

# 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

VOLUME IV no. 4

WORKERS CONGRESS (MARXIST-LENINIST)

POB 1297 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60690

DECEMBER 19, 1977 25¢

## MINERS WAGE MILITANT STRIKE

In this article, we are continuing our coverage of the miners strike. In the first article, "Miners Prepare Strike Battle" in the last issue of THE COMMUNIST, we discussed the background of the strike, taking up the issues of health care and wildcat strikes and the state of the coal industry. In this article we continue our discussion in light of the first two weeks of the strike. The miners strike is significant as one battle in the larger class war which is growing along with the deepening crisis of imperialism and the preparations for imperialist war. It is one example of the spontaneous resistance of the proletariat to the intensifying attacks of the bourgeoisie. In the present capitalist crisis, the right to strike is coming under increasing attacks as the bourgeoisie seeks to control the working class and weaken its fighting ability. Like all capitalists, the mine owners are relying on their henchmen, the trade union bureaucrats, to aid them in this offensive.

From the beginning of the coal strike two weeks ago, the miners have been militantly battling the coal operators. Knowing a strike was certain when the contract expired on Tuesday, December 6, most miners began the walk out at the end of their shifts on Friday, refusing to add any more coal to the companies' stockpiles. After the 188,000 striking miners stopped production at mines with United Mine Workers (UMW) contracts, they quickly moved to stop production

at non-union mines and to stop coal shipments.

Like all strikes, the miner's strike instills fear in the bourgeoisie because it undermines their hegemony over the proletariat. Within a few days after the strike began, in a powerful show of strength, the mineworkers had vir-

force in the non-union mines (employing one half of the miners in the state).

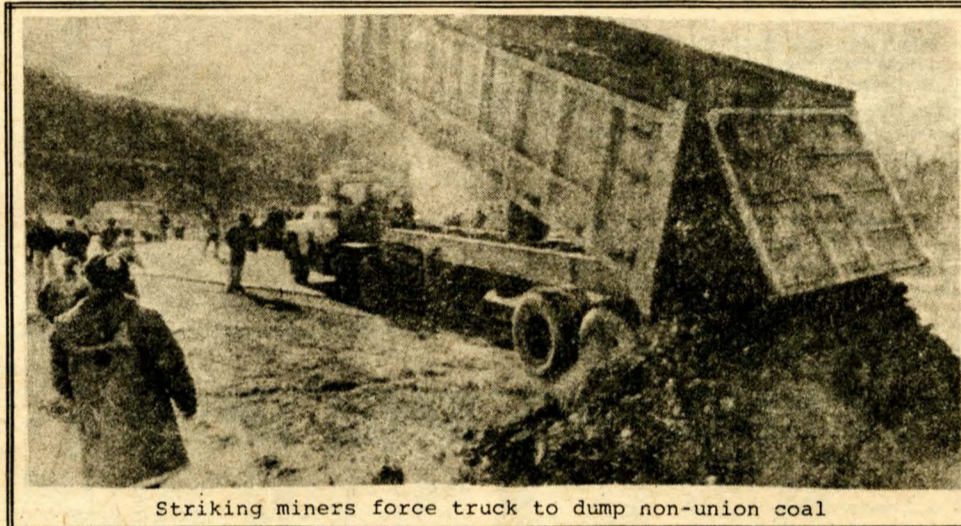
After shutting down the union mines, the miners moved to close non-union mines. Because half of the coal in this country is produced today in non-union mines

The mineworkers have won victories in stopping production through their militant fighting spirit and tactics. For example, in Utah, a bridge leading to a non-union mine was burned, forcing the mine to close at least until a temporary road could be cut. In Pennsylvania, about 25 men damaged 4 heavy machines at a non-union mine. Also in that state, pickets trapped coal trucks and non-striking workers at 2 mines, until sheriff's deputies and state troopers escorted strike breakers through the picket lines. At one Ohio mine, gunshots were exchanged between supervisory personnel and pickets at the mine entrance. During the first week of the strike, about 400 striking miners formed a 100 vehicle caravan and roamed through parts of Ohio, West Virginia and Kentucky. In Kentucky, they forced drivers to empty at least 5 trucks loaded with non-union coal along the highway.

HEALTH & SAFETY ISSUES ARE CRUCIAL

The miners have been strongly wielding their strike weapon against the capitalists to defend their interests--especially around the issues of safety and health care. At the very least they are insisting on restoration of the severe cuts made last July in the health care provided by the UMW Health and Pension Funds. The miners responded then with righteous anger, and a 10 week wildcat strike, to the announcement that instead of free medical care, they would have to begin paying 40% of doctors bills and the first \$250 of hospital bills. This issue is a crucial one. The miners face extremely hazardous conditions in the mines, risking their lives every day and risking black lung disease after years

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Striking miners force truck to dump non-union coal

tually closed all the mines in West Virginia, Ohio, Virginia, Indiana and Illinois. All the union mines were closed in southwest Pennsylvania, Alabama and Tennessee. In Kentucky, all the union mines were closed and picketers closed or significantly reduced the work

(compared to 30% a decade ago), the mine workers know that to be successful in winning their demands at the negotiating table, they must stop production in all the mines in the country, not only those with UMW contracts. With their successes in the coal fields, the workers are threatening the coal operators' smug plans to use stockpiles and non-union mine production to break the coal strike. Stopping coal shipments is also an important part of the miners strike strategy. Not only will stopping the coal trucks prevent mine owners from using non-union mine production, but it will also prevent them from getting to the part of the coal reserves stockpiled at coal fields.

EXPOSED AS INTERNATIONAL LABOR TRAITOR

## CHAVEZ SUPPORTS MARCOS REGIME

In July of this year, Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farmworkers (UFW) of the AFL-CIO made a trip to the Republic of the Philippines (RP) to view first hand the "improvements" made since President Ferdinand Marcos implemented martial law, to meet with prominent labor leaders, and to receive a personal award from Marcos for Chavez's "services to the international trade union movement." In visiting the Philippines, Chavez chose to ignore the anti-Marcos forces within the UFW, including co-founder Philip Vera Cruz who saw the trip in contradiction to the resolutions that were unanimously passed at the last two UFW conventions condemning restrictions of democratic rights in the Philippines.

At the end of the trip Chavez told a Washington Post reporter he was "impressed with the uniqueness of martial law" and particularly the labor policies which he called 'enlightened'. The "enlightened" labor policies Chavez is referring to include the outlawing of strikes, trade union organizing, and demonstrations! And as testimony to the "uniqueness" of martial law, it has been conservatively estimated that there are some 50,000 political prisoners in jail, suffering daily torture and brutality. Through the direct support of

U.S. imperialism, the Marcos regime has been recognized as one of the most reactionary and brutal in the world today, suppressing the democratic rights of the Filipino people at every turn. And this is what Chavez found impressive!

THE ROLE OF US IMPERIALISM

Imperialism is the exploitation of oppressed nations by oppressor nations. The seizure of the Philippines from Spain in 1898 marked the entry of the US into the era of imperialism. The continual superexploitation of the Filipino nation drove many of them into the U.S., including the agricultural fields of California. Today, through the Marcos regime, US imperialism continues to play the dominant role in the superexploitation of RP. For the last 20 years, investors, led by the US bourgeoisie, have gotten back \$4.76 for every dollar invested. Between 1971-1975 the rate of exploitation increased among the industrial proletariat by 180%, and it now takes the average worker just 44 minutes out of the 8 hour day to earn his/her wages. The other 7 hrs. and 16 minutes produce superprofits for the imperialist who own 90% of RP industry. As a result of this super-exploitation, the

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## CAIRO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

### US SEEKS HEGEMONY IN MID-EAST

On December 9th, Cyrus Vance, US Secretary of State, began a six day tour of the Middle East, where he visited Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Saudi Arabia. The stated purpose of Vance's trip was to encourage other Arab countries to enter into the negotiations between Israel and Egypt so that an overall "peace" settlement to the Mideast struggle could be reached. In this regard he had no success. But Vance's real concern was not peace, but further pursuit of the ambitions of US imperialism in the Middle East. Vance was "testing troubled waters" in order to best take advantage of the recent rifts in Arab unity and secure for the US a dominant role in the affairs of the region.

The Cairo meeting itself began Wednesday, December 14th, when Israeli and Egyptian negotiating teams met. While the meeting also included delegates from the US, headed by Assistant Secretary of State Alfred Atherton, and UN delegates, no other Arab countries were represented. Five places at the negotiating table were kept open to symbolize their absence.

The Cairo talks, originally seen as merely taking up procedural questions in preparation for a Geneva conference, have apparently been broadened and will be upgraded to the foreign minister level. Also, more substantive discussions will take place. How substantive the negotiations will be is not yet fully known. There is speculation that Israeli Prime Minister Begin's sudden visit to the US, concurrent to the beginning of the Cairo talks, was made for the purpose of presenting Carter with a draft peace agreement

calling for US guarantees of security for Israel's final borders. White House Press Secretary Jody Powell denied knowledge of such a peace plan, even though he did concede Begin's visit was "an affirmation of the United States' role, a role that has been there all along." It is known that the duration of the Cairo talks has been extended indefinitely.

The US has given full support to this change of plan. Originally they had underplayed the Cairo meeting and given more importance to the future Geneva conference to be headed by the US and USSR. But with the recent developments, including Egypt's rupture of diplomatic relations with Syria, Lybia, Iraq, Algeria and Southern Yemen and the USSR's absence from the Cairo talks, the US is hoping that an extended Cairo conference will result in a Geneva summit meeting where US imperialism will have the upper hand over its superpower rival, the USSR.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's adviser on national security, explained this plan on December 11th. According to his scheme, only the US would be involved in the development of the conditions for an overall peace settlement, with the USSR included merely in the final ratification. The first step in the negotiations would involve Israel and Egypt negotiating directly with the US (as is presently occurring in Cairo) "because they want us to be there". The second step would expand to include "moderate Arabs" - in his view Palestinians other than the PLO and the Jordanians - to negotiate the issues

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# MINERS STRIKE

MINERS FROM P.1

of work. Moreover, the clinic system, which is largely supported by the UMW benefit funds, provides the only health care available for many communities in the Appalachian region.

## DEFEND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

The right to strike is a component part of the struggle to restore the miners' health benefits. The miners realize that it is one of the major weapons they have to force the bourgeoisie to meet their just demands.

However, the miners' right to strike has been fundamentally undermined by the connection between production and the benefit funds--a connection which Miller continued in the 1974 contract. The funds are financed by assessments on each ton of coal produced and on each hour worked by a union miner. This means that the amount of money available for medical care is based on the amount of coal produced, not the actual health needs of the miners and their families. This is one way that the operators, in striving to protect their profits, refuse to meet their responsibilities to the miners for the unsafe and unhealthy conditions in the mines. Moreover, with the current method of financing, the miners are penalized with cuts in benefits for any losses in production, including losses from strikes. The cutbacks in July and the liquidation of the benefits during the current strike are two examples of the way the bourgeoisie, with the cooperation of the trade union bureaucrats, is trying to use health care as a weapon to keep the workers from striking. The correct demand is therefore to cut those ties and to force the mine owners to provide free, full health coverage for miners and their families.

While the miners know that they must have the right to strike to fight for their interests, like health care, the mine owners and trade union bureaucrats are doing everything they can to stifle that right to strike. In the 1974 contract, Miller tried to divert the struggle of the mine workers away from strikes and into drawn out grievance procedures. The workers saw through the elaborate arbitration procedures included in the 1974 contract and time and time again walked out of the mines in wildcats to get action over grievances. So now Miller and the mine owners, meeting in negotiations in Washington, D.C., are working out other ways to stop wildcats and undermine the right to strike.

## STAND OF THE CAPITALISTS

While the miners are striking for the crucial demands of health and safety, the mine owners are struggling to undermine the right to strike to ensure their profits. The owners have made it clear that their top priority in the current contract is to ensure that they have "labor stability" by stopping strikes and absenteeism. The capitalists are not willing to cut into their profits to improve living and working conditions for the miners and their families. Instead, they are trying to strengthen their coercive apparatus to stop workers from striking over these conditions.

It is especially important for the mine owners to attack the right to strike in this period of deepening crisis and war preparations, as the bourgeoisie strives to establish strict discipline over workers. Coal, although a dying industry in the 1960's, now plays an increasingly important role in the economy and war preparations. This has been reflected in soaring coal prices, which following oil costs, have risen from \$6 a ton in the 1960's to \$20 a ton today. As

discussed in the last issue of THE COMMUNIST, increased coal production is an important part of the bourgeoisie's plans to reduce their dependence on foreign oil as an energy source. Another example of the importance of coal is its use, as coke, in making steel, itself essential in armament and other production. With the emphasis on doubling coal production by 1985, the bourgeoisie cannot afford strikes. Therefore, their current attack on the right to strike is part of the general capitalist offensive against the working class in preparation for war.

The coal operators, represented by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), have been trying to undermine the current miners strike as well as the general right to strike. They are claiming that the mineworkers are "only hurting themselves" in this strike because the coal operators and users are well prepared with large stockpiles of coal to withstand up to 3 months of a UMW strike. It is a common tactic of the bourgeoisie during a strike to claim that the interruption of production is not hurting the capitalists. It is an attempt to demoralize the striking workers and convince them to give up.

However, the effective action of the striking miners in closing mines and stopping coal shipments reveals that the capitalists are lying. The importance of increasing coal production also further reveals the mineowners are lying when they claim that the coal strike is insignificant because there are enough stockpiles. The bourgeoisie is concerned with meeting future energy needs, not only current ones.

The bourgeoisie state has not intervened in the strike so far except to send in the head of the federal mediation service to convene negotiations and, at the local

level, to keep the mines open with police protecting strike breakers and arresting strikers. However, because coal is such an important part of the bourgeoisie's preparations for war, we can expect the state to take up a more active defense of the capitalists' interests in a long coal strike.

## MILLER'S TREACHERY EXPOSED

The cooperation of the trade union bureaucrats like Miller is especially important to the bourgeoisie in this period of imperialist crisis and offensive against the working class. The past two weeks have further exposed Miller as a servant of the mine owners.

In this strike, the mineworkers are continuing their strong tradition of "No Contract, No Work" and of waging militant strike battles for their interests. They went out two weeks ago while facing prospects of a long strike this winter and the treachery of the bureaucrats heading up their union. In contrast to the militancy of the miners, Miller called the strike a "sorrow" because it "will bring hardships and human tragedy" to the miners. This is because under his leadership not only is there no strike fund, but the union, which jointly administers the UMW Health and Pension Funds with the coal operators, agreed to cut off all health benefits and reduce pensions during the strike.

His treachery is now showing up in the contract negotiations. By the 13th of December, the BCOA and the UMW had reached a tentative agreement on the question of the right to strike. Miller was already agreeing to drop his well publicized demand for a clause in the contract guaranteeing the right of union locals to strike over local issues. He is also agreeing to assessing a penalty of \$22 against each miner for each day of unexcused absence (including wildcats), the money going to make up losses in the health and pension funds. This concession by Miller not only would force the workers to make up for losses to the benefit funds instead of the companies, it also indicates that he will continue to support the connection between production and those funds which in itself is an attack on the miners' right to strike. The only so-called concessions made so far by the BCOA have been to reduce the amount of penalties and to not insist on an explicit no-strike clause in the contract.

Furthering his betrayal of the rank and file, Miller has also agreed to the principle of summary firing of a miner who spreads walkouts over local disputes to other mines by roving picketing. The coal operators want this clause because in the past year the courts have refused to stop wildcats with contempt citations, injunctions and damages claims against the union. The courts base their refusal on the Buffalo Forge Co. vs. the United Steelworkers case of July 1976 in which the Supreme Court ruled that "sympathy strikes" cannot be enjoined unless specifically forbidden by union contracts. The district courts have held that wildcat strikes at coal mines shut down by pickets from another mine where the actual dispute took place are sympathy strikes. Therefore, the BCOA wants a specific clause in the contract and Miller is willing to help them in trying to break the miners solidarity in striking to support struggles at other mines.

Miller has also been willing to help the coal operators break the miners fighting unity by keeping most of the Western mines unorganized. Difficulties in stopping production in this strike have come primarily in the West--especially in the newer vast stripmining operations in Montana and Wyoming. As part of Carter's energy plans to greatly increase coal production, the capitalists plan greater reliance on the Western coal fields--expecting coal mines in the West to outstrip production in the East producing nearly 53% of the nation's coal by 1985. Keeping the mines unorganized is part of the operators' plans to weaken resistance to their efforts to increase production by squeezing more work out of each miner. Miller has refused to challenge the coal operators and to mount a campaign to organize the Western

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## BUILD THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST SUPERPOWER HEGEMONY

# POLISH CP SUPPORTS MAO'S THREE WORLD THEORY

An important article was recently published by Kazimierz Mijal, General Secretary of the Polish Communist Party, entitled "Long Live Mao TseTung Thought". Written in commemoration of the first anniversary of the passing of Chairman Mao, this article puts forward a strong defense of the theory of three worlds.

This statement is important because as Huang Hua, representative of the Peoples Republic of China to the UN, stated in his speech of Sept. 29, 1977, we are in a new historic period. This new period demands a new disposition of forces and a new strategic plan for the direction of the main blow against the principle enemy of the revolution. It is only on the basis of Chairman Mao's penetrating analysis of three worlds that the new period--the period of international struggle against superpower hegemonism--can be grasped. While it is the third world which is the main force in the international struggle against hegemonism, the leading role must be played by the socialist countries and the worldwide revolutionary proletariat.

With its statement in support of Mao's three world theory, the Polish CP, an underground communist party of a second world country under the domination of Soviet social imperialism, displays the necessary theoretical preparation to play this leading role and gives impetus and inspiration to the worldwide revolutionary struggle against superpower hegemonism and imperialism.

Mijal's statement of unity with Mao's theory is broken down into several parts. First, that Mao's theory utilizes the classical Marxist Leninist method to illustrate the interrelations and interconnections of the fundamental contradictions that characterize the present day world. It is Mao's theory based on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions that provides us with a strategic orientation for international class struggle.

Second, that Mao TseTung Thought further developed Marxism by integrating the proletarian revolution with the

war of the peasantry and that Mao achieved a tremendous victory by integrating this into the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

Third, Mijal's statement points out that the socialist camp disintegrated with the degeneration of the Soviet Union into a social imperialist power. The article points out how it was China, a socialist country and a developing country, and as such a country of the third world, that picked up the banner of M-L thrown away by the Krushchev-Brezhnev revisionist clique.

In part four, the article praises the contributions of the Chinese working class led by Chairman Mao and the Chinese CP to the struggle of the international proletariat, especially its exposure of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union, thus defending Marxism-Leninism, socialism, and the theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In this part, the article also speaks to the importance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and China's internationalist aid to the revolutionary peoples and countries of the third world.

In parts five and six, Mijal speaks to the fundamental contradictions that characterize the world today. He explains how it is the exploitation of the third world that is the source of super-profits for US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. The third world is also the weakest link in the chain of politics of imperialism, colonialism, and the hegemonism of the two superpowers. As such it is the third world which is "chiefly the scene of world revolutionary storms." It is the two superpowers who form the first world and pose the greatest danger to all third world countries and mankind as a whole.

This section also states that in their pursuit for hegemony, the superpowers not only want to bring the third world under their control, but the developed countries of the second world as well. Thus in the struggle against hegemonism the third world must make use of the con-

traditions between the first and second world as well as the ever sharpening contradictions between the US and the Soviet Union. The article rejects as incorrect the view that using these contradictions means "relying on one imperialist power against another."

The article repudiates fallacies such as the theory of three worlds "has deviated from a class analysis." It points out that the critics of this theory "profess in words their loyalty to Marxist-Leninist teachings and proletarian internationalism, but when they make an analysis of the problem, they totally disregard the crux of the matter they are facing." As a result, no matter what their intention is and at times even contrary to their will, they are defending the position of Russian social imperialism objectively.

In this section, the article also says that although the contradiction between capitalist countries and socialist countries is very important, it is incorrect to assert that this contradiction is more important than all others. This is in fact the line of the Soviet revisionist leadership.

In the last part of the article, Mijal writes about the vanguard role played by the Chinese CP in the international workers movement. It also points out the great importance of the success scored by the Central Committee of the CCP headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-Feng in smashing the "gang of four."

The Polish CP's comprehensive analysis of the three world theory is a significant contribution to the repudiation of the current attack on Mao TseTung Thought, and to building the world wide united front against superpower hegemonism. As a component part of the united front against imperialism all communists have a responsibility to strive to play a leading role in this great historic task. This debate is of critical importance for the U.S. communist movement as we continue to prepare the conditions for the formation of a genuine vanguard party in this country drawing sharp and clear lines between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism.

# SOMALIA KICKS OUT SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS

On November 13, Somali Minister of Information and National Guidance, Kassan Salad Hassan made public Somalia's intention to abrogate its "Treaty of Friendship" with the Soviet Union. In conjunction with this move, the Somali government also ordered the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet military installations, military and civil experts, and a reduction in the number of diplomats and staff of the Soviet embassy.

Mass support for this move was demonstrated the next day as over 100,000 workers, peasants, students and people of other strata rallied in the streets of Mogadishu, the capital city of Somali, and shouted, "Down with the Russians" and "No Russian and Cuban interference in the Horn of Africa". As an official of the Somali foreign ministry stated, "We have long anticipated this decision. We expelled the western colonialists and soon we found the Russians are just the same."

This action was a demonstration of the staunch determination of the Somali people to safeguard their state sovereignty, defend national independence and oppose superpower interference. It was also a reflection of a new awakening of African states and peoples to the real intentions and motivations of Soviet social-imperialism as it struggles with US imperialism for hegemony.

In order to be able to contend with the United States for hegemony in the Indian Ocean, social imperialism first began to throw its weight around in the Horn of Africa (countries at the northeastern tip of Africa at the juncture of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean) in the 1960's. At that time, all of Africa was in the process of shaking itself loose from western colonialism and neo-colonialism. The social imperialists, entering behind a banner of internationalism and

promising aid for the just struggle against western imperialism, were successful in making a significant penetration into Africa. But, the people of Africa are now beginning to see the correctness of Lenin's warning made long ago to the oppressed nations and peoples of all colonies to be vigilant against the

weaker position. For example, from the Indian Ocean, an Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile fired from a nuclear submarine can hit any target in Europe, the Soviet Union, Asia, or Africa. This is the only place in the world where this is possible. Also as a gate to the Indian Ocean, the Horn of Africa has a particular

Soviet aircraft freely used Somalia's airfields in order to keep the region adjacent to the Indian Ocean under observation. These infringements into Somalia's sovereignty led to growing resentment among the Somali people.

These bold actions, characteristic of the aggressive "up-start" intent on overthrowing "the king on the hill", culminated in a recent proposal to found a pro-Soviet "confederation" of the states in the Horn of Africa. This confederation, which would have only served the interests of Soviet hegemonism, was immediately rejected by Somalia. This rejection was a bold stand against Soviet hegemonism, and the new tsars of the Kremlin responded by attempting to bring Somalia to its knees through coercion. The main tactic of the social imperialists was to make use of disputes and differences between Somalia and Ethiopia left over by the legacy of western colonialism. Sowing dissension, sending in great quantities of sophisticated arms and military equipment and large numbers of Cuban military personnel, the Soviet Union aggravated internal contradictions of the area in a way that serves their own imperialist aims.

It was this action by the Soviet Union, clearly exposing the real intentions and aims of social imperialism, that led Somalia to abrogate its "Treaty of Friendship" with the Soviet Union. This just action by the Somali people shows that even small and weak countries, if they dare to struggle, can stand up to Soviet aggression, interference, and bullying. It is this type of courageous resistance, which wins the support of people at home and abroad, that will build the united struggle of the world's people against hegemonism.

These two articles below expose the recent superpower meddling in the Horn of Africa as a struggle for hegemony over the strategically important region of the Indian Ocean. In the first article we see how the Soviet social imperialists who entered the area behind the banner of "internationalism" and the promise of "aid" has now resorted to coercive bullying in an attempt to force Somalia to submit to its aims. And, we see how the courageous resistance of the Somali people has turned them back.

In the second article, a re-print from PEKING REVIEW 50, we see how the hegemonist aims for the Indian Ocean region by both superpowers are being resisted by the third world as a whole. This is another concrete example of how the third world acts as the main force in the struggle against superpower hegemonism.

tactics employed by imperialism. He said, "the struggle for national liberation against the imperialist powers may, under certain conditions, be utilized by another 'great' power for its own, equally imperialist aims." (The Socialist Revolution and The Right of Nations to Self-Determination)

The particular imperialist aims of the Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa are multi-faceted. For example, the area is rich in natural resources. However, its primary importance to the superpowers seeking world hegemony is its strategic geographical location. It is the only sea link between Europe and Asia. With respect to superpower ambitions in Europe, the Horn of Africa adjoins the Arab countries which which constitute the European oil lifeline. But, the greatest strategic geographical importance of the Horn of Africa is that it is a gate to the 600 million square mile Indian Ocean. Militarily, a presence in the Indian Ocean is critical to both superpowers. If a superpower were to control the Indian Ocean, it would put the other in a much

importance to the social imperialists as the only way to deploy their naval forces from home ports in the Black sea into the Indian Ocean.

In recent years, the sharpening contradiction between the superpowers as they struggle for hegemony has been reflected in stepped up activity by the Soviet Union in Somalia. They have put up ship repair facilities, a naval communications center, barracks, oil storages, airfields, etc. in order to strengthen their expansionist capabilities in the Indian Ocean region. All this was done under the pretext of "friendship and cooperation" and "military assistance". But, the social imperialists began to blatantly expose the real aims and intentions of this "aid" after the Somali-Soviet "Friendship Treaty" in 1974. Soviet vessels operating in the Indian Ocean began to sail in and out of Somali ports at will to replenish supplies and carry out repairs. The Soviet navy's long distance communications system in Somalia became the nerve center of its activities in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean.

## SOVIET-US BEHIND-THE-SCENES DEALING OVER THE INDIAN OCEAN

The Soviet Union and the United States are making a deal on the Indian Ocean behind the backs of the countries in that region.

Twice this year they had talks, first in Moscow in June and then in Washington in September, and now it is revealed that the two are going to have a third round of talks this month in Berne, Switzerland, as the venue to restrict their naval activities in that ocean.

Back in 1971, at its 26th session, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution on Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace by 61 votes, the majority of these being cast by third world countries. The resolution stipulated "eliminating from the Indian Ocean all bases, military installations, logistical supply facilities, the disposition of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and any manifestation of great power military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of great power rivalry." This resolution was submitted in view of the fact that contention between the two superpowers was sharpening in that ocean. In August last year, the 5th Non-Aligned Summit Conference adopted a political declaration calling on non-aligned states in the Indian Ocean region and other littoral and hinterland states of the ocean to convene a conference to discuss the implementation of the U.N. General Assembly resolution on the Indian Ocean peace zone. On November 18 this year, the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly also passed a resolution urging the big

powers to join the countries in the Indian Ocean region in implementing the above resolution.

However, disregarding the aspirations of the third world countries, the two superpowers held talks on the Indian Ocean without consulting the states in the region. This new tactic employed by the Soviet and U.S. hegemonists in their intensified contention in that ocean stands in direct opposition to the U.N. resolution on the Indian Ocean as a peace zone.

It is obvious to all that the two superpowers are the main obstacle to the establishment of the peace zone. Their attitude is sharply opposed to the proposal of the third world countries. The Soviets mouth "sympathy" for the proposal while grossly undermining it in practice. In his speech at the U.N. General Assembly on September 27, A.A. Gromyko said that the fundamental prerequisite for the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is dismantlement of the existing foreign military bases in the region and forbiddance to build new ones. These grandiose words do not bear careful scrutiny. First, the Soviet Union makes no mention of eliminating foreign military presence, which means that its naval squadron regularly stationed there will hang on and that its "military presence" will continue to expand and no one can check it. Second, by dismantling "existing foreign military bases" the Soviets refer only to U.S. bases and not their own de facto bases. They have all along denied their presence, and according to their logic

there is no question of dismantling. Third, the so-called "no new military bases should be established" is sheer hypocrisy. If the Soviet Union really has no such intention in the Indian Ocean, why did it recently send "high-ranking diplomats," "a fishery delegation," "TASS correspondents" and a "scientific survey ship" to the Maldives, and request the lease, reportedly at a huge price, of the base on Gan Island? These facts completely lay bare Moscow's hypocritical "sympathy" for setting up the Indian Ocean peace zone and show that it is the most dangerous enemy in undermining security in the region.

The U.S. formula for the December talks in Berne, as reported, is to "stabilize" the balance of naval strength of both parties in the Indian Ocean. This is part of the "package deal" the United States recently proposed to the Soviet Union. To "stabilize" the balance of military strength of the two sides in the Indian Ocean--what does it mean? It means that the United States will not demand the removal of the Soviet military presence and military bases and, of course, the United States expects it will not be asked to do so either. This is a hoax the two are playing at "balance of strength." However, no matter what the "balance of strength" between the two is, the security of the people in the Indian Ocean region will continue to be seriously menaced.

Soviet-US contention for hegemony in the Indian Ocean is of major strategic significance to their overall contention for world hegemony. For either of them, the negotiations for limiting their naval strength in the Indian Ocean are merely a device to tie the other's hands and gain supremacy for itself in the Indian Ocean. This has nothing to do at all with establishing the Indian Ocean peace zone and is diametrically opposed to the security of the people living in the region.

Not long ago, the Somali government forced the Soviet Union to remove all its military installations and military experts on Somali territory and territorial waters. This is an indication of the new awakening of the people in the Indian Ocean region. The establishment of the Indian Ocean peace zone depends on the united strength of the third world countries which have become the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. Gone are the days when a few imperialist powers could behind closed doors mark out spheres of influence, carve up weak or small countries or violate their interests. The Soviet Union and the United States, both non-Indian countries, can never fool anyone nor can they succeed in making shady deals on the Indian Ocean behind the backs of the third world countries in that region. As the Iranian paper Tehran Journal pointed out: "From the start, it was quite obvious to political analysts that negotiations between the two superpowers on the future of Indian Ocean security and stability would ultimately prove to be a classic case of 'preposterous diplomacy.'"

MINERS FROM P. 2

## MINERS STRIKE

Thus he has weakened the struggle of the miners, helping the bourgeoisie to divide the class, now trying to use the non-union miners as strike breakers.

Miller, like all trade union bureaucrats, is cooperating with the capitalists, acting out his class collaborationist ideology which falsely claims that the interests of the workers lie with the interests of the capitalists. Instead of supporting strikes as one of the essential methods of struggle, he tries to smooth over the antagonistic differences between the bourgeoisie and proletarian classes. The current strike is only the latest example of the way the mine workers have histor-

ically used the weapon of the strike to fight for their interests. When Miller and other bureaucrats have refused to fight for them, they have used the wildcat to fight on their own. But as long as Miller and other social props of the bourgeoisie control the unions, the miners' right to strike is fundamentally undermined, for it is those leaders who control the union's machinery and funds and who represent the union at negotiations. Therefore, along with struggling against the coal operators to defend their right to strike, the miners must drive the opportunists like Miller out of the leadership of their unions, replacing them with class conscious leadership.

The bourgeoisie, motivated by the pressures of the deepening

crisis of imperialism and the necessity to prepare for imperialist war, is intensifying its attacks on the right to strike and on trade unions as the mass organizations of the working class. The growing resistance of the working class makes it even more important that the class conscious proletariat and the communist movement seriously take up the question of the significance of strikes, the methods of conducting them, and the tasks of the communists participating in them.

The miners strike has demonstrated the strength of workers when they unite and refuse to continue producing for the capitalists. Every strike reminds both the workers and the capitalists that the machinery of production depends on the labor of the working class and that together they

have the power to wage effective struggle against the capitalists. Thus the miners strike is a tremendous example for the whole working class and can help to raise the class consciousness that the entire proletariat must unite to fight the entire capitalist class. With the leadership of a vanguard communist party, the spontaneous strike movement of the working class will play an essential part in the political struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

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## CAIRO PEACE TALKS

MIDEAST FROM P. 1

of Gaza and the West Bank. At this point all the substantive agreements would already have been worked out. The final step, essentially ratification of the agreements, would be done at Geneva and include the USSR and Syria, and other Arab countries that wished to be included. Included in the speculations over what such an agreement would entail, is an Israeli proposal for the West Bank to become a de-militarized zone with some political links to Jordan and open economic ties with Israel. This coincides with a plan put forward two months ago by Brzezinski.

The intent of the US imperialists is clear. They are hoping, by extending the Cairo talks, to have the time to foment further divisions among the Arab countries and force them one by one to come to the negotiating table. On this basis they hope to reach a settlement that guarantees them a role in affairs of the Middle

East, that guarantees the security of Israel and undercuts the rights of the Palestinian people to regain control over their historical homeland. They are seeking to establish their hegemony in the Middle East to the detriment of the USSR's influence in the region.

The USSR is well aware of the ambitions of its rival and has been complaining about the recent developments. The Soviet social imperialists are worried that their position as joint "top dog" in a Geneva meeting is jeopardized. The US, while doing everything it can to gain the upper hand, is attempting to placate these worries. Vance stated recently, "My judgement is that the Soviet Union wishes to see a comprehensive settlement reached in the Middle East, that their objective remains a Geneva conference. Those objectives are shared, I believe, by all of the parties."

The success or failure of the

US imperialists' schemes in the Middle East depends on the actions of the Arab and Palestinian people. Up to this point the US' attempts to draw Arab countries into the Cairo talks have failed. King Hussein of Jordan reiterated his country's opposition to joining the talks while stating clearly that it was his "sacred duty" to further strengthen the unity of the Arab ranks. President Hafez al-Assad of Syria, in reference to Vance's upcoming visit to his country, warned of "vast pressures, including the danger of an Israeli aggression that would be aimed at liquidating our forces." He expressed the revolutionary determination of the Arab people to fight against superpower interference when he declared, "Syria will not bargain or kneel to pressures under any circumstance".

The two superpowers, wrestling for control over the Middle East, are presently adopting different tactics. Because the US has the upper hand it is taking a more open stance of contention with the USSR and will try to bully

the Arab countries into compliance with its desires. The USSR, on the defensive in this situation pleads to the US to remember its promise of collusion that characterized their Joint Statement and plans to co-chair the Geneva conference, and continues to play its false role as "defender" of Arab unity and the Palestinian cause.

As the Chinese representative to the UN, Chen Chu, recently stated, "In these circumstances, it is even more important for the Palestinian and other Arab people to sharpen their vigilance, take into consideration their overall interests and eliminate their differences for unity against the enemy. We believe that the Palestinian and other Arab people will further do away with superpower meddling and interference for the general objective of combatting Israeli Zionism and superpower hegemonism and continue to strengthen and consolidate their own unity and carry through to the end the struggle for the recovery of the lost territories and the restoration of national rights."

## CHAVEZ TRIP TO PHILIPPINES

CHAVEZ FROM P. 1

working and living conditions of the Filipino people have seriously deteriorated. Throughout the RP starvation is clearly on the rise, the country now ranking 69th of 70 countries in rice production.

But in the RP, as everywhere, oppression breeds resistance. The vanguard of this resistance is the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) led by its chairman Jose Maria Sison, popularly known as Amado Guerrero. The activity of the CPP in leading the National Democratic Front (NDF) and New Peoples Army (NPA) has won the support of Filipino people in all provinces, and its influence within the workers movement is steadily growing. Chavez's trip was an attempt by the imperialists and the Marcos regime to divert the growing resistance of both the Filipino and US peoples away from revolutionary struggle both in the RP and here in the U.S.

It was also designed to strengthen the role of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines and to polish the tarnished reactionary image of the Marco regime. But the trip only served to expose Chavez as an international trade union bureaucrat acting directly in the interests of the imperialists to bolster the trade union bureaucrats in the Philippines and further divide and weaken the rural proletariat in the U.S. While he poses as the champion of democratic rights for farmworkers in this country, by ignoring the just struggles of the Filipino people for their democratic rights, Chavez only further revealed himself as an international labor traitor.

CHAVEZ-PART OF THE BRIBED STRATA

With the superprofits the imperialists have obtained from the gross exploitation of the peoples of the third world, they have bought off a bribed strata of labor aristocrats and trade union bureaucrats to go among the working class and spread bourgeois ideology. With this ideology they attempt to confine the trade union movement to the struggle for narrow economic demands compatible with the existing capitalist order. At the same time, these opportunists within our ranks promote the role of imperialism throughout the world, particularly the third world, the main force in combatting superpower hegemony.

Ever since WW II the trade union movement in the 3rd world has played an important role in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, especially of the 2 superpowers. At the same time, the trade union bureaucrats from within the superpowers have tried to perpetuate neo-colonialism in the 3rd world trade union movement in support of imperialism. As we pointed out in our article "Trade Unions and National Liberation" (THE COMMUNIST, V.III, #13) the AFL-CIO working with the CIA

has been active throughout Africa and Latin America. Chavez's trip must be seen in this light-going as a representative of the AFL-CIO and the trade union bureaucrats of US imperialism. At a time when the role of the US monopoly agricultural capitalists, led by Del Monte, are growing stronger than ever, when illegal strikes by all sectors of the Filipino proletariat are on the rise, and when the attempts of the 400,000 sugar farmworkers are being suppressed by military violence, Chavez's trip is well timed.

CHAVEZ'S IMPERIALIST'S ROLE GROWS

In response to his visit Chavez faced immediate, active opposition from inside the UFW and from supporters across the country. At the national UFW convention in August Chavez not only refused to recognize criticisms of his trip, but he invited Blas Ople, labor secretary of the RP, to be the keynote speaker! Chavez answered his opponents by saying, "everything in the Philippines is much improved." After the convention co-founder Vera Cruz resigned from the national board of directors saying, "While Cesar impresses the public with his concern for democratic processes, the rights of UFW members are suppressed and he legitimizes the oppression of the Filipino people."

When the Anti-Martial Law Coalition (AMLC) and Friends of the Filipino People (FFP) asked for a meeting with Chavez, he refused and instead set up a debate on conditions in the Philippines in Delano on Oct. 15th. In response Vera Cruz and other UFW members, industrial workers, students and housewives formed the Delano Coalition for Democracy in the Philippines which picketed the debate.

During the debate, Chavez was confronted with documented evidence from the National Council Of Churches on brutality and torture of political prisoners in the Philippines. Chavez's response was, "they are not a government policy." When he was asked about martial law outlawing strikes and trade union organizing, he said, "The 60-70 labor leaders I talked to said questions are resolved by arbitration...it's alot better, we're making progress." Probably as much as the UFW, which since Chavez banned strikes 3 years ago have lost more than one-half of their membership.

Historically Chavez has stood for unprincipled "peace" and class collaboration with the monopoly capitalists and their state. Not only has he opposed the right to strike, in clear opposition to the sentiments of the rank and file, but in general he's denied the fundamental role of class struggle in the farmworkers fight for their basic democratic rights. Instead, Chavez's tactics have been to preach non-violence to the farmworkers -even in the face of armed assault by the growers,

teamsters, and various agents of the state. Rather than rely on the strength and militancy of the rank and file, Chavez preaches reliance on the bourgeois state...the same state that uses armed force against the farmworkers in the fields and on the picket lines!

EXPOSE REFORMIST AND REVISIONIST LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE TRADE UNIONS

Vera Cruz has urged those struggling against Chavez to work within the UFW and fight to make "the farmworkers movement a part of the world struggle to make a better future." We must take Vera Cruz's anti-imperialist sentiments and actions one step further to formulate a communist policy on Chavez's actions.

We must continue to expose Chavez's class collaboration as typical of all social democratic forces in the workers' movement. Chavez, who pictures himself as an American Gandhi, uses his proletarian background and spartan way of life to cover his bourgeois ideology. While Chavez may not enjoy the material benefits of superprofits to the degree of a Meany or Fitzsimmons, his role within the trade union nonetheless serves the same purpose. As we pointed out in our article on the Teamster-UFW agreement last spring, Chavez's activity now serves only to split and weaken the initiative of the farmworkers attempting to divert it toward bourgeois pacifism and trade unionism. This latest class-collaborationist action in open support of US imperialism in the RP is merely a continuation of his historic class stand.

As the crisis of imperialism deepens here in the US and around the world the bourgeoisie will rely more and more on the social democratic, reformist, and revisionist forces to divert the rising resistance and international unity of the proletariat and oppressed masses. These forces, including Chavez, Arnold Miller of United Mine-workers, Ed Sadlowski of United Steelworkers, and Leon Davis of Local 1199 from New York, are more dangerous than the open reactionaries because they are least exposed, sound militant, and continually put forward reforms of the capitalist system. Now as the two superpowers prepare for inter-imperialist war and the resistance to their hegemony in the 3rd world continues to grow, these reformists will be called on to openly support imperialism around the world in return for the crumbs they have gotten from the imperialist banquet table of superprofits.

Now more than ever, we must resolutely expose within our movement any tendency toward vacillation and conciliation with such labor traitors as Chavez because they appear to be "more honest" or more "well intentioned". Remembering Lenin's warning that "the struggle against imperialism is a sham without the struggle against opportunism" we must take up the task of systematically routing out all conciliation with opportunism.

For the UFW to become anti-imperialist Chavez and his allies must be driven out once and for all. For communists and advanced forces the fight for leadership of the UFW, and the trade union movement in general, means striking the main blow at the reformist and revisionist leadership within the unions. This leadership will be won only by uniting from below with the masses of workers as they struggle against the class collaborationist leadership of forces like Chavez.

OUR RESPONSE - PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

At the same time, our response to Chavez, and similar forces such as Sadlowski, is proletarian internationalism. Within the UFW and all trade unions, we must win the masses to see that the revolutionary movement of the proletariat here is nothing without firm support for the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations against imperialism. In the oppression of 3rd world countries like the Philippines, the bourgeoisie gets its strength to suppress the revolutionary struggle here. At the same time, the revolutionary struggle against imperialism by the masses in the Philippines intensifies the capitalist crisis here in the U.S. creating favorable conditions for our own movement. The proletarian trade union movement here must be made uncompromisingly anti-imperialist.

The UFW must be firmly linked with the struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples. Around the issue of the Philippines in particular the UFW must go beyond protesting against martial law, which in itself doesn't call into question imperialism. We must win the masses to active support of the New Democratic Revolution led by the CPP and its army the NPA. The Preparatory Commission of the NDR has called for "unity with all peoples fighting imperialism to seek support for the Philippine struggle." Their 3 tasks guided by Chairman Mao's New Democratic Revolution are: 1. Liberate the nation from imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism; 2. Unite to oppose and overthrow the US-Marcos Dictatorship; 3. Establish a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation.

In addition to supporting the NDR, we must also give our support to the struggle for the release of Amado Guerrero, chairman of the CPP, Bernabe Buscayno (Commander Dante) head of the NPA, Lt. Victor Corpuz of the NPA, and former Senator Benigno Aquino all being held by the Marcos government. (See THE COMMUNIST, Vol. IV, no. 3, Philippine Party Chairman Captured).

Only by directly taking up the struggle against imperialism will we expose Chavez and all class traitors. It is only on this basis that we can build firm unity among the farmworkers and between them and the oppressed nations and peoples of the third world.