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Milwaukee Meatcutters Step Up 10-Month Battle

Last January, 700 Milwaukee meatcutters went on strike against an association of nine local packing plants. Like thousands of other workers across the country, they were saying "No way!" to wage cuts and attacks on their union.

In this 10-month long struggle, the men and women of Amalgamated Meatcutters Local 248 are holding strong against the Milwaukee Independent Meatpackers' Association, their mass use of scabs, court injunctions, police brutality on the picket lines, firings, and decertification threats. The strike has rallied the strength and support of the workers of Milwaukee.

When the meatcutters walked out of those nine packing houses, they knew it would be a showdown battle. Many had saved up money in preparation for a long strike. They remembered well the 17-week lockout of 1971 when they were forced to accept a wage-freezing contract. And they had just gone through four years of record inflation with no cost of living raises until the last two weeks of the old contract.

The boners (meatcutters who cut the meat off the bones) had seen their jobs restudied and were working under tighter rates. Over 100 packing house jobs had been classified into a low-paying "general production" labor grade that was slipped into the 1971 contract. These workers, many of them women, were working for \$3.70 an hour on jobs which had formerly paid over \$5. All meatcutters were working longer and harder for less real spending money.

Sharp Attack

The Association's offer was a sharp attack: no cost of living, fewer holidays, a pitiful 10 cents a year raise, and language that would extend the "general production" rate. The rate cuts, the new labor grade, and the 10 and 12 hour days of forced overtime were not enough for the Milwaukee packers. They were out to smash Local 248. Their biggest competitor, Packerland Packing of northern Wisconsin, had just forced an 18-month strike and broken a Meatcutters local in Chippewa Falls.

In recent years, Packerland has become the biggest outfit that bones and packs beef east of the Mississippi and is still expanding. Other relatively new Midwest packing houses like Iowa Beef have been taking over big shares of the market with cheaper labor, more modern operations, and greater accessibility to the beef supply.

The workers could see this pattern of crisis and competition first hand. They had seen the number of local beef houses fall from well over 20 to only seven as competition over the years forced the smaller houses to close down.

The crisis was again becoming a life or death question to these relatively small Milwaukee packers. In fact, over the course of the strike, the number of houses shrunk from nine to seven. Two subsidiaries of the Kroger food empire shut their doors and went out of business after trying to run on scab labor for 16 weeks. They have since been bought up and reopened, again with scab labor, by one of the bigger firms in the Association. The Association was driven to attack the workers in their drive for profit, and the workers in turn had no choice but to fight.

Before the strike began, help wanted ads for skilled and unskilled meatcutters appeared in papers

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Greeting scabs at June 4 rally of 1000 workers in support of striking Milwaukee meatcutters. The 10-month long strike against union-busting and wage cuts has inspired and drawn together workers throughout Milwaukee area.

Workers Rally, "We Are the Rank and File"

AFL Chiefs Back Capitalist Attacks

The AFL-CIO, representing about 70% of the U.S.'s 20 million union members, held its national convention in San Francisco from Oct. 2-7. The convention was held at a time of increasing struggle of the working class, when millions of workers are fighting back against increasingly intolerable conditions. It was held at the end of a year which has included the massive miners' strike, and at a time when many key battles—including major contracts—are shaping up for the year ahead. It should have been a time to begin to mobilize the great organized strength the workers' unions represent.

In fact, it was just the opposite. It was a time for the delegates, 876 in all, to gather to advance the offensive of the capitalists against the working class.

Of course, these AFL-CIO big wigs did the work of the capitalists all under the guise of speaking for the American worker. And to cover over their treachery, they also spoke about the "problems and hardships" facing workers—at least so far as they understood them, since most of them stay as far from the factory floor as they possibly can. But all their fine talk couldn't hide their traitorous acts, which have always been to sabotage every struggle the workers wage against these conditions.

Couldn't Hide from Workers' Movement

But try as they might, they couldn't hide from the growing workers' movement. There might have been silence on the subject inside the convention, but immediately outside there was a demonstration representing the anger and demands of the working class. On Friday, Oct. 3, several hundred workers—union members and unorganized, employed and unemployed—rallied at the convention center. The demonstration was called by rank and file organizations from shops and industries all over the Bay Area.

They were there to bring out demands workers are fighting around and to answer the hacks' "Voice of Labor" act with the slogan, "We are the rank and file of the unions!"

They demanded: Fight the Bosses! Wage cuts, speed-up, layoffs! Jobs or Income! No more sellout

contracts! The right to strike!

The main-speaker at the action, from the May 1 Workers Organization, said: "They tell us take it easy, don't rock the boat. Don't do anything drastic. Just let us handle everything. Then they go and play golf with the bosses and do nothing. And when we tell them to go to hell, they do everything they can to sabotage and destroy the fight. Who the hell's side are they on? In this fight there is no middle ground. You're either on one side or the other. Ours or the bosses!"

The demonstration drew support from up and down the West Coast as workers from L.A. to Seattle sent telegrams of support, and at one plant gathered around a payphone to call a message of solidarity into the demonstration.

The sentiments of the demonstrators were those of millions of rank and file union members and other workers:

"We're here today because for millions of workers, conditions are intolerable. We face the crisis of their capitalist system and their attacks on us. They put us out of work in the millions, threaten more layoffs, cut our income by wage cuts and rising living costs, overload and speed us up, endanger our very lives on our jobs—as they squeeze harder to get their companies to pay off profits.

"But the real voice of labor is the working class. Our unions belong to us. We built them. We are the unions and without us these pie-cards are nothing! We take leadership from those who really represent us. We fight that our unions will serve our needs. Not the needs of the bosses. Not to keep us from fighting. We built them for that purpose. These misleaders will not stand in our way and run interference for the bosses."

Officials Protect Profit System

This hit at the heart of the services performed by these union officials for the ruling class. These "labor statesmen" did not build the unions and now they sit on top of them only to serve the capitalists

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Elections In Fields Bring New Stage In Struggle

The farmworkers' battle against the California growers has been raging for 10 years now. This fall it has entered a new stage with the new California Agricultural Relations Act, which for the first time permits farmworkers to vote for a union like other workers.

Farmworkers have mobilized in large numbers around the first round of elections which recently ended, using them to intensify their battle to win union recognition and improved wages and working conditions from the bosses. In the struggle they have won important victories and learned important lessons about the new law and their own struggle.

The United Farm Workers Union (UFW) has won the majority of elections decided so far—142 as of Nov. 1 against 91 for the Teamsters and 12 for no union. This has broken the virtual hammerlock on contracts held for three years by Teamster-grower sweetheart deals and dealt a blow to the growers' efforts to crush the UFW.

At the same time, the law and the elections have not brought the decisive victory the workers had been fighting for. The hated Teamster leadership has not been driven from the fields and retains a base of control. The outcome has disappointed many workers and given rise to lots of discussion of why this happened.

Important Concession

The new law was an important concession wrung from the ruling class by the farmworkers' struggle. The workers took advantage of the ground gained to organize in many ranches and other areas, like nurseries, where the UFW has not been active before, and to reopen the battle in a number of ranches where the workers had suffered temporary defeats.

But in the election battles the workers found that the ruling class, in the very act of retreating, designed the law to entangle the struggle in a legal spider web of hearings, arbitration and appeals.

The ranch owners never intended to abide by the law's "guarantees" of the right to organize and fired workers and whole crews for union activities. A good example is one of the largest companies, Mel Fennerman and Co., which fired crews, totaling over 120 workers, in the course of one week. The Immigration Department was brought in to intimidate the workers and deported many of them; Teamster Union thugs swaggered into the fields armed with knives and pistols to harass the workers.

In the face of these attacks the workers wanted to strike the company, but were steered to the new California Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) to file unfair labor practice charges. Only when the season was over and the harvest safely in did the decision come down—back pay and an "apology" for some 30 of the fired workers.

UFW Leaders Predict Smooth Sailing

The workers were to some extent unprepared for this kind of onslaught by the growers. The UFW leaders had hailed the new law as the culmination of the struggle and the salvation of the farmworkers. They predicted that with the law and the ALRB "on our side" the elections would be smooth sailing.

But farmworkers throughout the state are learning through the struggle that relying on the Board and the law is a big mistake. The ALRB's role has been anything but that of a friend or some "neutral party." "Now," say more and more farmworkers, "we are not just fighting the growers and Teamster officials, but also the Board."

In early October, 1000 workers from Interharvest, a UFW stronghold in the Salinas Valley, and other ranches headed for Sacramento, the state capital. They had business with the ALRB, which had refused to certify the Interharvest election although the UFW received 96% of the vote, thus providing Interharvest with an excuse to refuse to negotiate. With the harvest on and the old contract expired, the workers prepared to strike. UFW officials engineered a phony vote against striking and tried to direct the workers' anger at a few members of the Board who are presented as the villains blocking "fair" implementation of the law.

The farmworkers didn't buy this "few rotten apples

spoiling the barrel" line and, to the embarrassment of UFW leaders, gave hell to all the Board members. They told ALRB head Bishop Mahoney that if he was such a big pal of the workers, he'd show it by getting off the Board altogether.

Not the Only Obstacle

The farmworkers saw more clearly that reliance on law was not the only obstacle in their path. At many ranches, elections were lost or unnecessarily close because of national divisions. The great majority of UFW members are Mexican immigrants, both with papers and "illegals." Many Filipino, Black and other workers voted for the Teamsters or "no union," because their languages, needs, and history of struggle have been ignored by the UFW leadership.

Instead of stressing the need for unity against the common enemy, the UFW officials have pushed narrow and backward gimmicks aimed at Mexican workers—promoting the UFW as a "Raza" union and Mexican religious symbols like the Virgin of Guadalupe. The Teamster officials and the growers were only too happy to add these divisions to their arsenal of wrecking tactics and slander the UFW as just "a Mexican union."

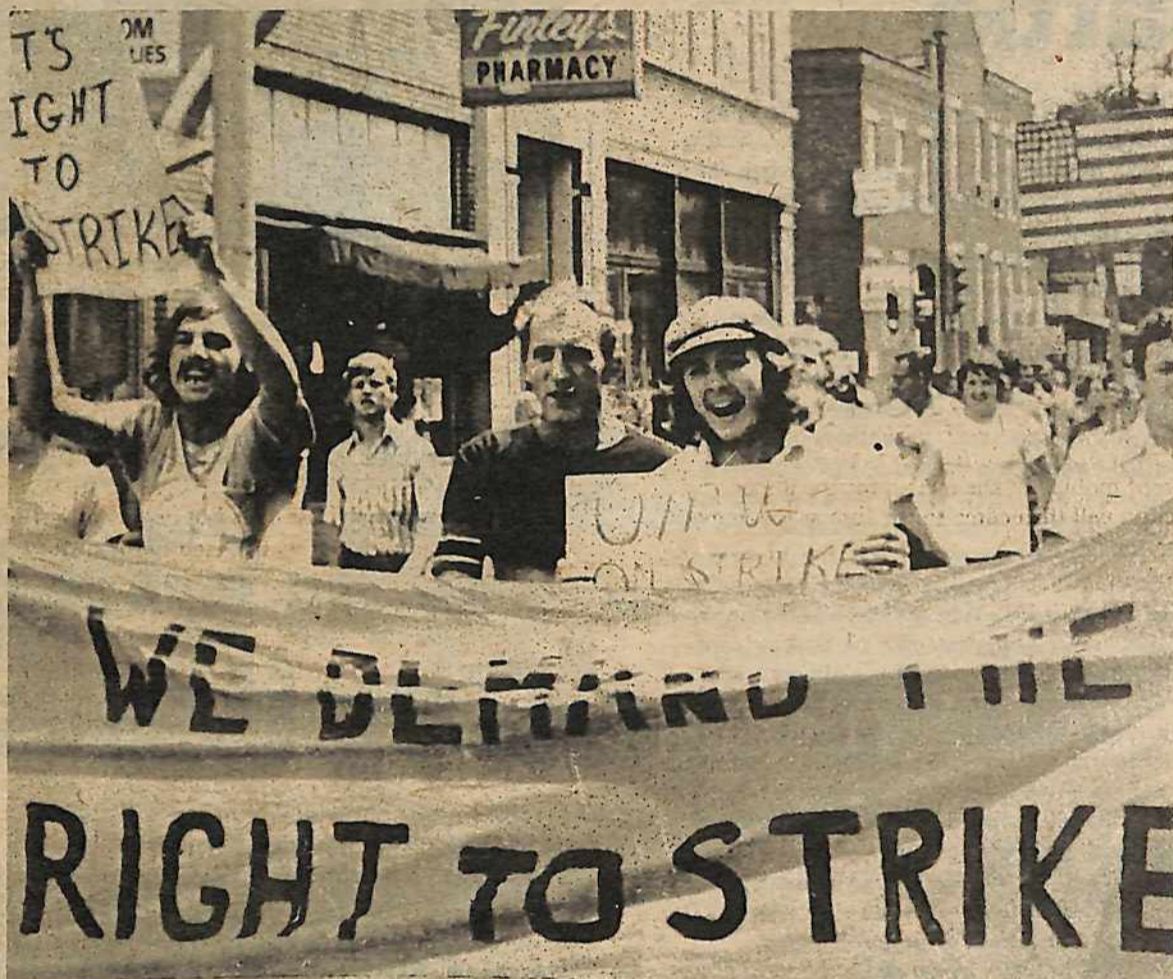
The growers and Teamsters also took advantage of the UFW leadership's old policy of attacking workers without papers as scabs and enemies. This policy was changed at the union's August Convention under pressure from the rank and file and with the elections coming up, but the UFW heads dodged rank and file proposals for a campaign to actually defend "illegals."

Many workers remained sceptical that the union would defend them, despite the well-publicized arrests of UFW organizers fighting deportations in Salinas a few days before the election. The Teamsters promoted this scepticism, reminding farmworkers in radio ads about the "border patrol" that the UFW leaders instituted in last year's citrus strike.

At the heart of these problems revealed in the elections is the line of the UFW officials, who do not see the union's strength as being the struggle and determination of the farmworkers themselves. Refusing to believe that farmworkers can persevere in strikes and win victory, they have concentrated the union's resources on building the consumer boycott and on legislative lobbying.

This has been at the expense of maintaining and expanding organizing efforts among workers not covered by UFW contracts. They do not even see the strength of the boycott as being the millions of working people who refuse to buy scab goods. Instead, they see the strength of the union as being its "support" from politicians in and out of office, top trade union hacks and religious leaders.

But the struggle in the months to come depends entirely on the strength and militancy of the farmworkers. Elections will continue into next year, but the elections are only the first skirmish in the new stage of struggle. The election victories only give the union members the legal right to negotiate with the growers for a contract. And as workers everywhere know, the exploiters never give up a damn thing without a fight. The struggle of the farmworkers is by no means over—some of the hardest battles are still to come. ■



Letter from the Miners

Fellow Workers,

The whole history of the working class of people shows that the companies seek only profit—more and more profit—and that the working people have had to fight them for every gain we ever made. We dig and clean the coal and make billions for them, yet, we must fight them for safety and decent working conditions, higher wages and job security. We must even fight them for the very air we breathe. They constantly tear up the contract when it suits them, and they constantly try to weaken our union.

Between us and what we need to live on, and them with their drive to make more profits, is only our organized power. As working people our strongest weapon is the strike. That is why the month-long strike against the injunctions and for the right to strike is so important and that is why it scared the companies so bad.

The demands of the strike were just. Miners came out from Alabama to Pennsylvania, from West Virginia to Illinois, and stayed out because, like other workers, we hate the injunctions and know without our power to strike we have nothing. The companies attacked the demands every way they could. We demanded they re-open the contract. "It's not legal," they cried! We bought a contract and expect it to be enforced."

Almost to a man miners supported this strike, but by the end of the 4th week it became clear we, the rank and file, were not in a position to see it through to victory. It was necessary to call off the strike, pull back, re-group and continue to organize and

build the struggle.

A week after the strike, Arnold Miller, president of the Miners union, issued a 10-point program. The International Union officers can now bring to trial brothers who lead strikes and kick them out of the union. There are threats to suspend district and local autonomy—the very victories that the rank and file reform movement won when it put Arnold Miller into office 3 years ago. We are not about to sit back and let them take back these victories that took years of struggle to win. Here in the coalfields, we the rank and file don't yet control our union, but neither does Arnold Miller or Tony Boyle before him control us!

The support for the strike from working people across the country has been overwhelming. Messages of solidarity came in from every section of the country. Many workers told of struggles they were waging against firings, speed-up, for job rights and for the right to strike. Contributions taken up at plant gates and those sent in by individuals made possible the printing of thousands of leaflets which spread and built the strike. The money has also gone to pay for legal defense and court fines as well as for relief for strikers' families. These messages and contributions were not only inspiring and a tremendous help to us but also testified to the growing strength and unity of workers all over the country.

THE MINERS' COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE and MINERS' RIGHT TO STRIKE COMMITTEE

Class Analysis Key

On the World Situation, War And Revolutionary Struggle

The international situation today is marked by rapid change and great turmoil. The Soviet Union engineers a "security conference" in Europe but imperialist rivalry, and in particular superpower contention, continues to sharpen in Europe as well as other parts of the world. Kissinger maneuvers an "agreement" between Egypt and Israel in the Middle East, which pushes things toward war, not peace, in that area.

Kissinger goes to China and the Chinese make clear that they will not be a pawn in the farce of "detente" acted out by the two superpowers to cover their growing contention for world domination and their intensifying war preparations; the Chinese warn Kissinger that the detente game will not work and point out that overall the Soviets are gaining most from it. James Schlesinger is axed as U.S. Defense Secretary, after clashing with Kissinger over "detente" and pushing for a "hard line," "get tough," policy against the Soviets.

These, and other events, reflect the increasingly complex world situation. It is crucial for the working class to grasp the essence of this situation, to create clarity out of the confusion and to turn the turmoil to its greatest advantage in order to advance its struggle worldwide toward the goal of revolution and socialism. This is especially crucial for the working class and its Party in this country, which is one of the two imperialist superpowers.

As the Party's Programme states, "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 then come to the fore as the immediate question."

In Unity with Worldwide Struggle

We have put the part above in italics here to emphasize the fact that the struggle of the working class and the uniting of all who can be united under the leadership of the working class can only be built and advanced toward the goal of proletarian revolution in this country by developing this, in an overall way, in unity with the worldwide struggle against the two main enemies of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world, the two imperialist superpowers.

This, of course, does not mean that the situation in every country is exactly the same or that the struggle of the working class and the tasks of its Party are identical everywhere. In fact, revolution can only be made country by country, and in order to lead the working class in making revolution, the Party of the working class in each country must constantly analyze the specific conditions there and apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to develop the struggle in those concrete conditions.

But, at the same time, especially in this era of imperialism, the struggles in all countries are closely inter-related. The Party of the working class in every country in developing and implementing the strategy for revolution in that country must base itself on a correct understanding of the development of the international situation and the worldwide struggle against imperialism.

The sharpening rivalry among the imperialists, and the ever fiercer contention between the two superpowers in particular, dramatically drives home this point. The growing danger of world war, arising from this imperialist contention, especially of the two superpowers, makes it all the more decisive for the working class and its Party to base itself on a correct understanding of the forces involved in the international struggle. Such an understanding must, and can only be, rooted in the Marxist method, taking class analysis as the key and fundamental tool, and with this tool digging beneath the appearance to the essence of things.

Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR

Certainly one of the main developments in the present period and one of the major factors in the international arena today, is the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, beginning with the rise to power of the revisionists there, headed first by Khrushchev, the transformation of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, into a social-imper-

ialist country (socialist in words, imperialist in deeds and in fact) and the emergence of the Soviet Union on the world scene as a superpower, contending with the other superpower, U.S. imperialism, for world domination.

This unquestionably has been a setback for the working class, but it is just as unquestionably a fact. It must be faced up to and reckoned with, in order for the working class, internationally, to both understand the causes of this reversal and apply these lessons to its struggle, and to strip the mask from the Soviet rulers and deal with the Soviet state today as the great enemy of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world that it is.

(A concrete and detailed analysis of how Khrushchev and, after him, Brezhnev & Co. carried out this capitalist restoration has been made in a book, *How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle*, first published by the Revolutionary Union in 1974 and adopted by the Revolutionary Communist Party in 1975.)

In the past, when it was a socialist country, the Soviet Union was a bright beacon and source of great support for the workers and oppressed people throughout the world in their struggle to liberate themselves from the chains of imperialism and all exploitation and oppression; it was then the internationalist duty of the workers of all countries to defend the Soviet Union from imperialist encirclement, subversion and aggression. Today, as an imperialist superpower, the Soviet Union is one of the two greatest exploiters and oppressors of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world; and it is the internationalist duty of the workers of all countries to build and strengthen the fight against Soviet social-imperialism as a key part of the overall battle against imperialism, and to aid the Soviet working people in struggling against and eventually overthrowing their new capitalist rulers.

This Soviet ruling class does not openly advertise its capitalist nature, but wraps itself in the history of the Soviet Union as the world's first socialist state and operates under the signboard of socialism in order to carry out its imperialist interests. While U.S. imperialism and its tattered veil of "democracy" is more and more exposed throughout the world and is a main target of revolutionary struggle everywhere, Soviet social-imperialism, with its cover of "socialism," is still able in many cases to portray its imperialist contention with the U.S. ruling class as "socialist" opposition to imperialism. It tries everywhere to turn to its advantage the revolutionary struggle and the

striving of millions throughout the world for socialism.

Because, on the other hand, it is in fact imperialist, and not socialist, the Soviet ruling class exploits, oppresses and carries out aggression, within the Soviet Union and throughout the world, and this gives rise to widespread struggle against these new Tsars. But because their "socialist" cover is not yet thoroughly torn off, capitalist rivals to the Soviet rulers and enemies of genuine socialism are still able to spread confusion, often, in the short run, to misdirect struggle against Soviet social-imperialism—and the hatred of millions who have felt, or seen in action, the whips and tanks of the Soviet ruling class—into opposition to socialism, and to re-enforce the bourgeois lie that there is no real alternative to capitalist rule and its evils. All this emphasizes the tremendous importance of exposing the true character of Soviet social-imperialism, and building the struggle against it as part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and for socialism as the final goal.

Without grasping, and exposing, the real nature of Soviet social-imperialism it is impossible to correctly analyze the world situation and more than that to develop the struggle of the working class and prepare its ranks for the battles that loom ahead. In the final analysis, it would be impossible to continue to advance the worldwide revolutionary struggle for socialism and ultimately communism.

As was pointed out in the book on the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union (referred to earlier), "An example of how a wrong view of the Soviet Union leads to a wrong appraisal of world events was shown in 1971, when during the Indian invasion of East Pakistan, some progressive people were hoodwinked into believing that the 'Bangla Desh Affair' was actually a national liberation movement!"

In fact, the events in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) at that time were directed by the Soviet Union, which armed the reactionary Indian government and supported it in carving up Pakistan, and bringing part of it (East Pakistan or Bangladesh) under indirect, but real, Soviet domination. (Since that time there have been changes in the situation in Bangladesh, but none of that changes the nature of the Soviet Union or its actions at that time.)

Similarly, as the book on capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union stresses, "it is utterly impossible to understand the complex picture of the Middle East without understanding the role of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower." And the same holds true

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"The starting point for developing the strategy for revolution in any one country must be based on a correct assessment of the world situation and the general strategy for advancing proletarian revolution on a world scale. Without such a correct view, inevitably we will make errors in analyzing the particular contradictions existing in any one country, fail to fully understand the present general crisis of imperialism, and not be able to correctly prepare the working class and the masses of people for the struggles looming ahead of us.

"The transformation of the Soviet Union from the leading country in (what was then) the socialist bloc to an imperialist superpower has profoundly affected the alignment of class forces on a world scale, and hence the world-wide strategy and tactics for making revolution."

Red Papers 7, page 125

HOW CAPITALISM HAS BEEN RESTORED IN THE SOVIET UNION

AND WHAT THIS MEANS FOR THE WORLD STRUGGLE

Originally Published by the Revolutionary Union
Adopted by the Revolutionary Communist Party,
USA, October 1975.

Send me — copies of RED PAPERS 7: How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union And What This Means for the World Struggle.
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Zionism Hit In UN Vote; U.S. Rulers Feel Heat

The U.S. ruling class and their Israeli allies are squealing like stuck pigs over the Nov. 10 UN General Assembly vote declaring Zionism "a form of racism and racial discrimination." United States UN Ambassador Moynihan, one of the slimier spokesmen for the imperialists to be popped forth lately, shrieked that "a great evil has been loosed upon the world. The abomination of anti-semitism has been given the appearance of international sanction by the UN."

This latest round of shouts and blusters by the imperialists and their henchmen is not surprising. As the Programme of the RCP points out: "As part of their drive to dominate the Middle East and in particular to control its strategic oil reserves, the imperialists, especially the superpowers, make every effort to keep the Arab peoples and countries under their thumb, and as a crucial part of this openly or more covertly use Israel as their arm of aggression. The imperialists and their media are an endless fountain of lying propaganda that turns reality upside down, reverses right and wrong, and with regard to the Middle East, paints Israel as the small, encircled victim of Arab terrorism."

Changing World

The UN vote was a slap in the face to the once swaggering, seemingly invincible U.S. imperialists. The shrillness of the cries of outrage in U.S. ruling circles indicates that they see the even greater significance of what lies beneath the vote: a sharply changing world picture. The countries and people of the Third World, as part of a strengthening worldwide united front against the two superpowers, are standing up to the bullying and threats of the U.S. In particular, this UN vote represents the developing struggle of the Palestinian people against the Zionist occupation of their homeland.

No matter how much Moynihan and other mouthpieces for the U.S. ruling class bleat about "anti-semitism" and the "neo-nazism" of the "tyrannical majority in the UN," the imperialists and their Israeli henchmen have been unmasked.

Zionism is the political movement developed by
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Publications

Programme and Constitution of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.
175 pages. \$1.00.

(The following publications were originally published by the Revolutionary Union and were adopted by the RCP, USA, Oct. 1975)

- How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle. 156 pages. \$2.50.
- The Chicano Struggle and the Struggle for Socialism. 59 pages. \$1.50.
- Revolution: Only Road to Women's Liberation. Reprinted from *Revolution*, March 1974. In English and Spanish. 16 pages. 25 cents.
- Classes and Class Struggle. Reprinted from *Revolution*, April 1973. In English and Spanish. 8 pages. 10 cents.
- Proletarian Dictatorship vs. Bourgeois "Democracy." Reprinted from *Revolution*, May 1973. In English and Spanish. 12 pages. 10 cents.
- Correct Line Achieved Through Study, Struggle, Criticism. Reprinted from *Revolution*, January 1974. In English and Spanish. 12 pages. 10 cents.

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Editorials

Capitalists, Not Masses Must Pay for NY Crisis

New York City, capital of finance for the U.S. monopoly capitalists, is teetering on the edge of bankruptcy. The ruling class has bent every effort to blame the crisis on the people of New York for supposedly living high on the hog and has launched a whole series of attacks to lay off thousands of workers and cut city services.

But the crisis can in no way be blamed on the people of New York. The blame lies solely with capitalism. The capitalists have sucked New York dry for years. Banks have made billions collecting interest compounded on interest for bonds. Jerome Avenue, for example, was built a hundred years ago and the banks are still collecting on it. To help pay for their parasitism the capitalists have imposed one of the highest tax rates in the country on the masses.

In addition to this, the U.S. economy has entered a major crisis, its deepest since the depression of the '30s. In order to shore up their falling rate of profit, even if only temporarily, and to beat out their competitors, the capitalists need to make huge investments in machinery, in order to further increase the exploitation of the working class.

This so-called "capital shortage" has driven the capitalist class as a whole to cut back on those things necessary for the functioning of society, but not directly profitable to the majority of the bourgeoisie, like hospitals, schools, garbage collection, etc. And so while the corporations and banks with headquarters in New York have hundreds of billions in assets, they have refused to pay the taxes necessary to keep the city afloat, forced by the laws of capitalism to spend every penny for more profitable investment.

Capitalists Fume and Feud

The immediate danger of New York's bankruptcy (or default) comes because every few months hundreds of millions of dollars are owed to bondholders, mainly the large banks. The danger of default and nonpayment to the huge New York banks, along with the possible "shock effect" that might endanger other sections of the bourgeoisie, has the ruling class in a panic.

In this context a debate has gone on among the monopolists over how to deal with the financial crisis. Some capitalists, like the Rockefeller brothers, have billions invested in New York bonds and are demanding an immediate bail out by the federal government. Others have called for letting the city default and placing it in some kind of federal trusteeship which would strengthen some sections of capital at the expense of others.

But while the capitalists are fighting over how much to pay which banks and when, and which plan will cause the least damage to their overall economy, they all agree on certain things. Their profits must come first and, most important, they need to launch still more severe attacks on the masses of people in New York—invalidating union contracts and generally weakening the unions, ramming through wage cuts, laying off thousands more city workers, and cutting back even more on public services.

The ruling class has already launched a vicious attack on the people of New York. The main blow has been aimed at the hundreds of thousands of city workers, thirty thousand of whom have already been laid off. In this attack the capitalists have been aided by the cooperation of the top union officials. These traitors to the working class have helped come up with plans on who should be the first of their union members to be laid off.

They have agreed to a wage freeze, despite the wage increases written into their contracts. Perhaps lowest of all, they bought city and state bonds when no bank in the country would touch them, with hundreds of millions of union pension funds, the only insurance against complete impoverishment in old age of their workers.

But despite all the maneuvering of the capitalists and labor bureaucrats, the bourgeoisie has no real way out of the crisis. A financial collapse of New York would punch a hole through the much-heralded "recovery," and putting a finger in the dike of New York will surely cause pressure to build up at other weak points in

their system. While they debate how in this situation to best preserve their "recovery," it becomes clearer and clearer that there is no basic recovery. Capitalism bounces from crisis to deeper crisis, and the fact is that they have no basic answer to this disease of capitalism.

All of their plans boil down to placing their crisis on the backs of the masses of people. But this only brings out even more clearly the real solution to this crisis—for the masses of people, led by the working class and its Party, to rise up in their millions, overthrow the rule of the monopoly capitalists and construct a new, socialist society where things like the "crisis of cities" will be a thing of the past.

The New York layoffs and cutbacks have been widespread. But the people in New York are not taking this lying down. Struggle against them has broken out widely.

Thousands Answer with Demonstrations

Thousands of workers have answered the layoffs and speed-up with strikes, slowdowns, and many demonstrations. A militant example of this was the four day wildcat strike of sanitation workers. This strike was only ended when their union chief, DeLury, handed over \$1.6 million in union dues to the city so that the workers could be rehired for a few weeks, and then laid off again. This struggle continues up to today as the sanitation men slow down and refuse to do the extra work of their laid off brothers.

At the same time many strata of people have been set into motion against cutbacks in social services. In some neighborhoods residents protested in front of firehouses threatened with closing. In other areas parents united with laid off school guards to protest the lack of protection for their children crossing busy streets. Larger demonstrations have been held in front of hospitals threatened with closing, protesting the lack of adequate health care.

Students have also taken up the fight against cutbacks and the threat of tuition in a big way. On September 18, 5,000 students demonstrated in front of Governor Carey's office following a demonstration of 2,000 a week before in Queens. Mass committees against the cutbacks have been organized by the Revolutionary Student Brigade, the communist student organization of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

While these struggles have so far been mostly separate from each other, there is a growing consciousness, especially among the workers, of the need to unify the ranks more closely and to broaden the struggle to unite all sections of the people against the common enemy. This was clearly shown in the enthusiasm of the workers for the idea of the general strike, with which the hacks once threatened the city, only to quickly retract it when they realized that sentiment for it was growing.

From all this it is becoming clear that the need and the opportunity is growing for the working class led by its Party to unite and lead broad sections of the people against the capitalists.

The working class has no interest in preserving the capitalist system or in the various maneuvers of the politicians and the bankers. In their growing struggle the workers put out their clear answer to all these attacks: TO HELL WITH THE BANKS AND THEIR PROFITS. MAKE THE CAPITALISTS PAY, WE DEMAND OUR JOBS AND SERVICES. ■

Revolution

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Across the Country

Celebrations Mark Formation of Party

People in almost every major industrial city and other places across the country gathered in mid-October to celebrate the victories of the working class, especially the recent founding of the Party of the U.S. working class, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP).

These were the first public events held by the RCP, and they took place on the occasion of the anniversaries of two of the working class' most historic victories: the Russian Revolution of October 1917, and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in October 1949.

Many of the programs were preceded by pot luck dinners, and the programs themselves included speakers from the RCP and the singing of revolutionary songs, such as the Polish workers' song, "Whirlwinds of Danger," "Going Down the Road," with its last verse, "We're standing our ground and we're fighting back, cause we ain't going to be treated this way," and ended with the Internationale, the anthem of the international working class. At different celebrations there were also skits, slide shows, musical performances and films.

These dinners and programs were truly celebrations of the working class, filled with the strength of working class revolution and the strength that workers feel every time they stand up to their capitalist tormentors, from the smallest shop floor confrontation to the mass strikes and other battles workers are now waging.

As a Party member who spoke at one of the celebrations put it, "There's the sense that at times even brings you to tears, when after them telling us that we can't get together and fight back, that we'll never get united and we just have to go on living this way and letting them drag us through the mud, when we begin to rise up and fight back—everyone knows the joy. It's in this same spirit, the spirit of a festival of the oppressed, that we're celebrating the founding of our Party."

Central Committee Statement

At each of the programs a statement from the RCP Central Committee was read. This statement emphasized that the working class of this country, which emerged as a powerful force over 100 years ago, is made up of millions of workers sharing common struggles and goals, "a common situation and a common destiny"—the destiny of breaking our chains by smashing the capitalist class and capitalist system, and establishing the rule of the working class, socialism and then communism.

The statement points out that in order to carry out its great destiny, the working class needs a plan of battle, a strategy and programme, and its own general staff, its own Party. Now, through the working class' struggle, this Party, based on the correct strategy and programme, has been formed.

Both speaking and in the audience at many of the celebrations were veteran revolutionary fighters, some of whom were in the Communist Party, USA in the years before it turned revisionist and sold out the struggle of the class. Their presence at the celebrations was a great inspiration and reflected the deep history of the working class' struggle, the great amount of experience our class has accumulated through the struggle, and the determination of our class to fight against all enemies and all obstacles until complete victory.

At the celebrations there were also younger workers who have also taken part in and led battles against the capitalists in the factories, mills and fields all over the country. In addition, there were many people there who have come forward from the mass movements of the 1960s.

For the people who have come forward out of these mass movements, and also today for a growing number of workers, there is a common sentiment and outlook that was expressed at the programs. As one RCP speaker put it: "They found something that was like a light in the dark—the science of revolution. Once this science—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, based on lessons learned through the struggle of the working class in this country and internationally—is grasped, there's nothing we can't transform and change in the interest of our class and humanity."

The RCP speakers at the celebrations focused on the question of whether things can really be changed in a fundamental, revolutionary way, and pointed out

how all the changes and advances of which history is made have come only from the struggle of the exploited and oppressed. Almost since the beginning of mankind, most human beings have had an oppressor, most of them have had to work for someone else, one speaker explained. And throughout all this, the masses of people have never accepted this arrangement, never stopped fighting against it.

And now, today, the development of large-scale industrial production and the modern working class means that for the first time in history it is possible to do away with exploitation and oppression altogether, and to develop society to its fullest extent so that poverty and misery become things of the past. The rule of the capitalist exploiters is the obstacle which keeps the majority of mankind in slavery and prevents mankind from eliminating this poverty and misery. They claim that the continuation of capitalism is inevitable, but it is capitalism's overthrow that is inevitable because capitalism itself has created its own gravedigger—the working class.

Already the working class has made revolution and established its rule in several countries, and despite setbacks in some countries, as in the Soviet Union where capitalism has been restored, the working class has

learned how to defend and continue its revolution, as in the People's Republic of China.

All the celebrations showed how every struggle of the working class in this country today points to the revolutionary potential of our class and the day when it will overthrow the oppressor. "While we celebrate our advances," one Party member said, "our greatest celebration is yet to come."

"Nothing Can Stop Us"

The certainty of that victory was what brought the greatest joy to these celebrations. As one worker remarked afterward, "Before I thought this was all a dream. Now I'm sure it can really happen." And as another said, "Never have I been prouder of my class."

One of the Party members ended his speech with these words: "They force us to struggle. We will fight alright, and we will shed our blood because they force us to, but from now on we will not shed it for them. We will shed it for ourselves and the advances and the liberation and emancipation of our class and humanity.

"That's what it's all about and what the Party stands for. The Party is the Party of struggle. It's the Party of the slaves determined not to be slaves any longer. It's the organized general staff and the leadership of our class, to lead it in its historic mission of advancing human society to a completely new stage, to end wage slavery and all the evils and suffering of the capitalist system, and rip out the roots of exploitation and oppression so that they can never grow again.

"This is what, in celebrating the founding of our Party, we are celebrating tonight. This is our festival, this is the spirit, the festival of the oppressed determined not to be oppressed any more. Together with the leadership of our Party, the Party of our class, and together with the hundreds of millions of our class all over the world, nothing can stop us. We will free ourselves and we will free all mankind." ■

A Statement from The RCP Central Committee

The following statement was read at events that took place around the country last month. The events, held on the occasion of the anniversaries of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, celebrated the victories of the U.S. working class and the recent founding of the working class' Revolutionary Communist Party—Ed.

Fellow workers:

We meet today to celebrate the victories of the working class. We meet today to celebrate the founding of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The formation of the Party is one of the victories of the working class, a great victory born out of the battles of the working class. The working people gathered here today are part of that class, the American working class, made up of men and women of many nationalities, from all parts of the world and of all ages. We work everywhere, in mines, in mills, in plants, on shipboard, in railyards, in stores and offices, and many of us spend long stretches unable to get work.

But for all these differences, we are members of one class above all else. We face a common situation and have a common destiny. It is the labor of the working class as a whole that produces the great wealth of this country, that makes everything run. But doing all this, we are robbed of its fruits by the ruling class of capitalists who run the government and all of society in their own interests. We produce, and the very wealth we produce becomes a weapon in the hands of our enemy, more wealth for the capitalists, more chains on the working class. We produce in common and in common we are exploited.

Our goals are the same, too. We want a good life for ourselves and our families and a bright future for our children. And we don't want it at the expense of our class brothers and sisters, but for the common benefit of all working people and the advancement of humanity. We can and we will build this good life and bright future, but we must be free to do so, free of the wealthy leeches who bloat themselves on the very blood of the workers. To crush these parasites demands the surveying of the battlefield and the drawing up of a battle plan that can guide us to victory. This battle plan is the line that will guide us in destroying the old world and building the new. It is the line that represents the outlook and interests of our class, the working class.

This line sums up how to fight, how to develop struggle, how we can win other sections of the people to our banner, how to link up all our battles and con-

centrate the most decisive blows at the ruling class. We are *one class*, and we need one line to unite us and build our struggle.

To draw up the battle plan and to lead the battle, our class needs a general staff. This is the RCP, USA. For 20 years, since the cowardly betrayal of the working class by the old Communist Party, the American working class had not had its own Party to unite and lead its many battles and illuminate the way forward. Today we celebrate the end of this long period. The Party of the working class, the Revolutionary Communist Party, has been founded, united around the line that represents our class, and with the determination to lead our class in class war to break the chains that shackle us.

This is why the formation of the Party is a victory for the working class, a victory that paves the way to further victories and the inevitable destruction of our oppressors. This is the historic goal of our class, the goal toward which its struggle has been building since it was first forged into a class under the lash of capital.

This celebration takes place on the occasion of two great milestones in the revolutionary struggle of the working class. Fifty-eight years ago this month, the working class of Russia, led by its Party, rose up, took power from the capitalist rulers and created for the first time in history a workers' state, the socialist Soviet Union. Since that time, despite the fact that a new ruling class has restored capitalism there, the struggle of the working class has continued to advance worldwide, and the Russian workers will surely crush these new Tsars, just as they did the old ones.

This month also marks the time, 26 years ago, when the working class of China, led by its Party, united the masses of people to drive out U.S. imperialism and the feudal lords and capitalists of China who served it. Since that time the working people of China have continued the revolutionary struggle to remake society and have beat back the attempts to restore capitalism, continuing the march toward the bright future.

Today we celebrate these great victories of our class, and at the same time we strengthen our resolve to shoulder the great tasks our class has ahead of it. The road to final victory will contain many twists and turns, dangers and difficulties, but we are sure to reach our historic goal.

FORWARD!
Central Committee
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



Students at 2nd National Convention of the Revolutionary Student Brigade.

Meets to Build Student Movement

RSB Now Student Group of Party

Over 500 students from all over the country met at the University of Illinois, Chicago campus, November 8, 9, and 10 for the second annual convention of the Revolutionary Student Brigade. The three days of discussions, workshops and speeches were characterized by the spirited and serious participation of all the delegates. They reflected the rising anger and struggle of students against the capitalist system, as well as enthusiasm among increasing numbers of students for revolution and socialism. This was especially clear in the large number of new members at the convention and the many who stepped forward at the convention itself to join the Brigade.

The convention marked major advances for the Brigade. The RSB voted to accept the proposal of the newly founded Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP) that the Brigade become the mass communist student organization of the Party. The convention set the Brigade's aims to build a powerful student movement allied with the working class and aimed at the monopoly capitalist class.

As a key step to carrying out this aim at the present time, the RSB also united around a nationwide campaign against cutbacks, tuition hikes and other attacks on education.

The level of discussion reflected the seriousness of the task before the convention—building a revolutionary student movement as part of the overall revolutionary struggle in this country. Students from all parts of the country, of all nationalities, and from campuses ranging from two-year community colleges to Ivy League universities, struggled over the problems facing the Brigade and the student movement, as well as summing up the advances since the last RSB convention 15 months ago.

In that time, the Brigade has expanded and now has chapters from coast to coast, and in Hawaii, but it was clear that there was still a good deal of uneven development in the Brigade. In some areas of the country it is more and more seen by the students as the organization to look to and join in order to fight back against all the attacks that the deepening crisis of capitalism is bringing down. In other areas, the Brigade is still relatively small and only beginning to play a significant role in organizing students. Struggling to develop a unified battle plan to take out to the students all across the country was one of the most important jobs the convention set for itself.

New Phase for the Student Movement

Becoming the student organization of the RCP marked a new phase not just for the Brigade but for the whole student movement in this country. As the Party Programme states: "Historically, students have played an important role in the fight against the ruling class in this country, but especially since the beginning of the 1960s struggles of students have had a tremendous impact on American society, dealing blows to the ruling class and fueling the revolutionary movement."

Students, with their daring and their desire to understand and change the world, had played a key role in the civil rights and anti-war movements. Their struggles hit hard at the bourgeoisie and sparked struggle throughout society, but alone they did not have the power to defeat the system.

Their social position was both relatively isolated—from the masses of people and the functioning of society—and temporary—coming from particular class backgrounds, individual students have not yet established their role in society. Thus they lacked the

consistency, determination and power to continue the struggle through to the end through setbacks and difficulties. The struggle of the working class was beginning to surge ahead in this period, but it was unable to give the support and leadership to overcome these difficulties, particularly since the class itself still lacked its vanguard Party.

Three years ago, the Attica Brigade, the forerunner of the RSB, was built. Summing up its development and the situation of the student movement nationwide, communists, with others, formed the RSB, as an independent, anti-imperialist student organization, to build the struggles of students and to give leadership to them.

Since then, it has gone among the masses of students and built ties with them in the course of participating in and leading struggles around particular attacks on students at individual campuses and around broader issues like Throw the Bum Out (around Watergate) and against superpower meddling and Zionist aggression in the Middle East.

Communist Organization

With the base it has built on the campuses and the experience won in struggle, it became clear that the RSB would be strengthened by closer ties to the rising struggle of the working class and that the advanced students who had come forward were eager to take the stand of the working class and become communists.

The change in the Brigade from an independent, anti-imperialist organization to the student organization of the RCP means a better basis for forging stronger links between the student movement and the overall class struggle. The RSB is a communist student organization open to all fighters on the campus who want to apply Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to building the struggles of students into a broad student movement that will be a powerful ally of the proletariat in all its battles, including its battle for revolution and socialism.

At the convention there was a tremendous amount of unity around the need for this to happen. One of the first speakers on the question summed up the feelings of the whole group: "Students all over are struggling against cutbacks, tuition hikes and a thousand other attacks the system is hitting them with. Who's going to take up the job of building an organization to unite those struggles if we don't? Who's going to build an organization that will explain the need for revolution and socialism if we don't? Who's going to build this organization? We are!"

In building the struggles of students, linking them to those of the working class and pointing the road towards socialism, the RSB will also develop active fighters among the students as communists.

As more and more students get involved in battle and see that their future does not have to be one of "getting by" or surviving somehow under this system, the potential exists for thousands to become conscious fighters for proletarian revolution.

In the opening speech of the convention, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, emphasized the importance of Brigade members going out among the masses of students and practicing the mass line. He brought out that Brigade members must "go broadly and deeply among the students, understand their actual conditions and struggles and develop policies that will unite them against the enemy." In applauding the second convention of the RSB, Avakian stated that

the "working class encourages and supports the desire of students to fight every manifestation of imperialist rule in this country and internationally, and recognizes their great contributions in this struggle."

Key Struggles

It was in this context, of building a student movement that would fight against all manifestations of imperialism, as a part of the overall struggle of the American people, that the Brigade took up the discussion of what are the key issues to build struggle around over the next term and in the future.

In preparing for the convention and discussion on the floor, Brigade members summed up from their work among the masses of students that the sharpest issue among students at this time is the sweeping attack against mass education being mounted by the ruling class in the form of budget cuts, tuition hikes, etc. This is part and parcel of the ruling class' desperate attempts to shift the burden onto the working class and masses of people.

Thousands of students are being forced out of school. Just to hang on, thousands more have to take full or part-time jobs. Classes are cut from the schedule, the remaining ones more and more crowded, and teachers and campus workers are fired.

The main attacks are coming down at state and local colleges—some state school systems are shutting down whole campuses. Many private colleges are hard hit, too, particularly around tuition hikes. There are, of course, schools which are not affected by cutbacks yet, but more and more these are in the minority.

The importance of this battlefield has been underlined by the widespread resistance to them, both spontaneous and organized.

Many students at the convention had come into contact with the Brigade in the course of fighting cuts like the ones at the state university in Illinois or in NY where thousands of students are saying "No way!" to a budget cut that would drive 40,000 students out of the City University of New York.

The week before the convention, the RSB in New Jersey organized a statewide Armband Day under the slogan, "If there's a hike, we'll strike." Ten thousand state college students wore armbands and many took part in rallies to protest a 50% tuition increase proposed for next term.

People at the convention struggled to deepen their understanding of how these cuts are connected to the deepening crisis of capitalism. It was summed up that while the past period has been one of real expansion of U.S. education, the present attacks are bound to grow in the future.

Capitalist Crisis Hits Education

During the 1950s and '60s, American capitalists, sitting on top of the imperialist world after WW 2, were expanding their corporate empires frantically, and needed great numbers of skilled people: managers, scientists, technicians, teachers and other professionals. To fill these needs, they had to train more youth from the lower petty bourgeoisie and the working class in their colleges. From 1955 to 1970, college enrollment tripled from 3.5 million to almost 10 million. Huge city and state college systems sprang up. However, the "tracking system" in high schools, which railroaded poor and working class students out of "college preparatory" programs, remained and the majority of working class youth still didn't get a chance to go to college.

But, the struggles waged by the American people during the '60s further "opened up" the college systems. Both the Black people's rebellions and the student movement fought for many programs on the colleges to enroll minority and poor youth, like the open admissions policy which says students who graduate from New York City high schools can go to the City Colleges with no fees.

But with the crumbling of the U.S. imperialists' worldwide empire, they face a severe economic crisis, a crisis they are trying to duck by upping their profits out of the increased exploitation of the working class. In addition, they are cutting back every kind of government expenditure that doesn't directly increase profits—and this means social services for the masses of people.

Colleges have been feeling the axe. The ruling class can no longer put to profitable use all the trained people they turn out. The Labor Dept. has told college deans that by 1980 they'd better cut enrollment by at least one and a half million—nobody want them.

In addition, the capitalists are "cutting costs" by slashing federal, state and local funds to public colleges, and donating less and less to private schools. Every state college in Massachusetts has been told it has to figure out how to run on 15% less next semester.

National Campaign

In the light of the sentiments and struggles of the masses of students, the RCP put forward a proposal at the convention that the Brigade should take up as a national campaign this year, a program for fighting the

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RSB Convention...

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attacks on education. This program called for the Brigade to join in the struggles already being waged, seeking to link them up and broaden them to areawide or regional struggles. In effect, it must work to develop a unified national campaign among students to beat back these attacks as part of the resistance of the American working class and people to all the attacks caused by the profit crisis of the ruling class.

The proposal pointed out that in taking up this campaign the Brigade had three tasks: win as much as can be won in the immediate struggle and weaken the enemy; raise the general level of consciousness and organization among the masses; and develop the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists.

The proposal put forward general demands for the campaign which were adopted unanimously by the convention: No Cutbacks! No Imposition or Increase in Tuition! No Attacks on Special Programs! No New Taxes or Increases To "Pay" for Education! Fight for Decent Mass Education!

In building the campaign, students at the convention pointed out, the RSB must remain flexible, able to take up other key issues (around which students begin to move), such as the growing danger of war.

The desire of students to fight all the outrages of the capitalist system has been shown in the student movement of the '60s and in the wide range of struggles Brigade chapters have taken up in the last three years. Today some chapters work on campuses where cutbacks

and related attacks are not presently sharp issues, and must use the mass line to determine the key struggles where they are and how best to join and build them.

All the work of the Brigade, whether around cutbacks or any other struggle, is aimed at building a mass student movement, not limited to any single issue but fighting on different fronts, and with increasing consciousness, against the ruling class and the capitalist system. The cutbacks campaign is a key front on which to fight the capitalist attacks and to bring masses of students forward in struggle and develop such a movement.

The Tool of Marxism-Leninism

In discussion around the campaign, Brigade members deepened their understanding of what it means to put forward Marxism-Leninism to students in a living way, how it actually comes from and serves the struggle of the masses.

As an example of this, one student described how he had joined the Brigade. He became involved with the Brigade through the fight against a particular cut. Originally, concern about the cutbacks led him to the Brigade, who were the only people offering a program to fight them. In the struggle he came to understand and agree that the ruling class was at fault, and not just for the cutbacks, but other things on his mind—the decay of his city, what the hell he was going to do for a job, and so on. He summed up by saying he wanted to go back to the campus and organize.

It was stressed by both new and old members that Marxism-Leninism was not something that gets tacked on the end of a leaflet or added on to a struggle, but has to be brought out as something that answers the very real questions that arise as people fight.

For example, in the cutback struggle, people want

to know about why the attacks are happening, who's responsible, what role do politicians play, etc. Marxism-Leninism explains the nature of the struggle and the enemy and in doing so ties the particular struggle into what's happening in society as a whole and thus builds and broadens the struggle.

The convention was marked by a tremendous amount of excitement over the growing revolutionary movement and especially the recent formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party. The unity of the RSB was firmly cemented in the plenary sessions and workshops, in which old and new members participated fully. This carried over into informal raps and get togethers throughout the weekend.

The enthusiasm and unity was further fueled with skits and songs presented by Brigade groups from four cities, and a performance by Prairie Fire, a singing group from the Bay Area. The convention closed with the unanimous election of the new national officers to coordinate the work of the RSB over the next year.

The task that the Brigade has before it is to turn the plans it made at its convention into a reality. The numbers and energy at the convention were only the tip of the iceberg compared to the thousands of students who are either already fighting or are ready to fight the system, thousands of students who can be organized as a mighty force in the revolutionary movement. The change in the nature of the Brigade and the new national campaign both are steps forward in accomplishing that task. ■

(The RSB can be contacted by writing to its National Office: RSB, PO Box A3423, Chicago, IL 60690. The organization publishes a monthly newspaper, *Fight Back!* Subscriptions are \$3/yr.)

AFL-CIO Chiefs...

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and to protect their system of profits from the rising of the workers' movement. Whether they tell the workers not to fight, or come up with schemes to misdirect their anger, all their "leadership" adds up to is one plan after another to run the workers again and again through the mill of exploitation by the capitalists.

Since these officials sing the same tune as the bosses—that the working class and the capitalists have a common interest in preserving capitalism—some of the more than 250 resolutions at the convention were around such things as giving government money to the capitalists who run the railroad industry and the maritime industry, mourning the losses of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, and supporting Israel, NATO and the arms buildup in preparation for another war.

In the same spirit, they also addressed the "problem of unemployment." Of course, what they mean by the "problem" is that, in the face of massive unemployment, the struggle against layoffs and for jobs or income is steadily growing and threatening to blow the lid off the capitalists' put-the-burden-on-you recovery plan. So the AFL-CIO felt obliged at the convention to present a so-called program to "Put America Back to Work," the heart of which is an appeal to Congress to hold hearings and pass different laws that will allegedly bring about "full employment."

But talk can't eliminate unemployment out of capitalism. The end of unemployment will come only with the end of capitalism. And every job or other concession that is won now will come only through the mass struggle of workers. The AFL-CIO's program is a program to put a lid on this growing struggle, and safely put it where it will do no good, in the hands of the AFL-CIO leaders and Congressional committees.

As part of their program, the AFL-CIO has called for "immediate action to protect existing jobs from unfair foreign competition" and the Congress to "regulate the export of American capital and technology that results in the export of American jobs." But capitalists need profits like a junkie needs a fix, so they constantly try to replace workers with machines and shift their capital from one region, country, or industry to another where investment promises more profit.

Passing a law asking the capitalists not to chase the highest rate of profit is like passing a law asking the capitalists not to be capitalists. And Meany & Co. of course have no intention of saying or doing anything that challenges the capitalists' existence. Their aim is to direct workers away from real struggle against



Demonstration of several hundred workers outside AFL-CIO convention on Oct. 3 raises demands of growing workers' movement.

the capitalists for jobs and instead to paint a phony picture of capitalists and workers joining together as "Americans"—united against "foreign competition," and especially against their fellow workers in other countries.

Pushing Productivity

The officials of the AFL-CIO believe in a "recovery plan" that plans to do everything possible to keep the bosses' profits up. They have endorsed a \$5 billion tax cut for business to make U.S. industry more "productive" and supposedly create jobs. But the very new machinery that U.S. capitalists require to compete among each other and with the capitalists of other countries will be used to throw many out of work, increasing unemployment.

And along with this, they push clauses for contracts setting up joint "labor-management" productivity boards which the bosses use to push speed-up. So despite their crocodile tears about unemployment, we are supposed to cheer every time the capitalists eliminate a job, as long as it makes the factory more productive.

At the convention the hacks' service to the capitalists didn't stop at these resolutions and programs to sabotage the workers' movement. The main public feature of the convention was their promotion job for various dried up Democrats, from Hubert H. Humphrey on down. In this time of capitalist crisis, when the politicians have become more and more exposed and workers are more and more questioning the whole capitalist system, these officials went all-out to present the Democratic politicians as the answer to all the workers' problems.

First George Meany told the delegates, "The fault lies not in our system, but in our leadership."

Then four Democratic presidential hopefuls paraded in front of the microphone, each of them hoping to be the one to get the millions of dollars of our dues money from COPE (Committee on Political Education) for his campaign. In prettying up these worn out politicians the hacks are doing an invaluable service for the capitalists, pushing more illusions about an increasingly exposed system and spreading the lie that the workers can get a fair shake if only they vote the right politician into office.

Of course, workers have seen this political promotion job time and again. At the April 26 demonstration in Washington, D.C. for jobs, which the AFL-CIO was forced to call in an attempt to derail the movement for jobs or income, thousands of workers who had showed up to demand that their needs be met had no patience for the AFL-CIO leadership's program of politicians' empty speeches. Many poured out of the stands to demonstrate on the field, and still more drowned out Humphrey and a couple of other politicians with their chants for "Jobs, Now!"

Now that the AFL-CIO convention is over, the labor traitors are back in their air-conditioned offices. They have their hands full trying to keep the lid on the growing workers' movement and direct it away from challenging the capitalist system. But the demonstration outside the convention hall and the rising workers' movement in general are serving notice that the working class is not reconciled even for a minute to the fact that the enemies of our class control the unions.

Nor will the working class struggle, as it becomes more conscious, be boxed in by schemes like theirs which condemn the class forever to enslavement by the capitalists. The struggle against the capitalists is growing in spite of every kind of sabotage, and one part of it is the battle to throw these traitors out. ■

Upsurge Threatens U.S. Interests

Workers Rock Spain Government

Generalissimo Franco is almost dead, but the Spanish workers' movement and the struggles of other sections of the Spanish people sealed the fate of his regime some time ago.

Already Franco's hand-picked successor, Prince Juan Carlos de Bourbon, is having more and more trouble holding things together. His government is bound to face continued battles in the factories and the streets against the miserable wages, conditions and layoffs of Spanish workers, the oppression of Spain's minority nationalities such as the Basques, and the repression through which Spain's rulers have tried to wipe out every sign of protest and resistance.

In September, to throw terror into the masses who dared oppose it, the government arrested hundreds of suspected "revolutionaries." About a dozen were accused of attacking police and condemned to death by military tribunals.

In response, hundreds of thousands of workers across Spain went on strike against the government. Demonstrators in several cities defied police gunfire to march against the planned executions and demand an end to the Franco regime.

The tempo of these actions grew throughout the month, and after five of the condemned were taken out and shot on Sept. 27, three days of strikes and fighting against police swept Spain, especially in the Basque region where much of the industrial working class is concentrated.

Franco, who once declared that his regime had been "chosen by God to defend the truth in Spain," and that his regime would last forever, served the country's capitalist rulers well. But today the struggle has weakened the capitalists and forced them to consider other methods of rule to shore up their crumbling regime.

Setbacks for U.S. Imperialists

This turmoil also threatens tremendous setbacks for the rulers of the U.S., who have long been the chief international backers of the Franco regime.

Since the signing of a "mutual defense" pact in 1953, Spain has been one of the U.S. imperialists' closest allies in Europe, supplying it with five navy bases, two air bases and other facilities for the 10,000 U.S. troops stationed there, and getting in return billions in weapons for the army and police and other aid from the U.S.

This has had a dual purpose. The U.S. military presence and aid has helped prop up the Franco government and protect the profitable U.S. investments there. Also, the bases and alliance with the Franco government have helped give the U.S. imperialists military control of the mouth of the Mediterranean and its western end. As the contention between the U.S. and the USSR over Europe heats up, and because the struggle against superpower domination has already cost the U.S. several other Mediterranean bases, Spain is increasingly vital as a military outpost of the U.S. empire.

For this reason the strikes and demonstrations against the Franco government which rocked Western Europe after the Sept. 27 executions also hit at U.S. imperialism. In the Netherlands and West Germany, millions of workers held a two-minute work stoppage. Greek workers stopped for 10 minutes. In Italy, Britain, Belgium and Scandinavia workers refused to handle Spanish ships and planes and cut off telephone and telegraph communications with Spain.

Many European governments sent diplomatic protests against the executions, hoping to help dislodge the Franco regime and increase their own influence in Spain at the U.S.'s expense. But it was the workers and masses of people themselves who filled the streets in huge demonstrations in Paris, Rome, Frankfurt and elsewhere, as marchers in many cases fought police who tried to stop them.

History of Solidarity

This was not the first time that workers of many countries had stood in solidarity with the struggle against the Spanish capitalists and their foreign imperialist backers. In the midst of the capitalist crisis and the upsurge against it which shook the world in the 1930s, Spain became a battleground for armed con-

frontation between the international working class and the rulers of the major capitalist countries, all of whom directly or indirectly supported Franco's seizure of power in order to keep the flames of proletarian struggle then flaring in Spain from spreading.

The Spanish monarchy was overthrown in 1931. By 1936, terrified by the growing demands of the working class, the Spanish monopolists, big landowners and Catholic Church backed Franco and other Spanish army generals in a fierce three-year civil war.

The U.S. government, along with the other major capitalist powers, pretended to be "neutral" in the civil war, but this "neutrality" amounted to a blockade to keep the Spanish people from getting arms, while Franco and his forces got unlimited aid, including divisions of soldiers and squadrons of bombers from Hitler and Mussolini.

Only the then-socialist Soviet Union gave arms to the people's forces. Over 50,000 volunteers from 52 countries, the majority of them workers, including 3100 Americans, fought with the International



Massive outpourings sweep Europe as workers and others demonstrate solidarity with Spanish people following recent executions by Franco government. Above, demo in Germany; below, demo in France.



Workers from around the world fought together with Spanish workers and masses during civil war from 1936-'39. Above, U.S. contingent of the International Brigades.

Brigades in Spain against Franco and everything he stood for, side by side with the Spanish workers and peasants.

Following the victory of the Franco forces, about 200,000 workers, peasants, and others who had opposed him were executed and two million more were jailed. All workers' and popular organizations were outlawed, replaced by mandatory "vertical trade unions" run by the employers and the state. All the trappings and concessions of the bourgeoisie's "democratic" form of rule were replaced by the naked fist of the Army, Civil Guard, Political-Social Brigade (secret police), Armed Police and so on.

So-called "Economic Miracle"

With the workers' leadership and organizations all but wiped out, Spain became an "economic miracle" for the capitalists. Spanish workers were among the most exploited in the world and Spain's rate of economic growth became one of the highest thanks to the fact that the wages stayed in the dirt while production, prices and profits soared. U.S. investors such as Ford and GE flocked to Spain to take advantage of these conditions, later joined by other monopolists such as Italy's Fiat and France's Renault.

But these conditions, despite the Franco regime's much touted stability, were bound to lead to a sharp upsurge in struggle. Widespread strikes began to break out again in 1956, starting with the coal miners in Asturias and spreading, growing into a two-year strike wave. The Franco government was forced to drop wage controls and make other concessions.

A phony kind of "collective bargaining" was set up between the state-controlled "unions" and the employers who ran them, but even so, the strength and determination of the workers often forced the bosses to surrender wage increases.

In the early 1960s, workers began to form the first workers' commissions, secret committees of workers often elected by illegal assemblies of all the workers in the plant. These commissions arose to take the leadership of strikes, and in the beginning were mainly temporary, fading away after a particular wave of struggle and usually isolated from one another.

To halt the growth of the commissions the government for awhile tried the tactic of the carrot, allowing some small raises and some very limited "elections" in the state "unions."

The workers seized the opportunity to run representatives selected by the workers' commissions, winning positions in the state "unions," while at the same time continuing to build their independent organizations and the strike movement. Once again the government brandished the stick, purging its own "unions" and once again freezing wages. Still, the government was not able to turn things back.

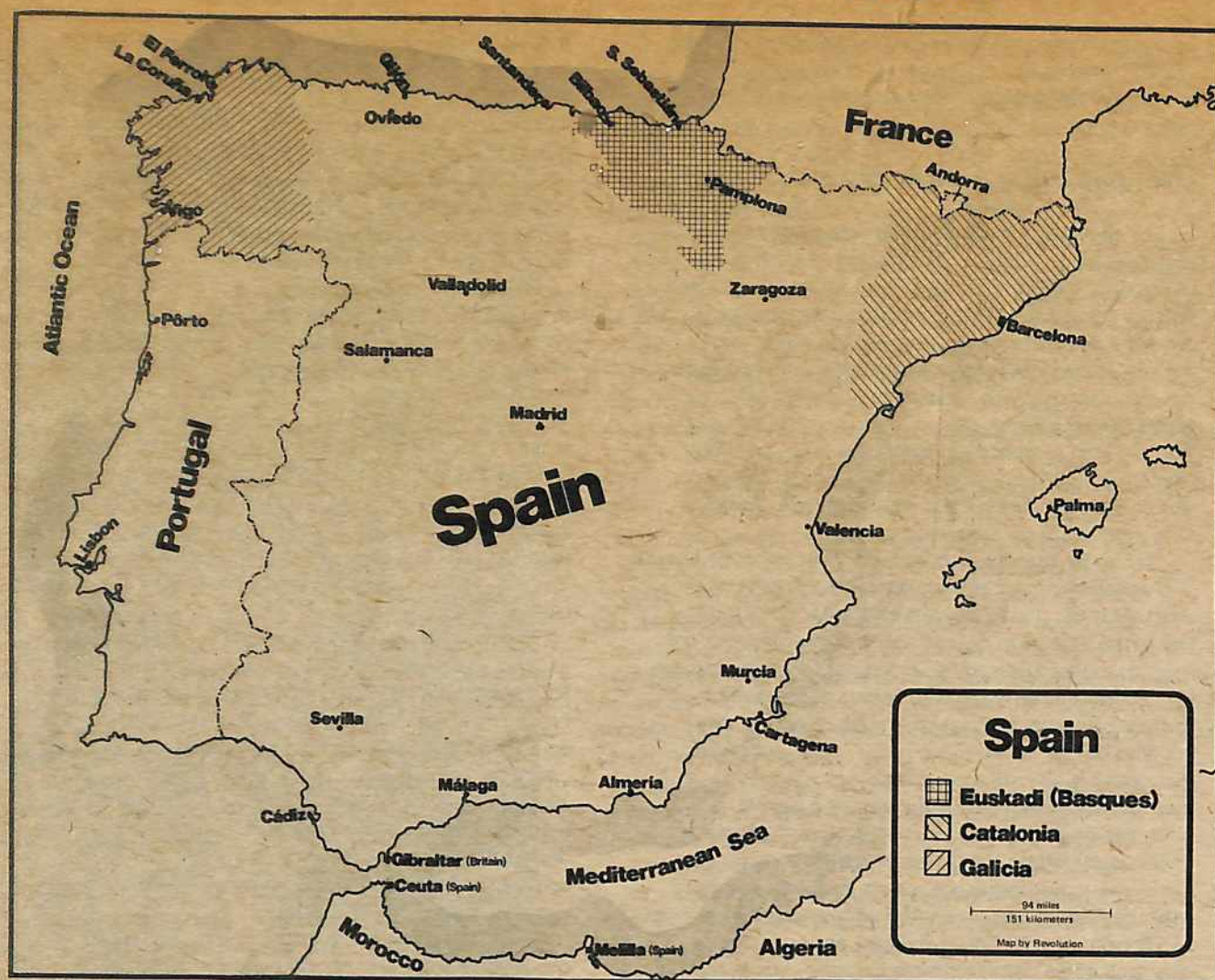
Struggle Against the Government

These workers' commissions arose mainly from the struggle around wages and working conditions. But the complete illegality of the struggle, the fact that the government didn't even pretend to be neutral and that even the smallest demands had to be fought for against the police and the whole power of the state, meant that from the start these organizations took on not only the particular employers but also the government that serves them as a class.

In the 1960s and early '70s, the workers' commissions led battles of working people around housing, sanitation, education, etc., and joined with housewives fighting high food prices through boycotts and demonstrations, with organizations of laborers in the dairy and sheep farms, small peasants, and student groups.

Especially in the heavily industrialized Basque and Catalan regions, workers also took up the struggle of

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courts! Let those responsible for crimes against the people be punished!"

Big Step Forward

The Guipuzcoa strike marked a big step forward in organization, unity and consciousness. The workers' commissions rejected the revisionists' slogans for "national reconciliation" and "amnesty for all" (including the monopolists and their hangmen). Instead of asking the bourgeoisie to reform itself, they put forward demands aimed at weakening the state's ability to repress the working class under any regime. They hit at the police and other state organs which in the "Western democracies" workers come up against time and time again.

Consolidating the advances of the December strike, the Euskadi [Basque] Coordinating Committee of Workers' Commissions was formed in April, uniting commissions in many plants under the above general demands. This led to another general strike in the region in June. As the Basque provinces were declared under a state of siege and literally hundreds of thousands of police and troops swarmed into the area, the rhythm of strikes and demonstrations picked up and won even more support from other sections of the Basque people struggling against the central government.

Throughout the spring there were other citywide and regional strikes in other parts of the country. Often workers would seize a plant to demand the rehiring of fired or laid off comrades and often they won. In some cases factory owners pleaded with police to release strike leaders or the workers would never go back.

This strike wave inspired other strikes by government employees, doctors and actors. Demonstrating students supporting the strikes and demanding an end to government repression on the campus and everywhere also forced the government to close down most of the universities for many months.

At this point, many prominent monopolists and their advisors, as well as some top army officers, began to urge Franco to step down immediately before it was too late and things got out of hand. Under pressure from the masses, they began to marshal their forces, while Franco began to dig in further.

Not only did arrests and police attacks on the masses step up, but Franco also cracked down on some of his various "democratic" opponents. Dozens of army officers were arrested, some for belonging to an anti-Franco organization growing in the upper ranks of the armed forces.

Franco then orchestrated a demonstration in his favor, assembling together thousands of government bureaucrats, lower level officials and every kind of police and spy, calling on their loyalty and fear of what might happen to them without him. But this only revealed the desperation of his situation. Only Franco's long illness prevented the pressure against him from coming to a head.

Bigger Bind Than Ever

Today, after the September executions and the subsequent mass actions, the Spanish bourgeoisie is in more of a bind than ever. Repression of the working class is the backbone of any form of capitalist rule—nowhere has this been more clear than in the many twists and turns of the Spanish bourgeoisie from the monarchy to the present day.

But the very repression which sustained the Spanish capitalists through the long Franco regime has also helped expose the real nature of the ruling class and helped steel the working class in the course of class war. Now the Spanish bourgeoisie is damned if it gives in a little and damned if it doesn't, because the Spanish working class has been able to advance through both repression and concession.

The dilemma that grips the Spanish bourgeoisie also reflects the problem faced worldwide by the U.S. ruling class and its own growing weakness. As the struggle of the Spanish working class and masses continues to develop and move forward, the U.S. imperialists are faced with the prospect of losing another of their major political and military outposts and a further weakening of their position in their contention with the other capitalist superpower, the USSR. On their part, the Soviet social-imperialists are busy trying to win over the Spanish revisionist party to their influence, while still looking for other forces to groom to serve their interests there.

But when all is said and done, and no matter what maneuvers they try or methods they use, it is clear that conditions are growing worse for the U.S. imperialists and their Spanish monopolist partners. For the Spanish working class conditions are growing better to further advance its struggle against these exploiters, and against any other exploiters who try to take their place.

Franco's victory 35 years ago was a defeat not only for the Spanish workers but for the working class of the whole world. Today, the victories of the Spanish working class, which is once again heroically standing up and fighting back in the face of barbaric repression are both aided by and advance the struggle of the international working class. ■

to reforming the state in order to shore up the capitalist system.

With growing shamelessness, the CP has stood with one foot in the workers' commissions and the other with what it calls "neocapitalist" and "democratic" politicians and businessmen. Within the workers' commissions the revisionists have tried every trick to tie them to the tail of these forces, and to keep the workers' movement from developing its own struggle.

The "Democratic Council"

In 1974 some legally tolerated "opponents" of the Franco regime and former Franco henchmen now deserting the sinking ship joined with the revisionists to form a "Democratic Council" ("Junta Democrática") to remove and replace Franco, calling for a "democratic convergence of all citizens without social danger and without challenging either the unity of Spain or private property."

To cover all bets, top U.S. officials have reportedly met with revisionist Party leader Santiago Carillo, who reassured them that the CP would respect U.S. investments and bases. Meanwhile, other sorts of coalitions opposed to Francoism have sprung up, with various European imperialists encouraging forces favorable to their interests.

But despite the endless promises of a "democratic opening," despite the Spanish bourgeoisie's growing public tolerance and even enthusiasm for the revisionists and the rest of the loyal "opposition," during the last year workers' struggles have faced more brutal repression, not less.

At the same time, with the growth of new communist forces among the working class and the effects of the current worldwide capitalist economic crisis, workers' struggles have become increasingly hard fought, well-organized and broad.

In the last year there have been general strikes in almost every industrial area of Spain. For instance, Fiat workers seized the 25,000 man plant in Barcelona, capping months of short walkouts, and many workers from other plants and some students struck and battled police as they demonstrated in support of the sit-in.

In Pamplona, miners struck to demand the rehiring of those laid off, responding to a lockout by taking over a mine shaft. When police refused to allow food and water to be brought to them, workers in many other industries in the area struck in solidarity. They marched almost to the mouth of the mine before the police began firing. Then, turning their march downtown, they organized a bus and store boycott that shut the town down.

In December, as the "liberal" noises from many in the Franco regime grew louder and the revisionists pleaded with the workers to demonstrate their political "maturity" by waiting for the bourgeoisie to make up its mind, there was a one day general strike throughout the Basque province of Guipuzcoa. Over 200,000 workers walked out, led by workers' commissions in many of the biggest plants and shipyards, hitting over a thousand factories in all.

This walkout put forward the following demands: "Down with the high cost of living—for decent wages! Down with the repression—stop the firings! For the freedom of political prisoners and the return of the exiles! For the freedom of expression, assembly, association and the right to strike! Down with national oppression—for the right to self-determination! For the dismantling of the repressive police and the fascist

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Spain's minority nationalities for the right to use their own languages, for their own schools and other forms of cultural expression, against particularly heavy taxes (which are highest in the Basque region), and for some degree of freedom from the Madrid government.

The Basques and Catalans, along with the Galicians, are each separate nationalities, distinct from the rest of Spain. Throughout much of Spain's history these regions were autonomous in many matters. Under the Franco government the oppression of these peoples has been very sharp and so has their hatred of the government.

In the last decades, a large percentage of the Basques and Catalans have become workers, along with the many of Spanish nationality who've also come to work in the factories, mills, mines and shipyards of the north. With this, the working class' struggle for its own immediate interests and the struggle against national oppression have had a strong material basis for unity, contributing to the development of the various battles into an overall struggle against the regime.

The Question of Franco

This development forced a part of the monopolist class to step up its efforts in the last few years to find a way to rid themselves of Franco. Among themselves, their advisors began to discuss legalizing some political parties and trade unions independent of the state, with the aim of taking the heat of the workers' movement off the government and confining it to wages and working conditions, and dividing the workers' movement from other classes and strata also fighting the regime.

Such a solution would require the bourgeoisie to work hand in hand with forces which could influence the workers and the rest of the masses. Encouraging this scheme was the fact that the Spanish working class had lost its Communist Party, which in the 1950s had become completely revisionist and gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie. Where the Party had once led the workers in taking advantage of every concession by the bourgeoisie to build the workers' struggle, now the revisionists instead used every concession, actual or merely promised, to try to bring about "national reconciliation" between the workers and their exploiters.

Because of its leadership in the civil war and the early anti-Franco resistance, and because many people are attracted to its stated goal of socialism, the CP has been the most important of several phony "socialist" organizations, influencing many workers in certain industries and areas, as well as much of the petty bourgeoisie.

Unlike some other revisionist parties, the Spanish Party's ties to the USSR are weak, leaving it more free to act in the service of the Spanish capitalists pure and simple, along with other forces dedicated

World Situation...

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for events in Europe, Africa and everywhere else in the world today.

Weakening of U.S. Imperialism

During the same period that the Soviet Union has emerged on the world scene as an imperialist superpower, U.S. imperialism, which for a time after WW 2 sat alone atop the imperialist dunghill, has been battered on all sides by resistance and revolutionary struggle and especially through the course of the long war in Indochina has suffered tremendous defeats and been greatly weakened.

This weakening of U.S. imperialism has also been a major factor in the world situation in the recent period, and has been seized on by the Soviet social-imperialists in their drive to replace U.S. imperialism as number one imperialist world power.

During the Indochina war, with the military forces of U.S. imperialism tied down there and being battered by the heroic struggle of the Indochinese peoples, the Soviet Union took advantage of the situation to push out in other parts of the world—the Middle East, the South Asian subcontinent (India-Pakistan area), and other areas. The Soviets even carried out significant penetration, economically and politically, into Western Europe, since WW 2 a stronghold of U.S. imperialism.

Wherever the U.S. imperialists have had to pull back or pull out their forces, the Soviet social-imperialists have tried to move in. With the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Indochina, and their weakening in that part of Asia generally—the inevitable result of U.S. imperialism's defeat—the Soviets have tried to establish their domination. To achieve this they have cooked up a so-called "Asian Collective Security" system, with the aim of drawing the countries in that area into their orbit and under their domination. And, although this has met with opposition, the Soviets certainly have not abandoned this attempt, or other means to replace U.S. imperialism as lord and master there.

But even more crucial for Soviet imperialist aims, and for the contention between the two superpowers, is Europe. As the Programme of the RCP points out, "Europe is the focal point of their contention, because it is in Europe that vast economic, political and military power is based, which the superpowers must seek to control." And at the present time it is Western Europe in particular—where the Soviets have been making gains, but U.S. imperialism still holds the upper hand—that is the most vital spot in this superpower contention.

In Western Europe, as in other parts of the world, the Soviets try to use the revisionist "communist parties" as their arm and agent within those countries. Portugal is a clear example of this tactic. And it is clear that the Soviets have summed up from the events in Chile, where the revisionist CP tried to play a similar role, that it is necessary to have "armed revisionism" in order to carry out Soviet aims of "capturing the fortress from within." This is indicated by the efforts of the Portuguese CP to build a base of control in the bourgeois army.

This role of revisionist parties obedient to the Soviet social-imperialists is a special weapon in their arsenal, and is also part and parcel of their general attempt to use their "socialist" cover to infiltrate, subvert and misdirect the struggle of the working class and movements against colonialism and imperialism to further their own imperialist aims and interests. The revolutionary upsurge of the masses of Portuguese people in the last two years has been seized on by the social-imperialists as a testing ground for this tactic of using revisionist parties as "Trojan horses," as well as an attempt to gain an important foothold for contention with U.S. imperialism in Western Europe.

At the same time, the Soviets work "from the top" to penetrate Western Europe and gain further footholds there. That is, using their oil and other economic leverage—including the growing openings for investment in the Soviet Union itself—the Soviet ruling class is stepping up its efforts to pry Western European capitalists away from the U.S. and draw these countries into the Soviet sphere.

Overall, not only in Europe, but throughout the world, the Soviet social-imperialists are on the offensive. They are driven by the same laws as the U.S. imperialists but have a weaker position economically and a smaller sphere of influence, because the present division of these spheres of influence among the imperialists—and specifically among the two superpowers—still to a large degree reflects an earlier time in the post-WW 2 period when U.S. imperialism was in a much more powerful position. The Soviet social-

imperialists need to change this division and are desperately pushing out everywhere, trying to take advantage of the decline of U.S. imperialism to grab up new areas.

Contention Pushing Things Toward World War

For their part, the U.S. imperialists just as desperately need to "defend" their sphere of influence, maintain the present division—and in the final analysis enlarge their share of the spoils from international robbery—and beat back Soviet attempts to cut into it. All this is why the contention between the two superpowers is intensifying, despite their fanfare of "detente." And it is this sharpening contention that is pushing things toward a third world war, since, ultimately it is only through war that the struggle for domination can be resolved—and then only temporarily—among these imperialist gangsters.

War is the continuation of politics by other means, and politics, in turn, is the extension and expression of economics, that is, of class relations. Imperialist war is the extension of imperialist economics and politics, of exploitation and the struggle for domination, for carving up the world into spheres of influence—sources of investment, raw materials, markets, workers who can be forced to work for lower wages, and—the aim of it all—the accumulation of more and more profit, wrung out of the working people.

In the present situation the fact that the Soviet Union is overall on the offensive makes it more likely that a war in Europe, or on its flanks—especially the Middle East, or the Mediterranean area—will break out with Soviet military action. This may well come not as a simple invasion, but in the form of "support" for "socialist revolution"—revisionist parties loyal to the Soviet social-imperialists leading or taking part in coup attempts. On the other hand, however, the U.S. imperialists cannot afford continual economic and political setbacks, especially at the hands of the new Tsars, and may be forced to take the first step in extending political contention to war.

In the recent period, especially since the end of the war in Indochina, the U.S. imperialists have made some headway in their contention with the Soviets. An obvious example is Kissinger's diplomatic coup—the recent Egypt-Israeli agreement—which strengthens the hand of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and lays a stronger basis for direct U.S. military action—through the placing of several hundred American "technical experts" as "watchdogs."

Another clear example of recent gains by U.S. imperialism is Portugal. Through its allies in West Europe and the Socialist Party in Portugal itself, U.S. imperialism has been able to deliver significant setbacks to the Soviet arm in Portugal—the revisionist CP—and, for the time being at least, in the midst of a very unstable situation, not only prevent a coup by the revisionists and their allies but reverse the momentum they had built up and put them on the defensive.

Bound By Laws of Capitalism

Kissinger, and the forces within the ruling class who back him, apparently feel that they can best advance the interests of U.S. imperialism, and carry out contention with the Soviet Union most effectively, through such maneuvering, behind the smokescreen of "detente." Other sections of the ruling class, represented by politicians like Henry Jackson and the now deposed former Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, take a "tough stand" toward the Soviets, calling for an openly aggressive posture and more

blatant war preparations.

But the entire ruling class aims at carrying out contention with the Soviets for world domination, and the U.S. imperialists, as well as the Soviet social-imperialists, and imperialists generally, are bound by the laws of capitalism, which are pushing things toward war, regardless of diplomatic chess games, fanfare of "detente," or talk of "preventing war by being strong militarily."

Recent gains by U.S. imperialism do not change the fact that, overall, the Soviet social-imperialists are on the offensive in Europe and other parts of the world, while the U.S. imperialists are on the defensive. Nor does it wipe out certain real advantages the new Tsars have over the U.S. imperialists, especially in Europe—in particular the presence of large revisionist parties loyal to them in a number of European countries—and the presence of a large standing army of the Warsaw Pact in central Europe—considerably larger than the NATO troops under U.S. command in Europe—not including Soviet troops within the Soviet Union itself.

The superpower contention and the international situation as a whole means, as the Programme of the RCP states, that the "working class of all countries faces the task of building the broadest united front on a world scale aimed at the ruling classes of these two superpowers, while at the same time uniting all who can be united within each country to continue the battle for socialist revolution." And the growing danger of world war, arising from the intensifying contention between the superpowers, further emphasizes the importance of this task.

Each superpower pushes the line that there is no choice for people and countries in the world except to side with the one superpower against the other. And with regard to bourgeois forces and governments, while they may to a certain extent resist superpower domination, in the final analysis, out of greed or fear, they will tend to line up with one superpower or the other.

But the stand of the working class is exactly the opposite. While the working class supports and encourages all genuine resistance to superpower domination, it fundamentally relies on its own struggle and the masses of people in the fight against imperialism. In this way the working class can break through the efforts of both superpowers to establish and extend their domination and can advance its struggle to establish its own rule.

Role of People's China

In this context, the role of the socialist countries, and in particular the People's Republic of China, is especially important. As a country where the working class has emancipated itself from imperialist rule, established its own rule, and made great strides in continuing socialist revolution and carrying out socialist construction, China is in a position to play an important role in world affairs.

As a socialist country it does this not in the manner of the imperialists, not through aggression and seeking domination, but through supporting the revolutionary struggles throughout the world and helping to unite all those forces that can be united on a world scale against the main enemies of the people of the world, the two imperialist superpowers. This is clearly shown in its firm support for the Indochinese peoples' war of liberation against U.S. imperialism, for the reunification of Korea and the expulsion of U.S. troops there, for the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples, and for all genuine struggles for independence, lib-

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The long, revolutionary struggles of the Indochinese peoples have battered U.S. imperialism.



Invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 further exposed imperialist nature of Soviet Union. Above, Czech youths defy social-imperialists.

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eration and revolution.

As a country where the working class is in power, China is able to use its diplomacy and state to state relations to make use of contradictions among the imperialist and reactionary forces, and to build unity between peoples and countries in resisting superpower domination.

In the present situation, China, recognizing the fact that the Soviet Union is overall on the offensive, is giving special emphasis to making use of contradictions—even those between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists—to place obstacles in the path of Soviet expansion. This China does in order to delay the outbreak of war and to make the conditions more favorable for the masses of people and their revolutionary leadership to develop their struggles, strengthen their forces and get prepared to continue the struggle under the conditions of world war, should it break out from superpower contention.

The Chinese also do this in order to make it more difficult to launch an attack on China. And as a part of strengthening the forces of the working class and its allies worldwide, China is paying serious attention to preparing itself for defense against attack. Under the present conditions the greatest danger of such attack comes from the Soviet social-imperialists. Since the restoration of capitalism, with the rise to power of Khrushchev in the mid-50s, the Soviet revisionists have made provocations and at times direct aggression on Chinese territory. They have tried to use revisionist forces within China itself as an agent of their designs on China and have supported reactionary forces, such as the state of India, in attacking China.

With the growing contention between the two superpowers, their scramble for domination all over the world, the danger of attack on China—which stands as a great obstacle to imperialist aggression—mounts, especially the danger of attack from the Soviet Union. Defense of China from such an attack—from the Soviet social-imperialists or any other reactionary force—is an important question not just for the Chinese people, but

for the whole international working class. For, as the Programme of the RCP emphasizes, "the socialist countries belong to the international working class and...it is the duty of the international working class to defend them."

What form this defense would take, and how it would relate to the struggle in different countries, could only be decided, of course, on the basis of analyzing the actual situation at that time, the balance of forces—fundamentally class forces—and a concrete determination of what would advance the overall revolutionary struggle under the concrete conditions. But in one form or another the working class in every country must support and defend as its own the countries where our class has won political power and is building socialism, and must link this with the fundamental task of advancing the struggle toward the goal of revolution and socialism in all countries.

In the countries where the proletariat has not yet won political power the working class has different tasks than in the socialist countries and makes different contributions to the international struggle. Not having state power it cannot use state to state relations and other similar means to make use of contradictions among the imperialist and reactionary forces and unite the greatest number of forces against the two superpowers.

Nor, lacking state power, is it yet able to give the same kind of support to revolutionary struggles that a proletariat in power is able to give. The working class in countries where it has not yet seized power can and must support the revolutionary movement in every country and support the struggle against the two superpowers as the main enemies on a world scale. But it must combine this with carrying out what, overall, is its main task—the building of the revolutionary movement in its own country and the carrying forward of this fight, through whatever necessary stages, to the final goal of socialism under the rule of the working class.

By the same token, a working class which does not have state power, while it does not have the same ability as the socialist countries to use state to state relations, etc. to further the worldwide struggle, also does not have the necessity to make compromises with various imperialist and reactionary forces and governments, in the same way as the socialist states do in order to make use of contradictions, etc. As Mao Tsetung set down in 1946, at a time when the Soviet Union—then a socialist country—was making certain agreements with imperialist countries—"Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions." This principle still applies today.

Waging Struggle Against Own Bourgeoisie

In the capitalist countries the question for the working class is waging struggle against its own bourgeoisie and preparing to overthrow bourgeois rule and establish the rule of the working class. If this task is not undertaken by Marxist-Leninist forces, it does not mean that the class struggle will stop, but only that the class struggle and the striving of masses of workers for socialism will be abandoned in many cases to the misleadership of the revision-

ists, with their phony "socialist" banner, and be perverted into support for Soviet social-imperialism.

At the same time, the working class in these countries must, in order to advance its own movement and contribute to the international struggle, fight against superpower domination, support the worldwide struggle against these superpowers, and prepare to carry forward the fight in the conditions of world war, should it arise from superpower contention.

Here, in the U.S., which is one of the two imperialist superpowers, it is especially important for the working class to give every possible support and make every possible contribution to building the worldwide united front against imperialism aimed at the ruling classes of these two superpowers. And it is the special duty of the U.S. working class and its Party to expose and oppose the aggression, domination and war preparations of U.S. imperialism, our own ruling class.

The U.S. working class supports neither the Kissingers nor the Schlesingers nor any efforts of the U.S. imperialists to defend or extend their domination and exploitation. As the Programme of our Party states, "The main contribution of the U.S. proletariat to the worldwide revolution is to overthrow imperialism in the U.S.," and "in finally overthrowing U.S. imperialism, the U.S. working class will strike a great blow for the liberation of people throughout the world."

The Party's Programme further states, in analyzing superpower contention and the danger of war arising from this, "Either the working class in the U.S. and the Soviet Union will prevent such a war by overthrowing these greatest oppressors, in conjunction with the worldwide 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 own downfall and the end of imperialism...In launching a third world war, the imperialists, especially the rulers of the U.S. and the 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."

But this will happen only through the work of the Party of the proletariat, building the struggle of the working class and leading it toward the goal of socialist revolution. In this country (as well as others), a revolutionary situation may not develop before the outbreak of world war, or right after the start of this war. But, in any case, the Party of the working class must continue to build the struggle of the working class toward the goal of revolution, in unity with the struggle of the workers and others fighting against imperialism throughout the world.

The more broadly the Party mobilizes the working class and the masses of people in struggle against imperialism, including its acts of aggression and war, and through the course of many battles raises their consciousness—exposing the imperialist system as the source of the evils and sufferings in society, including war, and bringing to the fore the outlook and interests of the working class in overthrowing imperialism—the more the struggle of the working class will be able to weaken the imperialists and advance toward the point where it can overthrow them and bring an end to the misery and destruction of capitalism, even if the superpowers do launch a third world war. ■

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Class Conflict, Not Religion, at Root

Lebanon: Civil War Shakes U.S. Hold

The civil war in Lebanon could quickly explode into a broader war and intensified superpower contention in the Middle East.

The months of fighting in Beirut's barricaded streets have resulted in a serious erosion of U.S. strength in Lebanon and a setback to the U.S. imperialists' strategy of bolstering its ally Israel and at the same time negotiating one-on-one agreements with the Arab countries that will strengthen the U.S. position over the Soviet Union in the area.

In essence the fighting in Lebanon is a class struggle between the Lebanese people, led by workers, against the feudal ruling class and bureaucrat-capitalists. It has become increasingly intermeshed with the battle of the Palestinian refugees in southern Lebanon against the Israeli Zionists.

Lebanon has long been the commercial and banking center of the Middle East. Before the fighting began, 80 banks, the vast majority foreign-owned, lined Beirut's broad boulevards. The French, English, Germans, Russians and Americans—all had financial and commercial offices there, many of which have now been forced to flee elsewhere. In addition, there are scores of luxurious hotels and villas in Beirut where members of Arab ruling classes have watered and struck deals with Western businessmen eager to expand operations in the Middle East.

But while many foreign capitalists have set up shop in Lebanon, the U.S. imperialists have been the dominant power, with about 250 U.S. companies headquartered there. A pro-U.S. "neutral government" has been an important ally and tool of the U.S., one that the U.S. imperialists defended with military intervention in 1958 to squash popular rebellion in the streets of Beirut.

Rotting Feudal Order

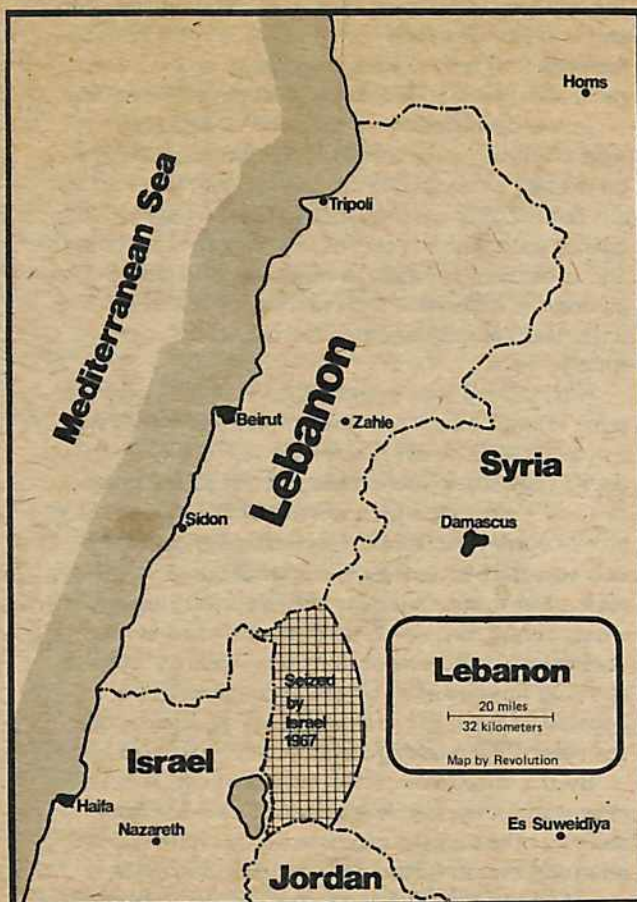
The exploitation of the Lebanese people by the Lebanese ruling class and the U.S. imperialists rests upon the foundations of a rotting feudal order, propped up by the U.S. Lebanese society is organized on the basis of clans and religious sects, with Lebanese bankers and political leaders often being feudal lords who control their own private armies or religious sect militias.

The central government is a weak and complicated arrangement that is supposed to reflect the relative strength of the various sects and clans and not interfere with their independent operation. The president must always be a Christian of the Maronite sect, and the prime minister and the number three post must always be divided between different Muslim sects.

The masses of Lebanese people, about half Christian and half Muslim, live in grinding poverty, either as feudal serfs and sharecroppers in the mountain regions and central plateaus, or, increasingly, as wage laborers crowded into slums around Tripoli, Sidon and especially Beirut, where half of Lebanon's 2½ million people now live.

In the last 10 years the Lebanese working class has doubled in size. And during these years, the development of trade unions, the first mass organizations to cut across sect and clan lines, has been an important factor in the rising popular resistance to the old order.

In addition to the growth in size and organization of the working class, the class struggle in Lebanon has also been sparked by the struggles of the 300,000 Palestinians crowded into refugee camps in southern



Lebanon. The camps have been centers of resistance to the Zionist occupation of Palestine, and in the past year Israel has intensified its bombing raids and armed commando attacks on these camps.

The Lebanese government has done little to oppose these Israeli invasions except to issue feeble protests in the UN. The U.S. imperialists have been intent on keeping the status quo in Lebanon while using the Zionist attacks to try to control the "Palestinian problem."

Inside Lebanon, the U.S. imperialists and a section of the Lebanese ruling class have used the openly fascist, Maronite Christian Phalangist Party to attack the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. The Phalangists have objectively sided with Israel, demanding that Lebanon make no effort to move against Israeli raids.

Struggle of the Masses

But in the past year the struggle of the Lebanese masses and the Palestinians has disintegrated the status quo for the U.S. imperialists, the Zionists, and their flunkies in the Lebanese ruling class.

In January, residents of towns in southern Lebanon staged large demonstrations against the government, protesting its failure to protect them against Israeli attack. Things really heated up in late February when thousands of workers in the port of Sidon joined fishermen demonstrating against a government decision to grant exclusive coastal fishing rights to a private company that planned to mechanize the fishing industry, a scheme that would have thrown hundreds of people out of work.

Three days of demonstrations broke into an armed clash when Lebanese army units fired into the demonstrators, killing 14 civilians. In response, workers in Tyre, Beirut and other cities staged general strikes in support of the Sidon workers that paralyzed those cities.

The Lebanese ruling class was shaken by this militant upsurge. Already sharply divided between a

dominant Christian wing and feudalists and capitalists representing the various Muslim sects and clans, the ruling class tried to keep its patchwork government together. At the same time, the different Muslim sect and clan leaders tried to use the crisis to maneuver for a strengthened position within the government.

Along with the U.S. imperialists, the Lebanese rulers have tried to turn the class struggle into a religious conflict between Muslims and Christians. To divert the people's outrage at the government and the entire ruling class, Muslim cabinet members demanded that the Christian army commander who ordered the attack on the largely Muslim demonstrators in Sidon be fired. They demanded that an army command council be set up to redress the fact that the majority of officers come from the Christian sections of the ruling class. The Christian officials rejected this move and the Phalangists organized demonstrations in Beirut against criticism of the army's attack on the workers in Sidon.

Phalangists Trigger Civil War

But the momentum of the mass movement was growing, and Beirut, Sidon and Tripoli were again hit by paralyzing strikes on March 6, when another wounded leader of the fishermen's demonstration died. Shooting started between the Phalangists and popular forces.

In mid-April Phalangists attacked a busload of Palestinians in Beirut, killing 27 and wounding 19. Palestinian forces responded and armed clashes erupted in several parts of Beirut. The Phalangists were out to reassert Maronite control of the feudal order. Their armed attack against the workers' movement, and the launching of a major effort to terrorize or drive out the Palestinians, triggered the civil war that has intensified since. This thoroughly exposed the weakness and divisions in the Lebanese ruling class and precipitated an open split between large parts of its Muslim and Christian wings.

In June and July there was a lull in the fighting, but the die had been cast. The effectiveness of the central government had been almost vaporized. It has no real means of backing up its various truce proposals, since the army, with its officer corps from the Christian ruling class and the ranks composed mainly of Muslim workers and peasants, is not united and cannot be relied on to do the government's bidding.

Many of the Muslim sect and clan rulers saw they could no longer operate from a position inside a government trying to reach a negotiated settlement that would essentially preserve the old order. So they have begun to put themselves forward as leaders of the mass struggle, and some of them have been working closely with the pro-Soviet Lebanese Communist Party.

On the other hand, the Maronite capitalists and feudalists, seeing their power dwindling and more and more threatened, have increasingly thrown their support behind the Phalangists, re-enforcing the battered fascist forces with their own clan and sect militias.

U.S. Imperialists In Trouble

As the mass struggle has grown in strength and the military position of the Phalangists has deteriorated, the situation for the U.S. imperialists has become very grave. They are threatened with the loss of an important base for the exploitation of the people and countries of the Mideast. Even more, developments in Lebanon are viewed as a major threat to the U.S. imperialists' major ally and policeman in the Mideast, the Israeli Zionists.

Faced with this, the U.S. imperialists are frantically trying to cut their losses and salvage what they can, and are obviously maneuvering to get back in the driver's seat. They are using dual tactics to do this—supporting efforts of the Lebanese government to arrange some sort of a truce, while at the same time standing ready to unleash and support an all-out Zionist military assault on southern Lebanon.

The prospect of an anti-Zionist government in Lebanon, closely allied with the Palestine liberation forces on its northern border, has created a degree of panic among Israeli rulers. The Zionists scream that they will not stand for the "repression of the Christian minority in Lebanon," and are making clear threats of an all-out attack, which almost certainly would lead to a wider war in the Middle East.

As far as the Soviet social-imperialists are concerned, they are ready to cash in on these U.S. reverses, hoping to cut into the headway the U.S. has made in the Mideast since the end of the 1973 war. While they have not made a direct move in Lebanon, they are glad to see the U.S. applecart topple, and are trying to ride the mass struggle to a certain point through their pals in the Lebanese CP.

But while the imperialists and social-imperialists will both try to control and divert the just struggles of the Lebanese and Palestinian people—and may have some short term successes—it is clearly the struggle of the masses that is the decisive force in pushing ahead the development of the struggle in Lebanon and the Middle East. ■

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Meatcutters...

Continued from page 1 —

in several states. In some of the houses, meatcutters responded with a slowdown. When they hit the bricks, militant mass pickets made it rough for the bosses to recruit and bring in their scabs. In one case, rank and file meatcutters forced a company van to the curb, pried open the doors, and gave 10 scabs inside a good whipping.

But the leadership of Meatcutters Local 248 opposed direct action, telling the strikers to let the scabs in and rely on negotiations. When the bosses, through the NLRB, ran to the courts for a temporary injunction against the intimidation of scabs, the union leadership told the workers to obey the injunction and let the union lawyers "fight it in court."

For a time, the strikers went along with this line. But when the injunction was made permanent and as the number of scabs increased, the rank and file stepped up their agitation for mass picketing. At first a few and then more strikers began to hold up scab traffic and take renewed actions against the scabs.

In a stormy picket captains' meeting, some workers called for militant mass action against the Association. One said, "I'm not going to let anybody just walk right in and take my job. That's food off my table. That's robbing my family. I'm not a violent man, but you're full of it if you think we will stand by and let these scum take our jobs."

The meatcutters were beginning to see that the injunction was just a scabherding permit from the supposedly "neutral" courts and NLRB, and they weren't going for the idea of their struggle being stopped by a piece of paper.

The union leaders were forced to call for mass picketing. And the rank and file built the mass pickets into militant actions. After a while, they came straight up against the cops who let loose with a wave of picket line arrests and brutality.

The actions of the cops exposed the role of the police and also the backward line of the union leaders who tried to apologize for the cops. The mass mobilizations boosted the strike tremendously, showing the strikers their power when they take things in their own hands.

Widespread Worker Support

All along, workers in Milwaukee, a heavily unionized town, were looking toward this strike. Just about every major plant in Milwaukee had been shut down by strikes in the past few years, as workers have battled back against the effects of the wage freeze and inflation. But with the crisis deepening and unemployment high, the strikes were becoming longer and more hard fought. The capitalists were on the offensive, hiring scabs, and making increased use of their cops and courts.

Workers at places like Harley-Davidson, Masterlock, and Stroh Die Casting had recently come off long strikes where scabs and cops were used in large numbers. The links between these workers and the meatcutters' strike were easy to see, especially since the same union-busting law firm was giving advice in each one of these

strikes.

Workers at Lindsay Meats, a non-striking meat plant, knew the key importance of this strike. When Lindsay tried to bring in scab meat early in the strike, workers threw down their knives and wildcatted. Another day, 150 machinists marched after work from a nearby plant over to the packing houses to bolster the lines, intimidate the scabs, and show their solidarity.

When the Unemployed Workers' Organizing Committee (UWOC) found out that the Unemployment Office was sending laid off workers to apply for jobs in the packing houses, they took up the demand against this scab recruiting. Many unemployed workers took up the meatcutters' fight as their own. They joined with rank and file meatcutters in picket lines at the State Office Building.

The workers jammed the unemployment director's office, forcing him to stop recruitment of scabs. The unity of the unemployed and strikers grew as they joined in two big "Jobs or Income! Victory to the Meatcutters!" marches in April and September. Many times members of UWOC joined the strike lines, under their banner, "We won't scab and we won't starve!" Meatcutters joined UWOC actions against late checks and for jobs.

Big, Mass Rally

In this atmosphere of struggle, with resistance and arrests on the picket lines, as well as growing agitation coming from workers in the shops, the Milwaukee County Labor Council, which had done no-

thing so far to build the strike, was forced to call for a mass rally. Strikers took the initiative in building for the day, handing out 90,000 leaflets at shop gates and in their neighborhoods. Workers from around the city showed their solidarity as close to 1000 people joined the lines on June 4, the day of the rally.

When the scabs left work that day, the workers took action. The top union hacks, who patted each other on the back in boring speeches, had hoped to come out of the rally having grabbed hold of the struggle and keep the lid on it. Then they could sit a little more secure in their positions as "responsible labor leaders" for the ruling class.

But the workers would not be held back. The anger of the class broke through the bounds set by the union hacks. An army of cops could not control the milling workers who jammed up to scab cars, kicked them, broke a windshield, and three times freed fellow workers who had been grabbed by cops.

After the mass rally, strikers, seeing more clearly their own power, built a number of mass pickets, more disciplined and militant than in the past. Police attacks increased. The Local leadership warned that too much militant struggle would cause the International to cut off strike funds and would alienate the Labor Council. They called for retreat when all conditions were ripe for attack.

They further disorganized the fight by changing mass picket dates and places at the last minute. After a few weeks of inaction, the advantage coming out of the mass rally was temporarily lost. The init-

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Exploitation Award To US, USSR Experts

There is very little interest in the working class about who wins the Nobel Prize for economics—and for good reason. It is a \$143,000 bonus for the economist who makes the greatest contribution to international capitalism by devising plans to intensify exploitation of the workers and hide the real nature of capitalism behind a maze of figures, charts and doubletalk.

But the recent joint awarding of this year's prize to a Yale professor and a Soviet economist named Leonid Kantorovich adds a note of interest to an event that otherwise wouldn't be worth paying any attention to.

The two economists were rewarded for "their contributions to the 'theory of optimum allocation of resources.'" Actually all this theory amounts to is the application of sophisticated mathematical techniques to assist the capitalists in making the highest (or "optimum") rate of profit possible. In this scheme, as in all bourgeois economics, the workers are reduced to a "resource" and a "cost item," like so much scrap iron or kilowatts, to be kept to the absolute minimum through wage cuts, speed-ups and layoffs.

Kantorovich's theory, and his recognition by the international bourgeoisie, just serves as further proof that capitalism has been fully restored in the Soviet Union, for only in capitalist societies are such "theories" sought after and rewarded. In commenting on the awards, the *New York Times* hailed Kantorovich for "focusing the attention of managers on the criterion of profit," a clear recognition that the search for highest profits underlies the economy of the Soviet Union, as it does the entire capitalist world.

Practical Results of These Schemes

The working class of the Soviet Union and the U.S. are very familiar with the practical results of these schemes. The bosses spend millions figuring out how to squeeze every possible ounce of labor out of us, for it is out of our labor that they make their profits. Throughout the U.S. and in every industry we have had to fight against their ever-tightening squeeze, from battles to be allowed to use the bathroom to protracted struggles against more sophisticated speed-up attempts backed by time studies and hidden cameras, like the hated "Kokomo Plan" that the bosses are trying to shove down postal workers' throats.

The Soviet working class is facing the same fight. For example, the Soviet exploiters have created a "Shchekino system," a model, now being used extensively throughout the Soviet Union, named after the Shchekino Chemical Combine where the Soviet bosses first experimented with a plan that led to laying off 1300 workers there, doubling the work load of those who were not laid off while granting them a lousy wage increase.

When the working class held power in the Soviet Union, from 1917 to the mid-50s, economic planning

meant something entirely different from the plans of Kantorovich and Co. The centrally developed plan enabled the working class to organize itself and the available resources of society to fulfill the needs of the people in an organized way. "Socialism enables people to solve problems which under capitalism are insoluble; to build things which under capitalism couldn't be built. Low-cost housing, for example, an unprofitable investment under capitalism, can be a priority under socialism.... Under socialism all the social wealth produced by the workers can be brought together, so to speak, in 'one pot' and then allocated according to the overall needs and development of society, as much as possible independent of the current profitability of any given investment." (*Red Papers 7, "How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle,"* p.7)

Real Planning Impossible Under Capitalism

Kantorovich claims his theory will enable rapid and rational growth of the Soviet economy, but nothing could be further from the truth. As long as what lies at the heart of the economic system is the drive of each capitalist to maximize his own profits through competition with other capitalists, there can be no overall plan. Driven by the fundamental capitalist law of "expand or die," all there can be under capitalism is dog-eat-dog competition, economic anarchy, and crisis after crisis. The social wealth produced by the working class in fact cannot be brought together, under capitalism, in one pot and then distributed according to the overall needs of society, but instead is tied totally to the current profitability of any given investment.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, the workers had to wage constant struggle against people like Kantorovich who tried to resurrect the profit system. In fact, when Kantorovich tried to sell his hogwash to railway workers in the 1930s (this guy has been at it a long time), he was told to leave economic matters to the working class and sent packing to a mathematical institute in Siberia.

But when Khrushchev and his crowd of exploiters seized power in the Soviet Union in 1956, Kantorovich and many of his like crawled out of the woodwork to assist in wrecking socialism and restoring the exploitation of the working class. For his services Kantorovich was given his own institute in Moscow and also the Lenin prize.

Every major capitalist country has a small army of economists and bourgeois experts with various schemes to shore up the capitalist system. Yet as long as the bourgeoisie holds power there will be crisis and it will continue to deepen. No mathematical economists and their fancy plans for "optimum allocation of resources" can save capitalism in the U.S. or the USSR, or anywhere else. ■



Workers from many Milwaukee industries came out on Oct. 24 to support meatcutters.

Meatcutters . . .

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initiative passed out of the workers' hands and back to the union hacks.

Throughout the strike these Local union leaders have tried to narrow and hold back the struggle. The spontaneous activity and understanding of the workers forces these hacks to talk tough, call for mass actions from time to time, and even throw around revolutionary-sounding phrases like "class struggle."

But every time the strikers' activity rolls over these hacks, they scramble to misdirect the workers' momentum and regain leadership. Because there has not been enough conscious rank and file leadership and organization, the strikers have been unable to keep the initiative for more than short periods of time.

Role of Communists

Since the first days of the strike, members of the Revolutionary Communist Party have been working to build mass pickets and link the struggles of the unemployed with the strikers. In this work the communists early made the error of organizing the strikers primarily to go to UWOC demonstrations, May Day and other activities, to the point of neglecting to build the meatcutters' strike itself.

This error failed to see the meatcutters' fight against wage cuts and union-busting as an important battlefield in the working class' struggle against intensified exploitation by the capitalists. Communists had to thoroughly join with this struggle, helping to sum up the ideas of the strikers, and applying Marxism-Leninism, the science of the working class, to develop a fighting program and advance the struggle and class consciousness of the workers.

The communists were hindered for a time from doing this by a related error: initially, they conducted all work around the meatcutters' strike through the Unemployed Workers' Organizing Committee. UWOC did much to build the strike, but in order for the strike to further develop and move forward, it was necessary for the communists to help build a core of rank and file strikers who could help provide the needed strike leadership.

A New "Shortcut"

In July, when the strike was suffering from a lack of a fighting program to unite the rank and file, the Local leadership came up with their newest, most elaborate "shortcut to victory." They began an all-out promotion of a bill in the Milwaukee Common Council (the city council) that supposedly would outlaw scabbing.

In fact, the whole thing was a farce from the start. The bill never had a chance of passing, and by August it was so watered down that it was meaningless. For a time the bill served the bourgeoisie's purpose of putting forward a false hope. Its backers called for reliance on the aldermen rather than on the real power of the workers, their own unity and action. These phonies, including the revisionist Communist Party, USA, promoted the idea of a neutral political system, independent of the capitalist class. They were calling on workers to "pressure" this system into taking a "pro-labor stand."

With mass picketing cancelled, many of the active strikers began working on a citywide petition campaign backing the resolution. Anything that could stop the scabs was worth a try, reasoned the strikers. All through the strike they have taken up any plan to hurt the Association, always willing to take the struggle out to friends, neighbors, and other workers.

Among the communists, there were some tendencies to take a "left" line which in effect condemned the petition outright and drove a wedge between the most advanced and those who were taking it around. There were also some right tendencies to say, "Well, let's work on it critically until the strikers see that it is a bankrupt line."

To avoid "left" and right errors on this question, communists and advanced workers had to carefully listen to the ideas of the strikers, taking what was correct and concentrating that into a fighting program and explaining what was wrong. They united with the workers' desire to fight, their particular concern with the scabs and stopping production, and their willingness to take the strike out to more and more people. They put forward the view that only mass struggle and action could hit the scabs and the Association, not some gimmick of the hacks.

Seeing all the parliamentary delays and the watering down of the bill, the strikers have rejected the wrong road. The capitalists have been forced to use up one more option and the workers as a whole became more educated to the inseparable connection between capital and the state.

As the strike progressed, the Association kept

jacking up its demands and then for five months refused to even come to the bargaining table. They are now saying they want to take away the seniority of the strikers and re-hire them one at a time, keeping whatever scabs they want. Forty-five active strikers have received termination letters. The strikers from the two houses that shut down are also officially terminated. The Association is trying to file for a new election to decertify Local 248.

But their legal maneuvers could take years. The key thing about the strike is an active core of around 300 strikers who picket every day and are determined to keep fighting as long as necessary. They are building mass mobilizations, constantly harassing the scabs, and taking the strike widely to the working class.

Correcting earlier errors, members of the RCP began doing consistent work in the strike. They worked to build a group of rank and file meatcutters, organizing support from the shops, and trying to develop an overall plan for building the strike. The struggle advanced as the rank and file began initiating mass pickets on their own and building other actions against the scabs.

Mass Picket At Labor Pool

In September active meatcutters and Party members agitated widely on the picket lines and at the union hall about the need for a mass picket at Labor Pool, a temporary help agency that was sending scabs to one of the packing plants. As momentum built up behind the idea, and since the workers clearly were prepared to do it, the union leaders could do nothing but endorse the action when it was brought up at a picket captains' meeting.

The Labor Pool action was a big success. Sixty picketing workers forced the hiring agency to agree to stop sending scabs. And this action spurred further actions. The head lawyer for the Association got his face on TV to counteract the Labor Pool success, saying that "for all practical purposes the strike is over." The next week he was the target of the mass picket initiated by the rank and file. Fifty workers came downtown to his office building after a rally at one of the packing plants.

By mobilizing the rank and file around a fighting program in their own interests, the basis was laid for carrying on the struggle in the union against the treachery of the hacks. Earlier, Party members had tended either to get into one on one arguments with the Local hacks or to dismiss entirely the importance of building struggle within the union and instead just bad rap the Local officials.

Carrying through this struggle in the union required preparation to keep the initiative in the hands of the rank and file. Party members and advanced workers put forward some proposals at a union meeting without having worked to win the rank and file to them, and as a result the hacks ducked the suggestions and seized the chance to attack the group. The



Striking meatcutters at Oct. 24 demonstration.

Labor Pool action showed that with the rank and file united behind a plan of action, the union leaders were really "jammed" and had to go along or get shot down.

The strike is still going strong. The County Labor Council was forced to call another citywide rally for Oct. 24. They then failed to mobilize for the rally and tried to sabotage any militancy. But the rank and file continued to take the initiative in building for the rally, helping hand out union leaflets and 19,000 special supplements of *The Worker*.

Three packing houses panicked so bad they sent their scabs home early under police protection, but some of the scabs moved too slow and to their sorrow ran into some of the 700 workers who showed up at the rally.

The rally was no one shot deal. Although they are operating with scabs, the packing bosses are hurting for production and profits. The meatcutters have stepped up their battle and citywide support is growing with hundreds of workers kicking into buck-a-month clubs to help build their fight.

Like workers across the country, the meatcutters have had no choice but to fight back. As the general crisis of capitalism and the intensification of competition within the packing industry comes down, the Milwaukee meatcutters have been thrust into the front lines of the workers' struggle. They have taken up this challenge, saying, "There are going to be a lot of battles like this in the next few years and we don't aim to let the future down." ■

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Headlines for Patty, Squeaky, Sara Moore

Why the Big Splash?

Recently, quite a series of events has been paraded across the papers and on TV.

First, on Sept. 5—Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme, a member of the "Manson family," attempts to assassinate President Ford, but there is no bullet in the gun's chamber.

Then on Sept. 18—Patricia "Tania" Hearst, a member of the Hearst family and heiress to its millions, and three other members of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) are captured by the FBI. The press starts making a big deal out of the adventures and antics of Patty Hearst both before and after her arrest.

A few days later, on Sept. 22—Sara "Sally" Moore, an informer for the FBI and "close friend" of the San Francisco Police Dept., attempts to assassinate President Ford and fails.

Since September, the stories of these events have, of course, continued to be publicized and built up. There have been spectacular feature articles, and there has been an unending stream of comments by politicians and other upper class authorities.

Useful to the Rulers

Why the big buildup? It's certainly more than just a way to sell newspapers. It's more that this series of events is useful enough to the rich class of rulers that, if they didn't stage large parts of it, they sure have been playing it for all it's worth.

While Ford, the rest of the politicians, and the big capitalists they represent have earned the hatred of large sections of the American people for all they have come to stand for, they realize that the working people have no use for this bunch of stupid acts and the well-off "alienated" types who are involved in them, and view the whole scene with a healthy amount of disgust. So they've done their best to use this to take some of the heat off themselves and to further their attacks on those they really fear and hate—the workers of this country and their growing struggles, organizations, and revolutionary understanding.

They are moving both openly and indirectly on this. Once again they've stepped up their demands for gun control, or control over the masses of ordinary people who own them. And they are taking advantage of the situation to push the need to beef up their army of scabby spies, stool pigeons, and snoopers that fell into such disrepute during their Watergate fiasco.

And along with all this, they are demanding the strengthening of the various armed police forces, the FBI and all the rest, and are making noises about grand juries and other methods of harassing and persecuting revolutionaries and progressives. For example, in the San Francisco Bay Area they are harassing and trying to intimidate various people, using the excuse that these people had "contact" with Sara Moore. Of course, the nature of the "contact" was that Moore was sent by police to spy on these people's activities.

Right alongside this immediate attack, there has also been a real barrage of propaganda from the ruling class press about what revolution and revolutionaries are all about. And needless to say, they've been telling us that it's all about weird kooks and spoiled well-to-do types, totally alien to the people.

From the ruling class' point of view, it makes good sense: when the struggle of the workers is growing because there is no choice by the way they force us to live, when in the course of this people are questioning what the hell kind of system this is and does it have to be this way, when still small but growing numbers of workers are organizing to build revolutionary struggle against the system, why not try to toss a little sand in the eyes of the masses and try to confuse the picture of what revolution is all about?

What They Really Fear

They never tell the truth about the things they really fear. That's why around the country they both hid and lied about the recent strike of 80,000 miners. That's why the truth about the year and a half long strike of the Farah workers in Texas, and about the workers around the country who took up that battle as their own, was hardly to be found in their papers.

Neither was the fact that revolutionary communists have been involved in building these struggles, and in spreading the understanding that the strength and determination shown in these battles pointed to the day when the workers would rid themselves of the exploit-

ers they were fighting. All this they wrote about only in their journals like *Business Week* or *Fortune* where the capitalists are writing to each other about what to watch out for.

Of course, this policy of the ruling class is nothing new. Lenin wrote about how, in the early years of the revolutionary workers movement in Russia, the ruling class press wrote only about the activities of the terrorists and the reformists, not wanting to give any publicity to the Bolsheviks and to the growing mass movement they were increasingly giving leadership to. And in this country we have seen the bourgeois press give tremendous play to small bands like the Weathermen. At the same time, they build up the so-called "responsible" "revolutionaries" and radicals like the traitorous CPUSA and ex-revolutionaries turned bourgeois political candidates like Bobby Seale.

And when it comes to Fromme, Moore or Hearst, they write endless pages of "inside scoops on the revolution" to spread confusion and to divert hatred away from themselves.

They really have to stretch it to call "Squeaky" Fromme a "revolutionary": "I tried to kill Ford," they quote her as saying, "to save the trees." Then they make a big deal about some supposed assassination list of corporation heads and an "International Court of Retribution," all of which are part of the fantasy world of some drug-ravaged brains.

Alongside "Squeaky" and her pals, the ruling class is parading around their stories about the so-called "convert to Marxism," Sally Moore—a bored suburbanite turned police informer who was on the FBI payroll when she took a shot at the President and missed. And the day after this informer's attempted "assassination," Chicago Mayor Richard Daley goes before the TV cameras to announce that all this proves the need for more infiltrators and informers. The commentators and the rest of the politicians and rich types, of course, nod approvingly.

Modern Day Maid Marian

As for Patty Hearst, the capitalist press can try to portray her as a "revolutionary," but in reality she is more like a modern day maid Marian who flees her family's castle to join Robin Hood and his merry men in Sherwood Forest in order to steal from the rich and give to the poor. It is true, of course, that anything she may have done seems downright admirable compared to the crimes of her newspaper tycoon father. But in spite of her noble ideals, in the final analysis she's been acting like a spoiled bourgeois kid who finds playing with a gun and "going underground" a titillating substitute for holidaying in Europe.

Although Patty left her family, she brought along with her to her underground life a lot of their bourgeois ideas toward the millions of working people in this country. In fact, her whole idea of "revolution" had the masses playing the role of spectators and grateful beneficiaries of the SLA's heroic acts, occasional pawns in their exploits, or even obstacles to their guerrilla life.

But while Patty Hearst and her friends were running back and forth across the country, it was the workers of this country who were really taking on the capitalist rulers, against their layoffs, speed-ups—against all kinds of intolerable conditions and threats of worse.

It is the struggle of the millions of workers that is the real revolutionary force in the country, and it is the millions of workers who will eventually take up arms to overthrow the capitalists and end capitalism. Because Patty Hearst looked down on the struggle of the masses, refused to join it, learn from it, and build it towards its revolutionary goal, she has ended up a romantic story for her father's newspapers, but far from a revolutionary.

Hearst...Moore...Fromme—all these add up to a pretty freaky idea of revolution, one that is remote, alien or downright sick to the masses of working people. No wonder the ruling class has built them up and used them to spread confusion and provide a cover for their own real attacks on the masses of people.

The ruling class is not particularly afraid of maniacal mystics like Fromme, bored middle class suburbanite informers like Moore, or romantic heiresses like Patty Hearst. It is the working class that the ruling class really fears and whose growing movement it tries to suppress. But it's the working class and the masses in their millions—armed with revolutionary understanding and revolutionary organization—who the ruling class can't stop. ■



Demonstration of Sephardic (non-European) Jews against Israeli Zionist discrimination.

Zionism...

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the Jewish bourgeoisie of Europe in order to force the establishment of the state of Israel on the territory of Palestine in 1948. Zionist leaders used the historic oppression of the Jewish people by the European ruling classes to advance the goals of a few Jewish capitalists. Initially they had little support among the Jewish masses for their Jewish nation-state scheme and had to concentrate their political efforts on getting the imperialist powers, who were carving up the world after World War I, to throw them a piece. In the face of heroic resistance by the Jewish people to the fascists' genocide in World War 2, the Zionists said that resistance was useless, that Jews could be free only in a state of Israel. Zionist leaders even collaborated with Nazis in running the camps and ghettos in exchange for getting a few Jews freed to labor in Palestine.

Zionism is the movement of terrorist gangs and imperialist backed militias that drove over one million Palestinian people from their homes, farms and shops into wretched tent city refugee camps in surrounding Arab countries.

Zionism is the propagation of the rotten lie that the Palestinians were merely an inferior nomadic people eking out a meager existence in a barren desert land that they cared little about or had no stake in. Whereas the superior Zionists have made the desert bloom, turned a wasteland into a garden, and served as an outpost of civilization and advanced western culture amidst backward, dirty Arabs.

Zionism is the ideology that tries to bind Jewish workers to the capitalists that exploit them on the basis of a "common religious destiny."

Zionism is the policy of the Israeli ruling class that demands a Jewish religious state in occupied Palestine run by Jewish capitalists. They will oppose to their last death rattle the only real solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: a secular (freedom of religion, no state religion) and democratic Palestine where people of all nationalities can struggle together to build a new society.

This is the goal of the Palestinian resistance movement and it is supported by progressive people around the world. It is opposed and sabotaged by the imperialists and social-imperialists.

Position of the Social-Imperialists

While voting for the UN resolution in an effort to hide their real intentions, the Soviet social-imperialists have openly stated their support for the existence of the state of Israel. These charlatans say that opposition to Zionism is not the same thing as advocating the destruction of the Israeli state. They say they are against the idea of Zionism, but as a concrete material reality, they are all for it. Why? Because the existence of the state of Israel is very useful in their efforts to gain domination in the Middle East, to push their influence in the conditions of "no war, no peace" they and the U.S. both maintain. But the treacherous nature of their sham support for the Palestinian people is becoming more transparent.

The U.S. imperialists are trying to bolster support for their Mideast policies by staging demonstrations led by Zionists and whipping up anti-Palestinian sentiment among the American people. They may have some temporary successes. But the American working class has begun to see through these shabby efforts to cloak imperialist aggression in the Middle East in high sounding, hypocritical claims of opposing anti-semitism. ■