



# REVOLUTION

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

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## Revolutionary Communist Party Founded!

The founding Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA, composed of delegates from all parts of the country, has concluded its work, adopted the Constitution and Programme of the Party, and elected its leading committees.

This is both an act of determined dedication and a historic moment. The Party of the working class has been born out of struggle and will not abide until the full power of the class has been mobilized against all oppression, until the monied rulers of this land are driven from power by the working class and its allies, and the roots of exploitation are ripped out once and for all.

There are those who would say that the above is mere assertion and boasting to keep from weeping. They see the wealth bludgeoned out of our labor and tormented out of colonial peoples in the hands of a most powerful and unscrupulous ruling class; they see the navies and the armies, the police and the courts, the weapons of mass destruction, the secret and open terror, even the leadership of our unions in the possession of servants of the rulers, and declare that there is no hope under heaven, that starvation, murder, disease and death in imperialist war for the preservation of capitalist profit cannot be overcome. They ask: How can the class be united when capitalist agents are everywhere declaring themselves "pro-labor" or even "communist," polluting the ideological atmosphere, sidetracking the struggles, and, out of greed or fear, sabotaging every forward motion, acting the dagger in the back?

All this should be noted and taken full account of, but opposite conclusions should be drawn. These are not the characteristics of a ruling class secure in its infamy, but a class in crisis, a desperate class, a class marked for extinction. Of course, they will not simply pass away. They must be put away, and that will surely be; that is the true inevitability. Forced to struggle, the peoples of the world inflict defeat upon defeat. Forced to struggle, the working class and oppressed peoples in this country build their strength, through all difficulties and misdirections weld unity in the struggle and develop the necessary solidarity and leadership to prevail.

It is in this context that the founding of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is responsibly undertaken. Created out of class struggle, it is determined to carry the struggle through to the end of exploitive capitalism to socialist victory and to the advance to communism. It will strengthen its ties to the working masses and learn from them by boldly entering every battle against exploitation and oppression, by fanning every spark of consciousness and in that process develop the triumph of the working class over the capitalist class. Aware of the many difficulties and historic pitfalls, the Revolutionary Communist Party will not slide into easy accommodation with imperialism nor chase the wisp of painless progress. The truth is forged in the struggle and perseverance in struggle is the guarantee of ultimate success.

The working class of this country has an inspiring history of struggle. We will surely learn to strip the smiling mask from every reactionary, expose every false friend, and unite with every real ally. We will surely win.

**BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS!  
BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY!**

# Miners Go Back, After Dealing A Powerful Blow

The coal miners' month-long strike to stop injunctions and for the right to strike is over, but the battle continues.

The miners felt that they had to fight now and they did. They dealt the coal companies a powerful blow. They went as far as they could this time around. They were not able to fight through to win their demands and have returned to work now to prepare to build more strength. No one thinks the question of the right to strike or the injunctions is settled. The issue is out there—sharper than it has ever been in recent years, and the fact that 80,000 coal miners are willing to fight for it is clear.

This struggle has been brewing for a long time. In recent years the miners have a militant history of wildcat strikes. Since the 1974 contract was signed, there have been 1400 wildcats—most over job rights and violations of security, among other things.

With the economic crisis deepening the companies have stepped up their attacks to smash the wildcats. These strikes are a major roadblock to the companies' "productivity offensive." They've relied mainly on court injunctions to do this. Judges have increased the fines against local unions. They've also fined individual members of the locals and thrown a few people in jail for violating the injunctions. Hundreds of locals have had injunctions slapped against them, some for the duration of the contract.

Despite the injunctions, the strikes have continued and the hatred for the injunctions has grown. What started as a strike over a local grievance at one mine (around a violation of seniority and the firing of a local union president) became a strike across the coalfields for the right to strike and an end to injunctions.

## Rallies and March

Thousands of miners actively took up the strike. Half a dozen rallies of hundreds of miners were held in United Mine Workers (UMW) Districts 17 and 29 in southern W. Va., the heart of the coal industry. Over 1000 miners marched down the streets of Charleston on the Kanawha Coal Operators Association, shouting, "Stop the Injunctions! We Demand the Right to Strike!"

The rallies and march were called by the Miners' Committee to Defend the Right to Strike. The Committee was organized during the struggle around the last contract and played an important role in building this current fight.

The Miners' Committee also printed leaflets which helped pull together the miners' strength behind the demands. Whole families were drawn into the strike. As the strike continued, several strike centers were set up that began organizing relief for strikers. Miners and their wives took up the question of food for the strikers asking local stores for donations. Workers brought food from their gardens and clothes their children had outgrown.

The strike centers' walls have been covered with telegrams and letters of solidarity from workers and rank and file organizations all over the country. Contributions from workers at different plants were sent to support the strike. It was a real boost to the miners' to see workers from the rest of the country take up and support this struggle for the right to strike.

The backbone of the strike was the picket movement. In the second and third weeks of the strike, hundreds of miners met at night in several different places in Districts 17 and 29. Through these meetings the demands became solidified and plans were made for building the strike.

The strike was spread to other states off the picket movement. At its peak the strike covered five states, but there wasn't strong enough organized leadership to



Striking miners battle police during August 25 march through downtown Charleston, W. Va.

maintain and strengthen the links between the strike in other areas and south W. Va. in the face of strike-breaking efforts of the companies, courts, union leadership and the press. Keeping the whole industry shut down together was very important, and when it wasn't maintained it served to weaken the strike.

## Union Leader Sabotage

From the beginning the union leadership worked to sabotage the strike. But with over 80,000 miners out solidly at the high point, severely hurting the coal operators and threatening what control the union misleaders had over the miners, union leadership was forced to change their tactics. They conceded that "maybe these injunctions have been a real problem" and they began floating things like, "Maybe we could settle on the agreement against the use of injunctions, but we could never re-open our precious contract."

These union misleaders should have been jammed more to come through with this concession on the injunctions, as part of continuing the struggle for the right to strike, including re-opening the contract. Because this wasn't done enough, they were able to create some confusion—making it look like demanding the right to strike in the contract was somehow in opposition to signing an agreement against the use of injunctions. As a result, some splits developed among the workers. The union leadership continued their scab role by having meetings of Local union officials to help organize to break the strike.

The struggle for the right to strike didn't begin with this strike and hasn't ended with it, either. The companies are looking more and more to the union leadership to end the wildcats by controlling the men. The rank and file miners do not run the UMWA but neither does UMWA President Arnold Miller run the rank and



Miners manning a picket line in W. Va. during the recent strike against court injunctions and for the right to strike.

file miners.

The coal companies had hoped that the election of Miller would mean control over the rank and file—it's not like he hasn't tried. After "trading away" the right to strike demand during the last contract negotiations in 1974, Miller set up a Wildcat Strike Commission aimed at stopping the wildcats. Two days after the strike ended the union came up with a plan to stop wildcats.

It's still not public, but the word is that a big part of the plan will be disciplining union members. It's pretty clear this will be one of the battles the miners will face in the near future. Already the companies have fired four men active in the strike. Two of these jobs have been won back.

## Red-baiting Tactics

At certain key points in the strike, the companies, the union leadership and the press joined together to try to create further splits with hysterical propaganda about communists involved in the strike. Communists were active in the Right to Strike Committee and in building and spreading the strike. This scares the companies and their flunkies because what they fear most is the working class uniting its ranks to fight in its own interests against them, and this is what communists actively work for.

Despite the sabotage and the fact that the miners returned to work without winning the demands, tens of thousands of workers in the coalfields did stand together for four weeks to defend the right to strike in the face of hardships and backstabbing. They were a powerful force and developed an even better sense of their strength and inspired many workers around the country.

The miners showed through their determination that we workers need not be slaves to rotten contracts. They also showed the organized and unified force of the rank and file can push aside the traitors in union leadership and push forward the struggle of our class through our own efforts. ■

## Support Is Still Needed

The messages of solidarity and contributions from workers all over the country truly helped to build the miners' struggle. Support is still needed to help pay fines, provide relief for families and rebuild a miner's house that was burned by company goons during the strike. Send contributions to: Miners' Committee to Defend the Right-to-Strike, Box 807, Beckley, W.Va. 25801, or to Miners' Right-to-Strike Committee, Box 24, Madison, W.Va. 25130.

# The Working Class Movement And the Tasks of the Party

By Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee  
Revolutionary Communist Party

The formation of the Party of the working class in this country, its Revolutionary Communist Party, is the product of the struggle of the working class itself and is a great victory for the working class. Is this just a slogan or merely rhetoric? No, it is not.

When the Communist Party (CP) in this country went revisionist, betrayed the working class, gave up the goal of revolution and became an agent of capitalism, this left the working class in this country without a vanguard in the fight against capitalism. But even without a vanguard, the working class continued to wage sharp and broad struggle, in many forms, against the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist system. At the same time mass movements erupted among the oppressed nationalities, youth and students, women and other sections of the American people against the outrages and abuses they suffer. So long as there are classes there will be class struggle, and where there is oppression there will be resistance—this is a law independent of anyone's will, a law proven every day in this and every country.

It was out of these struggles, including the struggle of the working class itself, that the forces that have formed the Revolutionary Communist Party developed. It was in the course of struggle that, in order to discover the cause of the evils they were fighting against and the means to end them, and in order to deepen, broaden and advance this fight, these forces took up the revolutionary science of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

But what convinced them of the correctness of this science and the need to base themselves on applying it to the concrete conditions in the U.S.? It was exactly the fact that the working class—not only historically, and not just in other countries, but in the U.S. today as well as in the past—had demonstrated through its daily battles against capitalism the characteristics that mark it as the most powerful class in history and the only truly revolutionary class in modern society.

The day to day struggles of the working class indicate the revolutionary potential of the working class. The science of the working class, based on summing up its struggle and the struggle of oppressed classes throughout history, makes it possible to fully recognize this revolutionary potential and to determine the line and policies that will lead the working class in developing its movement of today into a revolutionary workers' movement.

## Basis Laid

It was exactly by applying this science to the actual struggle in this country, by merging communist theory with the practical struggle of the working class and building communist organization with real roots in the working class in the course of battle, that the basis for forming the Party of the working class was laid. It was this that made possible the development of the overall battle plan for the working class—the Programme of its Party—and the solidifying of its general staff—the Party as its organized advanced detachment to lead it as a unified force in waging the overall battle. And it was this that made it possible for the communist forces to correctly wage ideological struggle, in a living way, linking theory with practice, to strengthen their own working class orientation and defeat opportunist lines that put forward the interests and outlook of the bourgeoisie in the name of the working class.

Such ideological struggle was crucial in laying the foundation for the Party, and it will continue to be a key responsibility of the Party to wage struggle against bourgeois ideology and those who champion it—though the forms and targets of this struggle will differ under different conditions. This ideological struggle is not simply a battle over ideas—it is the reflection in the theoretical sphere of the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class in the material world. And, once again, in the past period, in building the foundation for the Party of the working class, it was the living, material struggle of the working class itself, of millions of workers waging militant battles against the capitalists, that provided the basis for communists to grasp the correct line and expose opportunism more thoroughly, to take the road forward and sweep away obstacles to forming this Party.

All this shows clearly that the forming of the Revolutionary Communist Party is the product of the struggle of the working class itself and represents a great victory for the working class. And all this shows clearly that the Party is not an end in itself, but an instrument of the working class in carrying forward its struggle to complete victory—to the overthrow and final elimina-

tion of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and the achievement of communism.

With the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the struggle of the working class in this country has advanced to a new stage, where the working class has its own general staff capable of leading it according to an understanding of the nature of the class war against the ruling class and in accordance with an overall battle plan. And this struggle is growing more and more intense in the practical, and also the ideological and theoretical, sphere as the bourgeoisie and its agents—open and disguised—mount increasing attacks on the working class and growing numbers of workers go into action and take matters into their own hands to fight back.

As the Programme of the Party states, "The situation for the working class is growing more and more favorable, as it grows more and more desperate for the imperialists. Nothing they can do can reverse the process of history, and the more destruction they bring down to save themselves, the closer it brings their doom." This, too, is not mere rhetoric, but summarizes the actual situation, points to its future development and expresses a profound truth.

## Crisis Grows Deeper

The capitalist system, in this country and internationally, is sinking into deeper crisis. The answer of the capitalists is to increase their drive to squeeze even more blood from the workers to prop up the capitalists' profits and keep their profit-seeking system going. At the same time the capitalists, both within this country and internationally, who continually battle each other for the spoils from exploiting the working people, are stepping up this battle as the crisis deepens. At the heart of this is the rivalry between the imperialist rulers of this country and their counterparts in the Soviet Union who have restored capitalism there. The contention between these two superpowers for world domination is intensifying and this is pushing the world toward a third world war.

All this means great difficulties for the working class, and great dangers, including the growing danger of world war. But it also provides great opportunities for the working class, because such a crisis weakens and exposes the bourgeoisie, reveals the criminal absurdity of the whole capitalist system and makes it more possible for the working class to strike telling blows against the ruling class and bring closer the day when it can over-

throw it, and wipe out the evils and sufferings caused by capitalism.

This is so with regard to war as well, including world war. As the Party's Programme states, "Either the working class in the U.S. and the Soviet Union will prevent such a [world] war by overthrowing these greatest oppressors [the imperialist rulers of the U.S. and Soviet Union], in conjunction with the world-wide struggle against them, or they will launch a world war before they can be overthrown. But even if they launch such a war, with all the suffering it will bring to the people throughout the world, this will only hasten their downfall and the end of imperialism... In launching a third world war, the imperialists, especially the rulers of the U.S. and USSR, would further expose their barbarous nature, deepen the determination of the people of the world to bury them once and for all, and give rise to a revolutionary storm shaking the world as never before."

## Stand of the Class

The stand of the working class and the line of the Party is to hold the imperialists accountable for every drop of blood shed by the masses of people in war. As an important part of its overall struggle the working class must build the fight against acts of aggression and war preparations by the imperialists. But beyond that, it must prepare to carry its struggle through and organize to put an end to war forever by putting an end to its cause, the bourgeoisie and the imperialist system.

As the Programme of the Party puts forward, "The central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party today, as the Party of the U.S. working class, is to build the struggle, class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and develop its leadership of a broad united front against the U.S. imperialists, in the context of the world-wide united front against imperialism aimed at the rulers of the two superpowers. As this is developed, together with the development of a revolutionary situation, the question of mobilizing the masses for the armed insurrection will come to the fore as the immediate question."

How does the Party carry out its central task today? The present struggles of the working class in this country are centered around wages and benefits, working conditions, against speed-up, layoffs, compulsory overtime and other attempts by the capitalists to increase the exploitation of the workers. The Party's Programme

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## Important Documents from The Founding Congress

# Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Send orders payable to Revolution, P.O. Box 3486,  
Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

\$1

Spanish edition in preparation.

# Editorials

## U.S. Cities Are Falling Apart As Crisis Grows

New York City: garbage piling high in the streets; schools overflowing; streets pocked with chuckholes big enough to stop a truck; firehouses being closed down while landlords torch off the neighborhoods around them; hospitals shutting down, but not because everyone is healthy. And layoffs, layoffs, layoffs.

But New York is not unique. It's only the front-runner in the race to collapse that includes most U.S. cities. Behind this so-called "crisis of the cities" is the real crisis of capitalism caused by the fundamental fact that capitalists function for only one reason—their profit. Today New York is falling apart because the squeeze on the capitalists is getting very tight, and they must cut every ounce of what for them is unprofitable fat, even if for the masses it is services that are necessary for a bearable life.

Corporations who have made millions off the workers are refusing to pay the taxes necessary to keep public services going. In spite of their millions, it is not a matter of choice for them, but necessity in order to keep their profits up and keep afloat, in a period when even some of the biggest companies have collapsed and been swallowed up by others (like the collapse of Franklin National Bank) or are threatened with collapse (like Chrysler). They need their money for profit, and especially to invest in production, in order to turn over still greater profits. And this means intensified exploitation and more and more layoffs.

Today in the U.S. the capitalists need huge amounts of money for investment just to keep their profits at the same rate. The introducing and replacing of machinery to squeeze and exploit the workers more efficiently is both crucial and phenomenally expensive, and each capitalist is forced to try to outdo the other in order to be able to stay ahead of the competition in the profit race.

This is what the capitalists call their "capital shortage." In plain language, it means they must cut back everything else in order to meet their ever-increasing costs of investment to keep their profits up. They must cut back on money spent on schools, health care, garbage collection, roads, etc.—all of which is socially necessary but produces no direct profits for most of the capitalists.

### Crisis Makes it Sharper

This attack on the masses' standard of living is made even sharper and more frantic by the current crisis. Though they never have conceded willingly or without struggle, in "better" times capitalists have been forced to make some concessions to the demands

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## Revolution

*Revolution* is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA (RCP, USA). Starting with the November issue it will be published on the 15th of each month. All correspondence to the Party should be sent to RCP, USA, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

# Revolution Is Paper of Class and Its Party

The Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA (RCP) has been formed—a product of the struggle of the U.S. working class against capitalism, and representing a great victory and advance for that struggle. *Revolution* is the organ of the Central Committee of the RCP. The newspaper belongs to the working class and its Party, and exists to further the class' revolutionary struggle.

*Revolution* attempts to fulfill this purpose by helping to put forward—to Party members, to other revolutionary workers, and to the growing number of workers and others who are fighting back, asking questions, seeking answers, and moving toward a revolutionary position—the Party's line and general and specific policies on the major questions and important battles of the U.S. working class as a whole, focusing mainly on the questions and struggles in this country, but also including international questions and struggles as well.

The newspaper will emphasize summing up developments around major campaigns of the Party, key areas and key examples of the Party's work, and other important developments in the class struggle so that the lessons of these can become known and useful to the overall work of the Party and to the entire working class. *Revolution* will also put forward the Party's line on important questions of theory and their relation to building the struggle, and will help to expose the class nature

of the enemies of the working class, both outside and within the ranks of the working class movement.

In these ways, the newspaper can help to strengthen the Party's ties with the working class and the millions of other oppressed people in this country. It can be a powerful and sharp weapon in the hands of the working class and its Party by helping in the class' development of an ever clearer, stronger and more unified understanding—based on the actual struggles of the working class—of its immediate and long-range interests and the necessary course of action.

*Revolution* was the name of the newspaper of the Revolutionary Union, a national communist organization which played a key role in the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, and which has gone out of existence now that the new Party of the proletariat has been formed. The RCP, USA has decided to use the name *Revolution* as the title for its own national newspaper, because it is the word that boldly and proudly states why the Party has been formed—to unite with and lead the working class and masses of American people in their revolutionary struggle—and boldly and proudly proclaims the determination of the working class, led by its Party, to carry out its historic mission of smashing the chains of wage-slavery by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and abolishing capitalism, and building a society free of exploitation and oppression.



## Celebrate the Victories of the Working Class! Celebrate the Founding of the Revolutionary Communist Party!

In mid-October the RCP will sponsor events in several cities celebrating the advances in the working class struggle and especially the founding of the Party. They will be held on the occasion of the anniversaries of two of the most historic victories in the struggle of the world's workers and oppressed peoples: the Russian Revolution of October 1917 and the establishing of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. Programs of songs, other forms of working class culture and speeches will focus on the growing strength and revolutionary potential of the battles our class is fighting today, and on the founding of the Party of the U.S. working class—the Revolutionary Communist Party—a product of the struggle of the working class and the most important advance in that struggle since the betrayal of the CP 20 years ago. Now, the working class in this country has as its own instrument an organized force standing completely for the interests of the working class against the capitalist exploiters. More information on these celebrations will be coming out soon in many areas.

## P.O. Contract Battle

# Summing Up To Build On the Advances

The contract fight waged by postal workers this summer was an important advance for the working class struggle. A coordinated, industry-wide campaign helped mobilize the rank and file to fight the bosses and deal with their pals in the union leadership.

Postal Workers for a Good Contract—National Committee (PWGC), pulled together by two postal workers groups, Outlaw in the New York and New Jersey area, and Uprising, in the San Francisco-Oakland area, developed a program to unite postal workers in the contract battle.

Through its newsletters and leaflets, PWGC emphasized the importance of the upcoming contract, won endorsement of several union locals for its program, developed local committees in a number of places where there had been little organized rank and file activity, and enabled existing rank and file groups to unite with greater numbers of P.O. workers than ever. As a result of the contract fight and the work of the PWGC, workers in several cities want to develop permanent rank and file groups. Uprising spread from the Oakland local of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) throughout the Bay Area, and Outlaw increased its size several times over and built a presence in a number of new stations.

The national good contract campaign helped force the retention of the "no layoff clause" in the contract, but was not strong enough to prevent P.O. management from concocting, with the aid of the top hacks in the postal unions, a contract truly deserving the title "sellout," with a pay increase of only 4% per year and almost a free hand for the Postal Corporation to implement its productivity schemes.

### Taste of Things To Come

Nevertheless, the strength of the good contract campaign was a taste of things to come. It scared hell out of the bosses, who have been trying to fire leaders of the fight. And it scared hell out of their buddies in the easy chairs at national union headquarters.

The September issue of *Postal Worker*, the newspaper of the APWU, carried an editorial praising the contract to the skies and attacking those "who call it a sellout." The editorial says, "Start looking for a hidden motive" in the hundreds of thousands of P.O. workers who know they have just been handed a turkey. But whose "hidden motives" are actually showing when the *Postal Worker* quotes AFofL founder Samuel Gompers, the patron saint of U.S. class collaborationism: "The first duty of an employer is to make profits?"

The 1975 post office contract fight has some key lessons not only for postal workers but for the whole working class and its Party, the RCP. The most important of these concerns the manner in which a struggle for immediate gains, like the contract fight, should be conducted. In the heat of battle a tendency spontaneously arose in some places to view the contract battle as everything, losing sight to some extent of the fact that the winning of reforms must be, for the working class and its Party, a by-product of the overall struggle for revolution.

As a result, the terms of the struggle were sometimes narrowed rather than broadened by the communists. A good example of this is how the contract was presented as part of the class struggle. This was done in large part around exposing the stated intention of the ruling class to make the contract a "pacesetter," in President Ford's term, for other contract negotiations next year.

### Focal Point of Class Struggle

The P.O. contract at that time was a focal point in the day to day battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie's "pacesetter" plans helped to show why this was so. However, a tendency arose to use this as an easy gimmick, presenting it as the only tie between the contract fight and the overall class struggle.

This said to postal workers that they were fighting their own battle for their own interests, and also, mainly because of the "pacesetter" aspect, for those of other workers. This presented the view not of a single powerful working class, but of groups of workers divided by industry. The resulting picture was one of P.O. workers taking on the massed might of the ruling class alone.

Thus, to the extent that the "pacesetter" nature of the contract was not presented in broad class terms, it failed to build the unity and strength of the working

class in the course of the struggle.

Narrowing the terms of the struggle to the battle of postal workers in fact weakened that struggle itself. It failed to unite with the sentiments of advanced workers who hate the exploiters and want to kick their butts, by showing how the struggle fits into the overall class war.

This class hatred is a reservoir of strength to be drawn on to build the struggle. Comrades understood the importance of "bringing light" into the spontaneous struggles of the workers, but tended to see this as happening when the workers summed up the struggle afterwards.

This "stage" approach, communists in the P.O. have summed up, fails to grasp that it is in the heat of struggle, not after it, that "the workers begin to throw off the foot of the oppressor from their necks, to raise their heads." Even the process of consolidating fighters into organizations and drawing them closer to the Party, which does continue and increase in importance after a struggle, must be begun as soon as the struggle begins.

### Learning Warfare Through Warfare

In organizing for the contract struggle, relying on the masses and arming them to carry out the struggle proved key in all aspects of the struggle, including the tactics. "Learning warfare through warfare," the communists engaged in the P.O. contract fight have summed up some important lessons on striving always to keep the initiative in the hands of the rank and file.

Although the proposed contract was supposed to be ready a month before the July 21 expiration date, the bosses and union hacks extended their secret negotiations to the deadline, leaving the workers without a scrap of information. In New York, the Committee issued a leaflet as the 21st approached, calling on the workers to demand a union meeting. The NY APWU local was besieged by hundreds of phone calls from workers. Instead, the hacks called a stewards meeting for the night of the expiration, knowing they stood a far better chance of controlling it and staving off a strike call.

At this point, the communists gave incorrect leadership to the rank and file. Instead of basing themselves on the strength of the masses, they felt that only an official strike call from the local union could trigger a national strike, and a call was issued for a picket line at the stewards meeting to demand that local president Moe Biller live up to his "no contract, no work" rap. This substituted pressuring union officials for jamming them with the mobilization of the rank and file.

The same error cropped up at points during the campaign in an apparently opposite form—not dealing with the whole question of the unions except to denounce the hacks. Both these errors share the view that the heart of the unions are the traitors who run them and not the rank and file whose organizations they are.

### Preparing for a Possible Walkout

Rather than picketing the stewards meeting, the communists should have led the workers in preparing for a possible walkout. Events demonstrated the price paid for failing to maintain the initiative. An hour into the 21st, word came down from the negotiations that a contract had been settled, but there were no details.

Not satisfied, hundreds of workers in NY called the PWGC hotline to ask what to do, and others circled large facilities in cars, waiting to see if a walkout would take place. In this situation, it was possible to pull out.

In situations like this it is critical to avoid both rash advances which isolate the advanced, and tailing behind events, incapable of affecting them. The particular conditions and level of readiness among large numbers of workers in the NY-NJ area made it possible to shut down certain stations. It was necessary to do so in order for the workers to keep some initiative in the changed situation.

Walkouts in the early hours of the 21st, particularly if they sparked other actions around the city and country, would have forced out the contents of the contract immediately and set the basis for a powerful "Vote No" campaign. As it was, the details of the sellout began trickling down a week later, and many workers figured it was pretty much "signed, sealed, and delivered," rotten as it was.

There is no guarantee that tactics which relied more on the rank and file would have defeated the sellout. But, as pointed out above, that is not the main thing—they would have further developed the struggle and strength of the working class.

### Three Key Demands

These shortcomings only limited the extent of the real advances for the working class the 1975 postal contract struggle represents. Many workers looked to the PWGC for leadership in the contract struggle. Thousands judged the contract and found it wanting by comparing it with the three key demands popularized by Postal Workers for a Good Contract: defend every job, more money, and better benefits.

These demands sought to sum up the key issues facing postal workers. Based on criticism from rank and file workers, including other members of the PWGC, it became clear that the demands could have been made sharper, through more attention to practicing the mass line.

Although the first demand was a good slogan and was correctly emphasized as the main issue, it did not deal specifically with the forms that management's productivity attacks were taking, and the third demand represented a desire to "touch every base."

Correct demands—using "Defend every job" as a overall slogan—would have been: hands off the no layoff clause; no productivity clause; an all regular work force; and a stronger wage demand. Other demands, on benefits, an improved grievance procedure, etc., should have been clearly secondary.

Besides presenting a clearer focus for the contract fight, these demands would have provided a stronger foundation for the continuing struggle under the new contract.

Having already hit the P.O. workers with a big wage cut—which is what a 4% "increase" amounts to in the face of inflation—postal management is preparing its follow-up punch, a savage productivity offensive. The first stage of this is an all-out crackdown on "absenteeism," to cut the size of the work force without violating the letter of the no layoff clause and to impose sharper labor discipline on the remaining workers.

This opens the way for the P.O. to implement its various productivity schemes, like the Kokomo Plan. This computerized speed-up plan for letter carriers is already being instituted in Seattle. Resistance to these attacks is already building, including slowdowns and grievance writing campaigns.

The advances made in this contract fight puts P.O. workers in a much better position to carry on and intensify this struggle. Outlaw and Uprising are preparing a national broadside, summing up the contract battle and the contract itself, and calling for similar organizations to be built among P.O. workers everywhere.

To strengthen ties between the cores of active fighters who took part in the good contract fight, and to build the fight back of all P.O. workers, a regular national bulletin for the whole postal industry will begin coming out soon. ■

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## Louisville Busing Plan

# Mass Resistance to Ruling Class Attack

This fall, Louisville, Kentucky has been the focus of resistance to the bourgeoisie's busing schemes. When school opened in Louisville under a new court-imposed busing plan, the spontaneous fight back was tremendous—a powerful school boycott, street demonstrations, a first day protest strike at several area plants and determined resistance to police attack.

Busing is an assault by the bourgeoisie on the masses disguised as a concession to their struggles. When the bourgeoisie was forced to grant certain concessions by the mass struggles of the 1960s, including the struggle of Black people against discrimination, inequality and oppression, and those of parents of all nationalities for quality education, they also looked for ways to take back these concessions and more. As one tactic, they took up busing to cover cutbacks and other attacks on education, and to promote disunity and weaken all the struggles of the working class and its allies.

To spread confusion, the bourgeoisie has promoted a running "busing debate," featuring various politicians looking out for themselves and speaking out of both sides of their mouths, while of course keeping both feet firmly in the camp of the ruling class. In response to the resistance of the masses, more of the monopolists and their mouthpieces may "criticize" busing in days to come, but as long as these busing schemes serve the interests of the ruling class they will not vanish and will have to be defeated through struggle.

### Situation in Louisville

In Louisville, the bourgeoisie set out to work both sides of the fence to defuse the spontaneous struggle and try to turn it to their advantage. On the one hand, they promote the Ku Klux Klan and similar scum to try to direct the struggle, mainly white at present, down a dead end. On the other hand, to split the Black masses away from the resistance, they point a finger at the racist and reactionary "leaders" they themselves have set up and pretend to support the just striving of Black people for equality.

The Louisville busing plan affects 26,000 Black students and 100,000 white students, the entire public school population and the surrounding county, which have now been merged into a single school district. The new gimmick in the Louisville plan is that every kid will be bused for a couple years of school. Since the percentage of Black students is much lower, they will have to ride the buses for eight or nine years of elementary and high school.

The process of busing itself represents an attack—many kids will have to catch a bus to their local school at 5:30 in the morning to catch another bus to their "assigned" school. Of course, sports and other after school activities are almost impossible for kids who are bused. For working parents, this is an added burden to their schedules; and for all parents, having their kids in school an hour or so away is a source of worry.

As in Boston, the Louisville plan goes hand in hand with cutbacks. Kentucky already ranks 49th in the U.S. in per pupil expenditure and the schools are terrible. Despite last year's severe overcrowding in most schools, local officials claim busing makes possible the complete elimination of 11 schools. Funds for vocational programs have been called "uncertain," which means they're probably headed for the chopping block. In some cases, books which were free last year will cost students \$31 this year.

### No Solid Support

The plan has not won solid support from any section of the masses. Black parents are not enthusiastic about the plan, but the even worse conditions in predominantly Black schools create a basis for hope that busing may improve things. Hatred for the Klan is another factor leading the majority of Black workers and others not to actively oppose the plan.

White workers hate the plan and see it as an attack. Most do not blame Black people for the plan, but rather see it as hotshot "social engineers" pushing people around. At present, these differences have not erupted into national hostility, despite various provocations, and with the bourgeoisie doing its best to create and intensify antagonisms.

The ruling class is banking heavily at this time on a motley collection of reactionaries and racists, who are

trying to push the organizations they head into the forefront of the anti-busing movement. There are three main groups, the leaders of each working to better tie the movement to the ruling class and advance their careers in the process.

The largest and most influential group is Concerned Parents, which claims affiliation with ROAR in Boston and favors a "political strategy" of lobbying. Parents For Freedom is another outfit. It has some following in the plants around Louisville and is headed up by a reactionary Bible thumper, Reverend Lowell Hughes, who admits to a fondness for both the John Birch Society and the Klan. And, as the bourgeois media have extensively reported, there is the KKK.

### Workers Go Out in Protest

The struggle began on the first day of school, Sept. 4. Called by IUE Local 271, 18,000 of the 20,000 workers at the big Louisville GE plant hit the bricks in protest. They were joined by workers from Brown and Williamson (60% out), International Harvester (45%), two Ford plants (shut for the day), and several others. The schools, too, were almost empty, with the boycott estimated 80% effective.

Concerned Parents had called off its first day demonstration, but 2,000 people showed up anyway. The Klan rushed to the front with their banners, trying to bogart leadership of the crowd. The demo was attacked by police and erupted into a running fight with the cops. The bourgeois media did everything possible to give the Klan credit and play up every instance of racist slogans or threats in an attempt to transform the struggle into a Black-white showdown.

The next evening, the fighting continued as crowds, made up mainly of teenagers, but with older workers and young kids as well, gathered to protest—10,000 at Valley High and 2,000 at Southern High. The cops waded in with clubs and tear gas, pulling people from cars and stores and beating them.

The people responded with a night of fighting, burning several empty buses and sending a bunch of cops to the hospital. Despite the bourgeoisie's efforts to push racial clashes, the fighting focused on the cops and the busing plan. Although Black motorists drove through the area during the fighting that night, none were attacked or injured.

The ruling class used these battles as an excuse to ban all protests and bring in the National Guard for 10 days, stationing armed soldiers on every bus and freeing up state and local cops to attack the masses.

### Activity Dies Down

By the next week, except for local actions in different neighborhoods, large-scale spontaneous activity began to die down. The originally effective, but basically unorganized boycott fell off, too, as many parents decided to send their kids back to class so they would not miss too much school.

None of the reactionary organizations has won clear leadership of the struggle. Concerned Parents is still the most influential of these groups, but its leaders are now trying to divert the struggle to a march on Washington, and some dissatisfied leaders have formed their own splinter outfits and are starting to bid for a following of their own. Parents For Freedom still retains some following; the Reverend Hughes recently organized a long anti-busing car caravan and led it into the Black West Side, right past a Black Unity Festival. This open provocation was basically rejected by the people both in the caravan and at the Festival, but the good Reverend and his like are clearly going to keep trying to stir up Black-white fighting.

The KKK has won some support, particularly for its tough "radical" image, but this novelty is starting to wear off. The Klan has modernized its act to appeal to some of the real concerns of the people—for instance, in the aftermath of the fighting with the cops, they began holding rallies against "police brutality," with some people who were injured in the police attacks testifying.

### New Organization Formed

A number of active, class conscious workers and others in the Louisville area came together early in the struggle and formed Workers United for Quality and Equal Education. They put out a broadside calling for the struggle to continue and pointing to

the ruling class as the enemy.

One of the most sharply discussed and argued over sections of the broadside was a straight up attack on the bourgeois promoted would-be "leaders" of the struggle: "Just look at these rats. The same class which claims to be in the corner of Black people pushes the Ku Klux Klan at the same time. The Klan talks about the common man and freedom to get a following but their real program is a lot of anti-Black garbage designed to divide white from Black workers. Just this summer the coal owners of Harlan County had the Klan come in to sidetrack a union organizing movement. And the workers rejected them and drove them out for the low life scabs they are. Now these boll weevils are looking for a home in Louisville, but we've got news for them, workers here know what to do with scabs."

Through discussions and struggles like this, many workers are being won to the general line put forward in the broadside: "Let's get something straight. We workers built this country. We're struggling day to day to keep our heads above water, to make things better for ourselves and our children. We're willing to fight so that they can get a good education. But look around the country—education stinks...Schools are deteriorating and we're getting mad, so they are using busing plans all over the U.S. to get people fighting among themselves for the crumbs that are left, trying to hide the fact that they can't provide the schools we need. These busing plans are nothing but a cover for cuts in school budgets."

In Louisville the ruling class offensive—an offensive based on weakness—is being sharply challenged. And despite obstacles, workers have shown their desire for a real fight. The spirit on which it will be built was expressed by a Black worker at one plant: "If this means fighting together, I'll be out there." ■

## Boston: Battle vs. Phase 2 Continues

As the bourgeoisie began implementing Phase 2 of the notorious Boston busing plan and continued its cutbacks in education, the resistance of the masses intensified. The first week of Phase 2 saw widespread but basically unorganized boycotting, with some parents keeping their children home out of fear for their safety, but most out of determination to resist Phase 2. Many parents sent their kids to school, while still looking for an organized way to fight.

There were a number of rallies and demonstrations, strongest in communities hit by busing for the first time, like Charleston, a close-knit white working class area. One of the most important of these demonstrations—not so much for its size as for the political viewpoint and demands that it put forward—was called by the Committee for a Decent Education (CDE) on the opening day of school. A hundred parents and supporters marched on the courthouse of Judge Garrity, who has been entrusted by the ruling class with setting up their busing plan for Boston.

Their slogans were "Stop Phase 2" and "Fight for a Decent and Equal Education." In a situation where there is widespread anger at Phase 2, and what little organization there is exists to try to divide the people rather than unite them, this demonstration is another step in the building of a united citywide movement, capable of derailing the ruling class' busing offensive.

### Ruling Class Attacks

The cops hit quickly and viciously at many of the rallies and other actions, and the bourgeois media laid down a barrage of propaganda on how smooth everything is supposedly going and how happy the kids are.

These actions by the bourgeoisie and their lackeys reflect the fact that Phase 2 is a major attack on the people of Boston. Cutbacks are continuing, not in a sudden cave-in, but in a steadily increasing erosion of the already terrible Boston school system. A late September strike by Boston teachers hit at these cutbacks. Despite their general support for busing, the teachers walked when the Boston School Committee refused them a 9% pay increase and a no-layoff clause.

As for the kids, they are being shifted from rotten

Continued on page 7



## Demand Grows Sharper: “Jobs—Now!”

What's the story on the crisis and unemployment? What's the mood of the working class?

There are slight fluctuations in the economy, as the capitalists try to make it. They keep trying to reassure themselves—and us—saying it'll be okay. But the prices climb higher each month, and deficit financing along with them, and layoffs increase, which isn't reassuring at all.

The Sept. 19 *Wall Street Journal* shows us some of the pinch, like Ford Motor Co., just starting to build 1976 models, having to close down one assembly plant to relieve the surplus of unsold cars. And there are rumors that a GM parts plant in Calif. will lay off and perhaps close down.

The same *Journal* also tells us that, because of tax breaks, the last quarter of the year is the most advantageous time for capitalists to borrow, but at this time 12 leading banks report borrowing by corporations has declined by \$45 million.

We do have to check out the capitalists' economic barometer, all their "indicators," but the underlying fact is there is nothing solid pushing the economy up very far and there are more and more limitations on the capitalists' options and possibilities. There may be ups and downs *within* the overall crisis, but the crisis itself grows worse all the time.

And what of the job market? All over workers are showing by their militancy that they aren't accepting what's happening to them. Strikes express this greater felt reality and growing understanding. The contrast between then and now sharpens—things have never been any good, but they're getting a whole lot worse by the minute and this is shown by the increasing fight back.

A couple of years ago, for example, at a large food chain warehouse in Calif., the company moved out large sections of the warehouse to an outlying area—to better their profits by weakening the workers, dividing them up and by-passing the fights they'd won, and settling them into a weaker union local. At that time, workers weren't feeling the crisis as they are now, not enough to put up a good fight.

But just a couple of weeks ago, workers on strike at another large food chain turned down a contract that was much larger than the union-projected package of wages and fringe benefits—*turned it down by two to one*. Why? Because this warehouse is also now threatened with removal to an outlying city, and the workers demanded jobs. They wouldn't sign a contract for just the pay today and then be gone tomorrow.

Another example of the fight that's growing stronger

week of school this year she could only draw about 300 to a prayer march. All this opportunism has given rise to some demoralization among many, but alongside it, also to a desire to find new organization and a new and correct program that can carry the struggle on and through to victory.

### Building the Struggle

The hatred of the people for the busing plan and their determination to fight it is the basis for continuing struggle against Phase 2. CDE is helping to build this fight based on building solid unity between workers, parents and students of all nationalities.

At present, CDE's work is focused on developing conditions at high schools for a unified walkout which could spark further actions and resistance throughout the city. For instance, when a CDE leaflet was distributed inside tense Hyde Park High School calling for the whole school to act against Phase 2, bused-in Black students weren't sure they were included in "the whole school together." So CDE hit their community and bus stops with a follow-up leaflet which expanded on the idea of united action.

At the same time, agitation is going on through leafletting and discussions at a nearby plant, to win support for the Hyde Park High School students and build the overall anti-busing struggle. And the same kind of organizing is being carried on at several key high schools, communities and plants in the Boston area, building the people's strength and unity and aiming the blow ever more clearly and sharply at the real enemy. ■

and being carried on over and over: a steel worker reports that at his plant, some of the workers put forward that the scheduled layoffs there should be fought. Much to the surprise of some of the workers who did get laid off, including some of the workers leading this fight, they were called back within a short time. They had actually anticipated a long layoff and perhaps permanently. When they got back to work, they found that the workers still on the job had taken up the fight, had refused the doubled up work and refused the overtime. And this directly was the cause of their being rehired! In other situations, workers are fighting, through all kinds of actions, for militant workers not being taken back on after strikes.

The job question, the so-called "job security" question, looms big for us all. And, along with our demand for jobs, and as the demand gets put into action, the fact that the system can't produce jobs will also loom larger. The fact is, that warehouse *must* eventually move or go under. The fact is that a chemical plant in the same community—a basic business for that community—is also moving, closing down, even though there have been years of fighting there for "job security."

This kind of thing is not optional under capitalism, and we workers have to take a long, deep look at that and see it for the rotten system that it is. So along with the demands we make for jobs, etc. must come the understanding that only basic and revolutionary change will make it for us.

### Attacks Increase

What's happening on the unemployment lines? Growing realization is leading to growing action. The Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) is passing out hundreds of slips every day to join up, to do something. There are citywide demonstrations and picket lines. The meetings to discuss actions are becoming larger. The change is there; the pace is quickening. The UWOC newsletter, distributed nationally, has increased orders. Buttons are sold by the hundreds. Buttons that say "Jobs or Income" and "Employed/Unemployed, Same Crisis, Same Fight."

The meaning of unemployment is there for all to see and hear. An unemployed Teamster out of the navy for six years, out of work most of that time. Seven thousand applied to MUNI, a local city bus company, for 30 jobs. Many of those who applied were completely unemployed, and large numbers were temporarily working on jobs that paid next to nothing.

Families, fathers and mothers, are being told by welfare, "Why not get a divorce, you'll get more on welfare that way." Millions face cuts in unemployment insurance completely when the 65 week extensions end, and the jobs that are now offered are a few jobs at \$2 an hour. These jobs, workers say, are for the highly skilled, such as experienced machinists.

In a word, the capitalists' attacks on us increase. In some areas the capitalists, through the government unemployment department, are scheming to bring wages down and increase profits by directly forcing the \$2 an hour jobs on unemployed workers. In one city, for example, a special department has been set up separate from the regular department. It takes workers and tells them: "Accept this \$2 an hour job or we won't pay you unemployment."

This is a real attempt to break down union rates and workers' living conditions, to pay nothing and divide the employed and unemployed.

### Recruiters Get the Word

More, the capitalists are trying to take advantage of the situation of the unemployed to beef up their armed forces as part of their preparations for launching another war. Army, Navy and Air Force recruiting tables have been set up at the unemployment offices, but the hostility of unemployed workers to them has been very strong and most of the recruiters have folded up their tables and gone away. So now the government is trying to push joining the reserves, but that's not going to cut it either. Unemployed workers say they're steamed about how the government is trying to leech off their situation, that they're not going to give up their lives for room and board, and that killing others like themselves is no answer to the problems.

The capitalists try to foster all divisions, pit worker against worker, get us adjusted to the rotten conditions of life. But again we show them; we don't take it. And they see this, and their propaganda, of course, gets heavier. The airwaves, the headlines, the movies: you can't change it—you can't change it—that's the way it is. The fatalistic stories of the young and the working class, the violence they portray of one worker getting at another—all to brainwash, all to say "life has no way out."

But all they try is in vain. So long as they can't provide the material conditions that we need to live and live decently—and their system can't provide this—then our struggles will continue and grow, and the understanding of our class will grow that this system has to go. And we have to constantly expose the system for what it is, as we fight for our needs. ■

## Boston...

Continued from page 6

school to rotten school, to face cops at the bus stop, federal marshals wearing riot gear in the halls, and "teachers' aides," hired for their muscle, in the classrooms and johns—as the ruling class continues in its efforts to foster and deepen antagonisms between working people of different nationalities.

The masses of people in Boston still bitterly oppose the busing plan, as the boycott and the stoning of police cars from Charleston to Roxbury to South Boston shows. But many don't see how they can fight the plan in an organized and effective way. The misleaders who strutted in front of the TV cameras last year promised the people that they would smash the busing plan. In fact, what they were doing was helping to promote and spread the bourgeoisie's divide and rule schemes, and since they were interested only in serving the bourgeoisie and advancing their own careers, their promises of real struggle soon proved to be hot air, and their influence has decreased.

ROAR, for example, still has a core of support in "Southie," but where Louise Day Hicks led thousands through the streets last year, at the end of the first

## New Mideast "Agreement"

# Step Toward Peace? Just the Opposite

The Mideast "peace agreement" signed by Egypt and Israel at the beginning of September is being ballyhooed by the U.S. imperialists as a triumph for diplomacy and reason, the beginning of the end of conflict and war in the Middle East, and so on. The truth is just the opposite. The agreement is designed to preserve and strengthen Israel as an outpost of U.S. imperialism, cut away at the struggle of the Palestinian people and further increase U.S. hegemony throughout the Mideast. It deepens the extent of superpower interference in the area and thus increases the likelihood that future war there will involve the U.S. and USSR and become a new world war.

This "peace agreement" is a direct attack on the Palestinian people, on the people of Egypt and all the Arab countries, on the people of Israel and on the masses of American people. Furthermore, the U.S. ruling class admits, the "success" of this agreement depends on "continued progress"—more imperialist wheeling and dealing aimed at putting a lid on the struggles of the masses in the Mideast. But this attack is already meeting widespread resistance. Putting a lid on a volcano will not stop an eruption—the whole mountain explodes.

The agreement itself deals with Egyptian relations with Israel and with the Sinai Peninsula which Israel overran and occupied completely during the 1967 "Seven Day" war. Egypt regained a foothold on the peninsula during the 1973 "October" war. The agreement extends this foothold, permitting Egypt to advance a few miles deeper into its own territory as Israel falls back behind the strategic Gidi and Mitla passes, creating a larger "buffer zone" or no-mans land. Egypt also gets back a long strip running south along the Sinai, including the Abu Rudeis oilfields, almost totally drained by Israel over the last eight years.

In exchange for these concessions and the promise that more will be forthcoming in future negotiations, the Egyptian government, headed by Anwar Sadat, announced what amounted to total betrayal of the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people. It recognizes further the right of Israel to exist and agrees that the conflict between Egypt and Israel "and in the Mideast shall not be resolved by military force but peaceful means"—which means it will not be resolved at all. In addition, the Egyptians will scab on the Arab boycott of Israel, opening the Suez Canal to Israel-bound cargo and welcoming commercial deals with firms that invest heavily in Israel.

### Listening Posts

To sweeten this deal, the U.S. government promised Israel \$2.2 billion dollars in military and economic aid over the next year and guaranteed a full supply of oil to Israel forever to make up for the "loss" of the Abu Rudeis oilfields. Egypt gets \$800 million in U.S. cash and Kissinger arranged for Sadat to receive big grants and loans from Saudi Arabia for arms and its economy. The gimmick that sealed the deal is a series of "listening posts" in the buffer zone near the Gidi and Mitla passes, through which either side would probably launch an attack on the other.

From a purely military viewpoint, the effectiveness of such stations is limited to giving one side a bare few hours' notice that the other's tanks have started to roll. Politically, however, these stations are the key to the agreement, because they will be manned by 200 U.S. "civilians" (that is, "retired" CIA and military men). Even if their listening equipment were tin cans with strings, the presence of a line of U.S. forces in the buffer zone makes the U.S. the guarantor of the peace, with the implication being, "Cross this line, and you cross the U.S." In particular, these 200 men make up an invaluable southern defense line for the Israeli ruling class.

The stationing of these "observers" gives the U.S. ruling class more control over both Egypt and Israel. It also puts the U.S. in a key location within the Middle East itself, where all kinds of phony provocations against the "civilians" could be concocted to justify U.S. military intervention, if the U.S. government desired.

Although the agreement thus increases U.S. control and options in the area, it also represents a desperate gamble. It puts U.S. forces in the center of a war zone making far more likely U.S. intervention in a future Mideast war which could be triggered by events beyond superpower control. This step would likely cause the USSR to follow suit. Such superpower intervention

could turn a just war against Israel into an inter-imperialist war between the U.S. and the USSR.

Opposition to the "peace agreement" has already flared up everywhere. When it was announced, the Egyptian ambassador to Lebanon had to flee his embassy through the back door as Palestinians from 12 refugee camps demonstrated in front. Tens of thousands of Syrians held protest marches in Damascus and elsewhere. Several Arab governments denounced the deal. Within Egypt itself students held rallies to denounce Sadat and Kissinger. The masses of American people have continually opposed increasing U.S. involvement in the Mideast and government bluster about using military force "to secure oil supplies." The new agreement obviously increases the war danger and the massive expense of this superpower speculation has further enraged people.

### Agreement Strengthens U.S. Hand

This agreement does not and cannot mean peace in the Middle East. It is designed to strengthen the state of Israel, whose very existence is the central contradiction and cause of war in the area. Israel is a settler state established in 1948 by Zionists, wealthy Jews who claimed that Palestine was intended by God to belong to Jews and be ruled by a handful of Zionist capitalists—them. These vermin, while refusing to organize resistance to anti-Semitic persecution, whether in Tsarist Russia or Hitler Germany, used such persecution to persuade many Jews that only migration to the Palestinian "homeland" could solve their problems.

In Palestine, especially at the point of Israel's assuming "nationhood" in 1948, they drove out the native Palestinian people with naked terror, making them landless refugees. Since 1948 they have expanded their territory greatly against neighboring Arab states by waging aggressive wars, Israel has always been backed by imperialist powers and most importantly the U.S. ruling class as an outpost of military might and economic and political influence overlooking the entire Mideast.

But the Palestinian people have never ceased to struggle to regain their homeland and the masses of Egyptian and Syrian people will never give up the land that has been stolen from their countries. There is only one possible resolution of the contradiction between Israel and the Palestinian people and masses of people of the Arab nations. Israel will be destroyed as an aggressor tool of imperialism, as an oppressor religious state where the most basic rights are denied to non-Jewish inhabit-

ants. In its place the Palestinian people, together with the Jewish masses will establish a non-sectarian (freedom of worship and no state religion) and democratic Palestine where people of all nationalities can struggle together to build a new society.

The main opposition to this just resolution comes from the rulers of the two superpowers. As the international crisis of capital deepens, each is driven to take every measure to increase its control of the Mideast. The Mideast is a most valuable prize for its vast oil production, and the vast profits this represents.

Mideast oil is many times cheaper to produce and thus more profitable to sell than the oil in the Alaskan North Slope fields U.S. oil companies are trying to open up, or the oil produced in remote Siberia under conditions similar to Alaska. Furthermore, this oil is a key to greater control of the main prize in superpower contention, the industrial nations of Europe, who are dependent on the Mideast for their energy needs. And the new political influence of the Arab nations among other Third World countries increases their value as prizes to the superpowers.

The strategy of the U.S. bourgeoisie has always been to maintain Israel as a dependable beach-head in the area. Israel is so dependent on U.S. aid, its finance minister admits, it would go bankrupt instantly if that aid was withdrawn.

But while Israel is the spearhead of U.S. imperialist penetration in the Mideast, developments in recent years have made winning more influence and control over Arab states increasingly important for the U.S. bourgeoisie: the 1973 "October" war which demonstrated the growing military strength and economic clout of these nations, the vastly increased economic and political importance of Mideast oil, and the all-out challenge by the New Tsars to the U.S. ruling class' worldwide empire.

Tactically, the U.S. approach has been to exploit the contradiction between Israel and the Arab nations to pose as "peacemaker" in the area. To back up this the U.S. government uses both carrot and stick, particularly with the Israeli ruling class, to produce "progress" like the current agreement.

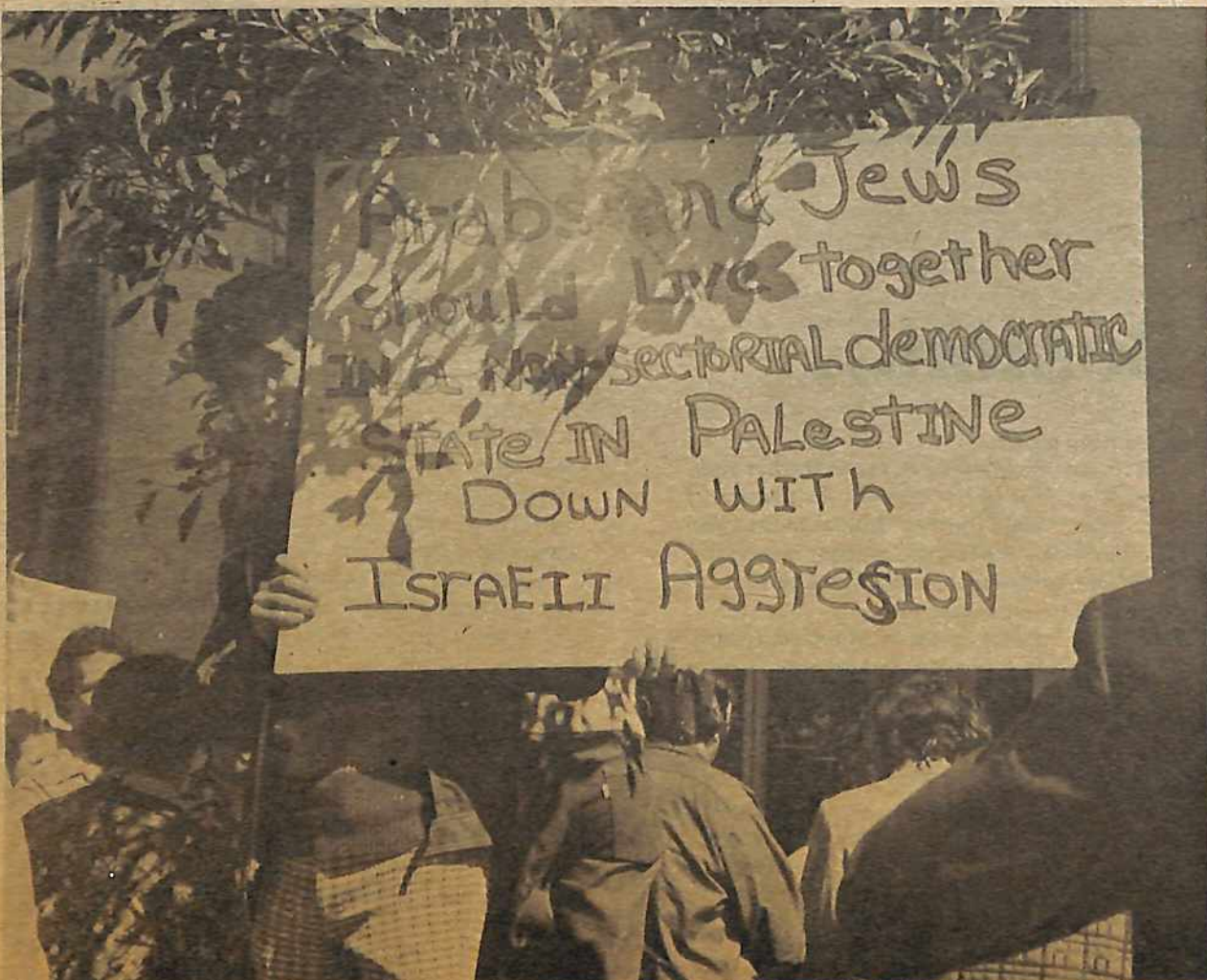
Soviet attempts to push back U.S. influence and seize the Mideast for themselves depend just as much on taking advantage of the existence of Israel and the contradictions it gives rise to. While they uphold the right of Israel to exist and aid it through sending skilled manpower in the form of "dissident" Jews and even non-Jews, the Soviets do not have the same commitment as the U.S. to defending and strengthening Israel's rulers, nor do they have the control that comes with it. Their tactics have been based on posing as "sympathizers and protectors" of the Arab nations and the Palestinians against Israel.

### Control of the Sinai

A good example of the superpowers' desperate scramble for control is the Sinai. Regaining the Sinai, which permits reopening the profitable Suez Canal and resuming exploitation of the Abu Rudeis oilfields and other mineral desposits, has been a major goal of the Egyptian ruling class since its loss in 1967. The period after the 1967 "Seven Day" war saw the influence of the USSR in Egypt at its high point, with Soviet promises of aiding the Egyptians to win back their stolen territory.

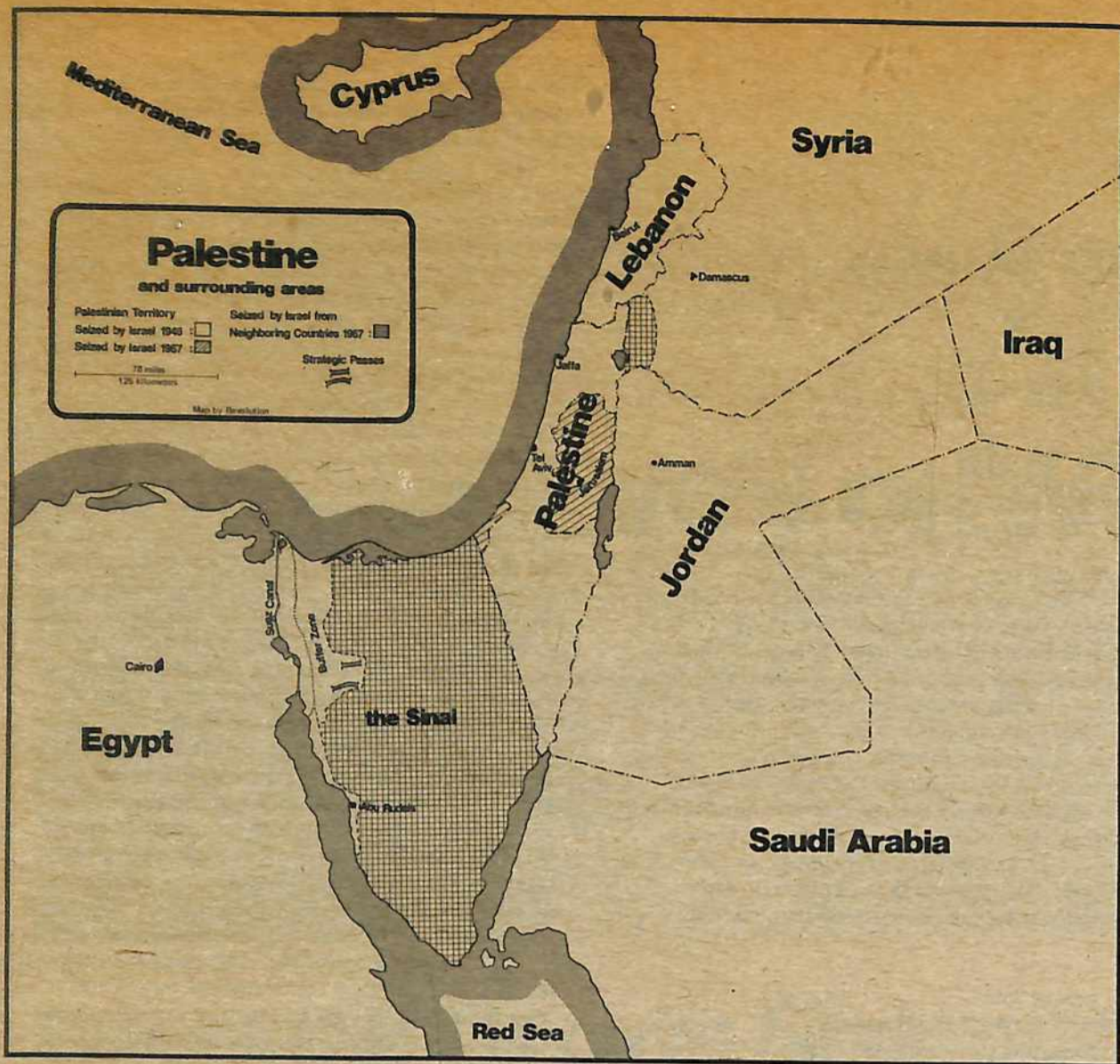
This changed drastically in the aftermath of the

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Many demonstrations in the U.S. over the last several years have demanded an end to U.S. interference in the Mideast, an end to Israeli Zionist aggression, and returning to the Palestinian people their homeland.





# Mideast Struggle...

Continued from page 8

1973 war as the true nature of Soviet "friendship and support" became clearer. Egyptian forces established firm control of the East Bank of the Suez despite the inadequacy of the Soviet military training and the second-hand Soviet equipment with which they were fighting. But the USSR quickly colluded with U.S. imperialism to stall and then end the war which was not in the interests of either superpower at that time nor sufficiently under their control, through withholding aid and by international diplomatic maneuvering.

The Egyptians requested better arms—offensive arms—from the USSR to prepare for future combat. The Soviet rulers not only balked and demanded more control over the Egyptian military, but insisted that the Egyptian government repay, with interest, all earlier Soviet military and economic loans on schedule, despite the heavy cost of the war.

In response, the Egyptian ruling class, led by President Sadat, turned on the social-imperialists, publicly denouncing the USSR and throwing out thousands of Soviet advisors and technicians. The U.S. ruling class was quick to step into the breach, with offers of aid and U.S. investment and the promise that U.S. diplomats could get back the Sinai through negotiation and "compromise" with Israel. The "peace agreement" represents a consolidation of all advances the U.S. bourgeoisie has made since the "October" war.

## Serious Soviet Setbacks

The New Tsars have suffered serious setbacks in the last few years in the Mideast. Even the rulers of Iraq and Syria, traditionally their closest allies, have been pulling away from Soviet control to some extent. Syria, for example, recently sent 200 technicians from the USSR packing and plans to get replacements from U.S. oil monopolies.

These reverses have not removed the USSR from the Mideast stage, but only made them more desperate. They have in recent years increased their phony verbal "support" for the Palestinian struggle, and their attempts to bring forces within the Palestinian movement under their influence have enjoyed some success.

Despite these maneuvers, the New Tsars cannot give genuine support to the Palestinian struggle any more than their U.S. rivals can—the existence of Israel is pivotal to the scheming and hegemonism of both superpowers. They cannot support the goals of the Palestinian struggle—national liberation, independence and democracy—because these goals are opposed to superpower interests altogether. The Palestinian national liberation movement is a component part of the worldwide proletarian revolution which will inevitably sweep away the rulers of both superpowers.

The contradiction between Israel and the Palestin-

ian people and the people of the Arab countries has profound influence on the development of the other major contradictions in the Mideast, as well as that between the two superpowers. The Palestinian struggle has been both an inspiration and a trigger on the class struggle in other Mideast countries. A recent example of this is the fighting in Lebanon, begun months ago by fascist attacks on Palestinian refugees and portrayed in the Western press as Christian vs. Muslim. In fact, sparked by the Palestinians' resistance much of the character of the struggle in Lebanon is a spontaneous uprising against feudal rule with industrial and agricultural workers at its head, including Muslim and Christian Lebanese, and Palestinian refugees.

In Israel, too, class contradictions are sharpening. As the Zionist ruling class fights to maintain its stolen "nation" and its existence as a ruling class, it must try to maintain the workers' loyalty and simultaneously squeeze more out of them to keep going. Already real wages are down 10% from last year and wildcat strikes against the Zionist Central Labor Federation are spreading.

The existence of Israel also has deep-going effects on the contradictions within and between the semi-feudal and capitalist ruling classes in the Mideast. The Arab rulers have sharp contradictions with the Israeli Zionist ruling class, which has stolen and continues to threaten Arab territory. They have united in the past with the Palestinians to carry on common struggle against Israel. But the Palestinian movement as an inspirational revolu-

tionary upsurge represents a threat to them as well, so, even in uniting with it, the different Arab ruling classes try to control it, pushing a variety of bourgeois and feudal lines on the nature and goals of the struggle and sponsoring organizations whose leaders owe allegiance to them.

The new "peace agreement" has brought into sharp relief the differences among the Arab leaders, based on the interests of the different ruling classes, over how and how much to support the Palestinians and how much to capitulate to and collaborate with Israel. Sadat represents the growing capitulationist line; he told a newspaper in Kuwait, "If there are Arab leaders who want to stick their head into the sand...I am not one of them... Israel is an accomplished fact."

This view is by no means unanimous. Within days of the "peace agreement" an assassination of Sadat was foiled and a military coup was attempted against the Sudanese government, which had strongly supported Sadat's treachery.

## U.S. Propaganda Blitz

The U.S. imperialists have followed the signing of the agreement with a propaganda blitz about how Kissinger's "diplomatic miracle" is going to bring "a permanent peace in the Middle East." The hollowness of these claims will soon be exposed as the basic contradictions in the area continue to heat up.

The goal of the Soviet Union now is to torpedo this or any future deals which increase U.S. hegemony in the Mideast, while using the turmoil the deal has produced to try and recoup its losses. By opposing the deal, the New Tsars hope to worm their way into the ranks of the Palestinians and Arab nations like Syria, Iraq, Libya and Algeria, who are fighting Sadat's betrayal.

For the U.S. imperialists, continued momentum is key—and already the Israelis are trying to extort Pershing missiles, capable of delivering nuclear warheads on Arab capitals from Baghdad to Cairo, out of the U.S. by threatening to dump the agreement. Meanwhile only further one-on-one "shuttle diplomacy" can keep things rolling because any overall negotiations on the whole Mideast will put the Palestinian question at center stage.

The next step is to attempt to set up similar deals between Syria and Israel over the Golan, and between Israel and Jordan over the West Bank area. This is tricky business, for like the Sinai deal, every advance for U.S. imperialism will also draw the U.S. deeper into the whirlpool. When the advances stop, the basic contradictions will reassert themselves with rapidly increasing force. The U.S. ruling class will no longer be able to pose as the "peace-loving friend of all parties," and its playing card pyramid of agreements will collapse, forcing it to scramble desperately.

Already the U.S. "diplomatic offensive" has run into the roadblock of mass resistance. The Arab masses are enraged at Sadat's sellout, and are more determined than ever to smash Israel despite the interference of the two superpowers. So great is the American people's mistrust of and opposition to the current agreement that many politicians are demagogically "questioning" it with one eye on next year's elections. This could be enough to undercut or wreck the kind of delicate double-dealing Kissinger has to pull off.

At the heart of this resistance are the Palestinian people, who oppose the agreement unanimously. They are not prepared to have their struggle bought off or wiped out by imperialist schemes and gimmicks. The struggle for an independent, democratic and non-sectarian Palestine will continue to be a beacon for the masses in the Mideast and throughout the world. ■



Palestinian guerrilla fighters in training. The recently signed "peace agreement" between Israel and Egypt is an attack on the Palestinian people, but they are determined to fight until they have regained their homeland stolen from them by the Zionists and their imperialist backers.

## Meany & Co. Peddling "National Unity"

# Grain Deal: It's The People Who Pay

Throughout the twists and turns of the current U.S.-Soviet grain deal, AFL-CIO President George Meany has stood in front of the TV cameras talking tough about the interests of "the American working man," while behind the scenes he and the rest of the U.S. ruling class were working to turn the whole affair to their economic and political advantage at working people's expense.

In August, the Soviet Union bought 10 million metric tons of grain from U.S. grain monopolies. Until the deal was renegotiated in September, Meany blasted it, claiming the Soviets were jacking up U.S. food prices, stealing jobs from U.S. shipping, and furthermore, that the bargain had been made with the "communist enemy" at the enemy's advantage, and therefore betrayed the "national interest."

But after a month of this charade and of haggling about the terms of trade, the deal was finally concluded to the advantage of the rulers of both superpowers, who intend to make the working people of both countries pay for it.

The grain sales have been an arena of fierce struggle between the superpowers, showing that even when the two are acting to mutual benefit, acting under the guise of "detente" to fleece the world's people, each is still trying to do the maximum damage to the other. In this, Meany's performance helped the U.S. capitalists drive a harder bargain.

At the same time, the U.S. bourgeoisie has been trying to take advantage of the people's suspicions that they've been ripped off by the grain deal, in order to take the blame off themselves for food prices, unemployment, etc., while trying to hide the real nature of the affair—two gangs of thieves squabbling over stolen goods—by presenting it as a conflict between "the American people" and "Russian communism," and making a big plea for national unity.

### Peddling Class Collaboration

Despite years of tough talk, Meany has never been able to win himself a reputation as a fighter in workers' real battles around wages, working conditions, against speed-up, layoffs, discrimination, war, and so on. Now, in the grain deal, Meany has seized the opportunity to help the capitalist class he's a part of to make a killing in business, while peddling class collaboration and bolstering his own position in the bargain. Basically, what he's saying comes down to the old idea that "all Americans" are in the same boat together and we'd better all row harder or the Russians will tip it over—at a time when those at the oars are increasingly in revolt.

In the spring, the USSR cancelled its previous order for 200,000 tons of U.S. wheat because the price, set last year, was high. Then, in mid-summer, with record harvests forecast in the U.S. and grain prices way down, they moved in quietly and bought over 50 times that amount. This set the price of wheat and other grains soaring. For awhile the Soviets seemed to have gotten the better of the deal, but then they were ambushed and hijacked. Under Meany's direction, the International Longshoreman's Association (ILA) and other maritime unions halted all loading of the Soviet purchases, holding the grain hostage for renegotiations.

First, Meany and ILA head Thomas Gleason indicated they wanted to see the Soviets be forced to carry at least half the grain in U.S.-registered ships, instead of a third. And to keep other countries from underbidding U.S. companies on the other half, they demanded the USSR pay higher shipping rates. Although details haven't been released yet, apparently the Soviets have given in on this.

Second, Meany complained that the grain sales would lead to higher food prices, saying that the 1972 U.S.-Soviet grain deal was the root cause of high food prices in the U.S. ever since, and even implying that the USSR is responsible for the whole economic crisis. Our standard of living is being pushed down and jobs lost, he declared, because the U.S. is letting itself be pushed around.

The real object of his "concern," however, became crystal clear in the grain deal's final outcome, which he welcomed. In return for allowing the pre-

sent purchases to be delivered and the USSR to buy more grain this fall, the U.S. jammed the USSR into agreeing to buy at least five million tons of grain every year for five years. (To grease the tracks for all this, the Soviets threw in a little oil.)

This is supposedly to stabilize grain prices by preventing sudden buying sprees, but since the six big U.S. grain monopolies are already squeezing out the maximum amount of wheat and other grains now available from U.S. fields—at the expense of other crops—this only stabilizes the price of grain and other foods at a *higher* level, at least for the near future.

### More Loss of Jobs

As for winning new jobs, the profits the shipping companies make on this deal will enable them to speed up the process of mechanizing shipping and docking so they can get by with even less workers in the future—a process ILA chief Gleason has fostered for years in the name of "protecting" U.S. shipping, just as the grain loading boycott was supposed to do.

In other words, the deal has been concluded to the advantage of the U.S. monopolists, the captains of finance, and those at the oars will have to pay for it in sweat and blood.

But the Soviet ruling class has also gained something, because the Soviet working class, too, will have to pay for higher prices of bread, while their country's rulers will not only continue to feast themselves, but also re-sell some of the grain to Soviet satellites at a profit and stockpile some of it as part of their preparations for aggressive war.

Meany's phony "concern" for working people and his claim that "the Soviets" are at the root of our misery is the most disgusting hypocrisy. The grain deal has been one cause of rising prices, but then food prices have increased every year, grain deal or no. This is because under capitalism food is a commodity produced for profit, and also because right now it's one of the most profitable and salable commodities the U.S. capitalists have.

Our living standards are under attack on all fronts, from wages and jobs to housing and education, and all of it comes from the exploitation of the capitalist system and the various ways the monopolists are trying to get out of their crisis of profits—all at the expense of the working class here and abroad.

On the Soviets' part, the grain deal is necessary because agriculture is a disaster in the USSR. With the restoration of capitalism in the mid 1950s, and especially in the last 10 years, Soviet agriculture has bumped along without any real improvement, while livestock production (for which much of the grain is intended) has dropped like a rock. Investment is being sucked out of agriculture and put into more profitable areas, so that, for instance, farm machinery rots in the fields because there's just no money to be made in making spare parts.

In the last few years millions of Soviet farm laborers have had to stream out of the countryside to escape the bitter conditions there, creating a severe labor shortage. The New Tsars want the U.S. grain to get them through this crisis, caused by the profit system, and they want to make a profit on it, too. A good chunk of their 1972 grain purchases from the U.S. were later resold to other countries at three times the price. For sure the current grain deal won't bring much benefit to the masses of Soviet workers and farm laborers.

### At the Expense of Millions

But that's equally true on the U.S. end of the deal. The tremendous development of agriculture in the U.S. has been at the expense of millions of small farmers who have been uprooted and tossed to the winds, and most of the workers in the fields can hardly afford to eat.

A few years ago, the monopolists were restricting farm production by law to keep prices up. Now, because the vast, highly mechanized wheat fields have become so profitable for a few monopolies who deal in the international market, wheat and a few other

crops have gotten the first choice of land and made other crops more expensive, while the price of hog and cattle fodder has gone so high that meat production is falling.

Despite very favorable weather and other natural conditions in the U.S., and the great potential of agricultural technology, working people can afford to buy less and less meat, and fresh fruits and vegetables are often a luxury. Capitalist agriculture, whether here or in the Soviet Union, is run to reap profits, not feed people, and in both boom and bust it's a source of misery instead of plenty.

This is part of the criminal absurdity of capitalist production that has led to a worldwide crisis that's shaking all of the capitalist countries. This crisis is sharpened by competition, which forces profits down as each capitalist country tries to undercut and cut out every other, and in turn greatly intensifies the struggle for profit between them.

### Moving Toward War

In this respect the grain deal reflects the effects of the capitalist crisis in the U.S. just as much as in the USSR, because the U.S. needs to sell the grain just as badly as the USSR needs to buy it. But in addition to being a main competitor for investments and markets around the world, the USSR is also the main imperialist country challenging the U.S. for world domination.

Their "peaceful" competition in business deals is just as much a matter of life or death as the rattling of guns or bombs, and all are part of moves toward war between them to redivide the world.

This is what the imperialist ruling classes of the U.S. and USSR are up to in the real world, and the grain deal shows how they are trying to both hide what's really going on and take advantage of the situation. At the same time, there have been some conflicts within the U.S. ruling class over exactly how to do this.

There are some real disagreements within the U.S. bourgeoisie over how to use the weapon of "detente," and when to brandish real weapons. This is both a question of tactical judgments, and also partly due to questions of immediate interests. For instance, in the grain deal, the agriculture monopolies were most interested in selling the grain and not taking a chance of losing the business, while the shipping monopolies were most interested in getting a bigger piece of the action.

Meany is among those who believe that "detente" should be put on the back burner and the "national unity against the enemy" line should be moved up, along with less wheeling and dealing with the USSR and more of an attempt to face them down.

Others, however, believe that "detente" is still useful because it hides what the superpowers are up to, especially from the working class, which is dead set against preparing for a war to redivide the world, and allows the U.S. imperialists time to maneuver and jockey for position to be in the best possible position to win what the whole bourgeoisie knows is increasingly likely—a new world war.

### Bonanza for Whole Class

But the grain deal has been a bonanza for the whole U.S. ruling class and only proves their basic unity against the exploited and their Soviet rivals. On the one hand, the grain deal has been used to promote illusions about "detente" and help conceal monopoly capitalism's bloodthirsty nature. On the other, especially through Meany, they've tried to use the disastrous economy and aggressive nature of the capitalist USSR to slander socialism and hide the real causes of their own disastrous economic situation and own aggressive nature. All this and lots of profits, too!

In fact, in the grain deal and Meany's performance the capitalists are trying to skin the workers twice. Once by selling the grain and increasing the price of food, and once again by taking the blame off themselves for their speculation in food and all their rotten dealings and blaming it all on "the Soviets." And in presenting the battle between the capitalist classes of the two superpowers as a conflict between "two ways of life," they're trying to divide American workers from their international class and get them to "unite" with their tormentors to be skinned some more and become fodder in another imperialist world war.

But in the real world, the only way the U.S. capitalists can meet the competition is by driving workers into the ground. Despite the bourgeoisie's increasingly shrill propaganda about "national unity," the working class is putting up stronger and stronger resistance to its exploitation and all attempts to drive it into the dirt for "the good of the country." In the course of this struggle, Meany and his kind and what they stand for are becoming increasingly exposed.

Between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, each class can only protect its interests at the expense of the other, and workers and monopolists have no interests in common, national or otherwise. As for patriotism, it's the rulers of the U.S. who are our direct exploiters and oppressors—and the direct target of our struggles. ■

# Party Tasks...

Continued from page 3

stresses that, while such battles are not the whole war against the ruling class, they are an extremely important "school of warfare," through which the workers can build their strength, unity and organization and begin to develop a basic understanding of the nature of the enemy and the struggle against this enemy.

It is in these struggles that the work of the Party must now be concentrated. The Party must not only "take part" in these struggles, but must take the responsibility for leading them, for uniting in these struggles and mobilizing as a mighty force the millions of workers of this country.

To carry out this responsibility the Party must, as

its Programme states, "bend every effort to fulfill three main objectives: to win as much as can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy; to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the struggling masses and instill in them the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat; and to develop the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists, recruit them into the Party and train them as revolutionary leaders."

### Promoting the Struggle

In all this the Party's guideline must be the principle set down by Lenin in leading the struggle of the working class in Russia over 75 years ago: "The Party's activity must consist in promoting the working class struggle. The Party's task is not to concoct some fashionable means of helping the workers, but to join up with the workers' movement, to bring light into it, to assist the workers in the struggle they themselves have already begun to wage."

It is in this way that the Party will play its leading

role in building the movement of the working class in its millions and broadening it into an all-round struggle against the imperialist system, for the emancipation of the working class. It is in this way that the Party will deepen and strengthen its ties with the working class as a whole and assist the masses of workers in carrying forward these day to day battles and in drawing the links, in their understanding and their active struggle, between these and other battles against the ruling class. It is through this process that the Party will assist the masses of workers in grasping the class relations that underlie exploitation and all oppression and grasping the general and long-term interests of the working class in overthrowing capitalism and ending class society.

At the same time as it concentrates its work in the main struggles of the working class itself, the Party must also work among all strata and in all social movements fighting against the ruling class, unite with them in this fight, bring forward the revolutionary outlook and interests of the working class and build the broadest united front against the imperialist ruling class, under the leadership of the working class. At the core of this united front the Party must work to link the movements of the oppressed nationalities for equality and emancipation with the revolutionary struggle of the working class as a whole.

At each point in the struggle the Party must sum up the key developments and determine the key battlefronts in the overall fight against the imperialist system. Today, these main battlefronts, around which the Party must build the struggle are: wage cuts, speed-up, harassment, compulsory overtime and similar attacks aimed at increasing the exploitation of the workers; unemployment; discrimination in work and throughout society; police repression and terror; war—opposition to U.S. aggression and superpower contention to carve up and dominate other countries; deportations; defend the right to strike; and cutbacks in social services.

At the present time many workers are actively involved in these battles, but generally not in an organized, class conscious way. The task of the Party is to unite ever broader numbers of workers to take up these fights as a part of the struggle of the working class, *as a class for itself*, against capitalism; and, as the Party's Programme states, to enable the working class to "infuse its strength, discipline and revolutionary outlook into every major social movement" in order to unite all who can be united in a powerful alliance against imperialism and lead them in overthrowing it.

But, while each of these struggles are important battlefronts not all of them have equal weight at any time. As already stressed, the "center of gravity" of the working class struggle and the work of the Party today is concentrated in the day to day struggle of the workers around wages, working conditions, layoffs, jobs, etc. It is mainly by building this struggle and bringing light into it—as summarized earlier—that the Party will be able to mobilize and unite masses of workers, link up struggles and make the greatest strides in broadening the workers' movement into the all-around fight against the imperialist system, uniting and leading all those who are oppressed under it.

### The Long-Range Goal

Through all this the Party must keep firmly in mind the long-range goal of the working class struggle. It must learn from the experience of the CP, which led many large-scale struggles of the workers but increasingly lost sight of the revolutionary goal of the working class movement and finally degenerated into an agent of capitalism.

The formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party marks the second time the Party of the working class has been formed in this country (the CP was founded in 1919). And this will be the *last time!*

The Revolutionary Communist Party must not and will not go revisionist. It will not betray the working class, as the CP has, but will use the CP's degeneration as a teacher by negative example to arm the Party and the working class as a whole to fight the bourgeoisie and the corrupting influence of its ideology.

The bourgeoisie in this country points to the CP as "proof" that the working class cannot forge and wield as a weapon in its struggle a leadership that will remain loyal to it. The bourgeoisie trumpets that there is no Party that will carry through the fight, together with the masses of workers, for the revolutionary interests of the working class. But the experience of China and other countries, where the Party of the working class has led it in overthrowing capitalism and defeating attempts at capitalist restoration, puts the lie to this bourgeois trash.

And now, in this country, there is such a Party!—the Revolutionary Communist Party. Learning from the whole history of the struggle of the international working class and its revolutionary science, the Revolutionary Communist Party is determined to stand forever with the working class, to continually deepen its ties with the masses of workers, link itself ever more firmly with the struggles of the working class and lead it in advancing, through all the twists and turns, in the face of whatever difficulties and hardships, to carry out the overthrow and destruction of capitalism and the bourgeoisie and reach the great goal of communism, together with the whole international proletariat. ■

# U.S. Cities...

Continued from page 4

of the working class and masses of people for better social services. And, though the capitalists struggle among themselves for the best terms, they have also cooperated with each other to allot resources to things that are necessary to the existence of their class as a whole: transportation to move their goods and get their workers to work; hospitals to keep at least some workers healthy enough to produce for them, etc.

But as the economic crisis worsens, they are far less able or willing to concede anything, and their nature as a pack of thieves fighting each other for the spoils stands out even more sharply. More and more, everything is sacrificed to save the capitalists' private profits. So the process of decay and cutbacks accelerates.

In an older city like New York, which the capitalists have sucked dry and messed up for years, the need for repair and therefore the disaster of decay stands out even more sharply than elsewhere. This is added to by the huge size of the city, where hundreds of thousands of workers are employed just to keep the city running. But what is happening in New York is only the vanguard of decay and is typical of the problems all over the country, especially in the older industrial cities.

For years the monopolists have built up the cities

to serve their own interests, and turned-a-profit on it to boot. Now the chickens are coming home to roost. Every time a city builds something, or a school year is paid for, it is financed with bonds. Of course, it is some capitalist or group of capitalists, especially the banks, who own these bonds and profit from the interest on them. All this is now intensifying the crisis.

For instance, in New York the banks are still collecting on the bonds issued to pay for streets built for business 100 years ago. New York's Third Avenue El (elevated train), which once brought workers by the thousands to the sweatshops, was torn down a generation ago. But the banks have gotten their money back on it three times over and are still collecting.

The city's huge pyramid of debts has been a bonanza for the banks. It is also a huge obstacle to maintaining and expanding services. Revenue, from transportation fares, for example, which should logically go to pay for maintaining and expanding services to meet new needs, goes instead to pay bank interest. Even non-existent trains become a barrier to building new ones. All this intensifies the crisis of the city, and exposes the total parasitism of the capitalist system even more sharply.

Already, New York has suffered terrible cutbacks in social services and layoffs, especially among the city's 400,000 city workers, and the worst is yet to come. To "solve" the problem from the capitalists' point of view, some, including the *Wall Street Journal*, are calling on the city government to declare bankruptcy. If this happens the big banks may have to wait awhile to collect on some of the debts, but they expect this would allow them to make even greater profits in the long run.

### Workers Fighting Back

Bankruptcy would cripple or crush the thousands of small businessmen who do business with the city and its many agencies, saving the city from having to pay all its bills and concentrating even more wealth in the hands of the monopolies.

Much more important, such a bankruptcy would open the way for even further assaults on the city's working class, because it would mean all present union contracts won by city workers would be null and void, allowing the city the legal excuse for massive layoffs and wage cuts on an unprecedented scale. In this, New York is a clear example of imperialism's vicious attempts to make the masses pay and pay, so that the capitalist system can survive.

But that's just half the story. When 3000 sanitation workers were laid off, the first of the huge numbers of workers in the city marked for pink slips, all the sanitation workers wildcatted. The strike spread rapidly, even to many workplaces which had not themselves been hit with layoffs. The sanitation workers refused to take the "heads we capitalists win, tails you workers lose" proposal of a wage freeze or shorter work weeks. After two and one half days, all the men were rehired.

This wildcat was just the start. Sanitation workers, firemen, hospital workers, as well as teachers and others, all have continued to battle the city government and the capitalists who run it, for every job, fighting for every penny of wages, for every bit of decent working conditions.

These struggles are similar to those of other New York workers, who waged many battles to win the services these city workers provide, and who on the job themselves face the same capitalists and their attempts to "solve" the crisis at the expense of the masses of working people.

Other cities will not and are not escaping the laws of capitalism that cause the decay and cutbacks—production for profit and the chase for the most profit, the greatest exploitation in the cities big and small, and everywhere throughout the country and their whole rotting empire. But New York workers and the entire working class are answering very clearly—we won't pay for their crisis: they won't get away with it. ■

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