

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

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



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

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CALL TO MODERNIZE CHINA!

The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, held last month in socialist China, marked the beginning of a new period for the People's Republic. The ideological, political, and organizational defeat of the "gang of four" laid the basis for China to move forward on becoming a powerful, modern socialist country by the year 2000. The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress was an important step in mobilizing and uniting the masses of Chinese people around this goal.

The Fifth National People's Congress re-affirmed the direction established by the Third (1964-65) and Fourth (1975) National People's Congresses. Under the leadership of Mao Tsetung and Chou En Lai, a plan was presented at those congresses which called for the all-round modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology -- "The Four Modernizations". This direction is now affirmed as law in the new constitution adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress.

The building of China into a powerful, modern socialist country is of great significance for the entire world-wide communist movement and for the broad masses of oppressed peoples. Everyday the threat of war grows greater as the rivalry between the US and the USSR for world hegemony sharpens. Against this threat of war stands the world-wide united front against superpower hegemonism. This united front is becoming stronger each day as more and more countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and even in Europe stand up to the hegemonistic aims of both the US and the USSR.

China, a socialist country, must play a leading role in building this united front. By building its economy, defense capabilities, and solidifying its ties with the countries of the third and second worlds, China is taking concrete steps to strengthen the united front against hegemonism.

BUILDING CHINA INTO A POWERFUL AND MODERN SOCIALIST COUNTRY

The Fifth National People's Congress adopted a ten-year plan which sets guidelines for economic development until 1985. The ten-year plan explains that rapid development of the economy is decisive in building China into a powerful and modern socialist country by the year 2000. In agriculture the plan calls for mechanization, electrification, and irrigation of areas where backward methods are still employed. Industrial planning calls for accelerated development of industry, especially heavy industry.

In the work report delivered to the National People's Congress Party Chairman Hua Kuo-fung states that agriculture is the foundation of China's economy. Therefore China's resources must be used to mobilize agriculture. Agricultural regions must raise their output by applying the lessons learned from Tachai, a model rural county which emphasized modernization. If scientific farming methods are practiced and mechanization is speeded up, a 4-5% yield increase per year will be achieved. In industrial regions, plans adopted

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APRIL 15 ANTI-BAKKE MARCH

After regional meetings and demonstrations last weekend to protest the racist Bakke decision, the anti-Bakke movement looks forward to a national demonstration in Washington, D.C. on April 15. Militants from both the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition (ABDC) and the National Coalition To Overturn The Bakke Decision will be participating in the march. The demonstration therefore provides a good opportunity to strengthen the national scope of the overall anti-Bakke movement.

What is the basis for unity of action among all anti-Bakke forces? In our view the fundamental basis for such unity, which must be based on principle, is support for the struggle for equal rights of women and oppressed minorities. Specifically, in the framework of the Bakke decision, this means a defense of all affirmative action programs and support for their extension.

Thus while we carry out propaganda in our workplaces, in our communities and in the mass movement on the leading role of the proletariat as a vanguard fighter for democracy, on the particular character of national oppression under imperialism, and on the difference between

a revolutionary and reformist approach to the question of equal rights, we should seek common action with all those who mobilize mass support for the equal rights of women and oppressed minorities and for the affirmative action programs attacked by the Bakke decision.

This is the basis for widespread and militant mobilization for April 15.

The anti-Bakke movement is definitely growing in amplitude as the significance of the Bakke offensive becomes more and more clear in every workplace and community across the nation. Because of Bakke dozens of law suits have been filed challenging affirmative action programs, with the result in many cases that the program itself gets frozen in the meantime. In February a federal court for the first time adopted the position of the California state court in Bakke and decided that a police department affirmative action program in Detroit which divided promotions equally among blacks and whites was unconstitutional racial discrimination against whites. Even more significant, in Louisiana a federal appeals court extended the reasoning of the Bakke case to a suit arising under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

This statute prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of sex or national origin. The court held that the statute was violated when a white employee was passed over for craft training at a Kaiser steel plant because of a company affirmative action plan.

As resistance to this offensive grows, particularly among the working class, we will be left behind if we do not mobilize with an energy and scope equal to it.

The policies we pursue must neither isolate us from the broad masses eager to take up the struggle nor belittle our responsibility to give the most advanced leadership possible to the movement.

On the one hand we must strive to unite in common action with all who can be united to give firm support to the struggle for equal rights of women and oppressed minorities, and to defend affirmative action programs. On the other hand, we must preserve our independence and, as Marxist-Leninists, point out that the struggle for equal rights must be connected to the struggle of oppressed nations and peoples for liberation from imperialism and to the struggle of the proletariat for proletarian revolution.

CARTER'S IMMIGRATION PLAN

NEW ATTACK ON UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS

THIS ARTICLE BEGINS A SERIES ON IMMIGRATION

This spring Congress considers President Carter's so-called "humanitarian" solution for the "illegal" alien problem.

The Carter administration recognizes that undocumented immigrants work and live under oppressive conditions. In his message to Congress last August, Carter said, "I have concluded that an adjustment of status is necessary to avoid having a permanent 'underclass' of millions of persons who have not been and cannot practically be deported, and who would continue living here in perpetual fear of immigration authorities, the local police, employers and neighbors". His co-hort, Leonel Castillo, Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) adds that their proposals are a "way to humanely and pragmatically deal with the millions of undocumented workers already here" who "are subject to mistreatment and poor living and working conditions."

Even if Carter's concern for "illegal" immigrants were sincere, he's much too late to prevent the existence of such an "underclass". Forced migration begins when capitalism destroys the feudal economy forcing peasants off the land and into cities to work in factories or to join a reserve army of unemployed workers. It was hunger and loss of land that drove millions of displaced peasants to leave Europe in the 19th century to work in new US factories and mines in the lowest paid and unskilled jobs. It was poverty and loss of land that drove Asian peasants to the western US where they built the railroads and labored in the fields. Imperialism retards development of whole nations' economies, throwing more people off their lands and out of work, putting more pressure on them to travel to work in the oppressor nation.

After quota systems practically cut off outside immigration to the US in the 1920's, it was thousands of Blacks who became the new underclass. Landless and poor, they traveled from their nation in the Black Belt South to take the lowest paid factory jobs in the North. Blacks were kept in their place as the "underclass" by the Jim Crow that migrated along with them.

Today, "illegal" immigrants are the newest "underclass" cultivated to serve the needs of US imperialism, not only for profits, but for superprofits. In 1975, the average wage for an undocumented worker in the US was \$2.34 an hour while the average worker earned \$4.54. Undocumented immigrants work in the lowest paid, lowest skilled jobs in agriculture, in small manufacturing plants, and in services like restaurants and hotels. For many small factories, who are squeezed by the monopolies and forced to sell their products at below value, it is only the availability of workers who can be paid below minimum wage that keeps them from going broke. As a result the large monopolies can buy the goods of these business' for less than their value.

In addition, the lower the wages for the bottom rank of workers, the lower that the wage scale can be kept for the entire working class. This is especially true for the unorganized sector. And, by paying agricultural workers as little as possible, the bourgeoisie keeps down food prices -- a basic factor in determining wages.

The average undocumented worker is a 28-30 year old man who comes into this country alone. In other words, they are in the prime of their working lives. US capital takes advantage of this without providing social services such as educational and medical care for the families they left behind or,

for that matter, without providing retirement for them when they return to their native land. If they bring families, because they are traveling with the crops or don't have legal papers, their children are denied an education. Alone, or with their families, because of their illegal status, these immigrant workers are denied social services such as hospitals, unemployment insurance, and workmen's compensation.

Most importantly, unlike previous immigrants, the illegal status of the new "underclass" completely robs them of even any pretense of political rights. Like Jim Crow laws, the deprivation of political and social rights is total. "Illegal" workers cannot vote, have no right of free speech or assembly, cannot serve on juries or use the courts for civil suits, etc. While the benefits of citizenship are withheld, they are subject to the obligations. They must pay taxes and can be arrested, tried, and jailed under US law. Thus, denial of political rights means that undocumented workers have a difficult time resisting exploitation and oppression. They have no redress in the governmental process. They are prevented from organizing in unions. Many times, the INS arrives just before a union certification election or during a strike to arrest and deport "troublemakers". Deportation is important to the bourgeoisie as a coercive tool to enforce exploitation.

CARTER'S PLANS--NO SOLUTION

Hypocritically, Carter proclaims his concern for these violations of "human rights". Just as "separate but equal" gave "legal" sanction to Jim Crow, the real intent of Carter's immigration plans are to legalize and

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Issues out the oppressed citizens of Mexico.

BUREAUCRATS BETRAY MINERS STRIKE

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FIGHT FOR NEW LEADERSHIP IN THE MINES!

The 110 day coal strike ended on March 24th as UMW miners approved a new contract. In most respects this agreement is essentially the same as the one that the miners overwhelmingly rejected just three weeks before. Overall it reflects a step backward from the 1974 agreement.

To begin with, the new contract ends the 30 year old UMW health plan which provided lifetime fully paid benefits for miners and their families. Instead it substitutes more limited individual company plans through private insurance companies. For the first time miners will pay up to \$200 a year in health care deductibles. With more clinics forced to close, with deductibles and more limited coverage, the agreement means a significant cutback in medical services available to miners and their families.

The new agreement gives retired miners who now receive \$250 under the 1950 UMW Pension Plan only a \$25 raise to \$275 a month -- much less than the higher scale of miners who retired under the 1974 Pension Plan. Equalizing these benefits had been one of the major reasons for rejecting earlier contract offers. Yet, not only has this come back without significant increase, but these pensions still will not be guaranteed beyond the three year life of the settlement.

The terms of the new contract do not include the employer demand for a mandatory incentive system which had been included in earlier proposals, but it does make a new provision for voluntary bonus plans at individual mines with the approval of the local's membership. Any such plan, however, is an inroad designed to get around union work rules for limiting labor intensity and ensuring safety. It is fundamentally inconsistent with strong union solidarity.

Most important, the new agreement denies miners the right to strike. Just as in the 1974 contract, miners are supposed to settle safety and other disputes during the life of the agreement through drawn out grievance procedures that end with binding arbitration. One local safety

chairman is still waiting for a decision on a grievance that he filed four years ago to protest reduction in roof and bolt crews who stabilize roofs against cave-ins. The clause in the contract that guarantees miners a safe workplace is meaningless unless they have the right to strike.

The new agreement does drop earlier proposals to penalize leaders and organizers of wildcat strikes. Nonetheless, other contract provisions are still available to discipline miners who take part in unauthorized walk-outs.

Wages under the new agreement will increase 31% or about \$2.30 an hour over its three year term. Coal operators pretend that this is a 'substantial' raise and a big concession on their part. But substantial in relation to what? Coal prices rose over 300% in the past decade, from about \$6 to \$21 a ton.

Nor are the new raises substantial when compared to what they will buy. Inflation, now almost 7% annually, is already far ahead of the miners' wage hikes. Also, in cutting health benefits, coal operators cut real wages. Now miners must pay out of pocket for doctor, hospital and pharmacy bills. In the same way, many active miners take an out of pocket loss by the contract's failure to raise the pensions of retired miners under the 1950 Pension Plan by more than \$25. With fathers retired from the mines living with them or dependent on them, they are forced to supplement from their own wages for inadequate pensions provided for in the new agreement.

WHY DID THE CONTRACT PASS THIS TIME?

It is no surprise that miners barely approved this contract. Only 53% of the membership voted for what is essentially the same offer that they overwhelmingly rejected just three weeks before. Why did it pass this time? Not because miners now thought it was a good contract. Instead, because of the treachery of the UMW bureaucrats, many thought it was the best they could get.

The rank and file had given their "leaders" a clear and strong mandate to fight for something better. With a decisive two to one vote against the earlier offer and their militant defiance of Taft-Hartley, miners showed they were united and ready to continue to fight against the coal operators. But the bureaucrats were not going to lead them in this fight. Sending back to the rank and file essentially the same contract only a week after it had been rejected by the membership so decisively was an eloquent way of saying that.

This, rather than any improvements or concessions offered in the last proposal, was the "argument" that persuaded a bare majority of the rank and file. It was not Taft-Hartley, threats of seizure, warmer weather, or non-union coal that broke the mine-worker struggle. Over 50% of the country's coal production was shut down. Miners had proven Taft-Hartley worthless against determined resistance. But on what basis could a miner and his family continue the sacrifice of over four months on strike in order to get essentially the same contract shoved at them a third and fourth time? How could they continue without leadership?

The rank and file had made clear how they stood on that contract. Miller and the Bargaining Council made clear that they weren't listening. As one miner said, "Maybe its the best we could get with the kind of people we've had negotiating for us."

Mineworkers found themselves in the situation of an army trying to do battle under the flag of enemy generals. When Brennan, the president of the BCOA said of the new agreement, "I guess I can liken it to a peace treaty between two warring nations." Miller responded, "a bad peace is better than any war you can get into." The miners were betrayed by a leadership that would not fight to win. In



MAO'S STATEMENT ON AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE

16.6/18 sp

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the Black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than 20 million Black Americans.

The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping U.S. imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous aid and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the Black people in the United States.

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and the U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The Black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

In 1963, in the "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism", I said that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people." I still maintain this view.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the Black people of the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of all countries and all who are willing to fight U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the Black people of the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation and the emancipation of all oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.

this Miller, the negotiating team, and the Bargaining Council were equally guilty. The Bargaining Council didn't have to send the contract through again. They knew the sentiments of the rank and file. When one Executive Board member urged ratification of the contract saying, "My membership is starving. I can't see my people suffering no more. I love my people," this was hypocrisy. What had changed from one week earlier when the membership, suffering or no, had voted two to one to reject the contract, and had gone on to defy Taft-Hartley? "I think the whole damned negotiating team should resign," one miner said. "They are a disgrace to the UMW for keeping us out 110 days." You do not keep a union out 110 days unless you intend to win!

And, anyway what about these crocodile tears for a starving membership? Throughout the strike the UMW leadership failed to take any measures to relieve the economic pressures on the rank and file. Miller and the other bureaucrats took no steps to build up a strike fund even though it was clear the operators were preparing for a long strike. Furthermore, they cooperated with the BCOA in cutting off health and pension benefits during the strike, and they failed to make any serious move to raise money during the strike.

And yet, when the Steelworkers, the Communications Workers, and United Autoworkers contributed \$4.5 million to the UMW relief fund, Miller and other UMW leaders kept these funds from reaching the rank and file. Miners from District 6 exposed the truth about mineworker starvation - Miller they said was trying "to starve out the rank and file as part of his contract ratification scheme."

NO PEACE IN THE MINES

Regarding what Miller thinks, this contract won't bring peace to the coal mines, even a bad one. Miner dissatisfaction is high, not only with the contract but with the coal operators and the union leadership as well.

Almost 50% voted against the agreement. Because it does not solve the basic questions underlying the strike it is sure to provoke unrest during its term. On health and safety and other issues, wildcats, where mineworkers don't have to rely on UMW headquarters for leadership, are a certainty.

In the coming battles, the miners need new leadership. The recent strike demonstrated dramatically why the first task of communists in the trade unions is to kick out agents of the bourgeoisie and replace them with class conscious leaders who genuinely serve the interests of the working class.

AN INSPIRING EXAMPLE

In spite of the failure of leadership which betrayed it, the mineworker strike was an inspiring lesson for the entire working class. The BCOA was determined to take back established benefits won in past agreements with the UMW in the name of labor stability and higher productivity. But the rank and file refused to allow any anti-wildcat provisions in the contract and got the incentive plan limited to voluntary bonus plans for each mine.

Furthermore, in their bold disregard of Taft-Hartley miners set a powerful example of the strength of the working class in organized resistance to the role of the state in defending the interests of capital.

The strike also raised the consciousness and solidarity of the entire class. Thousands of working people came to the miners support. In spite of the failure of leadership and in spite of betrayal, it is in the development of solidarity and organization of the rank and file and of its links with others that we can measure the real gains of the long miners strike. As Marx and Engels said, "the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battle lies not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers."

'TAKEAWAY' - A DEVELOPING TREND

The coal operators "take-away" demands in the recent miners' strike are part of a growing trend in contract negotiations. More and more employer negotiators are attempting to take back gains won in past contract battles. The label they give this new management bargaining tactic is the "take-away" or, more cynically, the "giveback".

In current railroad negotiations, for example, established crew size guarantees are under attack. Last winter workers at Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in Burbank waged a long struggle over established contract provisions regarding plant seniority rights. In other industries employers insist on exchanging job security for recovery of management's authority to switch jobs or change hours among workers at will, even at a reduction in pay. As the imperialist crisis deepens, monopoly capital will more and more allow minor wage increases to camouflage contract "take-aways" that actually heighten job exploitation.

The miners' strike underscores the seriousness of this offensive. Mineworkers stayed out 110 days, the longest strike in mine-worker history, merely to defend their basic contract position. We can expect attacks in other industries which are determined as those of the coal operators and must prepare the organization and leadership to meet them. Without that, as Marx said, it is folly to consider leading any larger battles.

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF KING'S DEATH

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April 4th marked the tenth anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. King gave his life to the struggle of the Black masses for equality and emerged as the leading figure of the civil rights movement of the fifties and sixties.

This movement began on December 1, 1955, in Montgomery Alabama, when Mrs. Rosa Parks, a black woman, refused to give up her seat on a city bus to a white person. That incident was the catalyst that unleashed over ten years of massive struggle by oppressed Black people to end segregation and to achieve equal rights.

This spontaneous upsurge swept through the South demonstrating the strong sense of unity and struggle of Afro-Americans in their homeland and their determination to fight for basic democratic rights long denied the Black masses. From Selma, Alabama, to Little Rock, Arkansas, to Washington D.C., the masses of Black people took to the streets demanding an end to segregation and Jim Crow laws in education, employment, housing, transportation, etc. It was this determined mass struggle that resulted in the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. And, it was this determined mass struggle that sparked the mass rebellions in northern cities and the growth of the Black power movement.

For over a decade Martin Luther King Jr. was at the forefront of the civil rights movement. At the outset the twenty-six year old Black minister rose to the leadership largely because of the important role of the southern black church as the major social institution of the Black masses. Beginning in slavery the Black church was a focal point for the organization and resistance of the Black masses. It has always been an institution rooted in the life of the Black community. And because it has always been financed from within the Black community, it has also been an institution largely independent of white control.

Through the social organization of the Church, the civil rights movement was able to reach into the smallest hamlet and penetrate the homes and daily lives of Black people. As the scope of the struggle spread throughout the Black Belt, hundreds of thousands of people were mobilized to fight the brutal oppression that permeated every aspect of Black life. Although the social significance of the Church gave it the ability to serve as the mobilizing and organizing force for the people, the religious ideology which operated within the confines of the capitalist system set basic limitations on its ability to develop the revolutionary struggle for Black liberation.

Nevertheless, the uprising led by King challenged the very foundation of the system of imperialism. It was US imperialism that was the source of the social, political, and economic oppression of the Afro American people. The civil rights movement led by King, in its breadth and scope, reflected the aspirations of the masses of Black people to take up a determined struggle against this system.

STRUGGLE FOR SELF DETERMINATION

However, King's leadership was limited by the premise that the Afro American struggle was a moral struggle. He failed to connect the struggle for equality with its objective basis - the oppression of the Afro American nation. He argued instead that the struggle was one designed to realize the moral values of justice and democracy within the capitalist system. The struggle for equal rights was seen only in the narrow, formal sense of bourgeois equality. However, as Harry Haywood writes,

"Under the conditions existing in the Black Belt, this

slogan (the slogan for equal rights-ed.) can have no meaning other than national equality, that is equality between the Negro nation and the white nation, and this can be achieved only through struggle for democratic land re-division and for self government, including the full right of self determination." (Negro Liberation, Harry Haywood)

The territory of the Deep South belongs to the Afro American people. They have earned it as a homeland through over 400 years of labor and struggle. The roots of Black oppression lie in the economic, political, social, and cultural oppression which followed the Afro American emancipation from slavery after the Civil War. Although slavery was legally abolished and former slaves were given certain political rights, land reform necessary for self determination and equal rights was never realized. In spite of formal legal freedom, Blacks were tied to the land as sharecroppers and tenant farmers for white southern landlords.

When federal troops were withdrawn from the South in 1877, a reign of systematic repression and terror enforced Jim Crow laws in every aspect of life - employment, housing, education, health, transportation, etc. Political power which had begun to develop under Reconstruction was smashed and Afro Americans were stripped of political rights.

The strength of King's movement arose out of the yearning of the masses of the Afro American nation for liberation. Its limitations were in its failure to connect the struggle for equality to the struggle for national self determination and to the overall struggle against imperialism.

ARMED STRUGGLE AND BLACK LIBERATION

King's struggle also was limited by his dedication to non-violence. Non violence rests on an acceptance of bourgeois constitutionality and reliance on the capitalist state to achieve its goals. These were the framework for King's program.

But, the struggle of an oppressed nation for liberation is a struggle for political power, and like the struggle of the proletariat for political power, it must inevitably be seized through armed struggle. No oppressor class will make a gift of freedom and liberation. Thus, as the struggle for Black emancipation spread to the northern ghettos and as resistance to police terror, the klan, bombings, and all the brutal conditions of national oppression became more and more militant, King's program was less and less able to provide a solution.

King fought against all forms of racial discrimination and for the extension to Blacks of the full democratic rights enjoyed by white citizens in all areas of American life, civic, political, economic, and social. But, these goals can never be achieved within the framework of capitalism.

REVISIONIST BETRAYAL OF AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE

The struggle for democracy can be carried through to the end only when it is subordinate to the leadership of a class conscious vanguard. It is dramatic testimony to the revisionist betrayal of the Communist Party (USA) that it left the civil rights movement without such leadership. It failed to connect the struggle for equality to the material oppression of the Afro American nation and to the struggle for self determination. It failed to connect the resistance of the Black masses throughout the United States to the multi-national workers movement. And, it failed to connect the movement for Black liberation to the worldwide movement against US imperialism. Imperialism divides the people of the world into oppressor and

oppressed nations. Therefore a genuine call for national equality is a declaration of war against imperialism. The only path to Black liberation, to full basic democratic rights, is to struggle against the imperialist system itself.

Thus the struggle for self determination of the Afro American nation is also an inseparable part of the class struggle of the US proletariat against imperialism. A fighting alliance between the working class movement and the masses of Afro American people is necessary to defeat the reactionary rule of

US monopoly capital. Without this alliance, both proletarian revolution and Black liberation in the US are impossible.

The struggle for Black liberation is also a component part of the worldwide struggle of oppressed nations against US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. As Mao Tsetung said in 1963:

"The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people."

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

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by the National People's Congress call for the production of more tractors and other farm machinery. Scientific and technical know how will also be mobilized in order to build more sophisticated machinery, improve fertilizers, and develop new hybrids. A goal of 70% mechanization by 1980 was set by the Congress.

Hua states in the work report submitted to the Congress that industry plays the leading role in modernization of China's economy. Production of steel, oil, power and other materials will be stepped up in order to modernize agriculture. Without such industry, tractors and other machinery can neither be built nor operated. To meet the need for steel, fuel and other materials, 120 large industrial projects in branches of basic industry will be completed by the year 2000. In addition existing enterprises will undergo improvements enabling them to increase their output.

PROMOTE SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

The lofty goals for agriculture, industry and other sectors of the economy can only be met, if major advances are made in science, education and culture.

Modernization of agriculture and industry depends on scientific and technological developments.

Production of high grade fertilizers and improved machinery, and the development of more efficient growing methods are products of scientific research. Geological exploration techniques are necessary for systematic oil exploration. Without adequate oil and other natural resources, mechanization cannot occur. Computer and electronic technology are fields where China lags far behind the major industrial countries. Attaining a highly mechanized economy requires that inroads in such fields be made.

In March, a National Science Conference was convened to implement the policy on Science presented to the National People's Congress by Chairman Hua in the work report. Delegates at the Conference addressed the scientific and technological obstacles to rapid modernization of the economy and national defense.

Therefore, the Conference set concrete plans aimed at mobilizing the whole Party and the whole country around rapid development of science.

In the long run, science and technology can only move forward in China by training a vast numbers of scientists and technologists. Enrollment in all levels of education will be raised in order for China to produce a substantial number of working class intellectuals capable of meeting the needs of an advanced socialist country.

GANG OF FOUR--MAIN OBSTACLE TO MODERNIZATION

The main obstacle to China's development as a powerful and modern socialist country has been the Gang of Four. Their defeat cleared the way for China to make many advances.

Under the guise of putting "politics in command" the Gang sabotaged all efforts to move forward on the plans laid out by Chairman Mao Tse Tung and Premier Chou En Lai at the 3rd and 4th National People's Congresses to modernize China by the year 2000. They carried out disruptive activities in many parts of the country and made it impossible for the party, government, and military departments to carry out their functions. They justified this disruption with the absurd claim that "the day the four modernizations are realized is the day capitalism has been restored."

This is the reactionary view of the petty bourgeoisie.

They claimed to be the "left" and to be fighting revisionism, but their real aim in equating a socialist China with backwardness and capitalist restoration with economic progress was to create country-wide confusion and seize power in the process. In plants where they held influence production came to a standstill. Economically, the activities of the Gang of Four were responsible for the loss of over 100 billion yuan in total value of output, 28 million tons of steel, and 40 billion yuan in state revenues. In short they almost accomplished their goal by bringing China to the brink of economic collapse.

In the realm of science, the Gang of Four opposed party members who were scientists from playing an active role in their field. They told those cadre that it was unimportant to concern themselves with science and to attend only to political matters. This counterposing of scientific work to political work isolates party members who are scientists and breaks the link between the party and science. The aim of the gang of four was to weaken the development of science -- a necessary condition for economic development. In order to justify this they treated the distinction between physical and mental labor as an antagonistic contradiction and berated all contributions by intellectuals toward socialist construction.

CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The Fifth National People's Congress re-affirmed that proletarian internationalism is the single most important element guiding the policy of China. Since the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, the Chinese Communist Party has presented the leading line on the international situation. In accordance with Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds, the National People's Congress has re-affirmed China's policy of strengthening unity with the proletariat, oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world, with the socialist countries and with the third world, uniting with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by the two superpowers and forming the broadest united front against superpower hegemonism.

In contrast to the US and USSR, China conducts its relations with other nations on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

At present China's ability to support the struggle against superpower exploitation of the oppressed peoples and countries of the world through trade and aid is limited. But, a modern China, through trade and cultural exchange on the basis of equality and mutual benefit will greatly strengthen the oppressed peoples and countries of the world, lessen their economic dependence on the US and USSR, build the unity of the united front and further isolate the two superpowers.

As the US and the USSR arm themselves to the teeth and prepare for war, it is only this united front that can stand up to the aggression of the superpowers. And, it is only a united front led by a People's Republic of China with a strong economy and defense capabilities that can meet the challenge of the superpowers and hold back the outbreak of war.

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IMMIGRATION...

enforce the repression and exploitation of undocumented workers in the US. What Carter's so-called "amnesty plan" does is legitimize the current underclass status of undocumented immigrants. It accepts their existence as an underclass and revamps US law to divide it into three categories: "permanent resident aliens", "temporary resident aliens", and "illegal aliens".

The government would offer amnesty only to the "permanent resident aliens" -- immigrants who prove that they have lived in the US continuously since before January 1, 1970 to the present. Not many will qualify for this "pardon" for the "crime" of coming to be exploited by US capital. In the first place, people who have been hiding from the state for eight years will find it difficult to now document their residency. Also, most immigrants have either come here more recently or traveled back and forth between the US and Mexico. Speaking of arrests made by the INS in 1976, Castillo says, "... of the more than 866,000 apprehensions made last year, only about 100,000 -- less than one-eighth -- had been here more than six months. Very few had been here for more than seven years."

But even for the small number of "permanent resident aliens", the Carter administration does not intend to surrender the threat of deportation. This group of workers will have to wait another five years to apply for US citizenship and then meet all requirements including "proof of good character". The government can use this vague clause to deny citizenship to any worker who organizes a union in his plant, protests national inequality in his community, or any other number

of other "undesirable" acts. ter's plans is to give legal sanction to the oppression of the newest immigrant underclass.

RODINO BILL -- ANOTHER TOOL OF OPPRESSION

A second part of Carter's immigration proposal is to revive a version of the Rodino bill which has been widely denounced and killed in Congress each year since 1972. Supposedly this bill aims to stop immigration by fining employers who "knowingly hire illegal aliens" up to \$1000.

As the small size of the fine indicates, the intent of the bill is not to punish employers. Carter already says enforcement would be limited to where there is a "pattern or practice" of hiring "illegals". Another loophole lets employers off the hook if they saw documents of "eligibility to work" even if those papers were forged or stolen.

Since the law doesn't stop employers from hiring undocumented workers, what does it do? It gives employers one more tool of control over their workers -- legal sanction to harass and threaten immigrants and all Latinos. Employers would become part of the INS, with the authority to demand to see legal papers. Anyone who has a dark skin, has a Spanish surname, or speaks Spanish would be asked to produce citizenship papers in order to get work. Employers could even refuse to hire any Latinos, saving them didn't want to risk hiring illegal immigrants. In California, some employers already make Latino workers post a "bond" before hiring them.

At the same time, under the labor certification program, Car-

to deport?

Historically, immigration, as well as the bourgeoisie's enforcement of controls over immigration, parallels the boom and crash cycles of capitalism. For example, Chinese "coolies" were brought to California when there was a shortage of native labor to build railroads and work in the fields. Then after the Panic of 1873 caused high unemployment, a law was passed in 1882 to exclude all Chinese from entering the US. It's been the same with Mexican immigration. During the boom periods of 1910-1920 and the 1940's, millions of Mexicans were imported to be exploited in the mines, fields, and factories. But during the depression of the 1930's and the recession of the 1950's the INS rounded up and deported millions of persons of Mexican background, from workplaces and from the communities, many of whom were US citizens. Since the 1960's large numbers of Mexican immigrants have again been wanted, but this time as "illegals".

OTHER AGENTS OF THE BOURGEOISIE

While the bourgeoisie relies on its state apparatus to enforce national inequality, it also relies on its agents within the working class and national movements to divert and control resistance to that inequality.

Within the Latino community, reformists say the solution to the exploitation of illegal immigrants is to get Congress to pass new laws to outlaw racial inequality. And, when they identify the problem as greed of "economic interests", they ask the government to put controls on monopolies that exploit "illegal" immigrants. But, preaching reliance on the state to end the oppression of undocumented workers is like asking the spider to kindly not eat flies.

In the workers' movement, historically, with each wave of new immigration to the US the trade union bureaucrats have joined the bourgeoisie in promoting national chauvinism and job exclusion against immigrants. Today, George Meany, AFL-CIO president, criticizes the Rodino type bill, saying its penalties are "much too weak" to stop those "who exploit undocumented workers for their profits". And what is Meany's solution? Does he fight for the political and social rights of undocumented workers? Does he strive to organize them into the AFL-CIO unions to insure that they receive the same wages, benefits, and working conditions as other workers? No. Instead he calls for stiffer Rodino type penalties to keep immigrants from "stealing" US jobs and more stringent border controls to keep them from entering the country.

This is nothing new. For many years, the AFL only admitted skilled white men, systematically excluding Afro-Americans who migrated from the Black Belt South to the industrial heartlands of the US. And, since the 1880's the labor aristocracy has consistently joined in each of the many chauvinist campaigns to blame foreign born and oppressed nationality workers for

"stealing American jobs" and for "accepting standard working and living conditions".

But, it is a lie to say that immigrants are to blame for unemployment. A reserve army of the unemployed is an inevitable result and necessary precondition for capitalist production. Under capitalism, technological innovation forces capable workers off their jobs. Runaway plants accomplish the same result. It is this surplus of labor that enables capital to keep lowering the real wages of the entire working class. Never has the trade union bureaucracy organized workers in the US or internationally to resist the real causes of unemployment.



It is also a lie to blame immigrants for budget shortages and cutbacks in public services. As we have seen, "illegal aliens" are denied public services because of their status. The truth is that they add much more wealth to the US economy than they take out.

But according to the AFL-CIO undocumented workers "are all too frequently a drain on the welfare resources of the communities where they live".

By spreading such chauvinist lies the trade union bureaucrats keep the working class divided and pitted against each other -- one nationality against another -- fighting for jobs and services. The bureaucrats do this to protect their own privileged position. For it is with some of the super-profits made off national oppression, both internationally and within the US, that monopoly capital buys the support of the labor aristocracy. It is in their own self interest that these agents work furiously to prevent the multinational working class from uniting to defeat its real enemy -- imperialism.

DEMAND EQUALITY FOR ALL WORKERS!

Carter and other agents of the bourgeoisie such as the trade union bureaucrats proclaim support for the rights of undocumented workers. But their support is hypocritical because they in no way challenge the basis of that inequality -- the national oppression which is inherent to imperialism. It is only the multinational working class, under the leadership of its political party, that will carry through to the end the struggle for democratic rights, for that struggle is a component part of proletarian revolution. Just as communists for a time took the lead in the struggle against Jim Crow, Marxist Leninists today must take the lead in the struggle for the full political and social rights of undocumented workers.

"THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT DIRE POVERTY ALONE COMPELS PEOPLE TO ABANDON THEIR NATIVE LAND, AND THAT THE CAPITALISTS EXPLOIT THE IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN THE MOST SHAMELESS MANNER."

LENIN, "IMPERIALISM THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM"

of other "undesirable" acts. The Carter plan offers no amnesty at all for the second category of immigrants -- "temporary resident aliens". They must prove they were living in the US on or before January 1, 1977 and must register with the federal government. In return, they can stay in the US for five more years -- with no guarantee of a further reprieve at the end of that period.

With only temporary status, and with the government knowing who and where they are, "temporary resident aliens" would be even more vulnerable to exploitation than they are now. But after all, Castillo says, "illegal aliens are not interested in rights, they come here for jobs". Carter now makes the denial of their democratic rights a part of US law. They would work and pay taxes, but they would be ineligible for unemployment insurance, food stamps, public hospitals, social security, etc. And, they couldn't bring their families into the US to join them.

Thirdly, Carter perpetuates the "illegal alien" status of anyone who entered the US after January 1, 1977, can't document their residence in the US, or refuses to register with the government. This will apply to the vast majority of undocumented immigrants. Their status will be worse than it is now, their situation subject to even greater oppression. Clearly, the real aim of Car-

ter is working to make it easier for employers to bring in temporary workers. Last spring he stepped in to help melon and vegetable growers when the INS blocked undocumented workers from crossing the border at Presidio, Texas. The Department of Labor refused the growers' request to certify a shortage of domestic workers. Carter overrode the Department of Labor and cleared the way for the growers to bring in 809 Mexican workers for six months. Just like the Bracero program before it, this temporary labor program undermines efforts to organize unions among agricultural workers. It thus ensures the perpetuation of an underclass in the fields.

PREPARATIONS TO STOP IMMIGRATION

Another aspect of Carter's plans is to stop immigration with tighter controls at the border and more deportations. The administration wants a \$100 million budget increase to buy more military type equipment like helicopters and electronic "human sniffers" and to double the Border Patrol to 4000 persons. With the 1977 budget, the INS arrested and deported nearly one million immigrants. Now the government is strengthening that agency.

If Carter's goal were really to stabilize the status of undocumented workers, why would he build up the government's ability

TOKEN FINES FOR TANNERY DEATHS

As we reported in the last issue of THE COMMUNIST, eight workers were killed and 35 hospitalized at the Horween Leather Co. in Chicago on February 14, as a result of lethal fumes produced by the accidental mixture of two industrial chemicals. Despite the fact that 9 other workers died in nearly identical "accidents" in 1971 and 1975, OSHA had not seen fit to inspect the Horween plant or any of the other 62 tanneries in the six states covered by the Chicago regional offices.

OSHA now has inspected the plant and endorsed the emergency regulations proposed by the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union, designed to prevent future "tragedies." But OSHA's actions belie its words. As a result of their inspection the company was cited for 11 violations and fines were "recommended" that "might total" \$4,140 -- little more than \$500 for each worker that died! This fine is an insult to every worker and his family. It clearly reveals the utter disregard the capitalists have for the lives of workers. And it serves notice to other companies that they can continue their shameful disregard for the safety and

well being of workers without fear of either serious inspection or heavy fine.

As we pointed out in "Deteriorating Health and Safety, OSHA No Solution", (THE COMMUNIST, VOL. III, No. 15) OSHA standards and enforcement are pitifully weak. The penalties used to drag companies into line are a drop in the bucket compared to the total profits they rob from the working class everyday. It's cheaper for the capitalists to pay these puny fines than take the necessary steps within plants to make them truly safe for workers.

Genuine safe and healthy working conditions boil down to a matter of life and death for thousands of workers every single day. OSHA, the government agency designed to represent workers in their fight for safe and healthy working conditions, is an institution of the bourgeois state. It is directly funded, operated and controlled by forces who represent the capitalist class. It is therefore no small wonder that the average fines levied by OSHA for violation of the law are between \$27 and \$35, and that a worker's life is worth only \$500.



The plan of the Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) is to fight for a newspaper modeled on Lenin's ISKRA as the main link in the fight to prepare the conditions for a new Communist party. While we discuss questions from our own definite point of view, our columns are open to all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers for topical exposures, polemics and reports on their work.

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