



REVOLUTION

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

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On to Philly July 4th!

July 4th is just around the corner. Yet with culmination of the Bicentennial hoopla only two weeks away, worry is increasingly gripping the rulers of this country. No doubt the timetables for the Bicentennial events, established years ago when the capitalists started cooking up this celebration of their rule, have the final days before July 4th marked off for the final polishing of the speeches of presidents and billionaires, for tuning up the trumpets scheduled to blare the virtues of capitalism to the people of this country and the world.

But plans have been made to confront and expose this—plans to bring forward the interests and struggles of the working class in the midst of this Bicentennial barrage, plans to demonstrate under the very noses of the high and mighty, to proclaim We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years, Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!

So instead of polishing speeches the political representatives of the ruling class have had to devote big efforts to frenzied attacks on the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition, in a desperate attempt to prevent the working class making its struggle and its demands felt on July 4th.

For months city officials in Philadelphia have been doing their best to hamstring plans for the July 4th demonstrations, giving the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition the runaround and denying permits for the planned activities. But the Coalition refused to be deterred, hundreds of thousands of leaflets were distributed in Philadelphia and in other major cities across the country, posters went up from coast to coast, thousands of employed and unemployed workers, veterans, students and youth made plans to demonstrate in Philadelphia.

In the face of this Frank Rizzo, the notorious mayor of Philadelphia who has built a reputation for himself as a "tough guy" defender of the rule of the exploiters, made a well publicized appeal for 15,000 federal troops to assist Philadelphia cops in serving and protecting the capitalists.

Rizzo's excuse was that the Rich Off Our Backs-

July 4th Coalition was planning violence and disruption during the Bicentennial. But a report from the Senate Internal Security Committee, headed by Senator Eastland, the agency of the U.S. Senate charged with "investigating" and harassing the revolutionary movement, made it clear what type of "disruption" they are afraid of. The report indicates that the ruling class fears "a well planned demonstration could steal the spotlight from official celebrations featuring President Ford and other national figures in Philadelphia."

In talking about the "well planned demonstration" the Senate committee drops all pretenses of "violence" and gets down to the nitty-gritty: the capitalists don't want thousands of workers and others in the streets on July 4th exploding the very lies the capitalists will be telling on that day—that they are the "natural" leaders of the country, that the capitalist system is the highest form of society and will last forever, that the American people are contented and happy to live under the rule of the billionaire bankers and corporation owners.

But there is no such thing as slaves happy in their slavery. And just as they cannot prevent millions of wage slaves and others from rebelling daily against the abuses and outrages of this system, neither will they be able to prevent the demonstration that will speak to millions of working people, that will reflect their needs and aspirations, that will draw a sharp line between the interests of the masses of people and the capitalists' system.

Since Rizzo's call for troops, controversy has raged in Philadelphia. The capitalists want to scare people away from demonstrating, but by threatening to use naked force they are further exposing the sham nature of the "freedom and democracy" they want the American people to celebrate July 4th.

The more outrageous attacks they launch on the demonstration, the more they drop away the veil of their "democracy"—the more they expose what's behind all this in the first place. They make it more and

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This banner, carried in the Philadelphia May Day march, is symbolic of all the many streams of struggle that will flow together as one powerful demonstration that confronts the capitalist ruling class at their Bicentennial celebration.

Superpowers Grab for Lebanon Lebanese, PLO Battle Syria

The Syrian invasion of Lebanon is a U.S.-backed effort to suppress the popular struggle of the Lebanese masses against their imperialist controlled ruling class and to lash out at the Palestinian liberation movement.

The U.S. imperialists have done their best to confuse people about the nature of the bitter and bloody war that has raged there for over 14 months. In order to obscure their own role and interests in this complex and many-sided conflict, the U.S. has pictured it as an insane and fratricidal religious war between Lebanese Christians and Moslems, prolonged and intensified by the intervention of the Palestinians. This is turning reality on its head.

Before the Syrian invasion, the fighting had been mainly between the U.S.-supported Phalangist Party on the one hand and the largely Moslem popular forces allied with Palestinians residing in Lebanon on the other. The popular Lebanese forces and the Palestinians were fighting to rid Lebanon of a government dominated by the predominately Maronite Christian ruling class subservient to U.S. imperialism.

U.S. Domination of Lebanon

Until the current war devastated Beirut, Lebanon was the banking and commercial center of the Middle East and the U.S. was the dominant power. A pro-U.S. "neutral government" has been an important tool

of the U.S. in the Middle East, one the U.S. was willing to defend by armed intervention in 1958 when the Lebanese government was rocked by an earlier popular uprising. In the past year the struggle of the Lebanese, increasingly linked up with the Palestinians, has jolted the position of the U.S. imperialists in Lebanon.

In fact the internal struggle in Lebanon has been intermeshed with that of the Palestinians from the beginning of the current fighting. There are over 300,000 Palestinians crowded into refugee camps in southern Lebanon and since 1966 Beirut has been the headquarters of several of the Palestine liberation groups. (The Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] headed by Yasir Arafat is composed of several Palestinian liberation groups, including the Syrian-controlled As Saiqa which represents the interests of the Syrian government more than the Palestinians. In addition there is the Syrian based Palestine Liberation Army which basically serves as a wing of the Syrian army.)

The U.S., Israel, and the Lebanese ruling class have viewed the Palestinian presence and activities in Lebanon with growing alarm. Several times in the past the U.S. instigated Israeli military attacks on the Palestinian refugee camps, and despite massive protests from Palestinians and the masses of Lebanese people in southern Lebanon, the government refused to take any action to block these Zionist violations of Lebanese territory.

The shooting began in the early spring of 1975. In response to the government's efforts to violently suppress a wave of strikes, thousands of Lebanese workers, Christians and Moslems, staged demonstrations against the government that resulted in armed clashes with the Lebanese military. This militant upsurge severely shook up the Lebanese government, already divided between a dominant Christian wing and other feudalists and capitalists representing various Moslem sects and clans. The Moslem section of the ruling class quickly tried to take advantage of the situation, hoping to bring about a change in Lebanon's political structure that would give them more of an upper hand. And both sections tried to divert the struggle of the masses of Lebanese into an inter-religious conflict. (See *Revolution*, November 15, 1975)

Civil War Breaks Out

Full-scale civil war broke out when the reactionary Christian Phalangist Party launched armed attacks on the Lebanese Moslem masses and the Palestinians. They were out to reassert the Maronite Christian rulers' control of the government. Since they considered the presence and activities of the Palestinians to have upset the balance of the old order, they directed many of their attacks against the Palestinians, Christian and Moslem alike. The U.S. hoped to use this conflict not only to solidify its dominant position in Lebanon, but to attack and weaken the Palestine liberation forces, which have been a major obstacle to the U.S. imperialists' plans in the Middle East.

For many months the battle seesawed back and forth, with neither side able to win a decisive victory. Members of the Lebanese ruling class, both Christians and Moslem, fearful that events were going beyond the point where a settlement advantageous to any of them could be obtained, tried to engineer numerous truces to piece together the old order.

But Lebanon had become an international battleground for the imperialist powers and the governments of the Middle East, with many hands meddling behind the scenes and each trying to push the con-

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Hurdle Hacks and Opportunists

Rank & File Organize Win Foundry Strike

Recently 2900 foundry workers, members of the International Molders Union, on the West Coast from Seattle to the San Francisco Bay Area went back to work after waging a sharp ten week strike against the foundry owners. The strike was a big advance for the foundry workers, a mass outpouring of the hatred of the molders for their exploitation by the capitalists.

The strike was marked by mass picket lines, battles with police sent to protect the scabs, and a demonstration at the Berkeley, California, City Council demanding an end to police strikebreaking. Especially in the San Francisco Bay Area, where 1200 workers manned the picket lines, revolutionary communists played an important role, helping the rank and file to learn valuable lessons in the course of struggle.

Workers Angry From 1970 Sellout

The last strike in the foundries, against the California Metal Trades (CMTA), was in 1970. At that time workers went out for four weeks and returned for a nickle more than they were first offered. Workers see their own International union leaders as traitors that were the cause of the sellout contract. In 1970 there was no conscious leadership to challenge the sellout.

For years the companies have used the International to keep the lid on the struggle in the foundries. Wages are low for the hard and dangerous work. Before the strike in '76 they ranged from \$4.45 for unskilled to \$6.05 for journeymen. There are few medical benefits, no union sanctioned safety committees or plant-wide seniority. Discrimination is used to divide all the workers. An end to speedup and unsafe conditions are key demands of the workers. Four workers were killed in less than two years in the Bay Area alone. There are numerous injuries on the job. Those that survive a lifetime in the foundries receive \$160 per month pension. By the mid '70s, with the capitalist crisis deepening, the conditions in the foundries worsened. Wages fell as double digit inflation bit into paychecks.

By '76 the workers were ready to hit back, to take on the companies and fight for their demands. A leaflet signed by Foundry Workers United to Fight, a rank and file group in the Bay Area, put it: "Are we going to let happen in '76 what happened in '70? NO!" Workers were preparing for the strike by the end of '75. Demands were formulated: (1) a sizable wage increase across the board, (2) Cost of Living, no cap, no corridor, (3) 100% medical and dental, (4) plant-wide seniority and job bidding, end bosses' favoritism and discrimination, (5) union sanctioned safety committees, speedup kills, fight speedup, and (6) \$400 pensions.

Demands were made that consciously united all the foundry workers. The demand for across the board wage increases were raised to bring unskilled and skilled together. Younger workers were fighting for an increased pension for older workers and all workers were fighting against discrimination.

CP Sides With International

By March the workers were ready to strike. They voted no contract, no work—for going out on March 13. The call for a rank and file strike committee was made along with setting up a strike headquarters in Oakland. The International was up against the wall. Nearly 600 workers came out to the union meeting demanding strike action. In desperation the International called on the revisionist Communist Party to stall the strike and hopefully to kill it.

"I'd be leading you off a cliff if I'd say we should go on strike now"—the Communist Party hack spoke as a rank and file worker. He'd been elected to the negotiating committee. Before he could finish he was booed off the floor. Then the International vice president spoke: "If you go out on strike tonight you're going to go out with no strike benefits because we made an agreement with the companies to postpone the strike vote for two weeks." The struggle was sharpening up.

Workers decided to build for the strike these next two weeks. The International had been thoroughly exposed, but was still in the position to deny strike benefits. Their delaying tactics, hoping to demoralize the workers, backfired. The two weeks extension only brought the rank and file closer together and gave them time to prepare for the strike. On the 29th of March the workers walked.

Immediately strike headquarters was set up in Oakland. This was run entirely by the advanced rank and

file workers. It became an important point in organizing, linking the picket lines to a central location that the rank and file controlled. Workers put out the call for mass picketing at different plants that were trying to get goods out. Workers were mobilized.

Along with the strike headquarters, a strike committee was set up by the rank and file. The workers seized the initiative and fought hard, determined not to be sold out by the International. A number of advanced workers had come together to give leadership to the strike on a day-to-day basis. It became clear to these workers what the Communist Party was doing to the strike, saying one thing and doing another, talking about the rank and file and siding with the International. They did not even participate in the day-to-day strike activities of the local, instead focusing their work at one plant. When they did participate it was to narrow the struggle and in fact to try to defeat the rank and file movement. One of their hacks said in the beginning "We will fight like hell on the picket lines until they come up with an injunction, then we'll have to back down." In practice the Communist Party unites with and promotes backward sentiments to lead the workers into the narrowest form of trade union struggle.

Prior to the strike they encouraged workers to participate in seminars sponsored by the federal government's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) that told workers to rely on "radical laws." These seminars told workers to restrict their struggle to winning reforms under capitalism and by doing so things will get better year by year. Advanced workers have fought against this line but others have been influenced by this and are influenced by the CP at one plant.

At this same plant, before the strike, a CP steward was called over to one of the lines to settle a grievance between workers. A couple of advanced workers were struggling with a worker taking a backward stand over speedup. When the steward got there he immediately sided with the more backward worker and attacked the advanced workers for causing trouble. The CP's base is in one plant and from there they work in the local trying to get elected to different positions posing as rank and file workers fighting for better wages and conditions. During the strike their position was exposed but the struggle against their opportunism will continue to sharpen. The CP is trying to build on the strike victory, putting themselves forward as leaders saying "we made some economic gains this year and now we'll get more next time the contract comes up."

On the picket lines and in the course of mass struggle, the revolutionary communists helped many workers to see the opportunism of the CP and some other phoney "communists." This was done largely by show-

ing how the opportunists, at each step of the struggle, put forward tactics and directions that could only lead the struggle backward and hamstring the rank and file.

This approach in dealing with these scum both advanced the struggle and the understanding of the workers. The political lines often appear as questions of tactics—tactics which either advanced the overall struggle of the workers or, in the case of the opportunists, boiled down to fighting against the working class.

This is an important lesson for advanced workers and communists—the need to fight the opportunists by putting forward a fighting program that can unite the advanced with the intermediate, that relies on the organization of the advanced and their ability to wage struggle against the enemy. When the masses moved forward these opportunists were either dragged along or left behind.

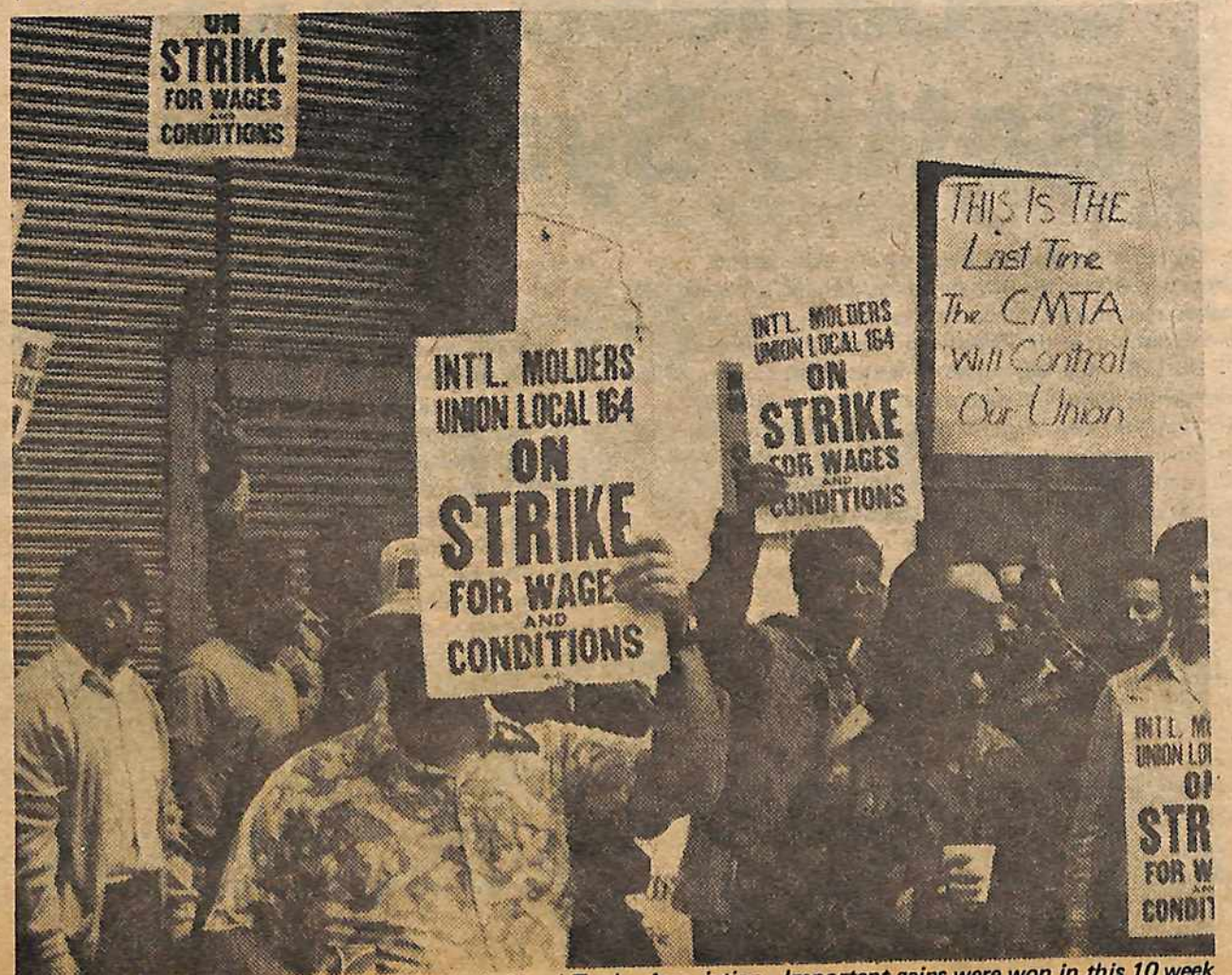
When communists and advanced workers cease being on the offensive against the enemy the opportunists slip in and spread their poison among the masses. It is important to stay on guard against them, to fight them continually at each new stage of the struggle, for the opportunists will change their tune to try to cover their tracks each time they are exposed.

And, of course, the communists must help the workers to sum up the perceptual knowledge the workers gain in the course of struggle against the opportunists into understanding the opportunist nature of their entire political line and their class nature.

After 8 weeks of strike the International endorsed a proposed settlement that would change very little for the workers. When this contract was overwhelmingly rejected they started red-baiting and threatening trusteeship. They brought three of the members up on charges to try to divide the workers. They broke Washington and Oregon off from California and were able to force a settlement in those two states. Next they divided all workers in the Bay Area into three separate meetings trying in every way to split the workers and to use one section against the others.

Right from the start the rank and file showed its determination to fight. But it was only to the extent that a militant core could be pulled together to function in an organized way, to give leadership to the advanced and to the intermediate workers, and to formulate the needs of the rank and file, that advances were made. Among these were: (1) the organization of a strike headquarters run by the rank and file, (2) organization of the demonstration at the Berkeley City Council demanding "Cops Off the Picket Lines," (3) the defeat, for the time being at least, of charges brought against three union members because of a rank and file demonstration of 75 strikers (the union hacks even refused to show up at the kangaroo court they had set up) and (4) strengthening the unity among the advanced workers and linking them with the May First Workers Organization.

The foundry workers strike was a step forward—a victory in both the immediate gains for the workers, and more importantly in the larger fight of the whole working class. In the Bay Area they won a 29 to 33% wage increase over three years, cost of living increases with no cap, 70% dental and a slight increase in medical benefits. An organization is emerging: Foundry Workers United to Fight. It is building for the Bicentennial and building the links between their fight and the growing overall movement of the working class. ■



Striking foundry workers picket the California Metal Trades Association. Important gains were won in this 10 week strike because the rank and file was able to build organization and take the initiative.

On the Slogan 'We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War'

"We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" is one of the main slogans of the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition. Party members and others are taking it out broadly to the American people in both their agitation and propaganda. As the danger of world war grows the importance of popularizing the stand and meaning of this slogan also continues to grow.

What does this slogan mean? First of all, what is the common understanding we want to develop when we bring this slogan out?

To justify their military preparations and to try to win popular support for another war, the U.S. imperialists have been stepping up their propaganda around the need for the U.S. to stand up to the Soviet Union. This was the way they have tried to sum up their Angola adventure for instance, saying that the U.S. made a big mistake by letting the USSR push her around.

And just recently in the draft platform of the Democratic Party, a big deal was made about how Russian actions "pose severe threats to world peace and stability." It condemned "the continued USSR military occupation of many Eastern European countries" as "a monument to their oppression of the peoples of those nations, an oppression we do not accept and are committed to oppose..." All this they use to justify stepping up their own military buildup and war preparations.

But the masses of American people, and especially the working class, have many experiences which point to exactly what is driving the U.S. to war. Millions of workers and others on one level or another realized that the big corporations were behind the U.S. war in Vietnam. And the everyday experience working in capitalists' factories and mines provides the basis for workers to see what drives the capitalists forward—the need to maximize their profits.

While these experiences remain separate in the understanding of many, much has been learned that can be built on, and much continues to be learned every day. The massive opposition and resistance of the American people to the U.S. war in Vietnam is a glorious chapter in the history of the struggle in this country. Especially as the war dragged on, as many veterans brought home their stories, the lies of the government about "defending democracy" and "stopping aggression" wore thin.

Millions came to oppose the U.S. war effort, and a growing number of these came to understand that by "defending the free world" the U.S. government meant the freedom of the giant corporations, the oil companies, the banks and others, to set up shop in Indochina and discourage further rebellions against their plunder. Many in this country became revolutionaries as they came to understand the class basis of this war—to see that it was rooted in the same expand-or-die law of capitalism that produces exploitation and oppression here at home.

Stench of War

Today as economic crisis drags on, the stench of war thickens. Many people oppose particular acts of aggression—like that of both the U.S. and the USSR in Angola—and it is important to broaden and build on this resistance and understanding. On top of this people are faced with a situation where for many "the only job around" is in the army, and military recruiters hang around high schools and unemployment offices like vultures.

And the idea is floated that the only way out of this crisis is to go to war, that this is the only choice the masses have. The capitalists at times even push the idea that it may be a hell of a way to live, but it's the way it has to be. In this context it is crucial to unite with the hatred of the masses for this situation, to point out that war is no mystery—its source lies in the rule of the capitalist class—and to bring out the idea that there is a way forward, a path to fight and break through.

By doing this we can explain to people in a down-to-earth way, based on their own experiences, the class content of the war preparations and initial skirmishes of both superpowers. For the imperialists, for the Rockefellers, Duponts, and Mellons of the U.S., and the New Tsars of the Soviet Union, it is a question of armed conflict for profit—to decide who will be the biggest robber barons and exploiters of the world's people. It is a struggle of slaveowners over the division of the loot they get through robbery of whole peoples. Such a war cannot be in the interests of the people and must be opposed.

The slogan "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" sums this up by pointing to the source of their

current war preparations and the working class' answer to it. It draws a line of demarcation by saying our fight is not *with* these rich bastards but *against* them and their bloody wars for profits.

Deeper Questions

In taking out this slogan and stand to the masses, including in work around July 4th, it has met with much agreement and has raised people's understanding. It has also generated controversy, and many other questions have been raised by people.

This means we need to go still deeper into these questions, and communists certainly have the obligation to understand more deeply and bring out still more sharply the revolutionary working class stand on the question of war. And this can only be done in the context of understanding, explaining and exposing the current imperialist war preparations and acts of aggression, and the kind of war they are presently preparing to fight.

Many of people's questions stem from the fact that the main kind of war that is shaping up today is a war between two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR. This kind of war, world war, while growing out of the same basic cause—the imperialist drive for profit—would obviously be different from the U.S. war in Vietnam. Instead of a war of aggression waged against an oppressed nation, this war would be an armed collision between two sets of aggressors, both driven toward collision by the same law of capitalism—expand or die. Such a war would have different and still more destructive effects.

And these very real facts are used by both superpowers to try to line up people behind them. The U.S. imperialists in particular, are trying to wipe away the opposition to their war efforts that grew tremendously during the Vietnam war by saying that now, with the Soviets as the enemy, it's a whole different story.

During the Vietnam war, they used the argument of "North Vietnamese aggression" and "defending freedom there before it is lost here" to try to paint up their own aggression as a just cause. This lie became exposed to many, but now their opponent, the USSR, is a real aggressor and imperialist, just like the U.S. And this fact is not lost on people.

During the Vietnam war people questioned what interests we were defending far away in Asia and the idea of the Vietnamese attacking California was downright laughable. But now the opponent is a powerful, aggressive country, with imperialist armed forces cruising all over the world. In this situation people have very real concerns about their own safety and security, and the capitalists eagerly pick up on this sentiment and try to turn it into a basis of support for their own war preparations under the slogan of "defend the country."

Unless consistent exposure is done from a revolutionary working class point of view of what class interests are involved in such a war, and unless another way forward for the working class in the event of such a war is brought forward, people will be abandoned to the strong pull of the U.S. imperialists' arguments to side with them in their war efforts.

"Defend the Country"?

What is the class content of the bourgeoisie's slogan "defend the country"? It can only mean one thing in a country like the U.S. where the imperialists rule society—defend their rule. And this comes out in a double sense—defend their empire abroad and their system of wage slavery at home.

There is no war, no military action abroad that the U.S. imperialists, or the Soviet imperialists, can fight for any other reason than to defend or extend their international robbery. Talk of defending freedom or opposing aggression is meaningless for them. For them

the class content of "freedom," as many began to see in Vietnam, is the freedom to exploit, the freedom to defend their old markets and grab new ones.

The U.S. imperialists very quickly point to the oppression of whole nations and peoples under Soviet social-imperialism and argue, as the Democrats' draft platform states, that this is "an oppression we do not accept and are committed to oppose..." But there is no way that U.S. imperialism can liberate these peoples. Even if Eastern Europe were "liberated" by U.S. action, it could only mean the enslavement of these people to U.S. capital instead of Soviet capital.

When they speak about defending the U.S., all they can mean is defending U.S. society the way it is—with them on top. They mean defending a social system which is based on the daily robbery of the working class, a system that results in the cancers of unemployment and seemingly inevitable wars. They want us to "defend the country" because they want to preserve their rule as slaveowners.

Interests of the Working Class

Clearly the working class of the U.S. has no interests in defending these imperialist goals. For the working class, the starting point cannot be "defending the country," but defending and advancing the interests of the working class, here and worldwide. Still a lot of people will say they support the U.S. building up its military in opposition to the Russian military buildup, not because they support the capitalists' plunder at home and abroad, but because they feel it is the only way to protect themselves and their families. The media builds up this argument saying the only way to preserve peace is by the U.S. being number one militarily. They pose the alternative: either build up U.S. weapons systems or face the danger of Russian bombs landing on major U.S. cities in the future.

Is it a fact that sticking with the imperialists and their war preparations will mean less misery and destruction for the working class? Exactly the opposite is true. In Vietnam, for example, the U.S. imperialists talked about "light at the end of the tunnel." But that war dragged on year after year, sometimes seeming like it would never end. It was only the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism, combined with a powerful anti-war movement in the U.S., that finally ended it.

In the same way we need to use this experience to sum up that the U.S. military buildup will not prevent war but will only make the war that eventually breaks out even more destructive.

Even if the U.S. wins another war it will not protect our families and communities. A victory for the U.S. would mean the imperialists would continue to rule society. And just like their rule has led to crises and wars in the past, so too would it lead to more crises and a fourth world war, until finally they are overthrown and their criminal system put in the museum of history.

When all is said and done the imperialists of both superpowers pose two alternatives to the masses of people should a war break out: either it ends in a victory for the U.S. or a victory for Russia. And of course they make it seem like a defeat for themselves would be the worst of all possible worlds.

Third Way Out

But why are these the only two alternatives? Why does such a war have to end with the victory or defeat of the *present, capitalist* governments? While this view makes perfect sense to the capitalists, it is losers' logic for the working class. In fact, there is a third alternative: for the workers in this country together with our class brothers and sisters in the USSR and elsewhere in the imperialist world to rise up in revolution, overthrow these oppressors and end the war in a victory for the working class.

The imperialist system breeds wars fought slave vs. slave to decide which slave-owner will reap the bigger profit. The proletariat of all countries says: "convert this war between slave-owners for the division of their loot into a war of the slaves of all nations against the slave-owners of all nations." (Lenin, "The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 56)

Overthrowing the rulers of the two superpowers, not uniting with one set of them, is the only way a world war can be prevented. Should the USSR and the U.S. drag the world into another war for their empires of profit our stand must be: They make us shed our blood, but let us not shed it for them. Let's shed it

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Revolution

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War...

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for ourselves, for our class, and for a future for mankind free from their rule and free from their wars.

Pacifism Not the Answer

Communists do not want war, we advocate the abolition of war. But unlike petty bourgeois pacifists and those who raise nonviolence to a principle, communists recognize that this question cannot be separated from class struggle. War cannot be finally eliminated until classes have been eliminated and communism built. Imperialism breeds war and imperialism war can't be killed until imperialism is killed. To eliminate war it is necessary to make war on the imperialists.

The imperialists do not allow the working class the freedom to stand aside from their wars. They drag the workers off to fight for them. When they place guns in the workers' hands and tell them to shoot down their fellow workers we have no choice but to organize against them on this front. The weapons they order the workers to use to prop up their rule on the broken bodies of millions must be turned into weapons against them and their system which breeds destruction.

Even the threat or reality of a Soviet attack on this country would not change this stand. Rather than uniting with one set of rulers to expel the other, the way forward for the working class would be to break through the middle of this conflict and make revolution, against whatever set of oppressors had consolidated their control.

Not only must the working class not fight for the victory of its rulers in such an imperialist war, it is in the interest of the working class to welcome the defeats of these rulers. This is not because the working class wants the rulers of the Soviet Union to win. Exactly the opposite—we stand for the working class of the Soviet Union to overthrow their oppressors and reestablish socialism. And we do not stand for Russian capitalists oppressing workers here, any more than we do for the U.S. capitalists.

Revolutionary Defeatism

The reason the working class welcomes the defeats of its own bourgeoisie in an imperialist war is because their defeats, their weakening, gives the working class a chance to advance its struggle to overthrow them. It is like the question confronting the slave who sees his master's house burning down: is he going to run for water to put out the fire, or welcome it and use the opportunity to step up his own struggle for liberation?

It is only by overthrowing the imperialists and building socialism that society can move forward and end once and for all the miseries and oppression of capitalism. This is why in such a war, the only stand which corresponds to the interests of the working class is to work to turn the imperialist war into a civil war, a revolutionary war.

This stand is not a pipe-dream of Marxist-Leninists, although carrying it through during an imperialist war certainly involves some very real difficulties and calls for courageous struggle. Fighting to advance the struggle toward the goal of revolution through the course of war is in fact the only stand that can produce advances and not defeats for the working class.

This is something that historical experience clearly shows. In previous wars, armed with a correct line, the masses of people in many countries have turned the outrage of imperialist aggression and war into an occasion to redouble their determination to be rid of these oppressors, and have won great victories in revolutionary struggle.

World War 1 was marked by the first revolution in which the working class was able to seize and hold power, Russia in 1917, and was followed by revolutionary upsurges of the working class in a number of countries, including Hungary and Germany. Following World War 2 a whole series of proletarian revolutions were successful in China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Eastern Europe, although since then capitalism has been restored in a number of these countries, including the USSR.

War Sharpens Contradictions

As this historical experience shows, imperialist war means tremendous suffering for the masses of people, but it also tremendously sharpens the contradictions and many times brings on a revolutionary situation in which the working class has an opportunity to overthrow their weakened rulers and establish socialism.

Of course none of this will happen "automatically." It will only happen through the conscious struggle of working class, led and armed with revolutionary understanding by its Party.

How can this be done? Our stand and actions in the class struggle *right now* will determine to a great extent whether or not we are prepared to lead things

forward should war break out. Under current conditions, this does not mean our main task is to build an anti-war movement, although struggles must be waged against acts of aggression and war preparations. What it does mean is that we must develop a revolutionary movement led by the working class, fighting on all fronts, that is capable of overthrowing the imperialists when conditions are ripe and put an end to their rule and their wars.

It is in this way, with this goal in mind, that *every* struggle of the working class must be approached, including the daily battles against speedup, layoffs, and other attempts to increase exploitation where the workers' struggles are mainly centered today.

Failure to build the struggle aimed at this revolutionary goal would seriously disarm the working class, and make it impossible to take advantage of the crisis an imperialist war would cause. History is a useful teacher here, too. Most of the leaders of the working class parties of the Second International practised reformism and opportunism before World War 1. When the war broke out each sided with their own capitalists in sending the workers to kill each other on the battlefields.

Lenin pointed out the roots of this when he said "social chauvinism is opportunism in its finished form." ("Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International, Vol. 22, *Collected Works*, p. 113) Today the leaders of these parties are people like Willy Brandt of West Germany and Golda Meir of Israel—past and present heads of capitalist governments and open traitors to the working class.

Link With All Battles

On the other hand great advances can be made if struggles are developed on all fronts that attack and expose the system and the consciousness of the workers is raised in the course of many battles. To do this, the Party must arm the workers with an understanding of the *class basis* of all events in society— from fights on the shop floor to acts of aggression and war preparations.

It is in this way that the Party must draw out the real links between different events in society, and as the Party Programme says, develop "fighters on one front against the enemy into fighters on all fronts."

So in taking out the slogan "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" we must not do it in an abstract way, unconnected with the current struggles the workers are involved in. Neither should we mislead people by making wrong connections, by spread-

ing the illusion, for example, that the imperialists should "reorder their priorities" and spend money for "jobs, not war."

Instead we should draw the actual link that does exist: that the cause of war and unemployment and every other abuse lies in the capitalist system of wage-slavery, and that to finally do away with all this, the workers must do away with the source, the rule of these imperialists. We need to show that just as the crisis is driving the ruling class to intensify its attacks on the working class in this country, so too is it driving them to intensify their exploitation around the world and to contend with the other capitalist powers, especially the Soviet Union, and to push that contention toward war.

Taken out broadly in the Party's agitation and propaganda, the slogan "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War," when it is linked in a lively and down-to-earth way to the actual struggles and experience of the working class, can heighten the struggle against the imperialists, especially their current war preparations, and prepare the working class to seize the initiative in a revolutionary situation and do away with these greatest of oppressors once and for all. ■

CORRECTIONS

Corrections to *Revolution*, May 15, 1976:

On page 6, column one, a quote appears from Mao Tsetung's essay "The Identity of Interests Between the Soviet Union and All Mankind." It is from *Selected Works*, Volume II, p. 277.

The quote from the same essay by Mao (p. 279) should read:

"Germany started the war in order to plunder the Polish people and smash one flank of the Anglo-French imperialist front. By its nature, Germany's war is imperialist and should be opposed, not approved. As for Britain and France, they have regarded Poland as an object of plunder for their finance capital, exploited her to thwart the German imperialist attempt at a world redivision of the spoils, and made her a flank of their own imperialist front. Thus their war is an imperialist war, their so-called aid to Poland being merely for the purpose of contending with Germany for the domination of Poland, and this war, too, should be opposed, not approved."

On page 14, column two, the last full sentence from the bottom should read: At one gate at the Goodyear Plant 2, two hundred pickets showed up ready to fight!

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Recently, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party issued a challenge for a debate to the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, U.S. Zone (PSP) over how to use the occasion and challenge of the Bicentennial to advance the struggle.

This proposal was made because the leadership of the PSP has played the key role in the formation of the July 4th Coalition which has put forward demands and propaganda which only serve to misdirect the struggle of the masses and weaken the revolutionary movement. In particular, the PSP leadership has promoted a political line that pretties up the nature of imperialism in general and hides the growing danger of world war between the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR. (For more on their role, please see *Revolution*, May 15, 1976 and page 1 of this current issue.)

It is important to unite with many of the forces that are being drawn into the demonstration initiated by the leadership of the PSP. Broad unity is necessary, but such unity can only be built solidly on the basis of a line and program that advances the struggle for revolution—not a line that promotes reformism and can only lead to the formation of a "loyal opposition" to the imperialists. The RCP has issued the challenge for the debate in hopes of clarifying the two different lines behind the different demonstrations. So far, no reply has been received.

(Note: When the debate proposal was made, the coalition initiated by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Revolutionary Student Brigade was known as the July 4th Coalition. When it became clear that both groups had the same name, and that this was causing

Debate Challenge To PSP

confusion, this coalition changed its name to the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition in the interests of clarity.)

"To the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, U.S. Zone,

"The momentum is building towards July 4th. In the face of growing resistance to the attacks their decline brings and in the face of a growing knowledge that their rule is rotten through, the wage-slave owning descendants of the slave-owning founding fathers hope for big results from their red, white and blue barrage.

"Their aim is to paralyze people in the face of this increasing plunder with lies of national unity, common interests, 'freedom,' and the rest. Their aim is to diffuse the growing anger and fight of the people and to continue to 'solve' their crisis on the backs of the people. Their aim is to beat the drums of patriotism and 'pull together to solve our problems,' to gear up for the coming war as they try to hold and even expand their empire. In all this they are doomed to fail.

"More: The period leading up to and including July 4th can be a time for big advances. The situation can be turned on the wounded beast. Many programs are being put out reflecting many forces, many interests attempting to chart paths forward in response.

"The Revolutionary Communist Party has answered

the call by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and helped form in March the July 4th Coalition under the general slogan 'We've Carried the Rich For 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!' The situation is excellent to answer their challenge. We understand that PSP is also participating in a coalition with the same name, putting forward the road forward in a different way and this has led to some confusion.

"For this reason, but mostly to clarify how the struggle against imperialism can best develop, we think a public discussion at this time would be a good thing. We propose a debate between representatives of the PSP and the RCP over how to use the occasion and challenge of the Bicentennial to advance the struggle. This should be over the basic questions: the nature of the struggle, its friends and enemies, the danger of war and the international situation, etc. We would see this as a broad mass event to be held in New York City in the very near future.

"The struggle is developing in definite directions. Things are beginning to become clear throughout the world. Further clarification is demanded on the above questions. We hope you agree on the urgency of the need for this debate and will take it up.

Central Committee
Revolutionary Communist Party" ■

18,000 Shut Phone Co.

Ohio Bell Wildcat Against Job Cuts

A powerful walkout was organized by Ohio Bell workers in late May and early June. At its peak, the strike involved almost 18,000 workers. The issue which touched the strike off was the May 18 opening of what is called a "phone store." It works like this: a customer desiring a phone would simply purchase it at the store and install it on his own. Any repair work would be done at the store. Thus this new retail operation would eliminate much of the work presently performed by installers and repairmen, wiping out jobs.

Cleveland was selected as a trial city and when Ohio Bell opened their retail store they forced service reps to do the mechanical work normally reserved for installers and repairmen. They said these new service jobs would be paid at a rate of \$58.00 a week less than installers. The company unilaterally introduced this classification even though the contract clearly spells out that new classifications are to be negotiated with the union.

While only two installer jobs would immediately be affected by the new store, workers saw that eventually more jobs would be put on the chopping block if the company could get away with this. So on Friday, May 28, installers walked off the job in protest. They were joined in a few days by telephone workers from all classifications with 6,500 walking out in Cleveland, causing a complete halt to installation and repair and major disruption in phone service.

Strike Spreads

As the strike built the message from Cleveland got across to workers in other cities. Like dominoes falling, another city would go out each day. First Akron, then Youngstown, then Canton, then Dayton. In fact some rank and filers went down to Columbus to pull workers out. The strike was so successful that major phone service in every major city in the Ohio Bell area was halted and people began to talk about spreading it to Illinois and Michigan.

The speed with which the strike spread and the determination of strikers everywhere to shut down these retail stores grew out of anger which has reached the boiling point. All over the country telephone workers have been faced with similar kinds of job combination and automation. New modular phones which clip in and out of the walls and with detachable parts are being used in one such job cutting scheme. Teletype computers are replacing workers who update directory listings. Special computer terminals will monitor breakdowns and repairs inside the phone company resulting in the loss of many servicemen's jobs. New switchboard design competition, particularly from the Japanese telephone industry, is accelerating the process.

The telephone company argues that these "phone

stores" and this other automation is the wave of the future. But the only reason any capitalist introduces automation is to increase profits, not for "progress." And that is exactly the case here. Although some of the technology being introduced by the phone company is more efficient, they are, of course, implementing this at the expense of the telephone workers in terms of job eliminations, increased abuse and harassment on the job and other company attacks. These effects had to be fought.

Cleveland

The feeling among workers was that a stand had to be taken. What happened in Brecksville, a small suburb of Cleveland, is a good case in point. The mayor threatened to arrest a group of strikers. In response 300 pickets showed up the next day. A gun was pulled on one picket and some scabs fought their way in anyway. So the next day workers showed up with Doberman Pinschers to defend themselves and keep scabs out.

In Cleveland every Bell facility had 30 or 40 pickets on hand. A downtown rally of several hundred workers was held outside the company headquarters. All

this was initiated by the rank and file without International authorization of their union, the CWA. In fact, in the face of this upsurge, the local leadership was forced to sanction the strike.

The union leadership and company were taken by surprise by the militancy of the strikers. But they soon recovered and began organizing to rob the rank and file of the initiative and to break the strike. The local union leadership cautioned against militant actions against scabs and tried to convince workers to put their faith in a constitutional bylaw which imposed fines on scabs, but which the union has no power to enforce. They even refused to make picket signs available. The company got a court injunction limiting picketing. Then the local union leadership summed this up as a victory because it recognized their strike!

On Friday, May 11, the union filed a brief in court for violation of contract over the new service rep classification. In rapid succession, the court ordered that the retail store be temporarily closed and the international vice president of the CWA ordered people back to work. Later a compromise was worked out between the CWA and the company in court allowing the store to reopen but under the condition that the service reps do no mechanical work.

The strike was a powerful display of unity and determination. It helped to raise the understanding of the phone workers of the links between their struggle and others with workers on the picket lines often pointing to the rubber workers as an example of real "stick-to-it-ness." And on several talk shows and TV interviews other workers expressed their respect and support for the phone workers. Although the union leadership compromised, the struggle is sure to continue and the sentiment among most workers was that a great deal was accomplished and that if they have to they will go out again. As one worker put it, "If Ohio Bell didn't know before, they know now that they have one helluva a fight on their hands." ■



Striking Ohio Bell workers rally in Cleveland.

July 4th...

Continued from Page 1

more clear that their serenades about "freedom, democracy, national unity and common interests of all Americans" are nothing but noise covering over the blunt fact of their class rule over this society.

In Philadelphia, the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition has waged a blow-for-blow struggle against Rizzo and the monopoly capitalists pulling his strings.

The Coalition has responded to the attacks by pointing out that trying to suppress the demonstration is one more outrage, one more abuse that the masses of people will not tolerate and will not permit, and have intensified organizing for the demonstrations. Representatives have held numerous press interviews and have gone on a radio talk show which provoked a discussion of the demonstration that didn't end for 48 hours.

All of the turmoil caused by the attacks on the demonstration plans has resulted in editorials in all of the major bourgeois papers in Philadelphia calling for the granting of permits—evidently fearing that banning the demonstration would only further expose the Bicentennial. In addition the national convention of the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Council of Churches have both passed resolutions demanding the issuance of permits.

The Coalition filed a law suit demanding the permits be granted for the demonstrations. During the court hearings the authorities further exposed themselves. They made a counter-offer that would require the Coalition to post a bond of \$50,000 for each day of demonstrations. One morning, in the midst of the hearings, a city official rushed to court with new "evidence" of the Coalition's plans of disruption. What was this startling evidence? That members of the Coalition had gone down to the television studio where Rizzo was speaking and repeated publicly their challenge for a debate. But Mayor Rizzo, who tries to portray himself like John Wayne, cowered in the face of the people, scurried off the television cameras, and sent a flunkey to the court to whine about the Coalition.

Low-Life Liars

During the hearings the capitalists pulled more tricks out of their sleeves. They dragged out one of their faithful servants by the name of Reverend Kenyatta, who has a long history of trying to sabotage the growing revolutionary struggle.

Kenyatta, a self-styled leader of the Black community, had been one of the leaders of the opportunist July 4th Coalition, initiated originally by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and around which the revisionist Communist Party, USA, a host of Trotskyite groups and others have coalesced. Kenyatta invented far-fetched lies about plans for violence by the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition.

This low-life stool pigeon invented a story in which representatives of the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition had been working jointly with the opportunist July 4th Coalition, but that the two groups had split over the question of "violence." Kenyatta has since split with the opportunist July 4th Coalition, calling on Blacks in Philadelphia to stay away from the demonstrations altogether, but the opportunist coalition has not yet repudiated Kenyatta, who if he is not a paid police provocateur is missing some easy money.

Philadelphia officials tried to use Kenyatta's appearance in court to help them try to set up conditions for a police riot. They had Kenyatta testify that the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition wanted to create a situation like that of the 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention when police attacked demonstrators. When asked by the Coalition lawyer how that could be, since everyone knows that the Chicago events were clearly a police riot, Kenyatta replied that if the people hadn't been there, the police wouldn't have rioted!

The outcome of the court hearing was summed up in a June 15 press release by the Coalition: "The federal courts today were forced to recognize our right to a march and rally and a workers' history pavilion, without the \$50,000 a day price tag the City wanted to put on our right to political expression. This is a partial victory coming from the anger of the masses of working people at the City's attempt to deny us permits. But this decision is still a slap in the face and we will fight it."

The release pointed out that the ruling still denied unemployed workers the right to a Tent City to focus attention on their struggle and refused permits for an evening of working class culture. And beyond that it grants permission to march and rally only well outside of the city center area—an effort to keep this demonstration out of sight and to leave the representatives of the capitalists as free a hand as possible to grab up a monopoly on attention as they bellow their propaganda.

The release went on to say, "People see through this attack on the demonstration that will speak to their needs and aspirations and the mass anger around this



On to Philly!

Jobs or Income Now!

We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War!

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will not let it happen. The court has granted our right to a march and rally permit. The rich will not have a clear field on the 4th to unite people behind another 200 years of their rule and abuse." The Coalition is appealing these decisions in court and mobilizing the anger of the people against them.

Use of Opportunist Coalition

The authorities' performance during the court hearings is revealing in a number of ways. While Kenyatta's testimony, for instance, is nothing but a police inspired fabrication it does further illustrate the use the capitalists are trying to make out of the opportunist July 4th Coalition. From the beginning they have tried to present the opportunists as "reasonable" compared with the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition.

What the capitalists find entirely reasonable and acceptable is the political line and direction of the opportunist July 4th Coalition. The PSP has put forward the slogan "A Bicentennial Without Colonies" for their demonstration. While occasionally mentioning the word "imperialism" the PSP's leaflets and propaganda go out of their way to make it clear they are in no way challenging the fundamental nature of the imperialist ruling class. "The rights we claim," says an ad by the PSP in the bourgeois press, "are the rights which Americans have jealously guarded for 200 years."

The other principal groups making up the July 4th Coalition and the other demands that are being raised by them are all in the same vein. All of it boils down to begging the ruling class to cease being imperialists, to provide a decent life for the people under capitalism, that the ruling class "reorder its priorities" away from war spending; in other words, they are demanding that the leopard change his spots.

These opportunists have joined in the chorus slandering the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition as crazies bent on violence and disruption. But when you get down to what is truly freakish and alien to the people, the story is quite different. The ruling class is trying to take advantage of the petit-bourgeois nature of the opportunist groups leading the July 4th Coalition, who raise demands like "equal rights for gay people," to lump all of what they call "radicals" into the same bag and paint them as weirdos completely alien to the masses of working people. It is clear that it is the politics of the working class forces that the bourgeoisie fears, and the politics of the opportunists that they find entirely acceptable and useful.

Red-Baiting

Another charge the capitalists level against the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition, is that communists and revolutionaries are involved. What a startling revelation! The hundreds of thousands of people who have seen any of the literature or posters of the Coalition know full well that the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is one of the initiating groups of the Coalition and supports the demonstration's demands and slogans. The RCP has certainly not made any effort to hide its participation. In fact, if the RCP, as the political party of the working class, failed to enter the political battleground around the Bicentennial and help the fight against the capitalists' attempts to shore

up their system of exploitation, it would be failing in its duty to the working class.

The sharp struggle in Philadelphia over the demonstration has both made it necessary for the Coalition to counter the lies and expose the reasons behind them and created good conditions to reach even broader masses of people about the demonstration and its purposes. The central slogan for the demonstration, "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years, Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!" is familiar to literally millions of people and has become a common topic of conversation and struggle in Philadelphia. While scare tactics have their effects, large numbers of people are seeing through the capitalists' hysteria about violence and disruption and coming to recognize the significance of the July 4th demonstrations.

Political Struggle

Like all of the battles the working class is involved in, the Bicentennial demonstrations are a battle against the bourgeoisie. It is an important step forward in advancing the struggle of the working class beyond its present level where the bulk of battles the millions of workers are engaged in are aimed at one employer or employers' associations by directing the blow against the entire capitalist class. It is a battle that takes place in the *political arena* where the basic class relationships of capitalist society are concentrated into their political form. The July 4th demonstration will focus attention on the rule of the capitalists, on their control of the state, at the very time when the ruling class is trying to speak in the name of "all the people" and disguise its rule with the mask of freedom and democracy.

For the working class the stakes are high in the Bicentennial. The capitalists have focused public attention on Philadelphia July 4th, 1976. For the working class the opportunity is great for a demonstration that will speak to millions. While the ruling class is proclaiming this to be the best possible society the working class will be bringing the struggle against two of the most vicious—and revealing—features of capitalism right into the heart of the capitalists' happy birthday celebration by raising the battlecries Jobs or Income Now! and We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War.

The Philadelphia demonstration will be an important step forward on the road to making working class revolution in this country, in building the revolutionary movement of the working class. It will be drawing a sharp line for millions to see by saying, "Enough! We intend to break through!" The demonstrations will help aim the workers' movement more sharply at the entire capitalist class and their political rule. It will lead to further advances in the future—a further step in aiming all of the struggles the masses are involved in squarely at the capitalist system of exploitation.

July 4th is fast approaching, the attention of the country is shifting to Philadelphia. The opportunity for a great advance in the class struggle is ripening. Attempts to stop and hamstring the demonstrations are but another abuse, another outrage, the people will not tolerate. We must take full advantage of the remaining days to redouble our efforts, reach broader numbers of people about the demonstration and gather even greater forces and strength. ALL OUT TO PHILADELPHIA JULY 1-4! ■

Dramatize GI Bill Cut, July 4th

VVAW Seizes Statue of Liberty

On the evening of June 8 members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) occupied the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor to dramatize the struggle of veterans and spread the word about the upcoming July 4th demonstrations in Philly. Fifteen people took part in the takeover, including vets from all branches of the service and one non-vet member of VVAW who had been a war resister.

They began arriving on Liberty Island in small groups at around two in the afternoon. Closing time for the statue is 6 PM, the last boat for New York City leaves at 6:15. They waited around until closing time and then announced that VVAW was taking over the statue. They asked that everyone please leave in an orderly manner, assuring people they weren't about to hurt anyone, steal any property or damage the Statue of Liberty Museum in any way. The park employees were very cooperative and VVAW let them change into their street clothes before escorting them off the island.

Immediately the vets set to securing the entrances of the statue and letting "the outside world" know about the takeover. They hung two banners from the bronze lady's crown: "Extend and Expand the GI Bill" and "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!" One telephone line was kept open throughout the night to keep in constant communication with supporters in New York and for passing information to the media. They also built a large barricade on a sixth floor landing inside the statue to slow up the police when they arrived.

VVAW released a statement about their seizure which read in part:

"We members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the

War have seized the Statue of Liberty in opposition to the Memorial Day cutoff of the GI Bill which has made 3.7 million of our brothers ineligible, forcing thousands of us onto the streets with no jobs to be found and no income to survive. We will not starve! Everywhere vets are mobilizing against these attacks.

"While the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars have approved of these cuts, while the newspapers have tried to maintain a wall of silence around this outrage, we will not remain the silent victims of those who attack us. Just as we fought against their bloodsucking war in Indochina, we are now fighting these attacks on our very lives. And we are rising up not to beg but to demand that the GI Bill be extended and expanded, learning from the veterans who 44 years ago this month did the same thing, gathering in Washington, DC, in the famous Bonus March.

"And this latest attack is just one more reason why we are marching in Philadelphia on July 1-4 under the banner 'We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!' demanding Jobs or Income Now and expressing our resolve that We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War! . . .

"On to Philadelphia July 1 to 4th!"

Towards morning, the police cut off the telephone link with the island. The cops tried to coax VVAW off the statue by telling them a deal had been worked out whereby the vets wouldn't get busted if they split the island by 10:30 AM. Maybe so, said the vets, but they'd have to confirm it with a trustworthy party. A little later, police arrived at the island to arrest the VVAW members. They were forced to break their way through the barricade. VVAW pointed out that

if they'd wanted to, they could have held off the cops at the barricade for hours.

Masses Applaud Takeover

When the people who'd seized the statue arrived on Manhattan, they were met by other vets who had been leafletting crowds of tourists and passersby. As they were led to the paddy wagons, they began chanting "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years, Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!" and were met by a hearty round of applause. The police tried to claim that the applause was for them but, except for a few of the tourists, most people had been won over to support of the action. The vets were charged with "refusing to abide with closing hours" and "refusing to comply with an injunction," which a judge had issued in the middle of the night. They were released on their own recognizance.

The action had an electric effect on vets and others in New York. Many more people began asking for information about the Philly demonstration and bought buttons. One man, who had been with VVAW when they took over the statue in 1970 but had later drifted away, came forward again to find out about Philly. When VVAW set up a table at a VA hospital a few days later, they were greeted with clenched fist salutes and salutations and again were bombarded with questions about Philly and about struggling around the GI Bill.

In covering the action, many reporters from the bourgeois press were sympathetic to the vets' demands. But when the news hit the papers or went out over the TV, there was little or no mention of the Philadelphia demonstration, only of the demand relating to the GI Bill cutoff. On the other hand, Philadelphia Mayor Rizzo's crowd is using the Statue of Liberty play to jump up and down about how the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition, which includes VVAW, shouldn't get permits for the demonstrations July 1-4, claiming that issuing permits will be like issuing a license to grab Independence Hall or something.

The differences between the Statue of Liberty seizure and what the Coalition plans to do in Philly are quite clear to people—in spite of the authorities' efforts at spreading confusion and claims that "It's unpredictable." The vets in the New York action were all aware of what they were doing. They didn't bother with permits and just grabbed the statue in a small action to dramatize the struggle against the GI Bill rip-off and help build for July 4.

It is also quite clear to the hundreds of thousands who have received the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition publicity what its plans are. The coalition's series of demonstrations will involve thousands of people over five days in mass, militant and disciplined struggle at various sites. The coalition has asked for permits and everyone knows that the city is just shucking and jiving, fishing for any excuse to deny the streets to the Coalition. They're not worried about the Coalition grabbing a building at all. It's the demonstrations that have them uptight. ■

Southern July 4th Conference Held

Workers and students from Houston, Atlanta, Birmingham, and Gainesville, Florida, gathered in Birmingham May 15-16 to make plans to join their class brothers and sisters in Philly July 1-4. In workshops and in general sessions the people spoke out about their hatred at the way the system has abused them and of their determination to stand up and fight in Philadelphia. There were lively discussions about how to mobilize more people to go to the demonstrations and about how to continue the struggle when everyone gets home.

The conference in Birmingham was looked forward to not only by active fighters in the South but also by workers elsewhere in the country. When plans for the South-wide meeting were announced in earlier regional conferences in Philly and Cincinnati, the news was greeted by the cheers of all. The Birmingham conference emphasized the importance of the two demands, Jobs or Income Now! and We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War! and how the working class must take on the whole system.

A big question was "Why have a demonstration July 4th around the Bicentennial?" One of the speakers answered it very well when they said, "I used to know a fighter who started out punching with his head down. When he started to pick his head up, so he could see what he was fighting, he became a pretty good fighter. That's what we're doing with this demo—we're picking up our heads to see exactly who our enemy is and what it's going to take to bring him down." ■



Members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War unfurl banners right off the top of "Miss Liberty's" hat. One says "Extend and Expand the GI Bill," the other, "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!"

Garment, Textile Unions Merge

New Union Calls Textile Campaign

In June the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Textile Workers Union merged to form the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, which now has 500,000 members in the textile and men's and boy's clothing industries. As its first official act, the newly formed ACTWU announced plans to organize a national boycott of the J.P. Stevens textile company in the fall, in order to force it to recognize the union.

J.P. Stevens

Stevens is the second largest textile manufacturer in the U.S. Its 44,000 workers are concentrated mainly in North Carolina, a rapidly industrializing state with one of the lowest percentages of unionized workers in the country. This, of course, is one of the main reasons why so many companies from other parts of the country are rushing to join Stevens by setting up shop there. Less than 7% of North Carolina's workers belong to unions, and that percentage is falling as more and more companies run away to this state and fight to keep unions out.

General Motors, for instance, has opened up seven new parts plants in the South in the last couple of years, and so far has kept unions out of all of them. GE has fled from the unionized Northeast to open non-union turbine plants here. Tire companies are also moving to the South, using their non-union production there to chip away at and weaken the whole United Rubber Workers, as their present strike shows. The fight to organize Stevens and spread unionization throughout the South is extremely important to the whole working class in fighting the capitalists' attempts to use the conditions in this area to weaken unions everywhere and to pull down the wages of all workers.

Workers at Stevens' Roanoke Rapids plant complex voted to bring in the union two years ago, but Stevens just stonewalled the vote and refused to sign a contract. Since then it has proceeded to fire workers suspected of union activity, making all kinds of threats to try to convince the workers that trying to organize a union would just bring trouble. At Stevens' Statesboro, Georgia plant, where workers voted to bring in the union eight years ago, Stevens is still stalling around in so-called contract negotiations.

The fact is that Stevens is not about to give in easily on this, any more than any of the capitalists are willing to give up on the fact that factory wages in the South average \$60 a week lower than in the Great Lakes area. The capitalists won't do anything to give up what *Business Week* hails as the South's "large and willing pool of labor." To the capitalists these conditions in the South are the future they'd like to see everywhere in the U.S., making the stakes very high for both the working class and the capitalist class in this battle.

But there is a new wave in the workers' struggle in

the South and Southwest. Workers at the Oneita Mills in South Carolina won a six month strike three years ago and forced the company to give them a contract. Similar conditions exist in Texas where pants manufacturer Willie Farah, who once swore that the workers would have a union "over my dead body," was forced to eat his words two years ago after an extremely hard-fought two year strike. So while Stevens has also tried to draw the line against a union, and has a lot of backing from the rest of the capitalists, it too can be backed down. The question is how to do it.

For the new union, winning at Stevens will have a lot to do with the extent of its future membership. The old Textile Workers Union was losing a lot of ground to runaway shops before this merger, and the old Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the much larger of the two, also found itself in a jam. This is why there was little choice about merging and taking up the Stevens campaign. Yet even while the union leadership was forced to take this step as a matter of their own survival, the line they bring to it and the role they play is a major obstacle to making the most possible gains in this struggle.

Farah Strike

Murray Finley, the head of the old ACWA and now the new ACTWU, made noise about the campaign being "our cause, our crusade," "a road to bring a greater vision to all people" and a lot of other things. But from the plan he's laid out so far, it's pretty clear that the union leadership plans to try to keep the struggle as narrow as possible and to keep the masses of Stevens workers and other workers out of the whole thing as much as possible. Finley likes to compare the Stevens campaign to the Farah strike, which involved the ACWA. From what he's said, he intends to repeat the backward role the union leadership played in that strike, and if possible, make it even more backward this time.

Finley's plan, which has the "complete, total, all-out support" of AFL-CIO president George Meany, is to use the boycott of Steven's products as the union's key weapon, and to spread the boycott through the help of the AFL-CIO, church and other religious organizations and whatever politicians who might find it to their advantage to go along with it. Meanwhile, the union has no plans whatsoever to try to organize a strike. This is to be a strictly top-down operation, aimed at keeping the union leadership's positions and influence while keeping the workers in line. It might as well have a sign on it saying "Workers Keep Out."

Despite Finley's efforts to wrap himself in the glory of the Farah victory, the lessons of the Farah strike and boycott expose the very line he is pushing. In fact, one of the keys to winning that strike was that the rank and file Farah workers and workers across the country succeeded to a large extent in breaking the stranglehold of the union bureaucracy and taking initiative into their own hands.

During that strike the Amalgamated leadership tried their best to take the class struggle out of the Farah boycott, instead trying to present it as if it was

an abstract question of justice and humanitarianism, making the "American dream come true" for Farah workers. They relied almost entirely on fellow union heavies, clergymen and politicians—even going so far as to bring in Nelson Rockefeller to give his words of "support" for the strikers!

But what broke the back of Farah was the fierce struggle of the Farah workers themselves and the powerful support of other workers throughout the country, mobilized in large part by the Farah Strike Support Committees, which took up support for the Farah strike as part of the overall struggle of the working class against the capitalists—not some sympathy-deserving "exception." It was only this type of working class political line which could lead thousands of workers across the country in taking up the Farah battle as their own.

Even before the battle to organize Stevens has really begun, the top union leadership is already laying the foundations for a strategy of defeat. While the AFL-CIO is expected to provide a lot of money and many liberal groups are making plans to support the boycott, the union leadership has done nothing to mobilize the strength of the Stevens workers themselves who are obviously the most powerful force for winning victory. And the leadership has already retreated before the attack on the question of the secondary boycott.

Secondary Boycott

Only about a third of Stevens' production is sold directly to consumers, as sheets, towels, draperies, etc. The rest of its textiles go to other companies to be made into their products. Because the new union is made up of both textile and clothing workers, it's in an especially good position to hit Stevens on both these fronts.

But according to the capitalists' Taft-Hartley law, which among many other things prohibits secondary boycotts, ACTWU members can't legally refuse to handle Stevens' fabrics. Instead of taking up this law directly, exposing it as the capitalist tool that it is and organizing the workers to use their maximum strength, the union leadership has already announced that it will go along with it, confining itself to trying to get "informal agreements" not to use Stevens' fabrics only "in the smaller shops, where relations between the boss and key employees, like cutters, are often very close."

The growing number of shops which are running away to the South and Southwest goes hand in hand with attempts to step up the exploitation of workers all across the country and to further weaken or rip apart the unions. When *Business Week* talks about the stakes in the Stevens campaign being very high, they're talking for the whole capitalist class.

This "low cost rural South... where there are tremendous labor pools just waiting to be tapped" that the capitalists are so hot to exploit was created from thousands of sharecroppers and small farmers driven off the land as the capitalists mechanized production. The generally more backward conditions there are the legacy of the oppression of the Black people in the South under slavery and later the sharecropping system, which held back the development of the region for so long. The capitalists are counting on the fact that many workers have only recently been recruited from the countryside and lack long experience in the class struggle. But the class struggle follows the capitalists wherever they set up their plants, and there's nothing they can do to stop it.

The more the capitalists run away to these parts of the country, the more the working class can and must widen up the battlefield against the capitalist class, to fight to organize the unorganized in these regions in such a way as to develop the strength, consciousness and unity of the working class from coast to coast. ■

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Textile strikers march through Andrews, South Carolina, during their six-month long strike against Oneita Mills which ended in victory three years ago. This strike, which involved hundreds of workers, was an important breakthrough in the struggle to organize the unorganized.



Garment workers and other members of the NY/NJ United Workers Organization picket an ILGWU sponsored speedup school—a so-called “seminar on productivity”—to demand that it be shut down.

Praise Speedup

Garment Bosses, Hacks Force Sellout

The latest round of this year's garment contracts wound up on May 31. Contracts covering 42,000 workers, members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), were signed with women's coat and suit manufacturers. Though gains were made in building organization and struggle by rank and file workers, the union's "leaders" were able to push through a sellout, repeating their ugly performance in February's contracts with women's dress manufacturers. (See *Revolution*, Feb. 15, 1976)

The wage package averages out to a 23% increase over the three year contract, but for operators, the majority of garment workers, the increase is considerably smaller. In addition, there was a small increase in payments to the pension fund.

The central feature of the contract, and the sharpest attack on the workers, is a so-called modernization plan which the union leadership wants to introduce into all ILGWU contracts this year. According to the union, this plan means that the price for piece rate operations will be set by computing the "average piece rate yield" in each shop. In many cases this will mean that the piece rate wages would go down if the output of workers goes up. The average yield will be determined by, in the ILGWU's words, "employer efficiency" and "employee productivity." These two points are the crux of the "modernization plan."

The term "modernization" conjures up the illusion that the garment bosses will introduce all sorts of "labor-saving" machinery, that will make life easier for the workers and, in particular, secure their jobs by making the industry more productive. Hardly. Like all capital, any "improvement" in the industry will go to serve one purpose—chasing still more profit. What little new machinery the capitalists introduce, they will try to use to push through more layoffs.

And in fact, for all its hoopla, the "modernization plan" is little more than a speedup scheme, pure and simple. The garment industry is in trouble, in older areas like New York City, and the ILGWU leadership is riding to the bosses' rescue, trying to drag the rank and file behind them.

The current sorry state of the garment industry is the result of policies long followed by the garment capitalists. For much of the industry, the way clothing is produced hasn't changed much for the last 70 years. Instead of modernizing their equipment and keeping up with the latest technologies, many garment manufacturers have found the vicious cutthroat contract system useful and profitable. They have kept it going by squeezing more and more labor out of the workers through speedup. But now, especially for the smaller outfits, their chickens are coming home to roost.

Speedup School

Some of the garment capitalists have grown large and kept up with advances in machinery and the like, building new plants in low wage areas like the South and in foreign countries. The smaller shops are becoming less and less competitive. The ILGWU hacks are beginning to get nervous about the capitalists' profits and are helping to force the workers to slave harder to

save the bosses' business.

The May issue of *Justice*, the ILGWU paper, announced that as part of the February contract the ILGWU leaders would invite the garment bosses to a seminar to teach them the "latest production techniques." The "latest techniques" were various schemes to reorganize the division of labor by using time-motion studies to find out how to make workers work as fast as physically possible. Instead of organizing the workers to battle the bosses tooth and nail, the ILGWU leaders are trying to give lessons in exploitation to the owners!

The Garment Committee of the New York/New Jersey United Workers Organization (UWO) organized for the contract struggle. One of the best actions they held was to protest the speedup seminar held by ILGWU leaders. Thousands of leaflets were passed out in the garment district demanding that the speedup school be shut down. Workers were outraged at the union's treachery. Many workers who were not able to attend the demonstration told the Garment Committee to keep in touch with them and let them know how the demonstration turned out. On May 15 garment workers and other workers from UWO held a militant picket line in front of the school, disrupting things for a little while.

Every week the Garment Committee held street corner rallies in the New York garment center and passed out leaflets to thousands of workers carrying the demands that sum up the immediate needs of the rank and file, including substantial wage increases, job security—no layoffs—and a real retirement plan. For the first time, the Garment Committee went extensively into the Chinatown garment district, helping to

further popularize rank and file demands and bring Chinese workers to union meetings to involve them in the contract fight.

Before the February sellout, and the sharp and lively discussions workers had in summing that up, few people came to union meetings. But at a meeting of a sportswear local to ratify contract demands over 1500 workers showed up. The hacks were totally unprepared for this but still managed to slam their contract proposals through. Most of the workers spoke Spanish or Chinese and the meeting was held in English.

Through the struggle for a good contract, the organization and consciousness of garment workers increased. But the Garment Committee was not yet able to pull together a strong enough core of active fighters to derail the hacks' sellout plans. A big problem to overcome is the divided nature of the industry, with workers scattered in thousands of different shops.

"New Wave" of Old Hacks

There is a "new wave" of leadership in the ILGWU. The "modernization plan," which the union leaders have called "revolutionary," is only one part of their reactionary attack on the rank and file. To cover their dirty work for the bosses they have launched a "buy union label" campaign, complete with singing ads featuring "happy" garment workers, which is a slicker form of the Buy American campaign, an attempt to blame foreign workers for the misery U.S. workers must suffer. It fits in well with the ILGWU's big lie that the garment workers and their bosses have the same interest: in keeping up, and even increasing, the capitalists' profits off the sweat of the workers.

The garment workers have suffered sellout in every contract so far this year. But they are refusing to throw in the towel and are learning the tricks of the manufacturers and new union leaders. Struggle on the shop floor is on the upswing, showing clearly that garment workers are not about to buy the hacks' advice about nuzzling up to the boss. The current contracts are being widely exposed and many workers are joining the Garment Committee of the UWO. By stepping up the struggle popularizing the lessons of the contract battles so far, and getting better organized, garment workers are working to turn today's defeats into tomorrow's victories. ■

Publications

— 200 Years is Long Enough. 50 cents.

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

— Our Class Will Free Itself And All Mankind Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. 30 pages. 75 cents.

— CUBA: The Evaporation of a Myth. Reprinted from *Revolution*, February 15, 1976. In English and Spanish. Footnotes in English. 48 pages. 50 cents.

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(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.

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Rank and File Miners Resist Miller's Attack

On May 20 Skip Delano and Aubrey Brown stood on the steps of the United Mine Workers of America, District 17 headquarters in Charleston, West Virginia and stated their refusal to participate in Arnold Miller and the International Executive Board's kangaroo court to discipline them for their role in a Black Lung wildcat strike of 20,000 in March. In a disgusting and revealing move, Miller and the IEB, sitting in their comfortable chairs, far off in Washington, D.C., suspended Delano and Brown from the union for one year. The third brother, Bruce Miller, in jail "for handing out a Black Lung leaflet," was notified only two days before that his hearing was being postponed "in the interests of justice"—since he's in jail—a fact that the IEB has ignored for two months.

This is the latest attempt by the mine owners and their flunky Miller, and by the whole ruling class, to crush the militant struggle of the miners. Not only has the decade-long upsurge of wildcat strikes cut into the operators' profits, but the militant and mass resistance of the miners is a constant inspiration to workers in all industries—a living example of the potential power of the working class.

The three brothers under attack are members of the Miners Right to Strike Committee, which since 1971 has fought for the right to strike to be included in the union contract, helping lead last fall's 80,000 strong right to strike, anti-injunction wildcat and the Black Lung walkout of 20,000 UMWA members this winter.

The suspensions have aroused widespread anger in the coalfields. Miners are signing petitions demanding the charges be dropped, Miller's ten point anti-wildcat program be dumped and kangaroo courts in D.C. be stopped.

Telegram

The three brothers sent the following telegram to Arnold Miller and the IEB on the day of the hearing, and it is being broadly distributed to the rank and file in the coalfields:

"May, 1976. This is to notify you that we three brothers, Aubrey Brown, Lewis Delano and Bruce Miller do not intend to appear at the hearings you have called in Washington, D.C. You have charged us with conspiring to initiate a nationwide strike, conducting meetings, recruiting and assigning pickets, picketing, attending a local union meeting, passing out literature and bumper stickers, all with the intention of unconstitutionally preventing UMW members from reporting to work. We refuse to participate in what amounts to putting men on trial for fighting for what they need to live.

"We do not deny participating, along with 20,000 other UMWA members in West Virginia and Virginia, in a strike for decent Black Lung benefits and against supporting this bill, HR 10760. These 20,000 miners and thousands more were outraged by your support for a bill that would guarantee benefits to only a handful who have 30 years accumulated in underground bituminous mining before 1971. The purpose of these hearings is bigger than the struggle for Black Lung benefits and it is bigger than the possible suspension or expulsions of the three of us.

"What's at stake is the rank and file's very ability to fight for ourselves and our families. Every day the miners come up against the companies. Others come up against the courts. Now, as the struggle begins to get more organized, the rank and file comes up against you. We will not participate in or in any way be a part of the kind of circus you intend to hold in D.C.—whose sole purpose is to trade the ability of the rank and file to wage intensified struggle against the companies for your careers and positions in our unions. We are not attending your hearing for the following reasons:

"First, Brother Bruce Miller is in jail and has been for over two months. His crime?—handing out a Black Lung leaflet. You scheduled the preliminary hearing on these charges at the same time he had to be in court. There were two UMWA lawyers present in court, not to aid and assist this union member, but merely to witness-marshals taking him to jail. You have tried to ignore his imprisonment, ordering him to appear in Washington as if he were still working. Now, two days before the hearing, you telegraphed Brother Bruce Miller that his hearing will be separated from the rest and he will be tried when he gets out of jail. We are hereby no-

tifying you that we three brothers refuse to appear separately.

"Second, the hearings are to be held in Washington, D.C. We imagine you feel more comfortable there among the corporate heads and their flunkies in government than you do in the coal fields. If you came down here you would be the ones on trial—for sabotaging the struggle for Black Lung benefits, and for trying to hand UMWA membership over to the coal companies on a silver platter. The BCOA [Bituminous Coal Owners Association] went on TV demanding the leaders of the Black Lung strike be thrown out of the union. No sooner did the masters speak than you ran to do their bidding. No wonder Arnold Miller doesn't dare come to Southern West Virginia publicly any more. And no wonder you're trying to hold these hearings in Washington, D.C. away from the eyes and ears of the rank and file.

"Adding insult to injury you have demanded we come to Washington at our own expense. No transportation, food, or hotel money for the three of us or any witnesses we would bring. Do you really believe any of the thousands of miners who have been fighting the coal companies as long as miners and operators have existed would go meekly like lambs to the slaughter—and pay their own way to do it?

"Third, to call this hearing you have had to rewrite the UMWA's constitution to suit your own ends, just like the companies try to rewrite the contract. The president's responsibility as interpreter of the Constitution does not give him the power to rewrite it as you Arnold Miller are trying to do with the ten point program to end wildcats.

"The reason we have a Constitution in the first place is to have rules to operate by between conventions. And the Constitution can only be changed at a Constitutional convention. Nowhere does the Constitution provide for the disciplinary hearing you have called for. The only provisions for disciplining local union members are provisions for trials before trial committees made up by local union members chosen by lot. Furthermore, the Constitution states that these trials must be open to the local union members (Article 15). Where does your action correspond in any way to the provisions of our union Constitution? You Arnold Miller, who rode in to the union presidency on the back of a rank and file movement for union democracy, now walk on the path of Tony Boyle before you.

"You charged us with violating Article 12, Section 6 of the Constitution which states that every member has the obligation to remain loyal to the union and not to join in or support any labor organizing which seeks to supplant the international union as the sole bargaining agent. Nowhere do you say or can you say how we have violated this section of the Constitution because it is not true. You cannot equate remaining loyal to the 250,000 members of our union to remaining loyal to you personally.

"In fact since coming into office you have been the handful disloyal to the union membership. Despite winning your offices by posing as fighters, you have consistently sided with the coal companies. You claim that it is a small handful that initiates the strikes in the mines—a small handful that must be stopped. When you know *very well* that it is the companies' constant violation of the contract, their constant need to sacrifice the lives and livelihood of miners to their god—*profits*—that forces the rank and file to fight.

"With all your accusations that we three have vio-

lated Article 12, somehow you've overlooked Section 2 of that Article which guarantees the right of a union member 'to meet and assemble freely with other members and to express any views, arguments, or opinions and to express his views on the policies and business of the union...'

"For all of the above reasons we have refused to attend your hearings and no matter what you try to do to the three of us the rank and file must and will continue to fight.

"Signed, Aubrey Brown, Lewis Delano, and Bruce Miller."

Part of Broader Fight

The fight against these suspensions is part of a broader struggle in the coalfields against repression of the wildcat movement and for the right to strike. Like the brothers said in the telegram, "Every day the miners come up against the companies. Others come up against the courts." And every day miners are being hauled into court over wildcats and they'll tell you it's not justice that the judges are concerned with. As one miner said, "They know we're guilty even before we enter the court room."

On June 1 Federal Judge K.K. Hall sentenced 17 brothers and one sister from UMWA Local Union 7626 at the Carbon Fuel Mine in Republic, West Virginia to jail for five days. But before 24 hours had passed, Hall was forced to release them. The night after the sentencing between 600 and 1300 miners at all the Carbon Fuel Mines in the county went out over the jailing of the 18 miners. There was talk of the strike spreading as the word got around that 18 miners had been jailed.

Before the week was out Hall also had to release Bruce Miller, in jail for three months stemming from his participation in the Black Lung strike.

The 18 miners from the Carbon Fuels Republic mine struck because their brothers at Carbon Fuel's Dakota Mine had been given a ten day suspended sentence by Judge Hall on May 26 for violating an earlier court injunction.

Judges do the work for the companies—trying to control the mines, stop the wildcats, keep the men at work—in order to keep those profits coming in. Like K.K. Hall said to the ten Dakota miners, "the law is on the side of the companies."

Despite this the courts have not put an end to the miners' resistance. While miners have not been successful in beating back the fines or all the jailings, neither have the courts' actions stopped the wildcats. The capitalists fear the growing contempt miners show for their "sacred court-ordered system of justice" when they strike in the face of temporary restraining orders, injunctions, thousands and thousands of dollars of fines and jail. They fear the fact that thousands of miners will honor pickets but they will not honor court orders.

The capitalists despise the solidarity of the miners which has been built through years of struggle. But this solidarity also provokes even more desperate attacks on the miners by the capitalists—trying even harder to stomp out their resistance. This makes it all the more important for the miners to take on all attacks like Miller's ten point program and the injunctions, to launch campaigns that will help defend themselves and strengthen their ranks. Beating back these attacks is important to all workers. ■



Part of a march of 1000 miners demanding the right to strike in August, 1975. When a federal court recently jailed strikers for violating a court order against wildcats, miners wildcatted again and forced the courts to release them.



Above, left, Milwaukee parents who marched on May Day with signs denouncing the city's busing schemes. Right, some students from Milwaukee's South Division High School showing off their armbands that they wore to demand decent and equal education for all.

H.S. Students Unite For Equal and Quality Education

On Friday, May 14, students at North and South Division High Schools in Milwaukee took a big step in building unity in the fight for decent and equal education and against a whole series of busing plans. North is an all Black school; South predominately white with a large Latin minority. Students at both schools wore arm bands against the busing maneuvers and demanding: decent and equal education, build the new schools, the plans for North Division show Gronouski and the by the Milwaukee Area Youth Committee, with leaflets and stickers plastered around the schools and a petition campaign. Arm Band Day united hundreds of Black, white and Latin students at the two schools against the capitalists' schemes to turn the nationalities against each other and to cut back education.

To organize the resistance to these plans the RCP formed a Committee to Fight the Attacks on the

Schools and the newly formed Milwaukee Area Youth Committee took up this battle as its first major task. While the CFAS took the fight out into the working class and community generally, the Youth Committee focused on taking it to the high school students.

Arm Band Day

Arm Band Day sparked a lot of discussion and struggle at both schools. For example members of the Committee of One Hundred (a "citizens" committee formed to make the attacks on the schools look democratic) at North Division and some students at South were influenced by the same divide and conquer line the capitalists are pushing. They said the whites had the good schools and the only way Blacks could get better education would be to fight the whites for the few crumbs of education available. And there were some, including a few Nazis, who pushed a "fight the Blacks" line.

But many students saw the need to unite the different nationalities and not to fight against each other and they generally hate the school authorities. The Youth Committee helped to sum this up pointing out that gains for both Blacks and whites are made only by uniting together to fight the capitalists who run the schools, factories and everything else.

Many students are coming to see that the sudden concern by the capitalists for integration is phoney to the core. The School Board has for decades mapped out jig-saw boundaries to maintain segregated schools and the whole capitalist system has enforced segregation through red lining, police harassment and discrimination in housing and jobs. The Committee to Fight the Attacks on the Schools and the Youth Committee have exposed this, stood against segregation

and other forms of discrimination and demanded equality.

In fact, integration is not what is at the heart of the bourgeoisie's plans; rather it is an attempt to have different nationalities fight each other for the few crumbs of education available. The proposed "integration" plans are a clear attack on the working class. In fact the first plan floated by former Post Master General Gronouski—now appointed "Grand Master" of Milwaukee's busing plans—featured halting construction on new North and South High Schools, which is already under way. White and Latin parents and students at South and Black students and parents at North have been fighting for new schools for ten years. At South the track team trains by running in the halls on the third floor. North is rat infested and damaged by fire and is generally known as the lousiest high school in the city. Yet Gronouski said a new North could not be built because it would be segregated!

Some Black students felt that a busing plan might help them get to a better school. "If you go to a school that whites go to at least the city won't let it fall apart." The Youth Committee pointed out that the plan for North Division show Gronouski and the capitalists he speaks for are not interested in better education for working class youth of any nationality. The Youth Committee took up the struggle for equality in education concretely by raising the demand for the new North and South and exposing and fighting other proposals which would have halted construction at a number of Black schools. While some plans mainly attack Black schools and others mainly white schools, all share the approach of "fight each other for what little there is."

Aim Blow at Enemy

A lot of youth, both Black and white, are angry about the possibility of being bused. Party members and young people in the Committee summed up that it is key not only to unite with the anger of the youth against being pushed around and separated from neighborhood friends and to build struggle like Arm Band Day but also necessary to struggle sharply to raise the level of the spontaneous resistance of the youth. The bourgeoisie tries to sum up the anger and frustration of the youth for them, saying the problem is the other nationalities.

If communists and active fighters among the youth do not consciously and continuously bring out the real source of the attacks on the schools in the course of the fight and show that the capitalist system is the source of every attack, frustration and confusion confronting youth as they face their future, then the spontaneous anger and rebelliousness of the youth can be turned into its opposite and misdirected at friends instead of the enemy.

Arm Band Day was a success. The unity built was an inspiration to the youth—even students not involved asked "What are they doing at North or South? Are they going along with this?" As a member of the Youth Committee from South told *The Worker*, "We are working on this thing together and they're trying to tell us that we're racist. How can that be? It shows that we don't like being shipped away across town but that we can get together to fight this."

Not only did hundreds of youth wear the arm bands but a rally of 150 was held at South. And two carloads of North Division students and a few from South left school to join a downtown rally outside a hearing being held by Gronouski the same day. The rally, called by the Committee to Fight the Attacks on our Schools, united Black and white parents and youth around the same three demands as Arm Band Day.

The Youth Committee is planning to continue the fight for decent and equal education, the fight for jobs for youth and uniting with the working class in the struggle against capitalism, as well as building for the youth contingent in the big July 4th demonstration in Philadelphia. ■

Youth Killed in Faulty Elevator

People Say, "Lousy Housing Has to Go"

On Friday, May 23, a 13 year old boy, Sheldon Sydney, was crushed to death on an elevator in the Wells Darrow Homes projects, a Black housing project on the near South Side of Chicago. The project has over 4000 tenants.

People are angry about what happened to Sheldon and are sick and tired of being treated like animals. His death was just one particularly outrageous incident among many other abuses facing people living in these public housing projects. The elevators in these buildings break down at least once a day and people have to walk up 14 flights of stairs and wade through garbage (because there aren't enough janitors hired) to get home. On top of this, as one youth said, "When you sit down for breakfast you have to share it with someone not even a member of your own family—the rats and roaches." The only time anyone sees the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) is at the end of the month when it's time to collect (or raise) the rent.

The news media in Chicago tried to justify this murder by saying Sheldon Sydney was joy riding, that it was his own fault he got killed. Thus they added insult to injury. He wasn't joy riding and even if he was playing, so what? Does that make it his fault—in a situation where the only kind of recreation for the children in these projects is to play on the elevators and run around in scarce and inadequate playgrounds with broken glass and garbage all over? Does that mean that the rich have the gall to blame a 13 year old boy

for these broken down elevators that should have had an "out of order" sign on them and been condemned the day they were put in, 16 years ago?

Capitalists to Blame

The capitalists try to promote the lie that the conditions in the housing projects are the fault of the people who live in them. In projects like Wells Darrow, where mainly Black people live, they try to make it seem like Black people tear their own apartment buildings apart. Then they turn around and tell Blacks that white people are their enemy and responsible for the conditions that many Blacks face.

But the fact of the matter is, the blame for the conditions in the housing projects lies firmly with the capitalists themselves. These decrepit hellholes are another monument to capitalist rule. The Wells Darrow Homes, like the Stella Wright project in Newark N.J., where a four year rent strike ended two years ago, were built in 1960. At that time, with mechanization pushing Black people off the land in the South and with the storm of the Black people's struggle gathering steam, the capitalists found it necessary to subsidize low cost housing for Blacks in the North and West to insure an adequate supply of workers and to try to prevent the people's struggle from erupting even more.

The capitalists found ways of turning even the con-

Continued on Page 13

Women Workers Attacked

Ruling Class

Slashes Day Care

As a result of a recent one-two punch by the President and Congress, three-quarters of all day-care centers which are now getting federal funds will have to cut down on the number of kids they can handle and many will have to close down altogether.

Two years ago Congress passed legislation on minimum standards for day-care centers receiving federal funds, including those which get money from other sources as well. This law, which called for a greatly increased ratio of adult supervisors to children at each center, was hailed as proof of the government's concern for children's welfare. But in fact, this turned out to be the first of a two-pronged attack designed to get rid of a lot of the federally funded day-care programs.

In April, President Ford vetoed a bill which would have given the day-care centers the necessary funds to hire more childcare workers in order to meet these new standards, and last month Congress went along with that veto. 75% of the day-care centers which have been getting federal funds can't meet these new standards which are now coming into effect without more funds. If they don't meet these standards they won't get any federal funds at all and will lose most of their state funds as well. With the day-care centers caught between a rock and a hard place, the result of this hypocritical maneuver is that the ruling class is saving themselves a few bucks without any regard at all for the hardship that this will cause the masses of people.

In fact, the only "standards" the capitalists are trying to raise is their standard of profits, and robbing the people of day-care centers is no different than robbing them by closing city hospitals in New York, closing city schools in Chicago two weeks early, threatening to cut out half of the ten million people now getting food stamps, and on and on. These cutbacks in social services go hand in hand with speeding up and stepping up exploitation on the job. In fact, the point of all these cutbacks is so that the capitalists can have even more money to invest and exploit the workers even further.

Two Tendencies

For a great many working class families, day care is even more important now than ever before. For an awful lot of families it now takes two paychecks to get by, and even with both husband and wife working many are still falling behind.

Because of this situation, more women than ever before are working—almost half (47%) of the total number of workers in this country. In fact, the percentage of women who work is continuing to rise, despite the high overall unemployment and the especially high unemployment among women because of low seniority and discrimination. More and more women find

themselves forced to take low paying jobs in the few plants that are hiring, while their husbands have been unable to find work or have had to take a cut in pay.

In addition to this, there are the millions of women who are forced to try to raise their families alone often on starvation wages, who make up about half of those whose children are enrolled in the federal day-care programs.

For the capitalist class as a whole there are just "too many" workers around right now—that is, more workers than the capitalists can profitably use because of their crisis. And in this situation, the way they see it is that there is no reason why tax money should go to subsidize day care so that women can work.

Some of the modern day-care programs were set up in World War 2 when the capitalists needed women to slave for them while men were in the Army. Afterwards, most of the programs were shut down and many women were sent back to the home. During the mid and late 1960s widespread struggle developed to demand that the government subsidize day care. This sharp struggle, combined with the fact that the expansion of the economy during the Vietnam War created the need for a larger pool of workers, made the capitalists grant some concessions in the form of day-care centers.

Even then, when the capitalists were forced into providing some more day care, they had their "experts" working overtime telling women they should try to find family and friends to leave their children with because day care was too expensive and would "break up the family."

But the capitalists are hypocrites to the bone and never gave a damn about the workers' families. They made it necessary for so many women to go to work under these conditions in the first place, creating a lot of hardship for families, and forcing workers to live under conditions that in many cases tear families apart. And now, when many working women are forced to quit to take care of their kids, this can only bring even more hardship and problems for the working class.

This is how the capitalists have always treated millions of women—as a reserve army of workers to be drawn into the factories at low wages when it's profitable for the capitalists, and to be thrown out again under the excuse that "a woman's place is in the home" when employing so many workers is no longer so profitable. Tying women to the household, discrimination against women and all the chains that hold women in an inferior position in society are a source of great profit to the capitalists, who keep those chains locked on tight.

But even today, while on the one hand the capitalist class as a whole (through its state) is trying to dump workers out of the plants, the need of various individual capitalists to hire cheap labor is pulling women in, and

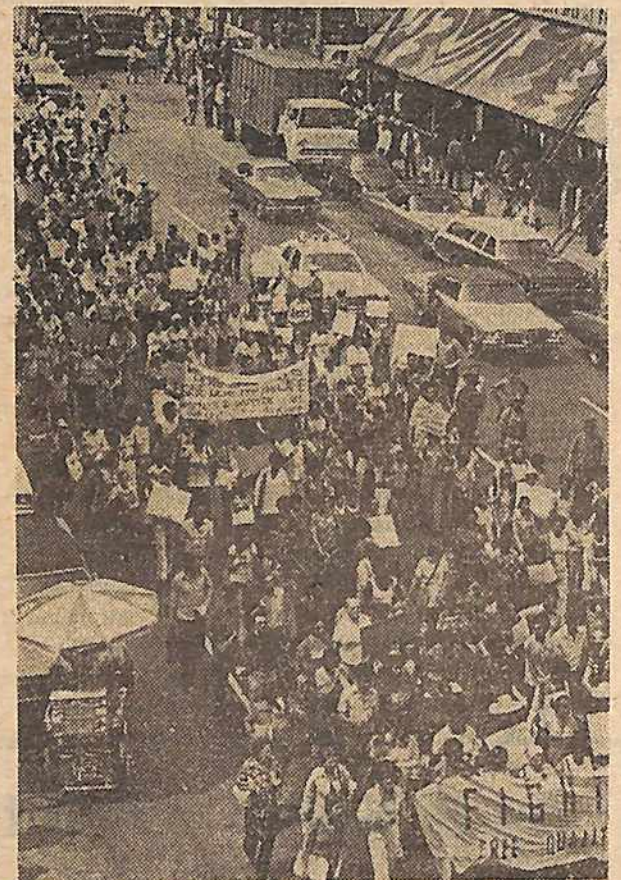
the falling living standards of the working class is forcing more and more women to seek work. Together with the government attacks on day care, the way that capitalism simultaneously pushes and pulls on working class women is a nightmare for millions.

Women Workers Strengthen Class

The fact that so many women are now working and struggling in the plants and other workplaces has helped advance the struggle against the capitalists' propaganda about "a woman's place," and against the oppression of women which the capitalists' can't afford to give up. It has helped create the basis for a stronger unity of working class men and women against the capitalists.

Both for mere survival from day to day and in order to build its movement to finally end this misery, the working class has to fight for jobs for all, and also fight for things like free day care which help strike at the chains binding women to the home and hold back the struggle of the working class.

The fight for government funded day care has been sharply fought over the last few years. The day-care centers that do exist now are mainly the fruit of the struggles of the past decade and are once again the focus of struggles in the face of these attempts to snatch them away from us again. Already there has been a protest demonstration against the childcare cuts by 1000 parents, children and childcare workers in New York City and the resentment against these cuts is very strong in many places. The more these battles are developed with an understanding of the source of these attacks and as part of the overall struggle of the working class against the capitalists, the harder they will hit at the enemy and contribute to revolution, so that working class families are free of the terrible burdens the capitalists have placed on them. ■



A large march held in New York City last month against day care cuts.

Strikes,

Demos

Rock

Greece

At the end of May a two day general strike involving 150,000 workers shook the Greek government. In several places the strike went over to a general demonstration against the stationing of U.S. ships at Greek ports.

The strike started as a protest against a new Greek government draft law regulating the right to strike. The draft law would outlaw strikes called for "political" reasons, would require a 15 day "cooling off" period to precede strikes in government or public corporations and would protect scabs during a strike.

One hundred and fifty thousand workers, 10% of the country's workforce, struck for 48 hours. Banks, the public telecommunications company, electric po-

wer companies, foreign airlines, and urban transport as well as many privately-owned shops, were shut down to varying degrees in many Greek cities. In Athens 10,000 strikers marched on the Parliament, refused to disperse, and battled it out with riot police, turning the center of the city into a battlefield. The struggle became so intense that the government was forced to bring in armored vehicles.

On the Greek island of Rhodes what started out as a strike against this proposed bill developed into a broader struggle against U.S. imperialism. The U.S. uses Greek ports to station part of the Sixth Fleet which patrols the Mediterranean Sea. Since the Cyprus civil war of 1974, U.S. sailors have not been allowed shore leave in Greece but the U.S. military brass, which thinks it owns Greek harbors, ordered this policy changed.

They were not to have their way, though, as thousands of stick and stone wielding Greek strikers went down to the ships and forced the military to stay on their ships. The crowd was so enraged that it seized a convoy of supply trucks bringing fruit and vegetables to the ships and distributed the food at a Rhodes orphanage instead. The U.S. aircraft carrier America set sail from Rhodes immediately.

The Greek people's hatred of U.S. imperialism is deep seated and based in a long history. For the U.S. imperialists Greece is important as a strategic naval base to patrol the Mediterranean and especially to maintain their investments in the Middle East and threaten naval operations of the Soviet social-imperialists' fleet sailing out of the Black Sea. Numerous U.S. businesses exploit Greek workers in their own homeland.

To maintain their control of Greece the U.S. imperialists have backed first one government then another. With heavy U.S. support the Greek capitalists crushed a revolutionary upsurge of the Greek people in the late 1940s. Then in 1967, with popular struggle growing again, the CIA helped instigate a coup which brought in a repressive military regime.

In 1974 the U.S. was instrumental in helping the Greek generals overthrow Makarios in Cyprus, a move which led to the Turkish invasion of the island and occupation of many of the Greek Cypriot communities there. The Cyprus crisis helped to spark the growing struggle of students and workers in Greece which toppled the military regime, a victory which beat back some forms of repression of the Greek people.

But for the U.S. imperialists and many capitalists in Greece the bourgeois democracy which they brought in to replace the generals was fine, and even favored, since the military regime had become too exposed and hated by the Greek people. As far as they are concerned, fascism and bourgeois democracy are equally fine—just as long as their fundamental control of Greece and exploitation of the Greek working class continues.

But as these recent demonstrations show, the struggle of the Greek people is again growing under these new conditions. The recent anti-strike law exposes the sham nature of "democracy" and the real exploitation of the working class which continues and is intensifying. The continued presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and the U.S. businesses in Greece show the web of ties between U.S. imperialism and the Greek capitalists. As these things become increasingly clear and intolerable to the masses of Greek people their struggle is surging forward. ■

Housing...

Continued from Page 11

struction of these projects into profits. Local government housing agencies paid private contractors from the sale of bonds. This turned out to be a real bonanza for the capitalists as bankers and other investors snatched up these bonds which guaranteed a big return and were tax-exempt. In the early '70s the federal government, according to its own reports, was spending \$2.3 billion a year for the one million public housing apartments but of this, \$610 million was going to the financial institutions.

Instant Slums

What they built was the cheapest high rise buildings possible, which turned into instant slums. Maintenance costs skyrocketed and rents which were supposed to cover maintenance were raised but maintenance was still cut back to practically nothing.

On top of this most people have no choice but to live in these projects—they cannot afford to move. It is not exactly like there is good low cost housing to be had. In fact, the capitalists find it profitable to either build higher priced housing or to buy slum housing and rent it over and over again until the walls cave in. This forces millions of workers and others to compete for the little decent, less expensive housing available, driving rents up and creating contradictions among different nationalities which the bourgeoisie attempts to build and spread. Blacks and other minorities facing higher unemployment and low wages are more apt to be unable to afford the decent housing available and, even if they are, are more apt to find it unavailable due to discrimination promoted in various ways by the banks and real estate companies. In this way the capitalist system enforces slum conditions.

But these housing conditions, especially in the public housing projects, have always sparked anger and resistance. A wave of rent strikes swept the country's housing projects in the late '60s and early '70s. And at Wells Darrow Homes people started to do something after Sheldon Sydney was killed, organizing to make sure that this kind of murder doesn't happen again. There were mass meetings where over 100 parents and youth participated. People in the projects saw what happened as a common problem that everyone faced, not just a question of one boy getting killed but the overall conditions the Chicago Housing Authority forces on people. A lot of people said that it could have been their child, brother or sister.

Jesse Jackson

Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) was called in, largely because they are the only group that people see out there since the bourgeoisie promotes them so much. But throughout the struggle people began to see what this group is all about because, instead of organizing the masses, they did all they could to disorganize people.

From the jump they tried to keep the struggle in their control, confining meetings to only a small group of people, and setting up a steering committee with representatives of school principals, building managers and others. When people asked them about what was going on, "leave it to us, we have it under control" was a common reply.

In response to people's growing understanding that what was involved was much more than Sheldon's death, they said they could handle everything and that people should take things slow and do them one at a time. The way PUSH would have it boils down to saying that people can wade through garbage to get home, kids can play in broken glass and more children can get crushed to death in elevators. In other words they can keep on living like they do the rest of their lives.

They further exposed themselves when people decided to have a demonstration, getting many people in the projects together to go to the CHA to protest. The morning of the demonstration PUSH got on the radio and called it off. They never really wanted the demonstration, they said, and people from the projects didn't know how to demonstrate—they were too unruly. They said that a small group of people should go down to the state attorney's office and negotiate.

But when they did this people were angry. They saw that PUSH wasn't there to organize them but to confuse them and cool down the struggle. But another group, the Youth Organizing Committee (YOC), made up of youth fighting against the capitalist system which offers no future to them, was there to sum up how PUSH worked hand in hand with the system and that they get paid to keep people down.

Residents Take Action

Since people still wanted to demonstrate, YOC called the demonstration back on. Despite the confu-

sion caused by PUSH it was a successful demonstration. It started with 15 people and after marching through the projects ended with 75. The march was led by two banners. One, held by parents, had four demands on it: "Justice for Sheldon and his Family," "New Elevators and Operators in the Elevators," "Lights on Every Ramp of Every Building" and "Places for the Children to Play. Clean up and Fix up the Playground and Everything Else that Needs to be Done to Fix this Place Up." The other banner held by the Youth Organizing Committee said "The CHA Took Sheldon's Life—It's Time to Fight Back!"

As the chant "CHA we say no, lousy housing's got to go" rang through the projects, hundreds of fists and cheers were shown in support and many people joined in. People were very happy to see people getting together; one mother saying, "I thought I was hearing things, but when I looked out on my porch it was for real. I turned off that soap opera so quick and ran down the stairs like I never did before and joined right in there."

The people showed they can get it together despite

what groups like PUSH say and what the capitalists say all the time. They are sick of writing letters and negotiating with CHA and getting nowhere. People are beginning to understand that they share common problems and the only way to deal with them is in a common way, uniting together and fighting. As many people said "If we have to we'll hold our rent. They can't evict the whole building."

Scared that this kind of struggle might catch on and spread, the Chicago Housing Authority wasted no time after the demonstration in getting out their trucks and cleaning up the neighborhood. To this day they are still there. Many people have commented, "As long as I've been living here I have never seen them clean up like this."

Off the struggle and through the work of YOC, a number of people came to see that it is the capitalist system we are up against. Through this a group of youth are building for the July 4th demonstration and getting involved in the overall struggle to get rid of the capitalists who force us to live this way. ■

General Electric

Contract Up For 125,000 Workers

On June 27 contracts expire between General Electric and the 13 different unions representing 125,000 workers. After fighting a bitter 102 day strike in 1969-'70 and living for three years with a miserable sellout from the '73 contracts there is a lot of anger among the rank and file. The struggle for a decent contract and against company harassment prior to the contract expiration is heating up. Contracts at Westinghouse, another giant electrical industry employer, expire July 11 and are sure to be affected by this struggle.

GE, like all companies, has been trying to get more work out of fewer workers to push their profits up. Currently wages in the electrical industry are very low compared to other unionized basic industry and with a cap on the cost of living in the last contract GE workers took what amounted to a 13 cent an hour wage cut. Speedup has been on the increase, many times accompanied by extended layoffs. Recently, as the contract expiration date approaches, GE has been increasing its attacks with a harassment campaign in an attempt to put across the message to the rank and file: "We're the boss and we can do anything we want. You guys ain't nothin', so watch out."

Over the years GE and the other electrical companies have been greatly aided in driving down the conditions of the electrical workers by the fact that there are a great many unions. The United Electrical Workers was once the main union in the industry but a combination of government attacks, union raiding and do-nothingism by UE's International leadership stopped any one industrial union from organizing the whole industry. It was a step forward when a Coordinated Bargaining Committee (CBC) was set up in 1966 to have all 13 unions in General Electric and Westinghouse bargain together, something which continues today. But still the leaders of these unions have done practically nothing as GE and other electrical companies continue to operate open shops and expand their non-union operations in the South. And the rapidly expanding electronics field remains largely unorganized. As the leaders of these unions proved by these actions and by selling out the 1973 contract, they themselves aid and abet the companies' attacks.

Workers' Demands

Despite these obstacles the rank and file at GE isn't taking the company's attacks lying down—they are stepping up their struggle and are determined not to have another sellout contract like in '73. The rank and file is demanding a substantial wage increase (including no cap on the cost of living), fighting to keep every job including opposing job combinations and reclassifications, demanding a substantial improvement in pension benefits including 30 years and out, and decent layoff benefits.

A typical example of the arrogance with which GE is approaching current negotiations is this recent example at one plant. One whole building recently walked out when a foreman kicked the stool out from under a worker. In another division of the plant the company told the workers that from now on there would be no washup time other than breaks, no leav-

ing the work area during breaks, and no having break with even one other worker. In addition they sneered about how you couldn't come into your work area until five minutes before your shift, while of course you couldn't be late.

The rank and file angrily began to fight this harassment. They jammed the union officials into calling a two day walkout and have continued to build for the contract struggle.

At GE in Allentown, Pennsylvania, the rank and file has waged a similar struggle against intense speedup and harassment. There have been four walkouts in the last couple of months; the last one when a foreman pushed a shop steward and demanded he get out of his department.

General Electric went 20 years without a strike up to 1969. But the struggle of the rank and file has been growing over the last few years, although the individual battles are still spontaneous and isolated from one another. But despite this struggle, growing especially as the contract expiration nears, the top union negotiators have been as meek as sheep with the company. They declared a blackout on negotiations and in one local newsletter came right out and said "both sides have agreed to have secret talks because they proved so beneficial in 1973"—by which they can only mean it was beneficial to the union bigwigs and the company. For the rank and file the 1973 contract was a big sellout.

Before this blackout they were putting forward a whole laundry list of demands with the intention of trading with the company—like trading off improvements in pensions for cleaner bathrooms.

No More Sellouts!

The GE workers have begun to take on these sellout maneuvers too. When the union officials at one plant recently passed around a check sheet asking the membership to rank a list of main demands, many people put a "1" next to each one. And in many GE plants around the country the workers have begun wearing union-issued buttons from 1973. The buttons list the key demands of that contract, almost none of which were won. The message is clear—"no more sellouts!"

Another example of this struggle within the union was when a local newspaper article in one area said on the day negotiations started that the IUE was asking for only a 50 cent an hour increase. The union hall was immediately bombarded with angry phone calls and many members made a personal visit to "straighten this out." The union officials, clearly shaken, quickly denied that this is what they are asking for.

It is clear that a lot of spontaneous struggle is brewing at GE. The upcoming contract, whether or not there is a strike, is a good chance for the rank and file to strengthen its forces, link up its different struggles and begin to break through the disgusting cooperation between its top union officials and the company. Coming as it does on the heels of the Teamster and rubber strikes, this struggle at GE can spark off even more battles throughout the working class, especially in the rest of the electrical industry. ■

Lebanon...

Continued from Page 1

flict in a direction advantageous to their own interests.

Syria, under the guise of imposing a peace, was the first foreign government to openly step into the situation, although agents and arms salesmen from many other countries were as numerous as hot dog vendors at a baseball game. Despite Syria's claim to be a great ally of the Palestinian's struggle to regain their homeland, its main goal in offering to mediate a peace was to insure that the Palestinians did not gain the upper hand in Lebanon through the successes of its Lebanese allies. Their "peacekeeping" efforts consisted of using the As Saiqa Palestinians and the Palestine Liberation Army to attack and push back the popular Lebanese PLO forces.

But in the last couple of months the Lebanese popular forces and the Palestinians began to roll back the Phalangists, laying siege to their strongholds and moving into the dominant military position. This development made it much more possible that a nationalist government supportive of the Palestinians might come to power in Lebanon.

This was something that the U.S., Israel, Syria and the Soviet Union were absolutely unwilling to accept. The superpowers base their strategy in the Middle East on maintaining the state of no war-no peace between Israel and the Arab countries. This, along with guaranteeing the existence of the Zionist state of Israel, is the basis for their maneuvers and schemes to play the dominant role in any settlements of the Middle East turmoil.

U.S. Diplomatic Maneuvers

The U.S. has been attempting to insure its position as the predominant imperialist power in the Middle East by offering to secure one-on-one peace settlements between Israel and Egypt, Syria and Jordan. In return for these Arab states recognizing Israel and guaranteeing its borders, the U.S. promises to guarantee that Israel will return all or some of the Arab territory occupied in the '67 and '73 wars. Such was the nature of the Sinai Accords between Egypt and Israel, a diplomatic victory for the U.S. that culminated in Egypt breaking off a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union. This grand strategy is based on depriving the Palestinians of their homeland.

The U.S. imperialists' plan for dealing with Syria and Jordan also involved a plan for finishing off any real threat from the Palestinian resistance movement. According to this scenario, in return for bringing the Palestinians to heel and recognizing Israel, the U.S. would get Israel to return to Syria part of the Golan Heights. The West Bank of the Jordan would become a Palestinian mini-state under the effective control of Syria and Jordan. The U.S. would remain the great



Before the Syrian invasion the U.S.-backed Phalangist militias were being rolled back by popular Lebanese and Palestinian forces. The Syrian plans have met strong opposition and the Palestinians may emerge from the current fighting with broader support and in a stronger position to carry on the struggle against the Zionists and imperialists.

guarantor of the "peace" in the Middle East—and the dominant power.

But a strong Palestinian resistance continuing to operate out of Lebanon could lay waste to these plans. For Syria it was not just a question of regaining territory seized by the Zionists. If Syria could whip the Palestinians into line and force a settlement in Lebanon that would bring a pro-Syrian government to power, in effect putting it under Syrian tutelage, Syria would be in a very strong position to emerge as the most influential Arab country, the one that the superpowers would have to deal with.

In light of all this the Syrian invasion of Lebanon, probably initiated by and certainly supported by the U.S., is not at all mysterious.

Soviet Union's Role

The efforts of the Soviet Union to become the chief imperialist power in the Middle East have suffered a setback in the recent development. After Egypt broke with the Soviets over the Sinai Accords, the Russians have been angling to make Syria its base of influence in the Middle East. The Soviets have been the main supplier of arms to the Syrians and have given financial "aid."

But at the same time they have tried to cozy up to the Palestine Liberation Organization in hopes of getting them to agree to a conference in Geneva with Israel and the Arab states, where the Soviets hope to emerge as the superpower best able to broker a deal. Of course such a deal is based on the recognition of the state of Israel and the Zionists' right to stolen Palestinian territory.

Needless to say, the Palestinian masses do not look upon the results of such a conference with much interest. But the Soviets have sought to win support among the forces of the PLO by supplying arms to them also and the Soviet influenced Lebanese Communist Party seems to have as one of its main tasks getting the PLO to agree to the Geneva Conference.

The Soviet Union has tried to play both sides of the street in the Syrian invasion. They initially supported the Syrian move to smash the struggle of the Lebanese masses and harness the Palestinians but because the Syrian move on Lebanon has drawn them closer to the U.S. bloc, the Soviets have also voiced some objections to the invasion. But they have been careful to make their criticism of Syria as mild as possible, still hoping to woo it into the Soviet bloc. Apparently banking on Syria's ability to move quickly to put down the Lebanese and Palestinians and enforce a ceasefire, Soviet Premier Kosygin issued a joint declaration with Syria's President Assad on the day after the Syrian troops moved into Lebanon. The statement said that the two countries were determined to pursue their efforts for ending the bloodshed in Lebanon and preserving the country's sovereignty, independence and territorial unity. Only after the Syrian invasion slowed down and it was clear that the U.S. and the Israelis were the big beneficiaries of the Syrian invasion did the Soviets mildly criticize Syrian intervention because it "had not ended the bloodshed!"

U.S. Makes Gains

For the U.S., the Syrian move into Lebanon was an ideal solution. It would have been extremely dangerous and difficult for the U.S. to invade as they did in 1958 to put down the Palestinians and Lebanese insurgents. If Israel had moved it would have forced the Arab governments to act in opposition. But Syria provided a perfect cover for the designs of the U.S. imperialists. The situation is volatile and could change rapidly. Syria's invasion sharpened contradictions between the

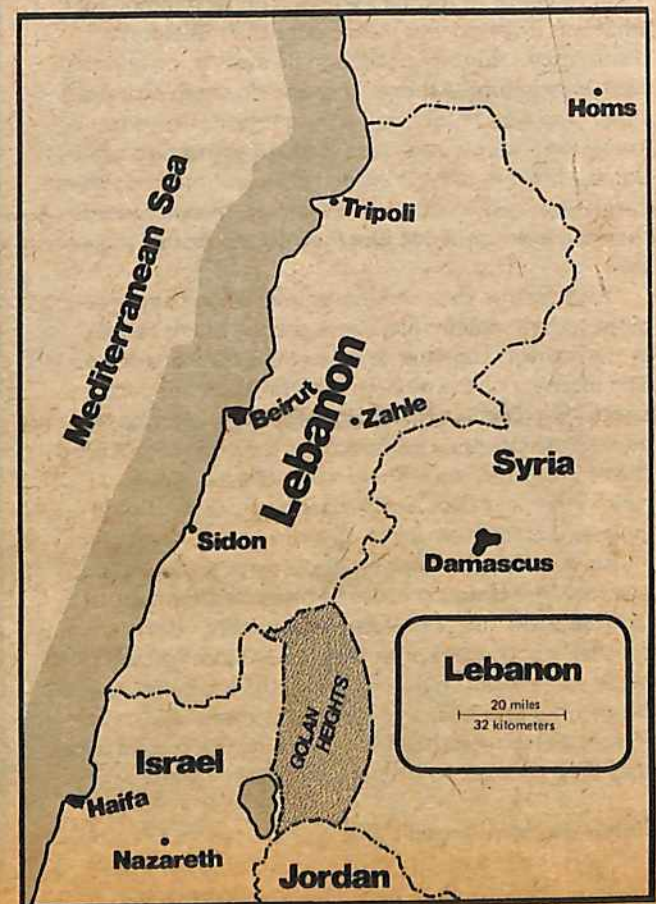
various Arab states, particularly between Syria and Egypt, which does not want Syria to come out of the situation in Lebanon as the power broker and dominant Arab state in the Middle East. As a result, Egypt, which was quite willing to sell out the Palestinians in the Sinai Accords with Israel, has suddenly again put itself forward as the champions of the PLO and bitterly attacked the Syrian invasion of Lebanon. Libya, Algeria and Iraq have also criticized the Syrian actions, for their own reasons, and have forced the establishment of a Pan Arab peacekeeping force which is supposed to settle the Lebanon crisis.

Superpower Rivalry Heats Up

Although the U.S. and the Soviet Union seemed to collude in agreeing to the Syrian invasion, each hoped to gain the greatest benefit from it and overall the recent developments have heightened the contention between the two superpowers. Both have stationed warships off the Lebanese coast and both are telling the other not to make a further move. In an official government statement the Soviets warned that "As for the powers who allude to interest established in Lebanon and threaten direct military interference in the affairs of Lebanon [presumably the U.S.] the Soviet Union is forced to declare in this connection that the Middle East is much closer to the Soviet Union [!] than to those who issue such threats and, in any case, the Soviet Union is not less interested in how the situation in Lebanon and around it develops and continues to develop. Nobody should lose sight of this."

The imperialist vultures are lined up, hoping for a kill. But the struggle of the masses of Lebanese and Palestinian people will not be easy prey to either superpower, or to their stand-ins inside Lebanon or in any other Arab country.

The ruling class of this country is trying to paint the events in Lebanon as a religious war or an incomprehensible mess. But the struggle of the Lebanese and Palestinian people is a just struggle aimed at imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, deserving the support of the working class in this country and around the world. ■



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Jimmy Carter:

New Skin On Old Baloney

The last of the presidential primaries is over with Jimmy Carter the big winner, picking up the support of another wave of Democratic Party big shots and their financial backers. For the last two years Jimmy Carter has been campaigning for the presidency doing his best to make it perfectly clear to the ruling class of this country that he will faithfully do their bidding and trying to demonstrate an ability to hoodwink the people as well.

For the capitalist class elections have two purposes: they are one way different capitalist interests fight it out among themselves for the upper hand in dominating the state apparatus; elections are also instrumental for the capitalists in trying to make it look like the masses of people control their own destiny through the "democratic process."

Both of these things are especially important for the ruling class now. The political and economic crisis has set different sections of capital at each other's throats even more, and with all of the exposures and counter-exposures of Watergate and sex scandals the rulers are all the more desperate to try to win back some credibility in their political system which has taken a big beating in recent years.

Jimmy Carter's "rise" has certainly not been marked by any real enthusiasm of the masses. He hasn't even associated his candidacy with any of the real struggles of the people, unlike the McGovern campaign of 1972 which tried to pimp off the people's hatred for the war in Vietnam. But compared with Hubert Humphrey, the "happy warrior" whose face has increasingly nauseated millions of Americans, with Ted Kennedy, afraid to run with Chappaquidick still hanging over his head, and with Scoop Jackson, who couldn't generate any support at all except from some of the capitalists themselves, George Meany types and some Zionists, Carter looks good.

When you cut below the surface it becomes apparent that Carter's number one asset is that he hasn't been a nationally prominent politician for long and so has had little opportunity to earn the hatred and disgust of the American people yet. Carter's method for keeping this asset, while gaining the limelight of a presidential campaign, is his ability to talk out of both sides of his mouth even better than the run-of-the-mill politician. He has also mastered the art of smiling a lot and saying nothing ("making no promises," as he calls it). "Ask me no questions, I'll tell you no lies," has become the capitalist politician's honesty slogan in '76.

Carter has shown an ability to unite large sections of the capitalists behind him. This is not only because he has a new smiling face behind which they think they can hide the reality of their rule. It is also because of what he stands for.

Prior to running for president, Carter was Governor of Georgia, where he made it clear that he wouldn't go along with any effort to repeal states' "right to work" laws which make closed union shops against the law. Despite his "I'm just plain folks" act he is also known in his hometown of Plains, Georgia, as a vicious exploiter who pays his workers \$2.30 an hour for slaving away on his peanut farm. Governor Carter dished out some government jobs to some political representatives of the Black bourgeoisie, of which Atlanta is one of the principal centers. When it came time to run for president, Carter demanded payment for past debts and sent Martin Luther King, Sr. (father of the assassinated civil rights leader) and Black congressman Andrew Young to cities across the country to corral support for him.

Powerful Backing Moves In

When Carter started out he made a big to-do about being the "people's candidate," about how he was running in all of the states and how he was different from the political bosses. Of course all along Carter was receiving financial and political backing from some important sections of the ruling class, but at first this was only partial, some capitalists simply wanting Carter to polish off Wallace or Jackson. When Carter succeeded in getting over to some degree with his "I'm the people's choice" campaign, the capitalists became more convinced that he might be just the demagogue they were looking for and the endorsements of numerous politicians and the big checks started flowing his way.

Before the important Michigan primary, all three of the top officers of the Big Three automakers endorsed Carter on the same day, along with UAW chief Leonard Woodcock. And after the final round of primaries other presidential candidates from George Wallace to Frank Church rushed to Carter's side, po-

litical "bosses" like Daley gave him support, and the capitalist media anointed him.

While campaigning Carter plays the role of the classic demagogue—blasting other politicians for telling lies and making promises they can't deliver, while himself promising the biggest lie of all—that he can establish politics of "honesty and hope and love" while presiding as the chief executive officer of the class of vicious exploiters who rule this country.

While the great bulk of the U.S. ruling class has agreed to run Carter as the Democratic Party nominee, the fight in the Republican Party has been sharper and has reflected the growing struggle within the ranks of the capitalists and shifts in ruling class policy over how to pursue their contention with the Soviet social-imperialists and their international policy generally.

The Reagan/Ford debate is providing an excellent opportunity for the capitalists to step up their efforts to create the "public opinion" necessary to drag the people into a war to defend their profit empire. While the debate does reflect, to a certain extent, real differences between various ruling class interests, the whole framework for it is the growing danger of world



Happy Warrior's last chance fizzles out.

war and the desire of the capitalist class as a whole to tone down the "detente" game and bring their war preparations more out in the open.

Whoever the ruling class decides to pick as the Republican nominee, they will be going out of the way to convince the people that they have a choice.

But with the crisis deepening and the struggle of the masses growing daily the capitalists will have a harder time selling either Carter, Reagan or Ford as the "people's choice." Less than half of those eligible to vote are even registered and, while the ruling class will certainly have some success in drawing sections of the people into the "democratic process," their election show cannot change the fact that life itself and the struggle of the working class is increasingly exposing the class content of the political system in the U.S. ■

Rubber Workers Hang Tough

The nationwide strike of the United Rubber Workers is now over eight weeks old. It's been bitterly fought from the beginning: arrests, injunctions and threats of plant shutdowns being a regular part of the companies' arsenal. Negotiations are at a standstill. The latest offer from Firestone is less than their first contract proposal. The companies are banking on rapid demoralization of the workers as the strike drags on.

But the mood of the workers is anything but defeatist. The vast majority of workers see no reason to go back until their basic demands—for a big catch-up wage increase, cost of living, job security and improved pension benefits—are met. The companies were hoping to break the strike when strike benefits ran out. But on the lines people have said that even though these benefits have run out it looks like the strike will continue through the summer. They won't settle until they have something to show for the time that they have been out.

Stiffen Resistance

Most of the strikers see the importance of holding out and a growing number of workers see the need to intensify and spread the strike. While making full use of stockpiles, the companies are doing everything possible to keep production up—working management, even hiring scabs, using non-union plants and plants the URW leadership has refused to call out on strike.

Summing up the experiences of some of the mass pickets called earlier in the strike, people are discussing ways to make these pickets stick and not simply cave in as many union leaders have when the police and courts intervene. In Salinas, California, Firestone brought in scabs recently. A mass picket was called, but the union leaders ordered people home as soon as the cops arrived.

Too much is at stake and too much has been learned from previous sellouts to pussyfoot around during the strike. There was the "Hey Mac" productivity program which was supposed to save jobs but resulted in more job eliminations and combinations. There were union assurances in 1974 that a wage cut would keep some Akron plants open, but layoffs continued. And then there was the last contract, signed in 1973, which paved the way for many of the attacks that workers are fighting today. These experiences have left a deep impression on the workers. They are solidly united to win their demands and they are suspicious of any compromise.

Right now strikers are trying to concentrate and bring forward all their determination to win the strike. But in this they've run up against hacks both on the International and local levels. Their International leadership has put out a tough line: "We won't go back until we get the cost of living" and made it seem like they are fighting this thing in earnest by calling mass pickets. But the truth is that fewer mass pickets

have been called in the past few weeks and many local union leaders have gone along with this. United Rubber Workers president Bommarito treks off to Switzerland to talk about an international boycott of overtime but stands "helpless" as workers at Dayton Tire work seven day shifts. He called a special convention in Chicago supposedly to beef up the strike but does nothing to prevent special agreements from being reached between General Tire, Kelly Springfield and the URW which extend their contracts.

Auto

The International has tried to convince workers that all they have to do is wait and eventually the auto companies will be hurt and exert pressure on the rubber companies to settle. The strike has hurt auto production so far, with many cars coming off the production lines without spare tires. But the auto companies have done everything they can to make it to changeover later this summer without running out of tires in order to help strengthen the hands of the rubber companies. The URW leadership's lack of effort to more completely shut down tire production has helped the auto companies in this.

Nevertheless the International has not been able to put the clamps on. In early June workers at General Tire in Charlotte, North Carolina wildcatted over forced overtime. This is spite of the fact that their contract at this plant doesn't expire until 1977. Mass pickets were organized in Georgia recently. A march was scheduled in Akron for June 18, the first mass action there in quite a while. Messages of support have streamed in from non-struck URW shops.

The Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 in Detroit joined Uniroyal strikers at the picket line and has passed out a support leaflet to auto workers drawing the connections between this battle and the upcoming auto contract. In several cities funds are being raised at plant gates by members of rank and file caucuses and *Worker* newspapers.

This strike is important to all workers. It is the heaviest contract showdown yet this year and its results will influence the outcome of other contract battles. Already the talks are being moved to Washington and a federal mediator is taking part. The ruling class wants this strike over with soon. The companies are launching all kinds of ad campaigns to blame the strikers for higher tire prices and to try to prove that the whole strike is counterproductive and the plants will shut down afterwards.

Under this kind of pressure the rubber workers have continued to stand up and support from all workers is vitally important. The militancy of the strikers, the sacrifices they have made and their persistence in the face of company attacks and threats is an example to all workers and a force that can strengthen the overall fight. ■