings of the masses. One of the serious weaknesses of the Communist Party of Germany during that time—though not the only one—was the fact that it lacked strong organization among the workers in basic industry and so was weakened in its ability to mobilize them as the backbone of the struggle against the ruling class and the fascist forces it increasingly promoted. And this organizational weakness, along with others, contributed to the fact that, despite the militant and massive battles it waged, the German working class was dealt a serious defeat

with the German bourgeoisie's institution of the fascist form of its dictatorship under Hitler.

Preparing for Revolution

This emphasizes once again the basic principle that all of the Party's work, and the very way it is organized to carry out that work, is and must be consciously aimed at preparing its own ranks and the masses of workers (and others oppressed by the capitalist rulers) for the eventual armed onslaught to overthrow the capitalists. If the Party is not organized and does not carry out its work toward that aim, then what is the purpose of the Party itself, what is the reason for its very existence?

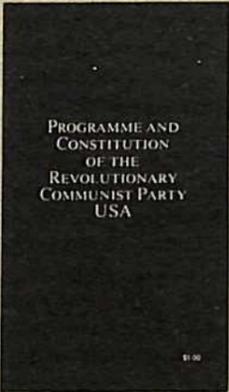
But what does it mean to prepare its ranks and the masses for revolution? Fundamentally it is a question of political and ideological line, of raising the class consciousness of the masses, of training them—especially the advanced—in the science of revolution so they can learn to see through the various tricks and maneuvers of the ruling class and the charlatans they use to mislead people. It is not essentially a question of putting guns in the masses' hands; in fact the bourgeoisie will do a lot of that. It is line that will determine which way people use those arms.

The recent Report from the Central Committee of the RCP drives home this point and points to the fact that unless the Party carries out its work in this way then, when the conditions for revolution do ripen the Party will be in no position to seize the opportunity and will simply throw it away, condemning the masses to prolonged suffering under capitalism. And, as stressed in that Report, in order to prepare its own ranks and the masses for revolution, the Party must wage big battles together with the masses and join with others to build mass organization. But at the same time, it must pay serious and systematic attention to building the Party itself, "both quantitatively (more members) and qualitatively (deepen its grasp of the correct line and its links with the masses)," as the Central Committee Report says.

These two aspects (quantitative and qualitative) are dialectically related. The deepening grasp of the correct line and the Party's links with the masses enable the Party to recruit more fighters into its ranks, and as the *Programme* states: "As broader and broader sections of the working class become class conscious and join the ranks of the Party, it is more and more able to fulfill its role as the vanguard of the proletariat and to apply the mass line more thoroughly."

As the CC Report also notes, Lenin characterized three conditions that mark a revolutionary situation: (1) the ruling class is unable to rule in the old way; (2) the masses are unable to live in the old way; and (3) there is a Party with the line, program and organization to lead the masses in making revolution. With the development of such a situation, and in particular

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Programme and Constitution of the RCP, USA

175 pgs \$1

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

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

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Capitalist "Order" Breaks Down

Mass Flare-Up In NY Blackout

The power failure that plunged New York City into darkness on the night of July 13 confronted the masses of people of this crisis ridden capital of U.S. imperialism with yet another outrageous abuse to deal with. It was the second time in 12 years the people of New York had to suffer through a power failure. But this was much worse than in 1965. People were without electrical power for 25 hours. Millions of workers lost a whole day's pay as factories and shops closed down. Thousands were trapped on subways and in elevators. Food spoiled, people became sick from the sweltering heat while hospitals and other needed services were brought to a near standstill.

The bourgeois authorities, from Mayor Beame to the *New York Times*, were quick to point the finger of blame at Con Ed, the giant New York City utility company. Of course they did it in a way to take the heat off themselves and to point away from the fact that this was just one more misery that the rotting capitalist system brings down daily on the heads of the masses of people.

The blackout was initiated by lightning which hit power lines in six different places. But it was caused by the fact that Con Ed, the most profitable utility company in the country, refused to temporarily shut down enough power to avoid an overload of the system and prevent a blowout. Con Ed draws a much higher percentage of power than most utilities from outside sources because this is cheaper than increasing its own generating capacity. When other utilities in the surrounding area saw what was happening after the lightning, they cut off from the New York system to avert an overload of their own lines, increasing the Con Ed overload. Con Ed gambled that the system could take the overload, gambled with people's lives in order not to lose precious revenues by a temporary shutdown of some parts of the city.

A Storm of Revolt

In the face of this disaster that brought the breakdown of the normal functioning of the whole city, the masses of people had to take things into their own hands. Without leadership and organization this could only happen in small ways. But it did happen. From getting out in the street and directing traffic to freeing people trapped in elevators, to getting food and medical attention for those who needed it and helping each other defend against terror like muggings and arsons by lumpen elements. At Bellevue Hospital, one of the rundown, underfunded public hospitals where the poor are forced to go, doctors and nurses were forced to pump oxygen by hand from plastic bags in order to complete operations because the emergency generator did not function. At another hospital an operation had to be completed in the parking lot with floodlights from cars and a fire truck. "Nonprofessional" workers pitched in to do needed medical work.

But it is the tremendous social upheaval that took

place nearly immediately and on a wide scale around the city that was the real central focus of the blackout. Tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of people—mainly the youth and the poor—in the ghettos of Brooklyn, the Bronx, Harlem and other areas poured into the streets in what can be likened to a food riot. Over 1000 stores were broken into and cleaned out of clothes, groceries, furniture and other commodities.

Police were turned out in force, arresting over 3500 people in huge sweeps. Most people sat in jail for days without any bail. Dozens of people were crowded into small holding cells intended for only a few. In most cases they were given little or no food. There were no adequate medical facilities and sanitation was intolerable. At least one man died in jail as the result of these conditions. Meanwhile the mayor and other politicians yelled about dealing very harshly with the people arrested. It was only after protests by hundreds of people, including legal defense lawyers, that bails were set and the process of charging people was speeded up, jail conditions were somewhat alleviated and more people were freed.

Many people in the Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods and throughout the city were scared by the violence. People were righteously outraged at the muggings and assaults that occurred in the first hours of the blackout and the arson of stores in the communities that threatened the homes and lives of thousands. But most did make a distinction between that and the looting, which though it hit many small shopkeepers, has to be seen in an entirely different light.

First of all, the whole upheaval was completely spontaneous and must be assessed accordingly. It was in no way directed or organized. Neither was it mass madness, the savagery of the people or any of the other crap the bourgeoisie and its psychologists are calling it—stunned by the scale and power of the actions of the masses.

In essence it was a revolt against the property relations enforced by the capitalist system that chain people in lives of impoverishment and misery. During the hours of looting, people took what they needed and couldn't have under the "normal workings" of this system and gave expression to their hatred for their increasingly impossible condition.

Rejection of Capitalist Order

A kind of "handwriting on the wall," it scared the daylight out of the capitalists. When the blackout shut off the power all the normal stability and "order" that enforces all of this seemed very much up in the air. When that order broke down, all hell busted loose as people struck out to take those things which are denied to them when the bourgeoisie is in firm control. Underlying this is the fact that the capitalist system forces people, by social, economic and outright military force, into social relations which are fundamentally untenable. Large sections of people are increasingly



Cops in New York were petrified by the unexpected outburst, and in many cases conceded the streets for long periods, only to strike out viciously when they were confident of their numbers.

outraged at how they have to live, and given the opportunity, revolted.

It was not just a question of "poverty making people act that way" as liberals like Andy Young and others tried to run it out. People's actions, though unorganized, were an open rejection of the social order whose whole organization and property relations mean exploitation, oppression and wretchedness for the masses of people. The 25 hours of the New York City blackout brought out openly that the old order's ability to meet people's needs and provide any order at all is beginning to show sharp cracks. What the press is calling a "collapse of moral values" is a reflection of this.

In the ghettos like the Black and Puerto Rican communities of New York, the conditions of life that every day in a thousand ways drive people of all nationalities in all parts of the country to rebel, to stand up and fight, are only magnified. Unemployment for youth is between 40% and 65%. Parents are forced to deprive their children of most things the advertisements and schools tell them they should have and which are necessities of life in the U.S. Large sections of the Bronx and other areas look like bombed out cities after a war, as old and dilapidated buildings crumble and slumlords refuse repair. Thousands of buildings lay abandoned, havens for junkies and criminals and death traps for children. People are plagued by narcotics, crime and all kinds of misery from which there appears to be no escape.

As a statement by New York Youth in Action put it: "The capitalists go on and on about order. But if that's order, right on to disorder . . . It is the height of hypocrisy for Beame, David Rockefeller and the rest of them to go on condemning looting when they have looted the city left and right of jobs and services."

While these spontaneous outbreaks of people's hatred and rebellion against the capitalist property relations, which in cases like the looting in New York are often joined in by lumpen and criminal elements, cannot bring this system to the death it so richly deserves, all the fretting and commentary of the bourgeoisie reveals that they feel the heat. They see the tremendously powerful latent force in the masses of people in action against them. If thousands of people barehanded can tear through quarter inch steel gates and window barricades like they were cellophane in the midst of the looting, imagine the force and power the masses, organized in their millions and led by a politically conscious working class and its Party will bring to bear against these capitalists who have robbed and enslaved them.

In the wake of the blackout, some innocent people, particularly small shopkeepers are hurt and this is wrong. But contrary to all the garbage spread by the bourgeoisie about the "night of the animals" and "the tragedy of it all," what this shows is that, lacking leadership and organization, even the just anger and actions of people sometimes can get vented on each other instead of the real enemy. With the further development of revolutionary struggle and leadership, the powerful and generally righteous force that broke out those 25 hours can be united with the aspirations and struggles of millions more workers and others, and developed as a mighty force.

This revolt revealed the power that the masses of people, even in a spontaneous, disorganized and misdirected fashion, can bring to bear against the capitalists and their system. Today it scared them. Tomorrow when it is set on an organized and revolutionary course, it will be capable of getting rid of them and their lousy "order" which brings misery to the masses for the benefit of the few, and establish an entirely new kind of order, based on new social and property relations, relations not of exploitation, but where the organization of society is determined by the interests of the working class and, through it, the broad masses of working people. ■



What the bourgeoisie portrayed as a "night of terror" was in fact a revolt against miserable conditions and the system behind them.

Two Superpowers: Equally Enemies of World's People

In the last issue of *Revolution*, in the article "On the Three Worlds and the International Situation," the rulers of the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, are referred to as being "to the same degree and the same extent the main enemies of the world's people." Grasping this is essential for making sense of the situation in the world today, and for developing revolutionary strategy and tactics in different countries.

Why did the article use this expression, which is drawn from Enver Hoxha's report last November to the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania? The reason is simple—it states emphatically that the two superpowers are *equally* the enemies of the international proletariat and the people of the world and that *together* they comprise the main target of the international united front against imperialism in this period.

What gives the U.S. and the USSR superpower status in the first place is the fact that "no other imperialist power is strong enough to contend as an equal with either superpower, especially in forming blocs for the purpose of world domination." ("World War: The Correct Stand Is a Class Question," reprinted in *War and Revolution*, p. 13) They are contending for the throne of chief exploiter and oppressor of the world's people, using their vast military, economic and political power to "oppress a whole number of nations and enmesh them in dependence on finance capital." (Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism," *CW*, Vol. 23, p. 34) Each is driven by the laws of capitalism not only to seek hegemony over more and more of the world but to try and destroy its rival for that hegemony. For the rulers of lesser imperialist powers, alignment within the bloc of one of the two superpowers is the most feasible route to expanding their own empires, even though this drive also puts them in contradiction with the superpowers to an extent. As things continue to develop toward world war, especially war centered in Europe, most of them will be forced to line up in the bloc of one or another of the superpowers.

Soviets Overall on Offensive

The fact that the U.S. and USSR are equally the main enemies of the world's people does not deny their steadily escalating rivalry for world domination nor the very different "strengths and weaknesses" they possess as imperialist powers. Like all social phenomena, the rivalry between imperialist powers is subject to the law of uneven development. The Soviet Union, seized from the proletariat by a new capitalist class within the last quarter century, is the newcomer at the imperialist feast and as such has to take the offensive to seize a larger sphere of influence. The U.S., long an imperialist giant, is on the decline from its post-World War 2 position as indisputable kingpin of the imperialist world and as such is seeking principally to defend what it has already grabbed. And, of course, their "uneven" paths have given the superpowers certain different characteristics, which are important to analyze and understand—the U.S. has a stronger, more stable economy, the USSR a more centralized state apparatus, the U.S. has more developed and wealthier allies, the USSR a socialist cover and a better organized fifth column in its rival's camp, and so on.

The fact that the Soviet Union is the up and coming expansive imperialist power, even the fact that it is more likely that an interimperialist war will break out with a Soviet attack, does not make it a greater enemy on a world scale or the cause of a future imperialist war. The same law of uneven development was operating, for instance, before World War 1. Lenin noted that Germany was the "younger and stronger robber" out "to rob the older and overgorged robbers," but he fought strenuously against the line that there was a single main enemy of the world's people.

The present situation, with the Soviet Union grown strong enough as an imperialist superpower to go one on one with the U.S., is similar to that between the first and second world wars, described by Stalin in his reply to the discussion at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern:

"Can it be said that the diminishing difference in the levels of development of the capitalist countries and the increased levelling of these countries weaken the action of the law of uneven development under imperialism? No, it cannot. Does the difference in the levels of development increase or diminish? It undoubtedly diminishes. Does the degree of levelling grow or decline? It certainly grows. Is there not a contradiction between



In the last few years the growing revolutionary struggle of the Ethiopian people has come face to face with first one, then the other superpower as the dominant imperialism in their country and the main backer of their reactionary rulers. To underestimate the danger either the U.S. or the Soviet Union poses to the world's people is a grave mistake.

the growth of levelling and increasing unevenness of development under imperialism? No, there is not. On the contrary, levelling is the background and the basis which makes the increasing unevenness of development under imperialism possible. Only people who, like our oppositionists, do not understand the economic essence of imperialism can counterpose levelling to the law of uneven development under imperialism. It is precisely because the lagging countries accelerate their development and tend to become level with the foremost countries that the struggle between countries to outstrip one another becomes more acute; it is precisely this that creates the possibility for some countries to outstrip others and oust them from the markets, thereby creating the preconditions for military conflicts, for the weakening of the capitalist world front and for the breaching of this front by the proletarians of different capitalist countries. He who does not understand this simple matter, understands nothing about the economic essence of monopoly capitalism." (*On the Opposition*, FLP, Peking, pp. 613-614)

The unevenness of development between the U.S. and the USSR has led to a situation where these two superpowers now are equally enemies of the world's people. The slicing of the imperialist pie which followed World War 2 no longer reflects the actual situation in the world. The contradiction between this division and the uneven development that has actually taken place since can only be resolved by a new war to redivide the world—unless the contradiction itself is resolved by the overthrow by the proletariat and its allies of the imperialist rulers of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Analyze Particularities

Related to the question of uneven development is the fact that the existence of two main enemies on a world scale has different particularities in different countries. As emphasized in the article in last month's *Revolution*, "revolution is waged and won country by country," and the proletariat's party in every country must analyze what the target of its struggle is and how to strike at that target. And this analysis cannot be correct unless it is made taking into account the overall world situation. In one or the other of the superpowers, the target is obviously the ruling class of that country. In lesser imperialist states of Europe, Japan, Australia, and so on (also called the Second World), the general situation is that the working class has to focus on the overthrow of "its own" monopoly capitalist class and as one part of this task, while opposing both the U.S. and USSR, place particular emphasis on opposing that superpower with which the ruling class is aligned.

In the numerous developing countries of the Third World, the struggle against the superpowers takes a number of different forms, and foreign imperialist powers often present themselves as the main and immediate enemy of the revolutionary struggle. For example, in Angola, the masses cannot win victory without

driving out the New Czars and their Cuban triggermen while in south Korea, it is the U.S. which imposes the vicious Pak Jung Hi puppet regime on the country. Thus, while it is necessary to oppose and beware of both superpowers, the particularities frequently call for concentrating against one or the other.

This is the case even with the People's Republic of China, which is a country of the Third World but also a socialist state under the rule of the working class. While this means China is not oppressed by imperialism or enmeshed in dependence on finance capital, it also means that the rulers of both superpowers have an implacable hatred for and deeply rooted fear of what New China represents and would like to see it destroyed. But in today's world it is the Soviet Union which poses the greatest threat to China for a variety of reasons—geographical proximity, the defeats inflicted on U.S. imperialism in Asia, China's exposure by propaganda and by example of the New Czars' socialist cover, the USSR's overall position of being on the offensive, etc. As the RCP has repeatedly emphasized, it is both correct and necessary for the Chinese government, the proletariat in power, to focus more of its attention on the greater menace—to China—of the Soviet Union while supporting and building the struggle of the world's people against both superpowers.

CP(ML)'s Self-Exposing Tricks

To further clarify the importance of understanding why the superpowers are both together the heart of the target of the international united front against imperialism, it is instructive to turn to the "Communist Party (ML)," as the October League has taken to billing itself. Happily, the mutation seems to have preserved intact the OL's valuable role as teacher by negative example.

Recent articles in the *Call and Class Struggle* have seen the CP(ML)'s theoretical wizards directing a number of new spells and incantations at the correct analysis outlined above. The brunt of their argument is attributing to the RCP a "theory of equilibrium"—the quotation marks presumably aimed at duping readers into believing this is some kind of quote from the RCP.

They object strenuously to the "same extent and same degree" formulation and our analysis of this question because it exposes their familiar nonsense about

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Revolution

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Seven years after the National Guard gunned down four Kent State students during massive anti-war protests, Kent students and others are fighting efforts by the school administration to bury the memory of that heroic struggle.

Defending a Proud Heritage

Battle Lines At Kent State

"The 210,000 students of City College in New York are with you."

"Students of the University of Minnesota, like the students of Kent, remember what happened on May 4, 1970 and we will never forgive or forget."

"I graduated from Lamone College in Virginia in 1970, but in many ways we all graduated from Kent that year."

These are just a few of the telegrams and letters which poured into the May 4th Coalition office at Kent State University in Ohio the day after 194 people, including some of the parents of the dead and wounded students, were busted for defying a court injunction ordering them to vacate the site of the May 4, 1970 murders so that a new gym can be built over the area. At the same time the coalition got a call from the White House, not to express support of course, but to tell them that the President was "concerned and watching the situation closely."

For almost three months students, alumni and supporters of the movement to move the gym have struggled toe-to-toe with the KSU administration, the courts, police and government. The battle has brought to life the issues and spirit of resistance surrounding the 1970 Kent and Jackson State, Mississippi murders. When students were murdered at Kent and Jackson State for protesting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia (which at the all-Black Jackson State was linked with the fight against national oppression), anger, disgust and outrage swept across the country. By then millions of Americans had come to hate the Indochina War which they had never asked for and which had taken the lives of 55,000 of their children and over a million Vietnamese. The invasion of Cambodia was the straw that broke the camel's back. More and more Americans had come to see that the hundreds of thousands of mainly student protesters resisting the war were taking a righteous stand.

After seven years no justice has been seen in the Kent State case. In three separate trials Governor Rhodes and the National Guard officials responsible for the deaths have been completely exonerated. Even more importantly, the authorities have taken specific steps to bury the memory of May 4, 1970. They refuse to cancel classes for the annual public commemoration of the murders or to rename four buildings after the slain students, as demanded by the students.

Anger has been building for a couple of years over this, but the lines were really drawn when KSU announced plans for building a new gym on the May 4th site. On May 4th and 5th, a building takeover and a demonstration of 2000 put the university on notice that the people would not allow them to plow under the spirit of Kent State with bulldozers. When over 1000 students marched on a trustees' meeting toward the end of the school year, only to be met by deaf ears, a tent city was established on the May 4th site. Never in their worst nightmares had the trustees expected any of this. They set about building a campaign of threats and harassment to bring an end to the tent city occupation by about 100 people. But the May 4th Coalition has stayed on the offensive and gained more support as the authorities have only become more isolated.

Students Counterattack

Through the course of the struggle the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) has united with advanced members of the coalition to win people to the understanding that wherever possible after attacks on the movement, powerful counterattacks can create more favorable conditions for continuing the battle. For example, when cops beat up a few coalition members, for using the "wrong door of the building," it was suggested that a picket be thrown up at the police department. Some people felt that this would just spark more

police harassment, while the advanced argued that an immediate counterattack would put the cops up against the wall and expose the university's attempts to intimidate the coalition.

A 150-strong picket was held that night and the police were forced to state that they would drop the charges against the coalition members. This action was part of a couple of weeks of pickets and demonstrations against Governor Rhodes, President Olds, the trustees and the incoming president who takes the same stand as the others. Every one of these actions has caused controversy and some attacks by the press. But generally they have put the ruling powers further against the wall and gained more support for the coalition. Every day for 12 days the administration threatened to have police remove coalition members from the hill site. But they were forced to back off.

Finally they tried some more disguised attempts to end the tent city occupation. On the night of July 9, President Olds came to the hill all misty-eyed and sad, telling the coalition that he was "caught in the middle, and praying for some miracle that would keep arrests from occurring." He won some temporary sympathy until he showed up next morning with police and a notice ordering tent city disband within 24 hours or arrests would follow. Olds' 24 hour notice was met with a mass rally held exactly when the notice expired. Over 400 people attended the burning of the notice and openly defied his order. Coalition members spoke and told that this notice only made them more determined to stand firm. A member of the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization from Cleveland told the students of the impact the struggle was having in the plants throughout northern Ohio, refuting the media's lies that working people did not support the occupation.

Courts Step In

The slickest attempt to get the coalition to give up the struggle came on July 11, when the university administration got a court injunction to remove the tent city and its occupants the next day. The court not only issued this injunction, but also a temporary restraining order against the university, keeping them from beginning construction for 10 days, when the court would make a decision whether the gym should be built. Many people felt that the coalition should pack up and go, concentrating on mobilizing for the day construction would start.

Brigade members and others pointed out that this was just one more angle to get people off the hill without a fight. If tent city stayed on the hill, defying the court injunction and forcing the police to take people off, the coalition would strike a blow and serve notice on the authorities that it would fight them every inch of the way and not let the terms of the battle be set in the courts which had whitewashed the May 4th murders. At the same time more support would be gained by taking this stand, creating the conditions for even more powerful action when the ten day deadline was up.

After hours of debate, the coalition united around the line of keeping matters in its own hands by defying the injunction and forcing police to remove tent city. The next day as the busts began, the coalition saw that even though 194 people were being dragged to jail, hundreds more were being brought into the struggle by the stand it had taken. Hundreds of supporters watched and cheered for the people being arrested. Those arrested and the crowd of onlookers roared chants of: "The People United Will Never Be Defeated" and "Long Live the Spirit of Kent and Jackson State" as each arrest took place. When some of the parents of wounded and murdered students walked onto the hill to face arrest with the coalition members, everyone felt more moved and determined to fight until victory. The parents of Sandy Scheuer, who was murdered at Kent on May 4, 1970, later told the press that when they joined the coalition to face the police they were "scared but proud." Only two days after the arrest a former national guardsman who was at Kent on May 4, 1970 himself came forward to take a stand and be arrested on the hill, saying that the murders were unjust and that the gym should not be built on the site.

Determined to Continue Battle

In the aftermath of the arrests and the day in jail, everyone felt more determined to continue and saw that the hundreds of people cheering them on as well as the people across the country sending the telegrams of support could be brought into the struggle to make it even more powerful.

As we go to press, the coalition is preparing a mass rally on July 22 on the Kent State Commons. The rally will be taking place as the court is deliberating the issue of the gym a few miles away. The university has tried to get mileage from the fact that there was relatively little police brutality during the arrests, praising the event as an example of the new spirit of cooperation between police and students during the post-Vietnam War era. But the only reason they tried to keep their cool on July 12 was they knew the whole country was watching. They did not want to further expose

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2nd National Conference

UWOC Convenes, Maps Battle Plans

The cars started rolling into the Detroit church from across the country, Friday night, June 24. Alabama, Massachusetts, California—over 30 chapters of the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) from coast to coast and Hawaii were represented. Men and women of all nationalities, young people and veteran workers, 175 elected delegates and members of UWOC came together at the 2nd National Convention to strengthen the struggle and organization of the unemployed.

It was a conference of fighters. From hundreds of picket lines at unemployment offices, to joining major struggles of the working class like against the International Hotel evictions in San Francisco, each step of the way the unemployed in the Detroit church had been in struggle. The March 5th demonstration in Washington, D.C. of 1000 against the cutoffs of federal extension benefits, especially, was like a watershed marking a major leap forward for UWOC.

In the past year, thousands have begun to look to UWOC for leadership or at least information on the situation facing the unemployed and many supported the conference in spirit and financially as well. This in turn has strengthened the active core of UWOC. The banner strung across the stage, "Stand Up! Get Organized! Fight Back!", spoke to the immediate purpose of the meeting. Members came to Detroit looking for ways to further develop UWOC as the leading mass organization of struggle of the unemployed.

Tackling Key Questions

This sense of purpose and outlook united and characterized the debate in the meeting and was in itself a significant advance for the struggle. Workers from all parts of the country, laid off from many different jobs and with varied experiences, put their heads together and struggled together to figure out how to build UWOC and the struggle of the unemployed. They discussed how to make it into an organized fighting force representing the millions of unemployed against the attempts of the capitalists to crush them and use them to drive down the whole working class. Of concern to all was how to build off and consolidate the advances of the past year, to sum up the present situation and map out a battle plan for the struggle ahead.

Chapters had already discussed many of the points up for discussion before coming to Detroit. Questions and the final agenda were out to the chapters ahead of time, so people would familiarize and struggle over the points up for discussion. Several chapters proposed resolutions dealing with key problems, which were distributed ahead of time and were before people during the whole conference.

The conference was organized around the resolutions, relying on the strength and collective experience people had had together in their local chapters. Each chapter had three voting delegates, and before each major question was called, the chapters caucused to get more clarity on the questions and decide which way their representatives should vote. Several roll call votes were taken on points of struggle during the meeting.

Much of the first part of the conference was spent summing up the present situation. As person after person spoke to the attacks on the unemployed in city after city, a common theme was unmistakable—it's happening where I come from too! It was no longer possible

to see a vicious new bill cutting benefits in Washington state apart from the way the cuts in the federal extension was coming down in New York state. It was crystal clear, the unemployed and the whole working class faced a full-scale attack, a full-scale and systematic attack on the unemployment insurance system, which workers before had fought to win. This unemployment insurance system stands in the way of the drive by the capitalist class to drive down wages, bust unions, force people into working for minimum wages or even less in public and private jobs to bail themselves out of their deepening crisis they are in. Millions face starvation level jobs; millions more still find no work at all.

Out of the first day's discussion, a battle plan for the coming period took shape. The first day ended in some confusion over what would be the best way to focus the struggle around unemployment. While the bulk of the membership was listening to the evening's cultural activities—songs, films and a skit prepared by one of the chapters—the leading group of the conference met to cut through the confusion and struggle out a resolution for the Fall campaign to unite the membership around.

Mapping Out the Battle Lines

The resolution adopted the next day says, "Right now, the fight against the overall attack on our jobs, benefits and standard of living often takes the form of many individual battles. These include fights against the way the job program comes down, against harassment at the unemployment centers, against bills in the state legislatures. That is where the battle lines are being drawn sharply right now. We would be missing the target by a mile if we didn't join the struggle where it is being fought, didn't unite with the actual battle that is taking place, organize it and build it up.

"On the other hand, our task is much broader, because in reality the attack is a *national* attack, and reflects a national policy of the bosses and their government. In the course of the separate battles we fight, we have to constantly put out what the source of the attack is and find the ways to actually expose and mobilize people to go up against this source."

Having reached general agreement on the situation and the way forward, an outline of a campaign was unanimously decided on by the conference to build the fight for "Jobs or Income" under the present conditions. Under the slogans "Stop the Attacks on the Unemployment System" and "Union Jobs at Union Wages," UWOC will aim to build public opinion and struggle against the government's policy toward the unemployed. As a part of this, three main demands were decided on to be included in a national petition, "No More Cuts in Benefits—Unemployment Benefits to Meet Our Cost of Living for All Periods of Unemployment," "Down with Carter's Slave Labor Law and Forcing Us into Slave Wage Jobs!" and "All Government Job Programs Must Be Union Jobs at Union Pay!"

To build around this program, regional demonstrations are being planned for the end of October (when the last 13 weeks of federal extensions is to be phased out) directed at the federal government in unity with a demonstration for the same day in Washington, D.C. In January, at the time of Carter's State of the Union address, UWOC plans to draw all its forces together

for several days of demonstrations in D.C., putting forward its program for unemployment and demanding to meet with Carter and Congress.

In taking this campaign out the conference resolved to unite with the struggle of employed workers throughout the country, to fight to carry the struggles around unemployment into the unions and hailed the call to form a national workers organization in Chicago on Labor Day weekend, resolving to link up closely with this organization in building the fight of employed and unemployed alike.

Strengthening Organization

Having settled on a plan of action for the coming period, the conference next addressed itself to several other problems of organization: how to raise the level of the organization both on the local and national levels, to better coordinate its activities, and how to struggle out questions which come up in between national meetings.

A national steering committee was nominated by the leading committee for the conference and elected by the conference for the organization as a whole. This committee will meet as often as necessary and possible. In addition regional coordinators on the steering committee will be responsible for several chapters in their area of the country to coordinate activities, help sum up experience and focus in on problems as they come up in different regions of the country.

The steering committee was chosen from those who have been active in building the organization of the unemployed, most in touch with the sentiments of the broad masses of workers and with a clear understanding of the road ahead, and committed to building the struggle. The committee itself reflects the growing strength and breadth of UWOC and is composed of all nationalities, men and women, young and veteran workers alike.

In addition to the friendly competition in sales and subscriptions to the *Unemployed Organizer* (the new name of UWOC's newsletter decided on at the conference), and the institution of dues and membership cards, the conference decided to begin the publication of an internal newsletter.

The internal newsletter will be able to sum up different experiences in the struggle and help point the way forward for UWOC as an organization in addition to the new steering committee. The purpose of the newsletter would be to go into questions in the work in a deeper way than the *Unemployed Organizer*, which is intended for the broadest numbers of unemployed. It will be an important way to struggle out and achieve unity on important questions which the conference did not have time to take up, such as building UWOC in the neighborhoods, the fight around discrimination and unemployment and the question of undocumented workers.

Coming out of the conference, UWOC members were enthusiastic about the success of the conference, the problems which had been resolved and the plans decided on. In the short course of two days the way through many difficulties and uncertainties had, through shared experience and struggle, been charted. In the past year, many big steps have been made in the organized ranks of the unemployed. On the basis of summing up these advances, the 2nd National UWOC Conference was a tremendous stride in developing UWOC into an organized fighting force capable of leading the broad masses of unemployed in battle. ■

Kent State...

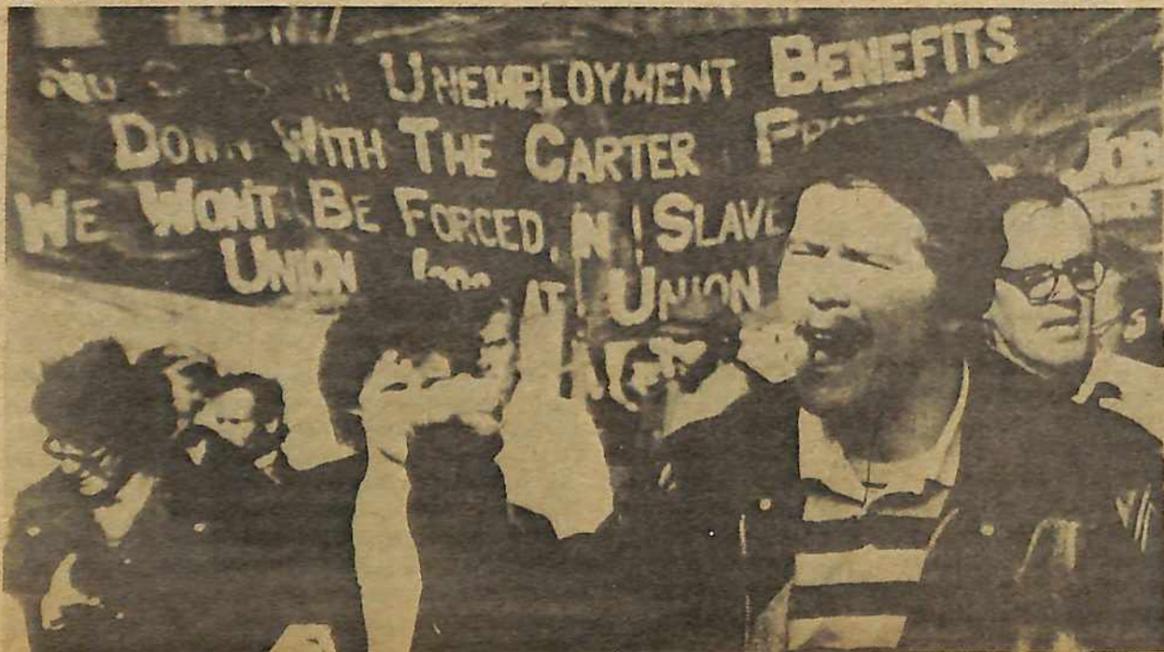
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themselves as being on the same side as those responsible for the May 4, 1970 murders.

How to assess the student movement of the '60s, its militancy and the development of a revolutionary thrust within it is a big question among students at Kent State. As part of giving leadership to the struggle, the RSB combats the reactionary summation of the bourgeoisie about the events leading to May 4, 1970 and struggles with fellow students over the pacifist summation (both sides were to blame) that is still strong among sections of the students.

From Jimmy Carter to KSU President Olds, many representatives of the ruling class have been talking of "healing the wounds of the Vietnam era and putting the deep divisions it caused into the past." Why? Because the thought of another movement against them, like the one in the 1960s, strikes fear into their hearts, especially as they drag us closer to another war, and deeper into economic crisis. They are calling on people to cooperate with them even as they bring down more and more attacks.

The spirit of Kent and Jackson State is breaking through this myth of cooperation with our rulers, just as so many other struggles are doing daily. The students of Kent will keep on fighting to make sure that their proud past of resistance is not buried. They are learning that the spirit of Kent and Jackson State, the spirit of struggle, points the road forward for every future battle. ■



Summing up victories won and lessons learned in battles like last winter's campaign against benefit cuts, unemployed workers from all over vowed to "Stand Up, Get Organized, Fight Back!"

35,000 Out at High Point

Miners Wildcat Vs. Health Blackmail

In late June another big battle broke out in the Appalachian coalfields. It began on June 20 as miners started walking off their jobs in a wildcat strike that by the end of the week saw over 35,000 miners out. The fight centered on cutbacks in miners' medical benefits.

Blaming "losses in coal production due to wildcats" the United Mineworkers of America (UMWA) health and retirement funds trustees ordered that beginning July 1 all those covered by the UMWA's medical card—miners, families, widows and pensioners—must now pay the first \$250 on hospitalization and 40% of all other hospital and medical bills up to \$500.

For 30 years working miners and their families have had their basic health care covered—a right that was won through bitter struggle. The health and retirement funds (four different trusts which pay for medical benefits and pensions) are financed by royalties paid by coal companies on the basis of man-hours worked and tons of coal mined. The size of royalties are determined by the union contract, which expires December 6. Along with the benefits' cut came the out and out threat: "If coal production doesn't substantially increase" more benefits and pensions will be cut in the future.

Blackmail

This is blackmail pure and simple. They're attempting to hold the health of miners and their families, pensioners and widows for hostage. The ransom? Knuckle under to the companies' drive to increase productivity at any cost. The operators want the miners working the coal every day no matter what the conditions. And every time the miners fight back the owners want them thinking, "We can't strike, it will hurt the funds." Above all they want to stop the wildcats.

In every issue of every coal industry magazine the capitalists write about their desperate need to stop the wildcat movement. They have to increase productivity (i.e., more coal mined per man per day) in order to increase profits and compete for capital with other industries. To do this they have attacked safety, job rights and come down with outrageous absentee and other policies.

Joseph Brennan, president of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), talks about how the "productivity challenge" must be a concern of not only the industry but the unions and government as well, and calls for "harnessing the people of coal to the challenge of growth." Their big problem is the fact that miners simply won't be harnessed to their profit drive like some beasts of burden.

Responding to the increasing company attacks, wildcats have grown in size and frequency, severely cutting production in the bituminous mines of Appalachia and badly hurting the mine owners. In the face of hundreds of thousands of dollars in fines against individuals, locals and the International, in the face of injunctions, jailings and suspensions from the union, the rank and file has continued to fight back. Last year's anti-injunction strike of 120,000 was the largest wildcat in the U.S. in decades. And this year has seen more than three times as many strikes in the coalfields as the same period last year.

Although the benefit cuts were threatened in the past, most miners considered the health card "sacred ground." The operators' association is saying that the cuts were inevitable and there's nothing that can be done to stop them. This is a lie. At a bare minimum, to avoid hitting the miners with increased medical costs on July 1, the BCOA could have agreed to a reallocation of income within the various funds, a stopgap measure which has been taken in the past. They refused to do this because, according to BCOA spokesmen, the effect of a reallocation would be "to encourage wildcat strikes and to destroy any effort to bring them under control."

In a statement to the press, the Miners Right to Strike Committee said: "The companies are holding the health, in fact they are holding the very lives of our families, our retired brothers and our widowed mothers for ransom. They're saying, 'if production levels are eroded for any reason, the funds will have to make additional changes in health benefit programs.' In other words they're telling us: 'break your backs so the companies can get out more coal and more profits, no matter what the cost to us, the working miners—or else!'"

35,000 Miners Decide to Walk

As word of the cuts spread the miners walked out enraged at this blackmail. 35,000 miners coming out almost entirely on their own, without pickets, deciding mine by mine that coal would not be mined under these conditions—it was a tremendous thing.

But the announcement of the cuts was carefully timed—right after the UMWA's national elections and right before most miners have their two week vacation period (June 25-July 10) when large numbers of miners leave the area.

During the week before vacation the Miners Right to Strike Committee organized and joined in rallies and meetings of miners, wives and pensioners to declare their determination to fight after vacation. At these rallies the truth about the real reasons for the cuts began to get out. Over and over again the lie was spread on TV, newspapers and radio and even in the *UMWA Journal* that wildcats were to blame for the cuts. "The single greatest factor in the loss of money going into the funds is the increasing number of strikes. . . This could have been prevented if it hadn't been for the strikes." The committee exposed these lies. The way the fund was set up to begin with, it had bankruptcy written right into it.

Exposing Company Lies

In one year alone, almost as much was lost to inflation as was lost in the last three years of wildcat strikes. The contract negotiated by union president Arnold Miller and the companies did not come close to guaranteeing enough company royalties to cover the skyrocketing cost of medical care and the increased number of beneficiaries. Two of the four trusts were already in the hole only six months after the contract was signed, a time in which there were no major strikes. Big companies, including U.S. Steel, owe the fund millions. And since man hours count far more in determining the fund than production output, the companies' productivity drive has taken a big toll. Strip mining has expanded and the number of men in deep mine sections is about half what it used to be. In fact, officials at the fund office admit that even if the miners worked every day there still wouldn't be enough money from royalties to keep the funds from going bankrupt.

For two days in a row on June 23 and 24 miners and their families, pensioners and widows demonstrated at the Beckley, West Virginia funds office. The demonstrators, called together by the Women's Committee of the Miners Right to Strike Committee, demanded and finally got some straight answers about where the money had gone. On June 22 the Committee organized a rally of 150 miners in Madison, West Virginia, where miners declared "we're going to come back fighting" after the vacation shutdown. As vacation started the Right to Strike Committee continued to meet, getting the truth out about the fund cut and helping to organize the fight.

At the end of vacation on July 9 and 10, rallies of 300 were held in Districts 17 and 29 in southern West Virginia, called by the Miners Committee and other rank and file miners to decide how to continue the fight. At both rallies miners voted to strike. At the beginning of the week of July 10 it looked like the strike was sparking off again in several counties in those districts. Then an organized and coordinated strike breaking effort led by district officials began.

UMWA Officials Attack Wildcat

The companies believed that if they could break the fight in these two key districts, where the rank and file in general and the Miners Committee in particular have been a leading center for the miners struggle nationwide, they could break the fight overall against the medical cuts blackmail. On July 11 the District 17 leadership organized local officials and mobilized some workers to bust up a picketing meeting in Boone County, West Virginia. On July 12 they took over a rank and file meeting in Logan County and rammed through a vote to go back to work. These attacks effectively broke the strike in District 17. In District 29 officials gave full cooperation to county sheriffs to set up roadblocks to stop pickets. Miners were harassed by the cops and many had shotguns confiscated. Along with this has been a full-scale campaign of slander against the Miners Committee. Almost every day the news-

papers quote one union official or another attacking individual members of the committee, red-baiting and calling them thugs and people paid by the companies to break the union. They even have sunk so low as to spread rumors that Committee members' wives solicit sexually to "recruit them for the cause."

UMW president Arnold Miller sent out a letter to local presidents ordering special votes in the local to give the International Executive Board "extreme powers to deal with a certain committee." This move aimed at the Miners Right to Strike Committee was another of his attempts to strangle rank and file action, similar to the 10 point program to stop wildcats he wanted to push through at the last convention.

Although these attacks have gotten over in some cases, there are numerous examples of where the strike-breaking and slanders have been met head-on. At one mine in District 29 when the local president declared on the radio that each shift was going to keep pickets away from other shifts in order to insure that men would be able to work, 60 men left the pickets meeting to "take care of the problem." The mine stayed out.

As the strike wound down in West Virginia, it grew in Kentucky and Pennsylvania. District 30 in eastern Kentucky and District 2 in Pennsylvania went out solid. At a rally of 600 in Pennsylvania, miners shouted down the district president and cheered when District 17 Right to Strike Committee member Bruce Miller came to the mike. Later newspapers and radio gave wide coverage to the district president's lie that Bruce Miller had come up to Pennsylvania to "stir up trouble." Miners from District 2 demanded and got their time to rebut this slander. As one miner said, "We asked Bruce to come up here to give us some straight talk and straight facts. He told us more in three minutes than our local president has told us in three years."

In a hundred different ways the union leadership from Arnold Miller on down to the district officials is telling rank and file miners that they really can't fight this cutback. When the cuts were first announced, Arnold Miller—while blaming both the BCOA's "stupidity" and the "radicals" for the cut—basically said that the miners had no choice but to "save your doctors' receipts and I'll get your money back plus interest in December." But miners weren't sitting still. The spontaneous wildcat of 35,000 and the organized meetings of thousands made it clear that he would have to do more to keep the situation from getting totally out of control. So in addition to his outright strike breaking moves and attacks on the Miners Committee, he made some noises as if he was going to do something. He declared the cuts a "national issue" which implied he might consider a national strike if the BCOA wouldn't reopen the contracts to renegotiate royalty payments.

Arnold Miller Confronted in DC

On July 17, 250 miners mainly from Pennsylvania went to the UMWA headquarters in Washington DC to confront Arnold Miller about the benefit cuts. When a delegation went in to talk to him, he quickly made it clear that he had no intention of doing anything and that all his earlier talk was a lousy scheme to put an end to the wildcat. He said that the Coal Operators Association refused to reopen contract negotiations around the royalties and that there is nothing he can or will do about it. He stated that under no circumstances will he call a national strike over the issue. A lot of miners had taken a wait-and-see attitude about what Miller was going to do and many came away from the Washington meeting frustrated and not a little cynical. The Right to Strike Committee joined with several other groups and some local presidents in the Washington demonstration. And afterwards they led a militant contingent of about 30 miners to the BCOA headquarters in DC and raised hell about the fund cuts.

Throughout this fight many people have come to realize that the present benefits system has got to go. As a Miners Committee leaflet says, "Come contract time we have to see to it that the funds are no longer tied to tonnage or man hours, so it won't be used as a club to drive us back to work. Tying the funds to production was an attempt to tie our interests to the interests of the company—'strikes are hurting the companies and yourselves,' they say. But as long as there have been miners and operators our interests have never been the same. We fight them all our lives. We don't want a pension and benefits system that says that if the companies go under they are taking us with them. Let them figure out another system that guarantees our pensions and benefits, no matter what their production is."

The battle has gotten very sharp, as the reactionary union leadership has launched an organized and intense attack on the rank and file. In contrast to the purely top down efforts to push through the ten point program a few years ago, this campaign to crush militant organization is relying much more on district officials and even attempting to mobilize some of the miners themselves.

Controversy Over Wildcat Movement

There is a lot of controversy among miners over

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Youth Plan To Take Jobs Fight To Wall St.

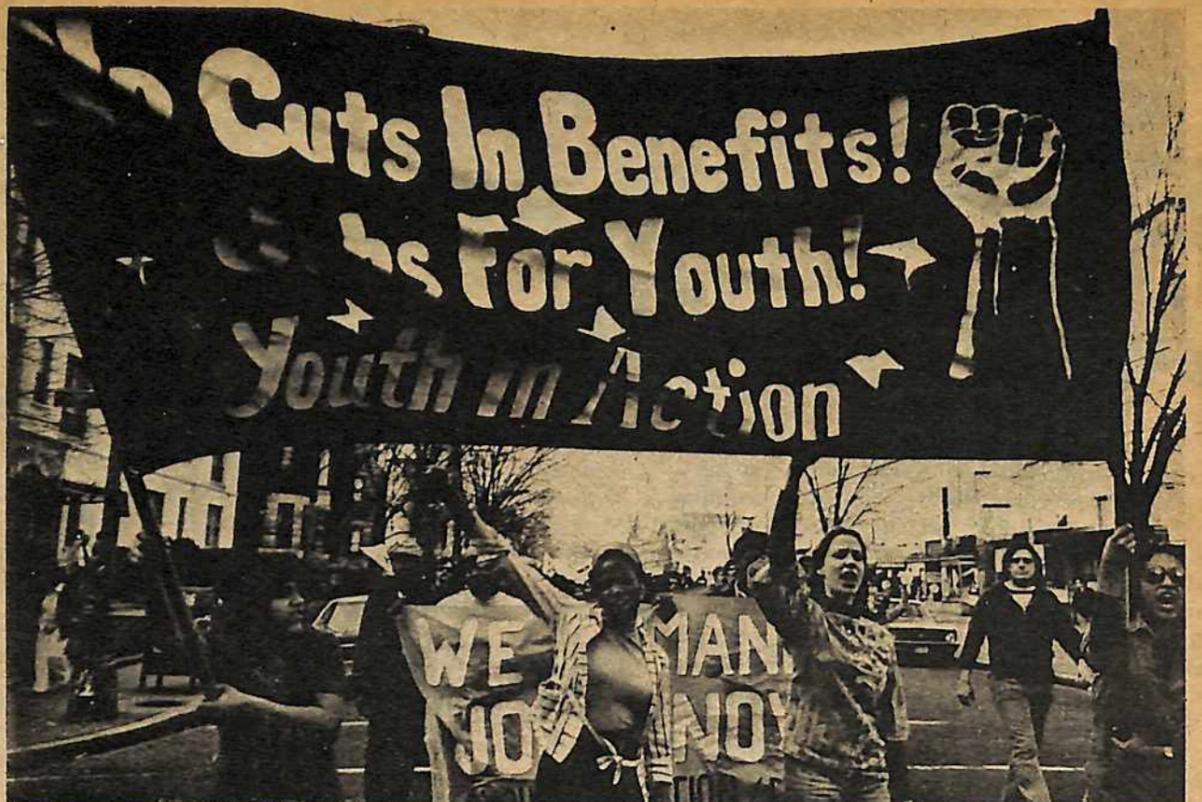
The Towers of Power that line Wall Street, New York City will be shaking this August 18 and 19 as hundreds of youth from around the country take to the streets demanding Jobs For Youth! Revolutionary youth groups in many cities and *The Young Red*, a national communist youth newsletter, have called for the two days of action at the headquarters of the big banks and corporations as part of a national campaign to organize youth in the fight for jobs. This is a very important step in building the fight for jobs for youth—focusing the anger and frustration that millions of youth feel about unemployment at the real cause of the problem—the Wall Street bankers and bosses.

Unemployment Among Youth

Unemployment is the main issue facing youth these days. Youth getting out of high school are running up against a 20% unemployment rate for all youth and as high as 40% for Black and other minorities. This is a long standing problem that's bound to get worse as the ruling class finds it impossible to put whole sections of the new generation of workers to work. The Department of Labor estimates that the majority of youth now 18-21 shouldn't expect to get a job before 1980!

Unemployment is a big cause of widespread anger, frustration and demoralization among millions of youth. It's linked up to many of the other problems that youth face—crime, drugs, police harassment, etc. It's a club over youth's heads used to drive them into sub-minimum wage jobs at McDonalds, Burger King, etc. All this points to how important this issue is in organizing youth into a revolutionary force against the bourgeoisie. As the Department of Labor said, youth unemployment is "social dynamite."

In the face of this, revolutionary youth groups have united to take a bold step—two days of action to mobilize youth from the East Coast, Midwest and the South to march right on the Wall Street bosses and



With unemployment among young people at astronomical levels, The Young Red and youth groups around the country have taken up the fight for jobs as a key campaign and this month are taking it right into the enemy's camp—Wall Street.

bankers who stand behind this crime against youth. These two days of action by hundreds of youth have the potential to be a real breakthrough and a spark—a sharp example to millions of youth who are searching for a way out, not just from unemployment, but from all the lousy conditions they face.

The site of the actions—Wall Street—is a key part of this. Not only is it the headquarters for most of the big banks and corporations of this country, it is a symbol of the whole class of rich bosses and bankers. Taking the demand for Jobs for Youth there is an important way to clearly identify the enemy—to make clear and understandable who stands behind the situation youth face and to focus the tremendous anger youth have over this issue. Militant actions on Wall Street will help direct not just the anger of working class youth but of all working people squarely at the real enemy and cause of unemployment and all other abuses people face.

The two days of action will be a broad call to struggle around the key demands youth have around unemployment—under the main slogan Jobs for Youth. Along with this, other important demands that will be raised are: "Decent Jobs at Decent Wages"; "Jobs from Government or Industry"; and "Raise the Minimum Wage and Make It Cover All Jobs Youth Work."

On the 18th and 19th youth will be taking to the streets in New York City to stand up and raise these

demands. Raise them for the millions of American youth faced with the situation of no jobs or lousy jobs and no hope for a decent future. And they're going to be raised in a militant way that will be an example to youth and other American people—that it's right to stand up to and fight the rich for the way they've forced us to live. These two days are time for a little "payback" to the fatcats of Wall St.—for the way they've tried to kick youth into the dirt in their drive for profits. Giving them a taste of the fact that they've been kicking a keg of dynamite that's going to blow up in their faces.

Building for the Young Communist Organization

This is the first united action that these organizations of revolutionary youth around the country have initiated and is an important step towards building one national communist youth organization together with the Revolutionary Student Brigade. In this campaign one aim of those building for this organization is to bring forward many new youth—showing them the road of standing up to the bourgeoisie and starting to change the world—and in the course of that bringing out the need and possibility for turning the whole society upside-down. Going to Wall St. has a lot of potential for doing that—showing the root of the prob-

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Miners ...

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which way to go. A lot of people feel the companies have got the miners over a barrel since "no matter who's to blame, the funds will just go deeper in the hole if there's more strikes." The fact that it's so close to contract time when there's likely to be a strike, and a hard fought one at that, is very much on people's minds. A big question is will miners be stronger or weaker come contract time if they strike now over benefit cuts. Underlying this is an even bigger question about the wildcat movement in general.

The main thing is that the wildcats have been a mighty important weapon in the miners ability to beat back the companies' attacks. Despite lies which are constantly fed to the rank and file, like what the District 17 president said to the press: "It's generally known that they (referring to the companies) don't lose anything during a work stoppage," miners have won real victories, and have built ongoing organization to carry on the fight. But the strikes have taken their toll on miners and their families who make heavy financial sacrifices every time miners are out. And the union misleaders propaganda has its effect. A number of miners believe that the companies want them to strike and that "a strike would play right into their hands." It is confusion among the masses of miners over these questions, especially about striking so close to December, which is the basis for the companies and union officials getting over to some extent with their strike breaking and attacks on the Miners Right to Strike Committee.

The situation faced by the miners, however, underscores the absolute necessity of persevering in the road of militant struggle and building it in a still more organized way, despite the real obstacles that the struggle has encountered. The coal operators and the top officials try to turn reality on its head and pretend that everything would be hunky-dory if only the miners backed off from the wildcat movement.

But what have been the causes of the wildcats in the

first place? The capitalists' efforts to boost their profits by further exploiting, endangering and generally driving down the men who risk their lives each time they go underground. Now miners are being asked to sacrifice their health care to the altar of the bosses' profits.

The capitalists claim that the miners resistance to wholesale attacks brings "anarchy" to the coalfields and stopping this movement will bring stability and benefit all. But this, too, is reversing reality. It is the workings of the capitalist system that displaced tens of thousands of miners in the 1950s, forcing huge numbers to uproot their families and scour the country in search of work, all because profits demanded the introduction of greater mechanization. And has today's temporary boom in coal brought benefit to the miners? Hardly. Chasing the greatest profit the capitalists have expanded coal production in the Western states where the companies have, for now, kept a large percentage of the miners outside of the union and even union strongholds like West Virginia are the site of more scab operations.

Miners have fought like hell in recent years, hitting the coal operators hard and providing quite an inspiration for great numbers of workers around the country. The miners cannot give up their struggle because the capitalists cannot stop attacking them, ever more viciously. Still, the spontaneous strike movement has run up against real obstacles—the power of the capitalist state used to attack the struggle, the lies and hysteria spread by the bourgeois press, the treachery of the top union officials, and more.

Persevering in Struggle

The miners' struggle cannot fundamentally turn things upside down in the coalfields; for that, revolution is required. But the only road the miners can take is to continue to fight, in an ever more organized and conscious way. This alone will enable the miners to defend themselves against the capitalist onslaught and in the course of this battle more and more miners can come to see what is eventually required to really break out of the squeeze capitalism has on them and together with the rest of the working class, accumu-

late the strength to do it.

The more rank and file organization grows among the miners, the better will the rank and file be able to use the powerful weapon of the wildcat. And as to whether the wildcat movement has helped or hurt the miners, whether they should abandon it, there can be only one answer. An article in the recent issue of *Rank and File Unity* (the newspaper of the Miners Committee) entitled "Strikewave and Contract Year—Does It Help or Hurt?" says: "The answer to 'do they want us to strike?' has got to be that they know we are going to fight their attacks. And though they truly hate to see us stand up to them and fight, sometimes it doesn't hurt them as bad as at other times. But they're betting we'll fight back in a disorganized way, that we'll fight back in a way that will wear us down and in the long run strengthen their hand."

"So what's the answer for us? Let the companies run over us now?"

"No way! That would give them a free ticket to put us in the dirt now and guarantee that they could get these attacks down in black and white on December 6."

"The answer of the rank and file has got to be—fight back. But more and more we can see that it's just not good enough to fight hard. Right now the rank and file is a pretty powerful force. We've seen our power when we brought multimillion dollar companies to their knees, and when we stopped the courts and the whole government. So why can't we always make that power felt when we need it—organization. The rank and file has got to organize its own self to fight for its own self—not for the companies' interest and not for the interests of some union politician out to make himself a career."

The building and strengthening of ongoing organization is key to the rank and file coming out of this battle in a stronger position than before. The Right to Strike Committee and other rank and file miners are preparing now for the contract fight looming ahead, a battle which provides real opportunities to further advance the miners struggle. This most recent wildcat against the attacks on health benefits has put the miners in a stronger position to carry this fight through in the upcoming contract battle. ■

"Breaking Up Is Hard To Do"

Eurocommunism And the New Czars

The long festering dispute between the leaders of several revisionist parties in Western Europe and the revisionist chieftains in Moscow has sharply intensified in recent months with the publication of several books which attempted to lay out the theory of "Eurocommunism" (which has become a code word for revisionists in the West who try to distinguish themselves from and sometimes criticize the Soviets). Chief among the defenses of Eurocommunism is *Eurocommunism and the State* by Santiago Carrillo, leader of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE).

The Soviet Union, for its part, added fuel to the flames by launching an open public attack on Eurocommunism in general and Sr. Carrillo in particular. The Soviet rulers, who themselves opened the floodgates to revisionism beginning with Khrushchev's repudiation of Marxism-Leninism in the 1950s, now find the logical product of two decades of class collaboration and revisionism in Western Europe unsuited in many ways to their current needs in contending with the U.S. imperialists for domination of Europe.

The particular theoretical propositions of "Eurocommunism" are largely the familiar themes of revisionism. Indeed it is ironic to read in the Soviet press that the Eurocommunists should be condemned for failing to recognize that democracy has a class content and for abandoning the dictatorship of the proletariat when the dictatorship of the proletariat has been officially eradicated from the Soviet Union's own new constitution. This same theme is picked up and carried by the revisionists in our own country, the ever-faithful-to-the-Kremlin CPUSA, who are even dusting off some old and somewhat tougher sounding statements that say that while upholding the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism, "Communists deem it a solemn duty to warn the workers to be ready to defend themselves—that while we hope and work for the best and easiest way to social progress, to also be prepared to *expect the worse.*" (emphasis added)

But the questions over the Eurocommunists' further emasculation of Marxism is not central to their dispute with Moscow, and indeed, only enters into the picture at all to the extent that they reflect what really is the heart of the matter—the role of the now thoroughly bourgeois Western European "communist" parties in relation to the intensification of contradictions among the imperialist powers.

The basic melody being sung by the revisionist parties of Spain, Italy and France (despite somewhat different embellishments) is that "socialism" will come about through the gradual assimilation of the Western parties with the present bourgeois regimes, that the property of the monopoly capitalists will be respected, and that the countries themselves will be "independent" of both of the superpowers. All of this is coupled with criticism of the USSR for the totalitarian nature of that country, echoing Carter's human rights campaign.

But as the Soviets and their faithful followers are quick to point out in their polemics with the Eurocommunists, Europe is divided into hostile camps. While there are real contradictions between the monopoly capitalists of Western Europe with the U.S. ruling class, and while some might even jump to the other side, the growing tendency of the European capitalists is to line up closer with the U.S. imperialists—especially militarily—as the contradictions between the U.S. and Soviet blocs intensify. And the efforts of the revisionists of Italy, France and Spain to come to terms with the monopoly bourgeoisie are today leading them to make some moves in the same direction.

All three of the parties have pledged to keep their countries part of the NATO military alliance and to do nothing to disturb the network of economic interdependency of the Western countries in which U.S. imperialism plays the central role. Recent articles in the U.S. ruling class publication *Foreign Affairs* by Jean Kanapa, head of the foreign affairs section of the Communist Party of France, and by Sergio Segre, who holds that post in the Italian party, call for solving the crisis within the framework of the "Atlantic Alliance."

Take a Hand in Bourgeois Rule

At the bottom of this stand is the feverish hope of the Eurocommunists that the realities of the present situation in Europe—deepening crisis and growing superpower rivalry—will make it possible for them to cash in their political chips for a share in government. Already this policy has borne some rotten fruit in Italy, where the revisionist PCI, while not yet receiving cabinet posts, has been partially integrated into the governing regime. In return, the PCI has participated directly

in the bourgeoisie's attacks on the masses of people, including attacking cost of living provisions, holding down wages of government employees (who constitute an even vaster section of the working class than in the U.S.), attacking the rebellions of students this last spring, utilizing the PCI's "law and order" squads as well as the police itself in this dirty work.

Other current activities of the PCI are illustrated by an article in the July 25 *Business Week*, which runs down how the revisionists are locked in a fight with the ruling Christian Democrats for the post of Chairman of the Board of Montedison, Italy's third largest corporation!

Within the U.S. ruling class there is still some disagreement over how to handle the Eurocommunists. While appreciating the antics of Carrillo and the policies of the other, if less flamboyant, Eurocommunists, they are less than happy about bringing the Eurocommunists into the governments. Henry Kissinger, for instance, consistently opposed the PCI's efforts to enter the Italian government.

However, with the continued pro-U.S. development of Eurocommunism and with the Carter presidency, there has been a definite softening in the U.S. approach. Cyrus Vance has indicated that the U.S. could live with the PCI.

The hesitancy of the U.S. ruling circles to fully embrace their would-be "comrades" is certainly understandable. The parties themselves have strong pro-Soviet wings, and are riddled with KGB agents. And the U.S. is particularly concerned about Eurocommunists worming their way into NATO war councils.

But more fundamentally, the U.S. imperialists and the monopoly bourgeoisie of the Western European countries perceive that the nature of these bourgeois-on-the-outs introduces a wild card into the deck in Europe. As we said in the *Revolution* article of December 1976, "West Europe Revisionists: Barrier to Revolution; Aid to USSR," "while all the revisionists have made peace with capitalism as a system, and in general are loyal to the monopoly capitalist class of their own country, they have no particular loyalty to the present capitalist governments, and their highest loyalty, like all bourgeois, is to themselves. What they are after is at least a share in bourgeois rule. The method of achieving it is secondary to them." (reprinted in the pamphlet, *War and Revolution*)

To put it starkly, as war breaks out and Soviet tanks begin to roll, today's Eurocommunists could easily find that their easiest road to power is by offering their services to the USSR in forming regimes along the lines of the Vichy government that ruled France under Hitler's thumb.

It is quite possible that war might break out in the

form of a Soviet attack masquerading as "support for the socialist revolution" in these countries. The Soviets themselves are sharply aware of this point. While they have sharp contradictions with the leading Eurocommunists, their mouths still water at the prospect of some of these parties getting into their respective governments. The Soviets bank on what the U.S. imperialists fear, that despite the Eurocommunists' protestations to the contrary, as conditions change and pressures of all sorts increase on the West European ruling classes, the revisionists there will play a role as a Soviet fifth column.

Useful to USSR

Even now when the contradictions between the Eurocommunists and the New Czars are as sharp as they have ever been, there is still a significant amount of identity of interests. The French and Italian parties continue to peddle the theory of "detente" and even use it as an excuse for their own class collaboration. Both of these parties also gave political support to the social-imperialist aggression in Angola and Zaire. They have used their influence to support the granting of credit and trade concessions to the USSR.

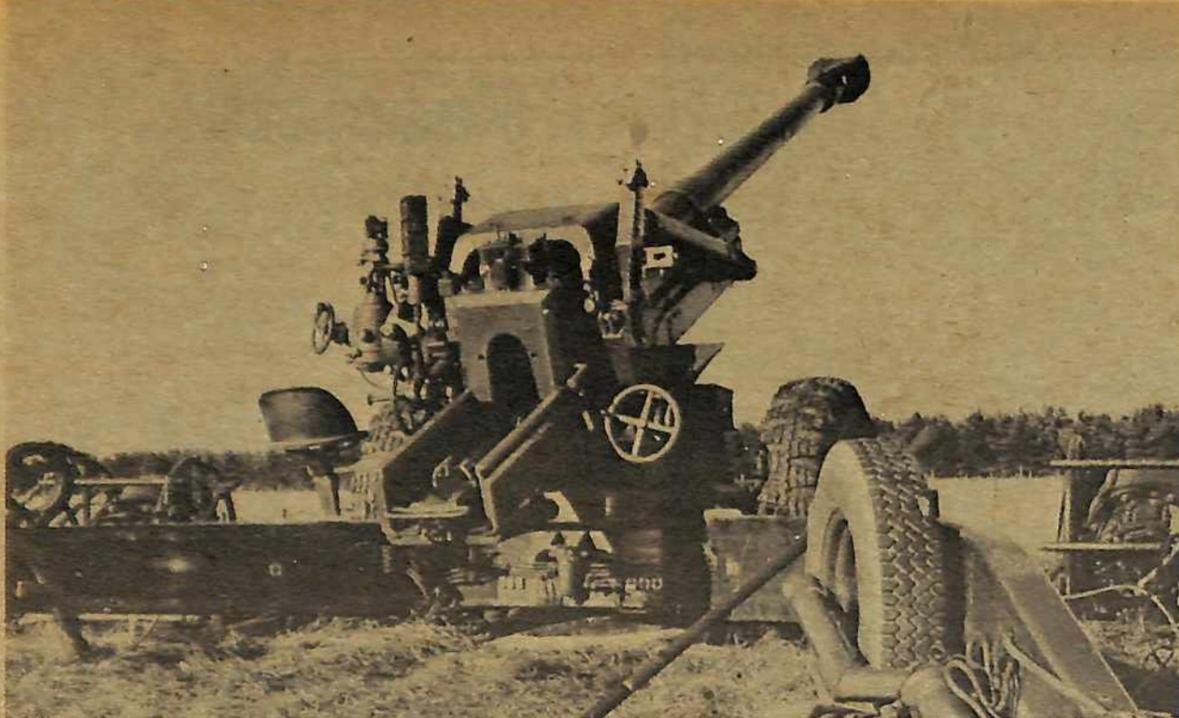
The whole "detente" framework has been one way that revisionists in many countries have been able to serve the New Czars while pushing reformism and illusions at home. For example in this country the CPUSA's call that "detente means jobs" and their hogwash about reducing the military budget 80% to "reorder priorities" has been an important part of their political work.

But as the detente framework gives way more and more to open confrontation and leads toward war, this type of position is more and more untenable. Hence the CPUSA (which because of its small size and influence today lacks bargaining chips with the U.S. bourgeoisie and thus the opportunity of going the way of Eurocommunism) has, all of a sudden, rediscovered the dictatorship of the proletariat, the need to learn the "lessons of the Commune" and warn the workers to "expect the worse." The same conditions which, at this point, are driving the Eurocommunists into the arms of the West European bourgeoisies are also driving the CPUSA further into bed with the Kremlin. Though the CPUSA is a counterrevolutionary party, the U.S. ruling circles are not rushing out to embrace them. So Gus Hall and Co. see no road to increase their size and influence without support of all kinds from the USSR.

It is important to make a concrete analysis of the politics and actions of the revisionist parties in each country and to expose to the masses every move they make that shores up the reactionary regime or aids the conquest schemes of social imperialism (or for that matter, that aid the U.S.). But the fundamental exposure that must be carried out is the kind laid out in the above-mentioned December 1976 *Revolution* article, "Only genuine communist parties, based on the struggle of the proletariat against capital, are in a position to help the workers correctly sum up their experience in struggle. As the workers develop class consciousness, it is key that they come to understand the *class nature* of the revisionists—that their fundamental feature is the acceptance of the capitalist mode of production. It is on this basis that the leaders of the CPs serve one or another capitalist class and themselves aspire to become exploiters." ■



When Italian students rose up this winter, the Communist Party of Italy showed its true devotion to the capitalist system by sending its "law and order" squads to attack the demonstrations.



The U.S. is planning to arm its European forces with tactical neutron warheads to be used on Lance missiles or in shells for howitzers like this one as part of its stepped up war preparations.

B-1 Out, Neutron Bomb In

U.S. Steps Up Arms Development

In line with toughening up their military posture against the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists recently made two important decisions in the field of sophisticated weaponry. The first, in the strategic systems area, was not to go into production of the B-1 bomber and to go ahead with the new generation of cruise missiles and the second, in the field of tactical systems, was to give President Carter the authority to proceed with the production of neutron weapons.

While the decision around the B-1 was surrounded with a smokescreen about President Carter living up to his campaign promise to reduce military spending and seek arms limitations, these decisions show that the U.S. is continuing to step up its war preparations while the Soviets are also driving for military superiority. As usual, the U.S. is pursuing the course of not matching the Soviet numerical edge, but by introducing more and more "exotic" types of weapons.

Increased war preparations by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union are masked in terms of "enhancing the national defense" and the recent U.S. decisions are no different. They say the cruise missile will "increase U.S. deterrence" and make strategic nuclear exchanges even more "unthinkable" and the neutron tactical warheads will make a Soviet attack on West Germany more costly and so more "unthinkable." Exactly the opposite is true. The big increase in accuracy the cruise missile has over the Minutemen or Polaris/Poseidon makes it that much better for launching a first strike. The neutron weapon, with its reduced potential for collateral damage (that is, destruction beyond the immediate target) makes it that much better for use in and around the urban industrial areas of West Germany.

Not only do these decisions increase the possibilities that nuclear warheads will be used in any war between the two superpowers, their immediate effect is to cause an escalation in the arms race. The U.S. imperialists' decision to move forward on these weapons is in itself an escalation. And, undoubtedly, this escalation will bring a response by the Soviet Union, with both an increase in current Soviet inventory and intensified research and development of the New Czars' own exotic weapons likely.

B-1 Bomber

The decision by the U.S. to halt the B-1 and go ahead with the cruise missiles and neutron bombs was accompanied by some disagreement in political and military circles over whether or not these decisions would actually enhance or detract from the imperialist military posture. While certain forces, such as the Air Force and a number of particular aerospace companies, had their own axes to grind in regards to the B-1, each side has its points. Overall though, the effect of the decisions was to strengthen the U.S. military machine.

There were two main problems with the B-1 project. It had a stupendous price tag on it and would have been the biggest single military investment of all time. This does not mean, as the revisionist CPUSA claimed for years, that these B-1 funds could be diverted from "guns to butter"—i.e. to social needs. In fact military spending is going to increase. But pursuing the

B-1, at a time when the amount of resources the imperialists can divert to war production without major dislocations is limited, would have meant drastic economizing in other military areas. This heightened the second question about the B-1: are manned bombers still viable weapons (at least in their traditional role of flying over targets to drop bombs).

Manned bombers, no matter how low they fly, how much ECM (electronic countermeasures) they carry, how well trained their crews are, etc., still must face thousands of jet interceptors and nuclear-tipped anti-aircraft missiles. These defenses are long established and each new advance in bomber penetration ability can be combatted to a degree by improvements in the existing defensive capability, probably with a much cheaper price tag than the improved bomber. The alternative, the new generation cruise missile, is far more attractive since at this time there is no defense against them.

While the U.S. imperialists have killed the B-1, the second such project intended to replace the B-52s to be shot down (the other was the B-70 Valkyrie), they announced their intention to continue research and development of yet another generation of manned bombers. Eventually, metal fatigue on the B-52s will take its toll and the U.S. will be faced with the choice of building a new bomber fleet or eliminating strategic bombers from the inventory altogether. For the time being, the B-52 will be renovated and will continue to perform, with the addition of cruise missiles to their weapons suite.

The cruise missile is a big U.S. attempt to upset the current rough strategic arms parity between the U.S. and Soviet Union. In the SALT "disarmament" talks the U.S. has indicated that the cruise missile is not up for negotiation, except perhaps for a meaningless (and unverifiable) limitation on its range. This development has the Soviets hopping. The New Czars have said that the cruise missile decision threatens to kill SALT.

At the minimum, the Soviets will proceed along three fronts. They are now forced to seek qualitative improvements in their radar detection systems by coming up with accurate low-level over the horizon radars able to detect the cruise missile in time for defense measures. The cruise missile flies much slower than a jet aircraft so the main problem is detection. To counter this improvement in U.S. imperialism's arsenal, the Soviets will increase deployment of rockets already in production. And finally, the Soviets will make every effort to come up with a new generation cruise missile of their own. All of this points to a spiraling of the arms race.

Neutron Bomb

The neutron bomb has stirred up a great deal of controversy in the U.S. and Western Europe. It is not a new weapon. The U.S. ABM system would have carried neutron warheads on its defensive missiles. The new twist to the neutron weapons is that they are being developed for tactical use in Western Europe, with tests already carried out using artillery as the delivery system.

The neutron warhead is a nuclear weapon of a dif-

ferent type. With the same yield as a standard nuke, its blast radius is much smaller, leaving physical damage estimated at 10% that of standard tactical nuclear weapons. But the neutron weapon produces much more intense radiation, although shorter in duration. Its effect is to kill people and leave property more or less intact. All the while the imperialists are speaking of this as a "clean bomb."

It appears that most of the U.S. allies in the NATO bloc want the U.S. to go ahead with the neutron warheads. While the U.S. rulers have led the public to believe that they will not be the first to use strategic nuclear weapons, and blow both hot and cold on whether or not they will be the first to use tactical nukes—sometimes yes, sometimes no, sometimes maybe—privately it is agreed that NATO's chances are pretty slim without blasting away at the Warsaw Pact's advancing armies with everything NATO's got, including small tactical nuclear weapons. The Western European bourgeoisies want to see the Russians stopped cold but are shy about seeing West Germany, or France, or wherever NATO's conventional forces get in trouble, reduced to a glowing, radioactive cinder. With neutron bombs they hope to kill tens of thousands of invading Russian troops (and too bad for anyone else in the way) and still have their factories intact, ready to go on with the "peaceful" exploitation of the workers when the Soviets have been pushed back and the shooting stops. The nature of this weapon is a clear exposure of the aims of the war the imperialists are preparing.

The neutron bomb makes it increasingly likely that the NATO public position will reach a watershed. With this "cleaner" nuclear weapon, it is possible that NATO will state outright that if Warsaw Pact troops cross the line they can expect to get irradiated with neutrons.

In addition to protecting property, the neutron bomb will also kill better than the current tactical nukes NATO has deployed—and as far as the imperialists go, that's what it's all about. Warsaw Pact tanks and armored personnel carriers (APCs) are equipped with very effective NBC (nuclear, biological, chemical) protection. "Old" nukes effectiveness was mainly limited to their blast power, with the Warsaw Pact rolling right through the radiation which would be killing unprotected civilians. The Soviet Union even made this part of their operational doctrine, planning to drop their own nukes barely a few kilometers in front of the advance guard and rolling through their own radiation. Neutron radiation is intense enough to break through the current NBC protection on Warsaw Pact equipment, so what the blast doesn't get the neutrons will.

Beef Up NATO's Conventional Force

Militarily, the effect of neutron warhead deployment could be significant. Even with the Warsaw Pact's numerical edge, a successful attack would necessitate maintaining equality along most of the front and concentrating superiority at one or two, at the most, key points for a breakthrough. These concentrations are inviting targets for nuclear assault and the increased effectiveness of the neutron warhead, along with its minimized collateral damage, makes it all the more threatening to the Soviets. The U.S. hope is that a "credible" neutron threat will make NATO conventional forces more effective against more "spread out" Warsaw Pact forces. Politically, the imperialists hope to build up the neutron bomb's reputation as a "clean" weapon and thereby make the prospect of nuclear war more "acceptable."

Recently, the U.S., which has control over all NATO nuclear weapons, has been establishing new procedures for the use of tactical nukes, shortening the amount of time it takes for approval of their use. Up until now, it was a fairly complicated process, with time from a target presenting itself to permission to fire running as high as 24 hours. New procedures are moving towards nuclear "free fire" zones where approval within these zones can come from a much lower command level and so the nukes can start dropping within a few hours of a target presenting itself. The "clean" neutron warhead fits in perfectly with this new operational doctrine.

The neutron warhead approaches what the imperialists would call an "acceptable" nuclear weapon. It will destroy less of West Germany, and since its radiation lasts for only two or three days, compared to two weeks for "old" nukes, it will probably destroy fewer West Germans and, more importantly to the imperialists, allow unprotected NATO troops to advance into the target area far more quickly. At the same time it will put more Soviet soldiers out of action. With this kind of weapon, imperialist logic will say, why not use the neutron warheads without restraint and in large numbers?

The big question is, what will the other superpower do in the face of all this? It is too early to tell what response the New Czars will have to neutron-tipped tactical weapons. But they will be forced to do something. Both the U.S. and Soviets are striving for world domination, and this conflict propels each to escalate its arming.

Cruise missiles dramatically improve the U.S.'s of

Continued on Page 14



The work of local Organizing Committees in important battles like the Brach strike in Chicago is revealing the great need for and potential of a national workers organization.

All Out...

Continued from Page 1

Of course the capitalist enemy has tried to keep the word of the national workers organization from getting out. But already in building struggle the Organizing Committee has shown that this organization cannot be kept from public view. One of the high points of the New York picnic was the unveiling of two six feet high plywood replicas of the organizing committee's symbol—row upon row of workers holding high one common fist. In the next few weeks "floats" will be driven on flatbed trucks around the city, especially for plant gate rallies.

In Columbus, Ohio the Organizing Committee took the lead in clobbering the Ku Klux Klan when they tried to spew their venom at a rally, and then proceeded to trounce them again in a debate on the airwaves.

Potential Shown

The period of work leading to the convention has not only won more and more fighters to the cause but has given a vivid demonstration of the potential strength of the organization and one of its important functions.

In many cities the organizing committee has been able to link up with and help give leadership to sharp struggles of the workers breaking out, especially some hard fought strikes.

The St. Louis Organizing Committee is playing a major role in the Hussmann strike, organizing active workers to lead a struggle which saw 1100 workers vote down unanimously an attempt by the Steelworkers International to force through another sellout. In Chicago the Organizing Committee has linked up with and helped strengthen a strike committee in the wildcat of 3000 at Brach's candy. And in the Latrobe, Pa. strike of UAW members the Organizing Committee helped the workers to organize to win the strike, with several joining in the efforts to build the national workers organization.

The gains in these struggles represent an important part of what will be the function of the national workers organization. It will enable organization of the rank and

file to spread from those industries and plants where it already exists to other sections of the workers, increasing the strength and power of forces of the workers overall.

Still, the number of workers present at the founding convention will be small relative to the broadest numbers of workers presently engaged in struggle. The question presents itself to the active workers, why should I come to the convention, what will it accomplish?

The convention itself will represent a real step forward in building the struggle of the class. A thousand plus workers taking time out from battles big and small to forge together a program which will speak to the needs of tens of millions of workers, and the convention will focus on key battles that can become rallying points of struggle for hundreds of thousands of workers.

Although the forces at the convention will be relatively small, experience shows that small forces can lead big battles and grow in numbers, strength and influence. The national workers organization will strengthen the backbone of the organized resistance of the working class, helping to put the struggle of the working class on the center stage in this country.

The convention will bring together workers from various industries who can exchange their experience in struggle and deepen their understanding of the battles the class is involved in. And this will strengthen the struggle in every industry represented.

But most important, the convention will enable the national workers organization to begin in a big way to make the decisions and arrive at concrete plans to carry out its main method of leading struggle, the single spark method of concentrating the forces of the working class on key battles to build them into campaigns of the working class.

Concentrating the strength of the working class nationwide on key battles, while continuing to build and strengthen rank and file organization in every possible shop and factory in the country—this is what the national workers organization will make possible. And the key to making this leap forward will be the convention in Chicago this Labor Day weekend.

The decisions that await the assembled workers at the Pick Congress Hotel are vital—and tough—questions. It is essential that every class conscious worker be there, to bring the greatest wealth of experience to bear in deciding what battles to concentrate on. A large and decisive turnout is key to forging the unity that will enable the newborn organization to translate the decisions arrived at in Chicago into the kind of broad scale and hard hitting campaigns of the working class that are so critical for advancing the struggle.

Final arrangements have been made with the hotel and registration forms are available from the local Organizing Committees. A national office has been set up in the Chicago Loop. Many areas are now turning their attention to transportation. The Southern contingent from Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, Alabama and other states is discussing renting a train car. From the East Coast an entire "On to Chicago Train" will be picking up worker delegates from Philly; Baltimore; Washington, D.C.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Pittsburgh; Canton, Ohio; and Valparaiso and Ft. Wayne, Ind. Those who can't take the Friday before off are going on a special charter plane leaving from New York City. And of course carpools are being arranged across the country.

The national workers organization can be a qualitative leap forward for the working class. But it can only be this if active fighters everywhere make it happen. The time is short. Let's pull out all the stops and make this convention a shot heard around the country.

All Out For Labor Day Weekend!

On to Chicago! ■

To contact the national office of the Organizing Committee call (312) 663-4310 or write 343 S. Dearborn, Rm. 1405, Chicago, IL 60604.

Fascists...

Continued from Page 1

like a lightning rod for people's outrage. One afternoon, in broad daylight, a large crowd of elderly Jewish people advanced on the bookstore and barged in. They ran the young Nazi "toughs" down the street, smashed the store and its contents and built a bonfire out of Nazi hate literature.

Plains, Georgia

On July 2 in Plains, Georgia, Buddy Cochran, a 30-year-old white tractor mechanic from nearby Americus, rammed his car into the speaker's platform at a Klan rally. He broke up the rally, sending the Imperial Wizard flying into the air and injuring thirty participants, none seriously.

The local authorities slammed Cochran into jail, setting bond at \$210,000 for 21 counts of aggravated assault. Justice of the Peace John Southwell called it "one of the most uncalled for incidents I've ever seen" and angrily stated that "when you get someone like that, you want to put them in the electric chair, but you can't."

Early on the day of the Klan rally five Black men exchanged angry words and shoves with Klansmen before they were hustled off by police. "They oughta be dead," one Black man told the police. "They buried enough of ours." As the rally was beginning, four young people picketed, carrying signs reading "Racists Go Home" and "Love Thy Neighbor." The police told them they had no permit.

President Carter's mother, Lillian, watched the rally from across the street in a parked car up until the time Cochran came plowing through in his car, when she was rushed home. Billy Carter also dropped by to listen to the Klan, staying for ten minutes but leaving before Cochran busted it up. Neither the President or any of the Carter clan has made a statement condemning the Klan or its rally, or made an effort to keep the Klan out of Plains. In fact, last November 14 this same "Imperial Wizard" was invited by the deacons of Jimmy Carter's Plains Baptist Church to help sway votes of the congregation on whether or not to open services to Blacks.

A news film televised nationwide shows Cochran arguing with several Klansmen before the incident. He was telling them that Blacks were as good as whites and entitled to be treated that way. The Klansmen told Buddy he'd been around "niggers" too long. Cochran told them face-to-face that their newspaper, *The Klansmen*, was a pack of lies. This network news film was only shown the night of the incident. Since then it's been buried in the files and instead the news has concentrated on portraying Cochran as a drunk who hurt a lot of innocent bystanders and took away the Klan's right of free speech.

Cochran has said that he's sorry some innocent people got hurt, but that always seems to happen in a fight for a just cause. Some of those hurt have refused to press charges against him and have even told his wife they support him.

Cochran has stated he's long hated the oppression of Blacks. He had served three tours as a marine in Vietnam, north of Da Nang. He saw firsthand that, when it came to dying, Black soldiers were treated more than equally. But, when it came to living, he saw discrimination in housing and jobs used against the men he served with in Nam. At Camp LeJeune, North Carolina, Cochran witnessed Klan violence on the base and he feared it would happen in Americus.

Letters have been pouring in from all over the country in support of Buddy Cochran. While the Cochran's home has been broken into several times since the incident, people, Black and white, have been walking up to his wife on the streets to shake her hand. A Buddy Cochran Defense Committee and a Buddy Cochran Defense Fund have been initiated by the local Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization and the national office of the Organizing Committee has sent out letters to all the local committees urging them to actively support Cochran's case. Volunteers have stepped forward in Americus and Atlanta to aid in the defense work.

There is a lot of talk in Americus' Black community about packing the courtroom in support of Cochran when he comes to trial as well as organizing to meet the Klan if they come back to Plains.

Buddy Cochran's heroic act struck a chord in the hearts of millions of people and his inspiring example spells further trouble for the Klan as people get down to the business of organizing against them.

Columbus, Ohio

On July 4th, in Columbus, Ohio, the Ku Klux Klan tried to organize a rally in opposition to school desegregation and busing. They hoped to be able to spew out their poisonous race hatred and filth about putting Blacks into "white schools." But these dogs didn't

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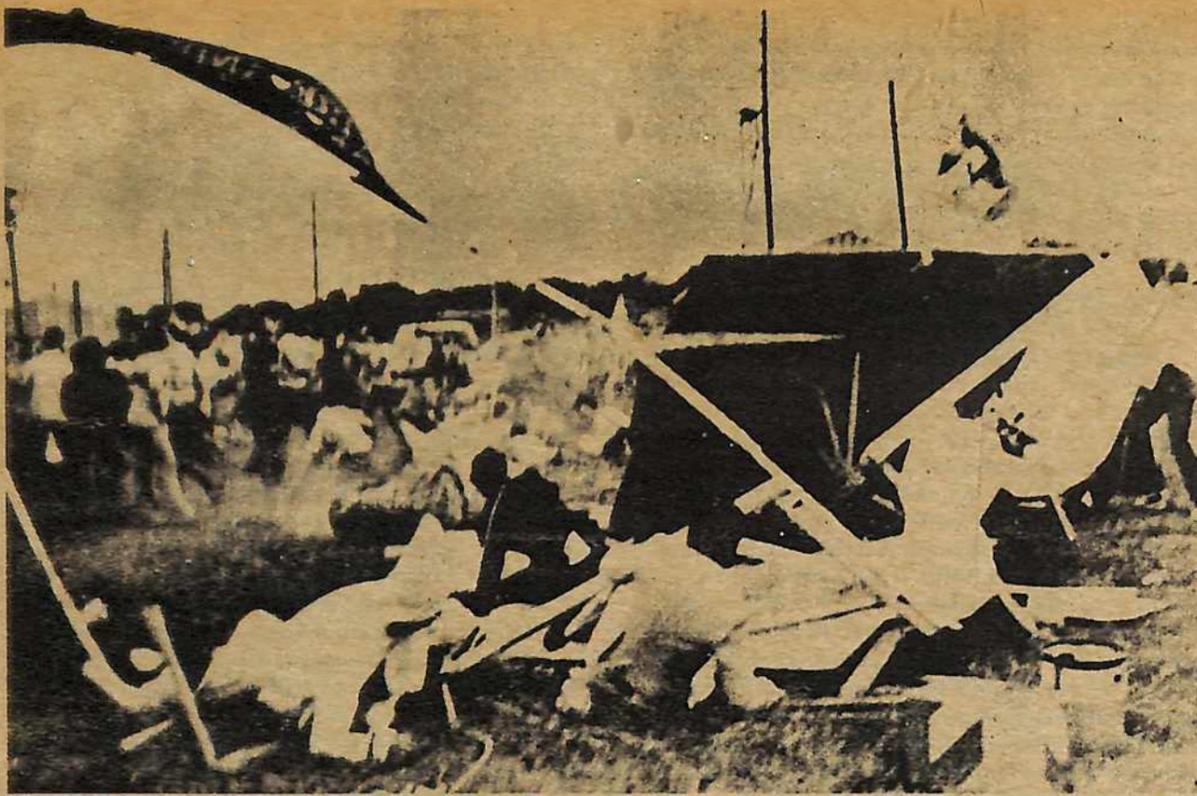
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Various Kleagles, Kludds and other Klavern-dwellers go flying as Buddy Cochran runs his ride through a crowd of Georgia Klansmen, putting a quick stop to their racist rally.

Fascists...

Continued from page 12

even get started. The Klan got klobbered.

When word of the planned Klan rally was spread, trumpeted, of course, by the capitalists' media, the local Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization began building against it, leafletting plants and communities. From all across the state, including Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton and Cincinnati, workers responded to the call and put aside their barbecues and family plans to go to Columbus and stop the Klan.

When the local Imperial Wizard and his handful of Ku Klux Klanners got up on the statehouse steps, they saw 300 people, Black and white, workers and students and people from the neighborhoods of Columbus marching towards him.

Led by workers from the Organizing Committee a number of the demonstrators stepped right up to the podium. The Wizard began shaking in his purple sheets and whipped out a can of mace to use on the crowd. Seconds later he was stretched out on the steps, sheets torn, loudspeakers smashed. Later the Imperial Wizard told reporters, "I guess this means we'll have to go underground."

The Columbus police came flying in to protect the Klan, billy clubs rising and falling. Four demonstrators were arrested but the protest was not halted, only growing louder and stronger.

The Columbus action received national attention. In a number of newspapers the headline was "Blacks Attack Klan" or some variation and yet the picture sent out by the wire services, sometimes run side by side with such articles, is of an obviously white man slugging the Imperial Wizard.

This contradiction shows how the ruling class will bend over backwards to get out yet another twist in their line. Amongst Blacks and other minorities the media tries to promote the idea that few whites are concerned about the Klan, even that all whites agree with the Klan to one extent or another. Linked with the lies about Buddy Cochran, the message is that the Klan is opposed only by Blacks and a few drunk, crazy whites.

Chicago

For months before July 4th, the local Nazi grouplet in Chicago had been threatening to march in suburban Skokie, which is not only two-thirds Jewish but home for 7000 people (10% of the population) who are survivors of Hitler's death camps. A planned May Day march by the Nazis had run into a web of legal entanglements and their attempt to pull it off a day before May Day had gotten them turned back by police at Skokie's village limits. The Nazis had used all the publicity surrounding their earlier bust to make a big issue out of their proposed July 4th march.

In the days leading up to July 4th the Nazis had held their national convention, intended to form a national Nazi party. The march in Skokie, stated to be an exercise in the "rights of white people," was going to be a sort of victory march to cap off their convention.

The threatened march was a slap in the face to hundreds of thousands of people in Chicago and Skokie.

In the Chicago/Gary area, the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization initiated a Run the Nazis Out Coalition bringing together various progressive organizations in the cities. In Skokie, the Zionist-terrorist Jewish Defense League (JDL), until

then a small isolated group in the area, used the Nazis to build themselves up in a big way, even flying their leader, Rabbi Meir Kehane, in from Israel. Also, other forces in Skokie began mobilizing opinion and planning how to deal with the Nazis.

The Coalition worked on three fronts, in selected Chicago neighborhoods and plants, in Marquette Park, where the Nazis have a small social base, and in Skokie. Around Chicago the Coalition found deep hatred of the Nazis and everything they stood for and hundreds of people said that if the Nazis came to their neighborhood they'd be taken out in an ambulance. In Marquette Park, however, there were some differences.

Many residents came over from Europe in the wake of World War 2, among them a significant element who fled because of their pro-Nazi stand during the war. With this easing their way into the community the Nazis did active political work among whites, taking advantage of contradictions with Blacks around busing and housing, building a base. Yet, many people whom the Coalition leafletted expressed their support although most of them did so very quietly, afraid that if the Nazis saw them they would catch hell later.

In Skokie, where the main battlefield would be, the Coalition ran up against a particular problem. There was a big tendency among the largely petty bourgeois citizens of the town to see the Nazis as only a "problem for the Jews" and this "you can't trust the Gentiles" feeling was stirred up in a big way by the JDL and to a lesser extent by other forces. While hundreds of people united with the Coalition's line of "people of all nationalities unite," in the end the bulk of the masses in Skokie chose to follow leadership from their own community. Organizations within the Coalition had done no work in Skokie previously and no basis for winning large-scale leadership in Skokie developed.

Two days before July 4th, the Nazis announced they would not march in Skokie. With the ACLU's aid, the Nazis had fought the Skokie village government's web of legal restrictions but had lost. The Nazis vowed to continue the court battle until they could march legally but until then, marching in Skokie was off.

The Coalition moved its action to Marquette Park. Leafletting in Skokie and elsewhere had shown that the masses did not see the importance of Skokie so much anymore and so the Coalition moved to "get the Nazis on the run." On July 4th people from Chicago, Gary, Milwaukee and even a few from Skokie launched a picket line across from Nazi headquarters. A squad of Nazis stood outside their hall chanting

"Six million more!" and "Keep Marquette Park White." The demonstrators, 135 strong and carrying 2x2 picket sticks, were separated from the Nazis by 50 police with many more ready in the neighborhood. The picket was cut short when the police began moving on the demonstrators to protect the Nazis and the Coalition went two blocks away to hold a rally. Two of the many speakers were Marquette Park residents.

Even though the Nazis had claimed legal problems as the reason for not marching in Skokie, it was clear to the entire city that they had gotten off lucky. Had they gotten inside Skokie they would have been torn apart by hundreds of Skokie citizens who were down for action as well as people brought by the Coalition and other individuals who came out. The demonstration in Marquette Park was a fitting blow to the Nazis, showing that Marquette Park is not the Nazis "home" and they are not safe there from the wrath of the people.

As the scheduled Columbus and Skokie rallies approached, the media editorialized that these fascist groups, which they themselves were publicizing like crazy, were "insignificant" and should "be given their rights but ignored." They set out to portray all organized opposition to the rallies as "just more extremists" out to build themselves up, in Chicago taking particular advantage of the JDL's paramilitary posturings.

By ignoring or baiting the Organizing Committee and in Chicago the other groups in the Coalition as "reds" and mindless militants who only wanted to fight somebody and scrupulously avoiding any mention of the fact that workers of all nationalities were uniting to organize against these scum, the ruling class had more in mind than just trying to weaken opposition to the Nazis and Klan. They were out to show that around this attack, like all the other abuses of their decaying system, there are no real alternatives, only "extremists" compared with whom they are "reasonable and moderate."

And, in fact, one of the main questions the masses raised during and in the aftermath of the actions was "What about free speech?" In part, this grows out of a big concern the masses have for their own right to speak out and the fear that if the Klan is shut down, who's next? This sentiment was built up by the capitalists who used the Nazi and Klan to prove how wonderfully "democratic" the U.S. is, if these people can speak out so can everyone. Topping it off, and further muddying the waters, some muddleheaded liberals in the American Civil Liberties Union have been running out the most "logical" extension of the free speech riff, actually defending the right of these scum so that "everyone else will have the right, too," and lending their semi-progressive image to this human garbage. Within the ACLU this stand has caused heated debate with some forces rejecting this reactionary action.

As the coalitions in both Chicago and Columbus made clear, the stand of the advanced forces is not to call on the government to restrict the Nazis' and Klan's behavior. The only way to stop them is with the anger and power of the masses.

The question of the Nazis and Klan being able to spread their vicious propaganda is not one of constitutionality or not. In fact, preaching mass murder and genocide for entire nationalities, religions and races is probably not illegal in the U.S. just as condemning tens of millions to live as wage slaves so that a tiny few can live like kings is not illegal either.

All this makes clearer that behind the hoods and sheets of the Klan, Nazis and their ilk is the ugly face of bourgeois interests. These reactionaries and the poison they spew pose a threat to the masses of people. Wiping them out is a part of the overall working class struggle. No matter what the twists and turns of the capitalists' laws may be—for, against, "impartial"—the stand of the working class must be to unite the broadest numbers of people to smash these movements and grind them into the dirt. ■

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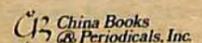
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Superpowers...

Continued from Page 5

how the Soviet Union is much more dangerous than the U.S., should be the target of the American working class' "main blow internationally" etc. For people who consider themselves revolutionaries in one of the two greatest imperialist oppressors of the world's people to take up this line is, as the RCP has pointed out in the past, a disgraceful exercise in social-chauvinism and class collaboration. Now the CP(ML) has tried to counterattack. They are out to prove that the RCP's position is "mechanical materialism" and that it presents a picture of the two superpowers as being "exactly the same" and in a state of "equilibrium," thus denying uneven development.

The *Class Struggle* article (No. 7, Spring 1977), authored by E. Klehr, commences its case by taking an article in the April *Revolution* which describes how the "rough parity" in military might between the two superpowers both feeds and is a clear sign of their increasing drive toward war. The author never answers this article, other than to say that the USSR has armed at a faster rate than the U.S. in recent years—a point the piece in *Revolution* also makes.

What the *Class Struggle* article does is to extrapolate from the RCP's position on the arms race that the Party believes "the two superpowers stand equal in the world today, exactly equal in most respects and perfectly counterbalanced in their strengths and weaknesses." Words like "exactly equal" and "perfectly counterbalanced" are inserted to give the ring of idealist metaphysics to the correct analysis of this question.

E. Klehr then goes on to assert that "the RCP fails to tie the question of the inevitability of imperialist war to the uneven development among the imperialist powers." Who is this supposed to fool? In the writings of the Party on the international situation—and those of the Revolutionary Union before it—this point is made repeatedly. See, for example, *How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle*, published in 1974, which also contains a *Marxist-Leninist* criticism of the theory of equilibrium, or the *Revolution* articles from 1975 and 1976 reprinted in the *War and Revolution* pamphlet.

More serious than the CP(ML)'s dishonesty, however, is the blind stupidity its own opportunism has produced. The author next quotes Stalin's comments to the ECCI cited earlier in this article! Stalin's point, as it happens, refutes their position entirely. The picture he paints of "levelling" describes the current situation with the USSR forging ahead to challenge its declining rival on every front. It is the CP(ML) who like the opportunists of Stalin's day "counterpose levelling to the law of uneven development under imperialism," (italics ours) by denying that the two superpowers can be the target of the world's people to the same extent.

In fact, the CP(ML) missed, or chose to omit, a section in Stalin's comments only a few lines later which explains why the present situation is not merely a momentary or accidental one. Stalin points out that in the age of imperialism an imperialist power cannot "overtake and then outstrip others economically," that is, as an imperialist power, "in an evolutionary way, so to speak, without spasmodic leaps, without catastrophic wars, and without redivision of the already divided world." (p. 614, italics Stalin's) Here Stalin is talking about the nature of the contradiction between imperialist powers and pointing out that only by a qualitative leap can the rising power defeat and supplant the declining one.

In other words, short of some immense change or upheaval in the international situation, only an inter-imperialist war can resolve this contradiction—and then only temporarily. Moreover, even the outbreak of such a war would not change the fact that the superpowers are in the same degree enemies of the people of the world, but would in fact confirm it. Certainly a new world war will differ in many respects from those that preceded it and it is not the job of Marxist-Leninists to predict exactly how things will develop. For example, the involvement in such a new world war of the People's Republic of China could change the overall character of the war, as happened in World War 2 after the invasion of the USSR.

If one superpower were to win a decisive victory in an inter-imperialist war—and successfully avoided revolution within its own borders—it might for a time assume the domination of an imperialist world—whose size, as after previous world wars, would certainly be diminished by the seizure of power by the proletariat and its allies in a number of countries. And inevitably in accordance with the law of uneven development new imperialists would rise to challenge its hegemony, a spiral which will only be broken by the victory of socialism on a world scale, which will be won through whatever stages are required country by country. It is the very existence of imperialism and the laws which govern it that are the source of war in today's world.

Thus, the CP(ML)'s concoction of the nonexistent RCP "theory of equilibrium" hasn't helped them dis-

credit the correct line or erect a defense for their own erroneous line. Previous articles in *Revolution* have repeatedly exposed this position as one that is essentially class collaborationist. While paying lip service to the fact that the two superpowers are the main enemies of the world's people, they do everything in their power to portray the USSR as the "real" main enemy and let the U.S. ruling class off the hook.

CP(ML) "Opposes" U.S.—For Appeasement

One way this position comes up in practice is the CP(ML)'s main criticism of the U.S. bourgeoisie's role in superpower contention. This criticism is that the dominant wing of the U.S. ruling class and government is carrying out an all-around policy of "appeasement" towards the Soviet Union, thus strengthening the New Czars and hastening the outbreak of world war.

The classic case of appeasement is, of course, the policy of the French and British imperialists in the last half of the 1930s, culminating in the turning over of Czechoslovakia to Nazi Germany at the Munich Conference in 1938. Their policy was to make such concessions to German imperialism as would direct its expansionist thrust eastward and, they hoped, lead Germany into armed conflict with the then socialist Soviet Union, while the Western European bourgeoisies could sit things out unscathed.

The CP(ML) does not make clear what they think the parallel with the present situation is. The main thrust of current U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union is not one of pushing it towards war with socialist China, and even the CP(ML) does not have the nerve to try and "fight appeasement" in the name of protecting China. Like the USSR, the U.S. knows that the focus of superpower contention is in Europe and it has shown no signs of making "ever-greater concessions" to its rivals, territorial or otherwise. In fact, U.S. policy around the world has been to contend ever more strenuously with their Soviet counterparts, whether it be in the field of propaganda around "human rights," or political maneuvering as in southern Africa or the Middle East, or of military preparations like the escalating rate at which new weapons systems designed for world war with the USSR are being developed.

What are the results of a line that claims the main aspect of U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union is appeasement? They can be glimpsed in a recent and somewhat schizophrenic editorial in the *Call* on why Carter decided not to go ahead with production of the B-1 bomber. On the one hand, the piece discards the idea that the B-1's high price tag was the problem, asserting "the \$94 billion, however, will undoubtedly find its way into other highly profitable military programs as the U.S. continues to build its arsenal to match the Soviet Union's."

On the other hand, the piece turns around and describes the decision "in line with other appeasement policies" and asserts that it gives the Soviet Union "yet another military advantage over the U.S." Is this supposed to be the reason Carter dumped the B-1? The article thus not only leaves the reader unclear on why the B-1 was tabled, but with its insistence that such "appeasement only hastens the pace of the opponent's aggression," leaves unclear whether the CP(ML) in fact opposes the building of the B-1 or favors it as a way to delay the onslaught of war.

The logic of the CP(ML)'s line, which they dare not admit, nonetheless leads them inexorably to open collaboration with their own bourgeoisie in the name of helping the international proletariat and its allies defeat

their "most dangerous" enemy. This is poison enough in the U.S., but they have the nerve to preach that revolutionaries in other countries, where the situation is even more volatile and complex, should take up their stand, irregardless of the particularities of their situation, and deliver their "main blow internationally" to the "main danger" the Soviet Union. This, from those whose special task should be the exposure, the crippling and the overthrow of the U.S. ruling class!

A final example of the importance of grasping that the U.S. and USSR are the enemies of the world's people to an equal extent is provided by recent events in Ethiopia. For years the dominant imperialist power in the country was the United States, which backed both feudal emperor Haile Selassie and the *derg*, the "revolutionary" military junta which replaced him, seizing power a few years ago during a great upsurge of struggle by the Ethiopian and Eritrean masses. To have portrayed the U.S. as the main enemy of the world's people, as do centrists like the *Guardian*, would have made it impossible to predict or understand the *derg's* recent switching of superpower masters to the Soviet Union, which has replaced the U.S. as sponsor of the *derg's* desperate efforts to crush the Eritrean rebellion and the struggle of the Ethiopian people.

To conclude from this, however, that the Soviet Union is the main enemy of or main danger to the world's people would be an equally serious error. Leaving aside U.S. attempts to use the Soviet Union's Ethiopian commitment as a lever to dislodge its other holds in the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, the U.S. is also not resigned to the loss of Ethiopia. Together with a number of European powers, it is trying to find puppets in and seeking to influence the Eritrean movement, and to try and turn the revolutionary sentiments and struggle of the Ethiopian masses to its advantage, is bankrolling the phoney Ethiopian Democratic Union, a landlord-led guerrilla movement which controls sections of the Ethiopian countryside. With the *derg* increasingly shaky and revolutionary ferment growing, the United States and the Soviet Union represent a rock and whirlpool past both of which the Eritrean and Ethiopian masses must navigate in order to win victory in their struggle.

Revolution is made and won country by country and it is the task of revolutionaries in every country to develop a strategy which can lead the masses to victory. Such a strategy cannot be developed without a correct analysis of the international situation and the struggle of the masses on a world scale.

The CP(ML) can come up with a dozen reasons why the enemy of its own bourgeoisie should be the main target—the USSR is on the rise, it's more likely to be the one which shoots first in a new war and so on. And of course there are those who will hold up the opposite pole of the same idiocy, equally sham Marxist-Leninists like the *Guardian* centrists who will come up with a dozen reasons for letting the Soviet Union off the hook—the U.S. is still the dominant imperialist power in the world, it is the biggest backer of outlaw regimes like Israel and South Africa and so forth.

The fact remains that what the working class and its allies, in the U.S. and worldwide, need is dialectics and concrete class analysis of conditions internationally and in each country. That analysis tells us that on a world scale there are two main enemies of the masses of people and to underestimate either one in the slightest degree is a mistake of the gravest proportions. ■

War and Revolution



The international situation today is marked by rapid change and great turmoil. It is crucial for the working class to grasp the essence of this situation, to create clarity out of confusion on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and turn the turmoil to its greatest advantage in order to advance its struggle worldwide toward the goal of revolution and socialism. This pamphlet presents seven important articles from *Revolution* on the key question of war and revolution.

Order from RCP Publications

Arms...

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fensive strategic posture; neutron warheads, if they are approved by Carter, will dramatically improve the ability of NATO to defend Western Europe from a Soviet attack, and even offer a greater possibility of a successful counterattack to "liberate" Eastern Europe. Each such improvement by the U.S. will be met by an attempt to counter it by the Soviet Union, each such improvement by the Soviet Union will attempt to be countered by the U.S., this is a necessary part of their rivalry for world domination.

An object of a war between the two superpowers and their blocs, besides victory, is the successful protection of their own means of production. If Western Europe and the U.S. lose their cities in a general nuclear exchange, any victory at the front lines would be very hollow, indeed, no matter how bad off the Soviet Union was. The two new U.S. weapons are perfectly suited to this kind of protection. Neutron warheads over West Germany, or East Germany should NATO move to "liberate" parts of the Soviet empire, will keep the prize intact. Cruise missiles, with their increased first strike capability, offer them the hope of catching Soviet missiles in their silos, saving the U.S. capitalists' factories, or, at least, more than previously could be hoped for.

Despite the hue and cry about "defense" and "going slow in arms production" the neutron bomb and B-1 decisions are clear exposures of the escalating imperialist war preparations of both the U.S. and USSR. ■

Party...

Continued from Page 3

as the first two conditions come into being—which, of course, is related to the Party's work among the masses in the non-revolutionary situation, in building mass struggle and raising the consciousness of the struggling masses—then the question of the Party's ability to lead the masses in seizing the opportunity becomes decisive.

If the Party has not built a strong base, ideologically, politically and organizationally among the workers, especially but not exclusively the most active and class conscious, in the basic industries where the workers are concentrated and have their character as a class, then it will be seriously crippled in its ability to lead the masses in making revolution even with the development of an objectively revolutionary situation.

This emphasizes the fact that party building has to be conducted in close connection with what today is the Party's central task, "to build the struggle, class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and develop its leadership of a broad united front against the U.S. imperialists, in the context of the worldwide united front against imperialism aimed at the rulers of the two superpowers. As this is developed, together with the development of a revolutionary situation, the question of mobilizing the masses for the armed insurrection will then come to the fore as the immediate question." (*Programme*, p. 102)

At this point the Party's role in leading the masses in this task will come down over line, formulating policies to win over the broadest masses to revolutionary struggle, and over concrete questions such as how, on the basis of that line, to organize the armed power of the working class, based on and backed by the organized strength of the workers, especially where they are most concentrated, in basic industry.

The Party's *Programme* clearly sets forth its role and responsibility in this light: "When the conditions are ripe, the Party organizes and directs the armed forces of the working class, in smashing the bourgeois state and suppressing the bourgeoisie." In this situation, with the insurrection and in the conditions of civil war, the Party must not only lead the armed struggle, but must lead the masses in carrying out other urgent tasks, such as defending the factories from capitalist attempts to destroy them once an area has been seized by the working class, finding the ways to continue or restore production and meet the needs of the people, including the supplying of the workers armed forces, and concretely exercising political power in the areas they capture.

In this situation, while mass organization will play a crucial role, success or failure will ultimately depend on the line and the organized strength of the Party. The deeper its roots among the workers, the more it is concentrated in basic, strategic industries, and most fundamentally, the more it has built the foundation for developing factories into actual fortresses of revolutionary struggle, the greater will be its ability to lead the masses in the armed conflict with the capitalists. At that time such questions will, literally, be a matter of life or death.

Transforming All Society

Looking beyond the first great step of the working class in carrying out its historical mission—the seizure of power through the armed overthrow of the capitalist class—and considering the question of transforming all of society to achieve communism, it is still more decisive that the Party be based where the workers are organized in production. For how can the differences between industry and agriculture, between workers in different industries and other contradictions be handled in accordance with the interests of the working class as a whole in advancing society, without a Party that, exactly because it is rooted in all different sectors, is able not only to forge but to carry out lines and policies representing the interests of the working class, greater than any of its particular parts and greater than any particular sector of society?

Without a Party with a correct line to synthesize, through the application of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, the overall interests of the working class and society and concretize these into policies, the working class and masses will be split into conflicting and competing fragments and will be incapable of maintaining its rule and continuing on the socialist road. Only based on this higher synthesis can the working class develop economic plans and other ways of running and transforming society that actually correspond to the needs of the people. Without this, different sections of the working class and society would be blind to each other's needs and abilities—separated, for example, by the walls of the objective divisions of industry and agriculture into different sections of production. And without that Party being organized among the different sectors of society, and most especially its basic productive units, it will be unable to achieve that correct synthesis, to arm the broad masses with correct lines and policies and actually lead the masses in carrying them out.

In the U.S. today such questions may seem remote and abstract, since it is not only the case that the working class does not yet hold state power but the immediate prospect of the working class seizing power does not exist—in short this is a non-revolutionary situation, in which the capitalist class, though in deepening crisis and being weakened, still has reserves and is able to maintain its rule with *relative* stability. But the point is, as stressed throughout the Report from the RCP Central Committee and in this article, that all the work of the Party now plays a decisive part in preparing the working class and its Party for the development of a revolutionary situation in the future. And it is exactly for this reason that the Party must concentrate its forces in the working class, especially in basic industry where workers are most concentrated and socialized, and must build mass struggle, mass organization and the Party itself mainly in these areas, "along the lines of the organization of production and society," as the *Constitution* of the RCP sets down.

Work Among All Oppressed

At the same time, however, in order to carry out its role as the vanguard of the working class, the Party must not only build basic units in industry or carry out work only in the working class, but must work among all strata and groups oppressed by the capitalists. Just as Mao Tsetung says that man's most fundamental practical activity is in production, he also emphasizes that "Man's social practice is not confined to activity in production, but takes many other forms—class struggle, political life, scientific and artistic pursuits; in short, as a social being, man participates in all spheres of the practical life of society. Thus man, in varying degrees, comes to know the different relations between man and man, not only through his material life but also through his political and cultural life (both of which are intimately bound up with material life)." ("On Practice," *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 296)

As it says in the RCP *Programme*: "The basic conflict in capitalist society is between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, representing socialized production on the one hand and private ownership of the means of production on the other. But this basic contradiction gives rise to other contradictions, which are mainly influenced by, but also have a significant influence on, the basic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." (p. 97)

Workers are concerned about and wage struggle around not only conditions where they work, but also about many other questions that affect them in every sphere of society. This does not change the fact that it is in production that workers have their basic character as a class, nor does it deny the fact that the organization of the working class and its Party must be rooted where workers are organized in production. But it does point to the need to develop the movement of the working class, as a class for itself, fighting around all the major social questions, regardless of what strata or group is most directly affected—students, oppressed minorities, etc. The point is, the working class and its Party must be organized and mobilized to take up and "infuse its strength, discipline and revolutionary outlook into every major social movement," and that in order to do this it is crucial to root organization where the workers are concentrated as a class, turning every "factory into a fortress" of all-around struggle against the ruling class.

Along with this, the Party of the working class must build units among and lead the struggle of other sections of the people. The strategy of the working class for making revolution is the united front against the imperialist ruling class under the leadership of the working class. This can only be built if the Party of the working class, while mainly rooted in the struggles of the workers themselves, also joins with and gives leadership to the struggles of all those strata and groups that are oppressed by and fight back against the imperialist rulers. But, in addition, as V.I. Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?*, "Working-class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to *all* cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and, no matter *what class* is affected—unless they are trained, moreover, to respond from a . . . [communist] point of view and no other. The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class-consciousness, unless the workers learn, from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events to observe *every* other social class in *all* the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of *all* classes, strata, and groups of the population." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 412)

Recent experience in the U.S. has shown how the struggle of Black people and other oppressed nationalities, students and youth and other sections of the people fighting against U.S. aggression in Indochina and more recently against U.S. backing for the racist regimes in southern Africa, the fight of women for equality and other struggles have raised questions, created controversy and generated discussion and struggle among broad numbers of workers, inspiring the most advanced in particular with the desire to build struggle against the same capitalist enemy. All this has, overall,

had a very positive effect on the working class.

At the same time there is confusion and backward reactions among workers in response to these struggles and there are, of course, shortcomings and limitations to these various social movements, despite their positive character overall. But this stresses all the more the need for the Party of the working class to both work among these other strata to give leadership to them, to bring forward the outlook and interests of the working class, and even more importantly to bring to the workers an understanding of both the overall positive role and also the shortcomings of these struggles and the *class basis* of this. As the *Programme* of the RCP states, "Only by uniting with all social forces fighting imperialism can the working class develop consciousness of its own historical role as capitalism's gravedigger. The proletariat will learn more sharply the nature of society and the monopoly capitalists who rule it, as it sees also the vacillation of the other strata toward the bourgeoisie, their narrowness and self-interest. With the aid of the Party, it sums up that none of these other class forces can represent its interests, and that this stems from the fact that they have a different position in society—they own some means of production or stand above the proletariat in society's 'division of labor.' Thus the working class not only wins allies in the course of building the united front, but learns why it alone can lead them to overthrow the monopoly capitalists." (p. 103)

Once again, this emphasizes the fact that, while working among all strata oppressed by the capitalists, in all social movements, and recruiting into the Party advanced, revolutionary-minded fighters in these movements who are won to the stand of the working class, the Party must concentrate its organization and build the Party mainly among the workers, especially where their strength and character as a class is most concentrated. And, again, while building mass struggle and mass organization, the Party units must also devote systematic efforts to finding and training revolutionaries and recruiting them into the Party, to building the Party as the vanguard of the working class firmly based in the backbone of the working class along the lines that the workers are organized in production, and to strengthening its ability not only to lead the immediate battles but to prepare its own ranks and the masses to carry revolutionary struggle through to victory when the conditions for revolution ripen. ■

Youth...

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lems youth face and winning many new youth to the need for proletarian revolution. And it will help consolidate youth already in the groups—showing how small forces can start to build the struggle against the bourgeoisie and bring other people into the revolutionary movement.

Throughout the next month propaganda, posters and T-shirts will be coming out—to start making the formation of a young communist organization in October a question among youth and those taking up this campaign and broader. And on Saturday, August 20, there will be a mass meeting in New York City to put out and discuss this young communist organization, unite youth around the Wall Street actions and make plans for the last two months of building for it.

The campaign towards Wall St. is swinging into full gear—a poster is going up in neighborhoods and communities with the headline "5 MILLION YOUTH NEED JOBS!" "MARCH ON THE WALL ST. BANKERS AND BOSSES!" T-shirts are coming out advertising the demonstration, a short slide show on unemployment is to be shown in community centers, parks and neighborhoods—and a pamphlet by the *Young Red* explaining how the rich rulers of Wall Street cause unemployment. These tools will help the organizing that has already started.

Youth groups in different cities have gone out to unite with and build local struggles around Jobs for Youth and point towards the Wall St. actions as an important time to take on the whole fight, and unite these struggles against the enemy. In New York, Youth in Action linked up with a community organization in Bedford-Stuyvesant and led a demonstration of 150 youth blocking traffic for an hour. The result was 1600 government jobs came through to the community. Youth in Action in Philly has taken up the fight for a higher minimum wage as part of the overall Jobs for Youth campaign and March on Wall Street. One target of this has been McDonalds and other youth employers who pay youth below the minimum wage. The campaign is just getting rolling in other cities with groups taking up other local battles around jobs programs, minimum wage, fighting against rotting conditions in the neighborhoods and linking this to the fight for jobs. All of this is being put in the context of going to Wall Street to confront the rich blood-suckers who stand behind every abuse. ■