



REVOLUTION

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Striking miners block scab coke shipments in Pittsburgh. Rank and file action has been extremely effective in shutting down production and shipment of nonunion coal.

Strike Chokes Off Coal Production

Capitalists Hit Hard By Miners Strike

An extremely important battle of the working class continues in the coalfields as the miners strike enters its second month. The coal bosses and their buddies in the capitalist class are determined to beat the miners back, but all their vicious efforts to derail the strike—including murder—have to this point failed. On January 6, the working class suffered its first martyr of the strike when a retired United Mineworkers of America (UMWA) miner was shot down on a picket line in Kentucky.

These crimes of the coal bosses have only served to intensify the anger of miners and their determination to shut down coal production tighter than a drum. Miners have been right out there in the forefront of the working class struggle against the capitalists for many years, which is a key reason why the companies are so intent on crushing them in this strike. But miners have hit back with some heavy blows in the strike. By the end of the first month of the strike they had largely shut down production. Thousands of nonunion miners have walked out and refused to cross picket lines in support of their union brothers and sisters and to strengthen their common struggle. Union President Arnold Miller was forced to temporarily back off some of his initial capitulations to the coal companies.

The two main demands of the striking miners are for the right to strike and for restoration of 100% medical coverage, a gain won 30 years ago. But as the Miners' Right to Strike Committee has pointed out, behind these demands is a fight against efforts of the capitalists to rip away miners' job rights and benefits, crush the rank and file's ability to fight back and tighten their stranglehold on the union.

For the companies, denying the right and crushing the ability of miners to strike over grievances is top priority. A month into the strike, company and union negotiators had discussed virtually nothing else. The question of wages had not even come up yet. The operators have been screaming and yelling that there must be "labor stability" in the coalfields. In other words, miners must stop fighting, shut up, keep their heads bowed in production and let the capitalists run the mines in the most profitable way possible.

Arnold Miller and the union leadership are trying to push over a sellout of almost unprecedented proportions. Going into the strike, Miller, who is driving around in a 1978 Cadillac limousine (the same Miller who so self-righteously condemned the extravagances of his successor, Tony Boyle), claimed that he would be unyielding on a "limited right to strike" and 100% medical coverage. He dropped these demands faster than the time it took him to bend over and kiss the companies' posterior.

"Stability Clause"

The most outrageous feature of the package Miller

agreed to at first is the so-called "stability clause." In essence it would force miners to cross a picket line and make it a fireable offense to even talk about a wildcat strike. Part of the clause read: "Any employee engaging in an unauthorized work stoppage, picketing the operations of any signatory employer, or participating in a sympathy strike at the operations of any signatory employer, shall be subject to disciplining, including discharge." It gives the companies the right to fire any employee that they can identify as "guilty" of such an offense, even if it cannot identify all the miners involved. Even if a miner is not active in organizing a strike, but merely honors a picket line, he or she could be suspended for a minimum of 30 days. None of these com-

pany actions could be taken to arbitration. In addition, Miller agreed that miners could be fined for each day of a wildcat strike.

The "labor stability clause" is an attempt by the companies to reverse victories won by miners in the last three years. After the big right to strike wildcat in 1975 and the anti-injunction strike in '76 it was apparent that court injunctions and police action could not stop miners from using one of their most important weapons, the strike, in fighting company attacks. In fact one judge told the mine owners that, although the courts were willing to keep issuing anti-strike injunctions, the miners "wouldn't honor the injunction anyway." During the 10 week strike in 1977 against cuts in the miners' health and welfare funds the companies didn't even try to get injunctions.

Since then, under the heat of the struggle, the Supreme Court issued the Buffalo Forge decision last year (in a case involving steel workers) that declared that injunctions could not be granted against sympathy strikes, i.e., any strike over an issue that cannot be resolved through the grievance procedure. This was a big legal victory for the working class.

The capitalists, of course, did not sit still for it. A few months ago they got the NLRB to hand down a decision stating that miners could be fired for picketing a mine other than their own and that they could not pass out leaflets or other literature at other mines explaining or asking for support for a strike. The "stability clause" they are trying to ram through in the contract is not only an attempt to wipe out the legal victory of Buffalo Forge, it makes it so the companies don't even need injunctions.

On top of the "stability clause" Miller also capitulated on 100% medical coverage. He quickly agreed to a company demand that miners and their families pay a hefty deductible for medical coverage.

In sharp contrast to the stinking, sellout role of Miller and the union leadership, miners have taken a militant and determined stand to win their key demands right from the start.

Early Walkouts

Even before the strike deadline expired on December 6, thousands of miners walked out. In many mines where they continued to work until the last minute, companies reported acts of sabotage to equipment. As soon as the strike began, miners moved to shut down

Continued on page 15

Editorial

Repudiate the Call For Menshevik Unity!

In the December 26 *Call* the CP(ML) made an open confession that their party, their so-called "vanguard of the proletariat," is a bankruptcy and a fraud, and issued an open call for "other Marxist-Leninists" to join them in the swamp of revisionism. The *Call* editorial entitled "The Road to Communist Unity" calls for a "Marxist-Leninist Unity Committee," with the CP(ML) and its line as the center, leading to "a series of meetings and conferences." The clear implication of all this is that the CP(ML) is willing to dissolve itself and form another equally vile and equally revisionist party if only they can lure enough would-be opportunists into it so that sheer size alone would make up for the embarrassment of having to admit that their previous effort to "unite all Marxist-Leninists" was a failure.

In their editorial, the CP(ML) utilizes a time-tested opportunist technique—play on the real desire of communists and advanced workers for unity in their ranks and hope that it will obscure the question of ideological and political line. Of course the CP(ML) has no intention of abandoning the essence of its line (the only thing consistent about which is its revisionism and opportunism). It only hopes that under the cover of "unity" it can attract others to the same putrid bourgeois ideological and political line that has characterized

it and its ugly forebear, the October League, for many years.

Much can be learned from Lenin's struggle against the Mensheviks (whose similarities with the CP(ML) are known to all) who also raised a similar hue and cry for "unity." Lenin always fought tooth and nail for the principle that unity must be forged around a correct line and the burden for splitting the ranks of the working class must be placed squarely on the shoulders of those opportunists who refuse to unite with Marxism and in fact consistently oppose it.

While this is neither the time nor place to chase down and refute every revisionist fallacy ever preached by the CP(ML) or the OL before them (such a task would require at least one book, although a pamphlet could touch on the main points) it is worthwhile to take note of some of their methods and approaches that they hope will attract "other Marxist-Leninists."

—Their political line shifts according to what is most expedient. In dropping and running from one error they never dig out the ideological roots of it but seek to cover it over as quickly and painlessly as possible and proceed helter skelter to fall into another equally opportunist error.

Continued on page 3

Driven Under-Farmers Rebel

Thousands of angry farmers are moving into political action this winter in the most significant movement among U.S. farmers since the Depression. This upsurge has exposed to millions how small farmers are being ruined and cut to the bone by a gigantic pair of scissors—one blade being sharply higher costs for machinery, land and debt payments, while declining prices paid to farmers form the other blade. Particularly as their struggle gets still more directed at the real source of these disastrous economic conditions, the nation's small farmers can deal powerful blows against the monopoly capitalists.

Beginning in Colorado, where banks expect up to 25% of the state's farms to go bankrupt this year, the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) has grown and spread to nearly every state in the country. This movement was highlighted by large rallies on December 10, when tens of thousands of grain and other farmers rode their tractors into 30 state capitols and Washington, D.C.

In one of the largest "tractorcades," over 10,000 farmers and family members drove through the streets of Atlanta, Georgia, right up onto the marble steps of the Capitol. Their tractors displayed homemade signs like, "Broke, Busted, and Disgusted," "Would You Accept Half Your Paycheck? Farmers Do," and "We Don't Want Billy's Beer or Jimmy's Peanuts—Just 100% Parity."

At these rallies, AAM organizers called on farmers to stop planting and selling crops as of December 14 until they receive 100% parity for their produce (100% parity means a price level which gives farmers the purchasing power they had in relatively "good times" like the 1910-14 base period or in the 1973-74 years of high food prices). Currently, wheat and many grains are selling for 50-60% parity.

It remains to be seen how much effect this call for a nationwide farm strike will have. The position of farmers as individual producers tends to weaken collective action and most crops have already been harvested or planted this Fall. Still, on December 14, angry farmers started showing they meant business. In southern Georgia, farmers staged three separate railway blockades with logs and tractors, and large numbers of produce and livestock markets closed their doors in support. Tractors in the Texas Panhandle blocked food shipments from Safeway and Affiliated Food warehouses.

Several days earlier, AAM organizers called for picketing produce markets and distributors, in order to keep poultry, dairy and vegetable products off supermarket shelves. Colorado spokesman Gene Schroder told the press, "The consumer is going to have to pay the price or he is just going to have to quit eating."

While public statements like this certainly don't reflect the views of every striking farmer, they do point up a serious weakness in the farmers' demands at this point. At times, the organizers have pointed out that the "middleman" monopolies are making big profits at the expense of both farmers and consumers. (Farm-

ers receive only 38 cents for each dollar spent for food in retail stores, and for grain farmers, far less.) However, the farmers' demand for higher farm prices basically accepts the bourgeoisie's terms for their struggle—who's going to pay, workers or farmers? In so doing, it lets the monopoly capitalists and the criminal workings of their system off the hook.

Family Farmers' Class Position

Family farmers, over a million of whom are concentrated in the production of wheat and feed grains like corn and soybeans, form an important section of the petty-bourgeoisie. On the one hand, they are working people who struggle very hard to get by. The average net income for U.S. family farmers in 1976 was just \$5300, excluding off-farm earnings. (However, there are big differences between large-scale operators who hire seasonal labor and have millions of dollars invested in spreads of 5000 acres or more, and farmers who live largely off their own labor and that of their families on farms of one tenth the size.)

At the same time, family farmers are small businessmen who have to show a profit or go under, and they often see their own interests opposed to the masses of working people—who will suffer the most from a big rise in food costs, and who are not about to foot the bill.

Stemming from both aspects of their class position is the farmers' outlook that "their" government should guarantee the survival of the "hardworking farming family" in an increasingly monopolized and crisis-ridden farm economy.

Government spokesmen have pounced on the basic weakness of the farmers' demands, estimating that 100% parity would cost U.S. consumers \$20-30 billion in higher food prices. While some strike organizers have tried to point out that the wheat farmer, for example, now gets only two cents for each loaf of bread, and full parity would add just two cents more, the farmers have basically set themselves up for scare tactics and the loss of vital public support for their struggle.

As the RCP *Programme* states, "The working class fights today with the small farmer against monopoly capital, but it struggles against any tendency to raise demands which are opposed to the interests of the masses of people." (p. 88) In order to build up the side of the farmers' struggle objectively opposed to the monopoly capitalists, as well as to understand its limitations, the working class must have a clear understanding of the farmers' class interests and outlook. In addition, the ugly features of the bourgeoisie, their state, and the overall workings of capitalism in agriculture must be exposed to pinpoint the real source of the increased exploitation of the masses of workers and small farmers alike.

Crisis in Agriculture

Government farm policies, stiffer foreign competition, and even good weather have all been blamed for the farm crisis and for low farm prices. The basic answer, however, lies in a fundamental law of capitalist production—expand or die. To stay in competition, grain and other farmers have been forced to come up with ever increasing amounts of capital to invest in more land and newer, bigger machinery. Those who couldn't have gone bankrupt at an annual rate of 3%, reducing the number of farmers from 4.1 million in 1959 to 2.8 million today. The average family farmer now works 1000 acres or more with over a quarter million dollars worth of land and machinery.

As farm labor has been replaced more and more by constant capital (here we are talking mainly of machinery), the *value* of farm products—or the average amount of labor time necessary to produce a bushel of wheat or corn—has gone down relative to other goods in society. The *price* of a bushel of grain generally revolves around its *value*, and this is the fundamental reason why many grains have been selling at prices at what they were decades ago, despite the overall inflation (in effect, a big drop in the real prices).

Faced with the falling value of his produce, each individual farmer is forced to further expand his acreage and maximize production in order to obtain the same return on his investment. This leads to a recurrent overproduction crisis in grains and other commodities. Crops that cannot be sold at a profit are destroyed or sit in silos, while millions around the world face malnutrition and starvation. The criminal absurdity of capitalism stands out all the more sharply when serious discussion is held about using low-priced corn for fuel—as many poverty stricken farmers were forced to do in the 1930's.

The basic contradictions in agriculture and capitalism as a whole have set the stage for the massive crunch facing the family farmer today. A tractor that cost \$9000 in 1966 sells for \$32,000 today. At a Georgia rally, one farmer hung a sign on his tractor, "I work 18 hours a day for this labor-saving device." Not surprisingly, total farm debt at the end of 1977 leapt to \$116 billion, double its level of only five years ago. Another big reason for this is that the cost of farmland now averages two and a half times what it was in the early 1970's.

Back in the 1960s, farmers were being paid massive subsidies to let much of their land lie fallow in order to drive up prices. But with grain shortages and skyrocketing prices coming after the "Great Grain Robbery" in 1972 (during which the Soviet state capitalists and the Big 6 grain monopolies secretly bought up 500 million bushels of grain at rock-bottom prices) new investment poured into farming, chasing after the highest return on the dollar. This led to inflated land values and to a more massive overproduction of wheat and other grains than ever before. Finally, prices skidded back down the rollercoaster, dropping to \$2.25 a bushel from a high of \$6 in 1973.

Faced with this, even the more prosperous, large-scale farmers are lining up at the banks for credit. But it is the newer farmers who bought land and machinery in the last five years who face immediate ruin. As the president of an Arkansas rural bank explained, "We had to clip the marginal guys, who have borrowed to the hilt with no room for error, to reserve the bank's resources for the more efficient operators."

With every further development of the crisis, more farmers are driven into the dirt and out of business altogether. The remaining ones are forced to sink more capital into land and machinery, and borrow more heavily against their farm investment and even next year's crop in order to stay in competition. Especially as land prices begin to fall—as they are now doing by as much as 15% in parts of the grain belt—the makings of a much deeper crisis can be seen. And its dimensions will increase with every measure taken by the farmers, the banks, and the government to stave it off.

Government's Response—"We're Sorry, But . . ."

According to Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland, who was burned in effigy during a recent farmers' rally in Oklahoma City, "We don't think it is the proper function of government to guarantee the kinds of profits that some people are demanding." However, an increasing number of farmers are beginning to see through this lying hypocrisy. An older farmer asked a crowd of farmers in Hawkinsville, Georgia, "Who bailed out the railroads? Who bailed out New York City? Who bailed out Lockheed? We did! When Penn Central and Lockheed go broke, the government calls this 'bankruptcy,' but when we farmers go broke, they call us 'poor managers.'"

Though many of the farmers think the government works for everyone but themselves—lumping together unionized workers, Black people, and others with the monopoly capitalists—many are beginning to understand that the U.S. government does do exactly what Bergland denies. As the overall managers and "enforcers" of capitalist rule, the government does everything it possibly can to ensure the profitability and survival of the bourgeoisie's key industries. And this does not include "marginal" family farmers.

Bourgeois politicians never tire of referring to family

Continued on page 12



5000 farmers and supporters rally at Denver State Capitol on Dec. 10, after ending a caravan of tractors, trucks and other farm vehicles which stretched 15 miles. Many similar demos have been staged across the country.

U.S.-Sadat-Zionist Collusion

Palestinians Attack 'Peace Plan'

The U.S. capitalists and their politicians, newsmen and commentators have proclaimed that Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat's dramatic diplomatic move opening direct negotiations with Israel has produced the first real breakthrough for peace in the Middle East.

But these negotiations have no chance of bringing real peace to the area. They are designed to *impose* a settlement on the Arab people and the Palestinians without resolving, on an acceptable basis, the key contradiction: the right of the three and a half million Palestinians to regain their Zionist occupied homeland. Any agreement that comes out of the Sadat initiatives will be based on capitulation to Zionism and the U.S.

The Egypt-Israel moves are based on the hope that the Palestinian liberation movement and its supporters in the Arab world have been so weakened by Israeli military attack and the sabotage by some of the rulers of the Arab states that they will not be able to mount any serious opposition to the stomping on Palestinian rights. While some reactionary agreement emerging from these negotiations cannot be ruled out, the apparent impasse reached after the Christmas Day meeting in Ismailia, Egypt between Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin is a reflection that this hope is illusory and flies in the face of reality.

For millions of Palestinians now exiled from their homeland and those living as second class citizens inside the Zionist occupied Palestinian territory, such a Middle East "peace" is impossible. It would mean the continued wretchedness of refugee camps, continued exploitation and oppression in Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It would mean forsaking their homeland and giving up their right to exist as a people. The Palestinians have made it clear that they will not allow this to happen. What they want is a country where Jews and Palestinians can live together, where the masses of people can unite to struggle against any rulers who attempt to exploit and lord it over them.

The Palestinians' struggle has been so strong, their cause so just, that a great amount of unity among other Arab peoples and the people of the world has been built up in their support. In this situation the rulers of the Arab countries have taken a public position that there can be no Middle East peace that does not involve the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Even as Sadat broke Arab unity and walked among the Israeli troops that have kept the Palestinians exiled from their homeland, even as he spoke before the Israeli parliament and announced that the rulers of Israel are legitimate and have a right to exist on the stolen land of the Palestinians, he was forced to pay lip service to the rights of the Palestinian people. He has had to pre-

tend publicly that there are two unbendable principles of his position: the return of Egyptian territory occupied in the 1967 war and the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinians.

Carter's Maneuvers on Palestine

For thirty years the U.S. imperialists have joined in with their Israeli satellite in virtually denying the existence of the Palestinian people. But as the Palestinians continued to fight and gain support in the face of heavy obstacles, and contradictions sharpened for U.S. policy, Carter was finally forced to take another tack, announcing that the U.S. favored a "Palestinian homeland." Yet even in recent weeks the imperialists have tried to slickly waffle around the question, with Carter first saying that he opposed the creation of a Palestinian state and then meeting with Sadat on January 4 during his world junket to announce that they agreed that the Palestinians "must be allowed to participate in the determination of their own future." How nice!

These are sham maneuvers. The U.S. imperialists, like their superpower rivals in the Soviet Union—and Sadat—have made plain their support for the continued existence of the Zionist state in opposition to the rights of the Palestinians. Yet since the presence and force of the Palestinians cannot be denied, they have

to give at least lip service to their rights.

Sadat seemed to think that crawling to Israel to open up unilateral negotiations would force the Zionists to at least make some show of compromise and concession around the Palestinian question, which would be face-saving for him. When Carter stated his opposition to a Palestinian state, giving further open support to the Israeli position, Sadat declared that Carter had "embarrassed" him and accused the U.S. President of failing to understand the Egyptian negotiating position.

Yet the very next day Sadat explained that he was not really upset and that he agreed in essence with the U.S.—he was not arguing for the establishment of any sort of viable Palestinian state, but some sort of Palestinian "entity" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip federated with Jordan, i.e., controlled by the imperialists through Jordan and others.

Israel's Position

To date the Israelis have made little show of willingness to facilitate Sadat's particular method of sellout and betrayal of the Palestinians and Arab masses. At Ismailia, Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin presented Sadat the proposals for which he had flown to Washington to get U.S. blessing in mid-December.

In response to Sadat's first demand, Israel agreed to "return" the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. However Begin demanded Israel's right to maintain a "security corridor" inside the Sinai frontier with Israel and asserted that Israel intended to keep troops stationed in the area. Egypt would be required to "demilitarize" the Sinai, i.e., Egypt could not have an army on its own territory, but Israel could continue its military occupation of Egyptian land. Some concession!

Nonetheless, Sadat seemed to think that the Israelis could be forced to partially back off from this position, or that it could be made to look to the Egyptian people as if Israel was meeting his demand for withdrawal from the Sinai.

Continued on page 18



Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat with Zionist leaders Begin and Dayan, smiling broadly over his cowardly betrayal of the Palestinians and the Arab people.

Mensheviks ...

Continued from page 1

—They are well-known to be two-faced and double-dealers. They say one thing to your face and do another thing behind your back. As many who have worked with them in coalitions can testify, they have even voted one way in meetings and done the exact opposite days later!

—For them every struggle is judged by "immediate results," specifically, how does it further their own narrow interests. Every success they achieve (real or imagined) is turned into capital to further their collective, and individual, careerism.

—Even though pragmatism is their philosophy they rely heavily on dogmatism. Copy this and copy that is their watchword. Instead of a Marxist scientific and critical approach they are like an old gramophone, spewing out others' words in a tinny and distorted way.

—When it comes to political struggle they rely mainly on rumor, gossip and innuendo. When confronted with two-line struggle in circumstances when others can't be swayed by cheap appeals to emotion, they cower and snivel. Even when they arrogantly approach such struggle, as soon as they are rebuked they retreat onto their own turf (such as the pages of the *Call* or some corner they control) where they hope they can present a distorted and one-sided view of events while proclaiming they are champions of principled struggle over line.

—Fearing to take on the arguments of their opponents, they resort to quoting out of context, seizing on secondary and minor points and distorting even these, hoping that even their own followers will not try to use

the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to sort out right and wrong. When beaten on one point they, like Trotskyites, try to shift the focus of debate as long as they feel it makes them stronger in opposing the correct line.

—Organizationally they have perfected the bourgeois political method of representing "special interest groups." Since their organization does not represent the revolutionary proletariat, each of their leaders appeals to his or her loyal following, nationality, or those engaged in the work they are responsible for.

—Their policy toward their own cadre is to treat them with contempt. They keep them in ignorance of the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and instead feed them a diet of quotations and liberal doses of twisted "facts" usually out of context and always with the purpose of opposing the correct line and bolstering whatever political gimmick their leadership is then into. When it comes to promoting cadre, personal "successes" and personal loyalty count for everything; overall grasp of Marxism and ability to lead the masses forward and develop their class consciousness count for nothing.

—They oppose revolution in the name of revolution. They appeal to every petty-bourgeois prejudice: nationalism, liberalism, chauvinism—even anti-communism in the form of appeals to (bourgeois) democracy. They paint reactionaries as great upholders of the anti-imperialist struggle—like the Shah of Iran.

The list could go on and on. But this is typical of the method and ideological stand that the CP(ML) hopes will appeal to "other Marxist-Leninists."

But, alas, CP(ML), genuine Marxist-Leninists have come to hate you to the bottom of their soul. They have read your paper. They have watched your acrobatics. They have seen you capitulate to the very imperialist ruling class you claim to oppose. They will not come to your "unity conference."

In the *Call* editorial they declare that their "Program and Political Report of the Founding Congress have become major guiding documents for Marxist-Leninists [sic] throughout the country." When the first of these historic documents initially came out we made our stand completely clear in our headline, "OL's Draft Program: Trite and Wrong," and the kicker, "Has Two Aspects." Those who would like to unite with the trite and ignore or change the wrong will find that this particular unity of opposites is indivisible—and the wrong is principal over the trite. Those who would like to embrace only one aspect of the CP(ML)'s revisionism will find that it comes in a package—if you take one bite you will be forced to swallow and choke on all of it.

The CP(ML)'s proposed "unity conference," if it comes off at all, will be like the founding of a new conglomerate—each comes in with a certain amount of capital and in return receives an appropriate number of shares in the new enterprise. This is the basic theme that Klonsky hopes will appeal to other opportunist "leaders": no one is so famous that we can't all share the pie.

But a word of warning to Klonsky and his like. Be careful with your claim to be the real upholders of "principle" and "unity." You underestimate the strength of Marxism. The lure of your fool's gold "Marxism" of eclecticism, pragmatism and revisionism might have a certain appeal to a handful of opportunists, but the allure of genuine Marxism is very strong indeed to class conscious workers, to all revolutionary-minded people, including your own cadre. Those that you fail to demoralize, ruin or corrupt, those whom you cannot bully and suppress or stomp the desire for revolution, socialism and communism out of, will rise up against you, if not today then tomorrow. And they will fight for real unity, unity around Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. ■



The formation of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade marked an important advance in uniting the struggles of youth and students with the working class under the leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and on this basis for advancing the struggles of young people.

Communism-Road Forward for Youth

On November 19 and 20 a new organization was born—the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. With its founding convention, attended by 650 youth from around the country, the American proletariat and its vanguard Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, gained a valuable weapon in its struggle for revolution—a youth organization capable of harnessing the potential strength of millions of youth in the cause of the class struggle. For this reason the convention last November can truly be called an historic event.

What is the importance of this organization to the proletariat and its Party? What is the leap that has taken place with the founding of a *communist* youth organization uniting youth and students? What are the tasks and its role in the strategy for revolution in this country? These are crucial questions for the entire revolutionary movement since youth and young communist organizations have historically played an important role in revolutionary movements in the U.S. and elsewhere.

The Role of Youth

The importance of this organization is clearly based on the important role youth have to play in making revolution. The millions of youth in this country—both working class youth and students—form a powerful reserve for the proletariat. It is an army of millions, the great majority of whom are sons and daughters of the working class.

But it is not just numbers and potential strength or even the fact that most youth will one day enter the ranks of the working class that make this strata such an important one for the working class. There is also the fact that as Mao says in "Orientation of the Youth Movement," that youth can, *in a certain sense* play a vanguard role. Youth can be a "shock force", often being the first to take up revolutionary ideas and the struggle for revolution. This constitutes one of the most valuable contributions youth can make and why the Party sees this as a key strata to work among. Along with this potential for youth to act as a vanguard in a way, is the potential for large numbers of youth to be won to the stand of the working class and join the ranks of the Party.

Conditions Facing Youth

This potential is based on the characteristics of youth that arise based on the real conditions youth face in general and particularly during this period of deepening crisis.

As we've pointed out before, the conditions youth are growing up under are rapidly worsening. Millions of young people growing up in this country are enter-

ing into a maddening situation. Growing up with big hopes, dreams and ideas of the world they'd like to live in, with decent lives for themselves and others, they're finding these dreams and hopes run smack up against life today under capitalism in the United States, 1978.

This is especially sharp for working class youth, seeing their parents work their whole lives and having a harder time than ever keeping their families' heads above water. The sons and daughters of the working class find themselves in a situation where 30% of them can't find any place to work at all—with the percentages going up to 50 and 60% for Black and other minority youth. The neighborhoods and cities they live in are rotting and collapsing. Friends, brothers and sisters get caught up in drugs and crime. Military recruiters hang around their neighborhoods and schools like vultures preying on their dead-end situations, drawing them in with phony promises and then shipping them overseas to protect the rich man's profits.

While the level of struggle and organization among youth is pretty low, all of this is leading to greater frustration and anger among millions of young people in this country. Anger that the Labor Department's report on youth worriedly calls "social dynamite." Anger that will be important for the RCYB to tap, direct and focus into hammer blows at the bourgeoisie in the years to come.

This means carrying out the three tasks put forth by Chairman Bob Avakian of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party in his speech to the Founding Convention: leading the masses of youth in the struggle against the attacks and abuses they face; fighting at the side of the working class under the leadership of its Party; and broadly and boldly propagating communism among the masses, and especially youth.

Youths' tremendous anger and frustration—though at present unfocused and often misdirected—provides a basis for their rebelliousness to be channeled into the fight against the capitalist class. There is plenty of raw material—sharp contradictions—for building struggle around the conditions of youth, as well as the broader questions of society. At the same time youth stand at a crossroads in their lives—and are faced with the impossible task of picking the road to a decent future out of the dozens of dead-end situations offered by the capitalists. Faced with making a choice, and still in the process of checking out different alternatives, youth are very open to investigating and taking up whole new outlooks and ways of doing things if they seem to offer a solution to the mess youth see around them.

But this rebelliousness and daring cannot of and by itself lead youth onto the path of revolution and communism. That is a task that the Party and its youth group must consciously take up. And in doing this, communists must enter into battle with the bourgeoisie. This battle must be waged around the constant outrages and attacks against the people. And it must be waged as well in the arenas of culture, art, and ideology, where the bourgeoisie is daily trying to rally the masses of youth around its outlook and its "solutions." It does this in 101 different ways—by offering out the hope of "making it," throwing out the crumbs of jobs programs, careers in the military or other "outs." And as their freedom to do this in conventional ways dries up, they increasingly promote the view of surviving any way you can—hustling, ripping people off, in short, going all out to build up the bourgeois outlook of "Me-First."

The bourgeoisie also puts out other variations of its

world outlook to lead youth away from the path of revolution. Religion—both conventional and more far out mystical, Jesus freak or hari-krishna cults, is a big weapon of theirs. Anti-communism in many different forms is promoted in schools, the media and increasingly (although the influence of these groups is still very small) through their agents in the Nazis and the KKK, promoting incidents like in Marquette Park in Chicago, etc.

Experience in struggle leading to the convention helped show that this battleground of ideology is a key one for the RCTB to enter. Communist ideology is like a red thread which runs through and gives shape to the basic nature and tasks of this organization. For it is only by offering another road to youth—the road of proletarian revolution—that the RCYB can really tap the potential of youth as a mighty force on the side of the working class. On this basis the RCYB will be able to lead the masses of youth forward in struggle.

Here we stress ideological tasks because there has been confusion and not enough emphasis given to them in the recent period. Overall, of course, leading the mass struggle of youth is the RCYB's main task.

As the Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party states, "There is only one path that offers youth a genuine opportunity to put to use its enthusiasm, its innovativeness, its daring and its determination to change the world—proletarian revolution. Here and only here will they genuinely find life with a purpose. To enable the proletariat to fully utilize these qualities of youth, and to systematically channel them toward proletarian revolution, the Party actively works to build and lead a communist youth organization based mainly among working class youth. The development of this organization will make vital contributions to the revolutionary struggle."

The working class and its Party needs organization that will openly and boldly go up against the daily offensive being waged by the bourgeoisie to lull and dull youth, and to win them to support the capitalist system. An organization that will not only fight around many immediate attacks, hardships and difficulties, but will openly hold high the banner of proletarian revolution among youth—playing off of youth's readiness to take up a whole new way of doing things, at the same time taking into account youth's lack of experience, discipline and ideological understanding.

Youth need an organization that can take their desire for a decent life—and their anger and rebelliousness against the way they are forced to live—and channel them in the service of a definite class—the working class. They need the RCYB, an organization that clearly shows how the future lies with the working class and wins youth to stand with the workers and their Party—in the struggles the working class is engaged in today and in the fight for socialism—working class rule. The RCYB must bring youth into struggle not only around their own pressing battles—but to stand shoulder to shoulder with the working class in the broad struggles going on throughout society.

The RCYB must, as the Party Programme says, offer youth a life with a purpose, a future and road where they can put their lives to use fighting alongside the working class and for a new world. This life with a purpose is a far cry from the empty promises and dreams the bourgeoisie hold out while forcing youth into a life of wage slavery. It's also totally different from the kind of "life with a purpose" held out to youth by different forces that claim to stand for a "radical" or even revolutionary change like the youth group of the revisionist CP—the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL). What these young social workers hold out is nothing less than the road every poverty pimp has taken—using the struggles of the working class and masses of people or using the revolutionary movement to find a convenient niche and position. The road the YWLL offers to youth is just another version of the old "Hustle to get ahead", "Get some skills to get a good job", and "Me-First" mentality that youth are shown every day—only this time with a "revolutionary" cover. This outlook has led these pimps to such actions as opposing students or teachers' just strikes under the step-on-others'-backs-to-the-top excuse of "we workers and minorities have to study and get our skills to 'serve the people.'"

The RCYB must offer youth a total break with this way of doing things and looking at things. It can't confine itself to being a group that deals with the needs of youth in a narrow or reformist way offering a solution only to a handful of careerists. The road it must offer is one of serving the people by helping to build the struggle against the bourgeoisie on every front and use every struggle to move closer to overthrowing the enemy—to working class revolution. It must train youth in the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—the working class science of revolution, and it must prepare large numbers of youth to join the Party.

In short, the RCYB is and must be an openly communist organization, and one that boldly goes out to propagate communism. It is only this form of organization that provides the basis for uniting working class youth together with students—that is a life of fighting for working class revolution. It is the only form of organization that can win the greatest numbers of

Continued on page 16

Revolution

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Book Review

Who Should Play God?

Who Should Play God?

by Ted Howard and Jeremy Rifkin
(Dell Publishing, 1977, \$1.95)

A fury has been raging in scientific circles over the last few years over research into the very origins and nature of life itself. Since World War 2, science has made gigantic strides in understanding the way in which forms of life reproduce themselves and change; so much so, in fact, that the possibility of creating new (although very primitive) forms of life in the laboratory is now an immediate question and the possibility of creating—and eventually altering—human beings outside the mothers' womb, while not immediate, is definitely on the more distant horizon.

Most of the controversy has heretofore taken place largely in the realm of scientific journals, obscure science articles in the *New York Times* and other bourgeois papers and expensive hardcover books—all of which by their nature are limited to a fairly small circle of intellectuals. But a new book, *Who Should Play God?*, appearing first in paperback, has penetrated into the mass market for books—drugstores, supermarkets, etc.—and in some places, including at least some working class neighborhoods, is contending with the usual trash (like the *Happy Hooker*) found there. Published first in November of 1977 with an initial run of 200,000, a new printing is already being prepared.

The title alone is enough to attract many to pick it

up, but more importantly the book in a popular and lively way makes available to a much broader section of the masses of people developments in science that previously were the private property of a handful.

The authors, Ted Howard and Jeremy Rifkin, are members of the People's Business Commission (the successor to the People's Bicentennial Commission). That organizational affiliation, together with the book's dedication "to Aldous Huxley—he foresaw" (the author of *Brave New World*) provide a good clue to the petty-bourgeois line that runs through the book.

Basic Thesis

The basic thesis of the book is to point out how, under capitalism, scientific research is dominated by the bourgeoisie and the results of such research are in turn used by the capitalist ruling class to further their domination over all of society and that they will seek to do the same with research into genetics. In this regard, we have no quarrel with the authors.

In chapter 6 of the book, the authors document in a convincing way the links between the scientific community and the ruling class. They point out that "in the next ten years over 90% of all college and university science graduates will work for the private sector [i.e., mainly monopoly corporations]." (p. 192) They go on to point out that "industry finances close to 70% of all the research and development in this country—

which totaled a whopping \$22.4 billion in 1974 Thus, the overwhelming majority of research scientists must depend directly on large corporations for their paychecks and their research grants." (p. 192) They proceed to detail the connection of the bourgeois state with scientific research, the role of the National Academy of Sciences, the Presidential Advisory Committee, the American Medical Association. All of this makes interesting and useful reading. In this, consciously or not, the authors are providing research and factual material to back up the point made by Lenin over 60 years ago in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* that, under imperialism, science and technology comes under the direct control of the trusts.

Similarly, the second chapter of the book is both interesting and useful. In it the authors trace what they call "a movement written out of American history" (p. 47) called *eugenics*. Essentially this was a reactionary movement in the years between 1900 and 1929 allegedly concerned with protecting the "genetic" properties of the American people by restricting immigration of "undesirables" like Jews, Italians, Poles, etc. and even forcing sterilization of some considered "unfit." Even here, however, the authors miss the mark. They blow this movement out of proportion and, even more, rip it out of its historical and material context.

While no doubt some scientists and others were caught up in their own madness, there is no question that overall the "eugenics" movement was but an ideological smokescreen to justify the steps that the laws of the imperialist system dictated. (For example, the actual reason immigration was restricted after World War 1 was that the capitalist system, having reached its moribund imperialist stage, had a greatly reduced need for immigration of workers and in fact its reserve army of labor was swelling.)

The second chapter also does a convincing job in debunking the modern day "eugenicists" (racists) like Professors William Shockley (Stanford University) and A. R. Jensen (U.C. Berkeley) who preach the natural inferiority of Black people. They also dig up some interesting quotes like this one from Dean Watkins, Chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of California: "It is just possible that the reason some people are rich is because they are smarter than other people; and maybe they produce smarter children." (p. 79) But once again the authors make no attempt to explain the political, economic and social reasons that this type of garbage is being spewed from the most "learned" universities.

Discontinue Research?

Most of the rest of the book is devoted to discussing current research into genetics and the controversy surrounding it. The conclusion is that such research should be discontinued worldwide for fear that it will lead to a real life *Brave New World* (in which a perpetual class society was maintained through biological engineering and drugs).

It is impossible in this article to enter into the specific controversy in scientific circles due to our own lack of investigation and summation of these important questions. It is certainly possible that in many, perhaps even most, of the particular instances the authors are correct about the dangers. For example, they, as well as noted and progressive scientists, point to the danger of certain artificially created forms of life (on a very primitive level, like bacteria) escaping from the laboratory and endangering existing forms of life—including man himself.

It is certainly true, that under capitalism, many of the greatest experts are more concerned with fame and gain, with Nobel prizes and fat salaries, than they are with the pursuit of knowledge, and certainly do not take serious account of the possible dangers or harmful uses their research might be put to. Still, scientific experimentation remains, along with the class struggle and the struggle for production, one of the three sources of knowledge. The antagonistic attitude the authors take toward the "pioneers" in genetic research is revealing. While we are not about to adorn them with the mantle of Copernicus and Galileo (two bourgeois scientists who came under fierce attack from the feudal authorities for their research) it is clearly reactionary to join the chorus of those who would burn them at the stake.

Worse still, is the authors' efforts to equate scientific research done under capitalism with that done in socialist societies. As if to apologize for the path they are about to embark on, they write in the introduction that "New discoveries have always been applied selectively, with some group, class or race using knowledge of the external world to control not only it but their fellow human beings as well." (p. 8) Leaving aside their effort to equate "group" and "race" with the fundamental social category of *class*, this statement is fundamentally correct in all forms of *class societies*, that is all societies after primitive communalism up to the present day. But it certainly would not hold true for communism, to which human society is inevitably heading, when classes have been abolished.

It is certainly true that under socialism new discoveries are used to "control their fellow human beings

Continued on page 11



Chicago: ALSC anti-Krugerrand demonstration.

Militant Demonstrations Slam Krugerrand

On December 3rd close to a thousand people marched against the blood-soaked Krugerrand and in support of the liberation struggles of the peoples of southern Africa. Regional demonstrations took place in Chicago, Oakland and New York and several actions were held in the South. The actions were initiated by the Organizing Committee for a New African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and sponsored and endorsed by coalitions of many organizations.

The Chicago demonstration was particularly significant. Originally the target was to have been Carson, Pirie and Scott, a large department store chain in the city, that had been pushing Krugerrands. But in the face of a mounting campaign spearheaded by ALSC, Carson's withdrew the coin days before the demonstration. Instead, the marchers, about 250 strong, ignored the biting cold and marched through Chicago's crowded Loop, ending up at the Federal Building where a short but powerful and spirited rally was held.

At the Chicago rally, Abdul Alkalimat spoke for ALSC. His speech reads in part: "Today, Africa is full of hot spots, and no anti-imperialist fight can be waged correctly without having an understanding of what is going on there. We raise up the overall theme for our work 'Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from USA (Union of South Africa) to USA (United States of America).' The main aspect of this is that in Africa the people are oppressed and exploited by the same rich thugs that beat us down every day. So

when we give our fighting support to the liberation struggles of southern Africa, we are not turning away from our struggle here in the United States; we merely intensify it. We are fighting their enemy when we fight our enemy.

"In addition, we have to be clear on the overall character of the international situation so that we don't become blind to the total picture of things. There is the dark cloud of a world war building up on the horizon of history. The superpower war dance of U.S. imperialism and its arch-rival, the Soviet social-imperialists, threaten every country; like the African proverb says: when the elephants fight, the grass gets trampled down.

"... Masses die while the superpowers use proxies like the Cubans to vie for spheres of influence. We say U.S. imperialism out of Africa! Superpowers hands off! This goes for Angola and the maneuvers being made now in Zimbabwe . . ."

The December 3rd marches are another indication of the powerful reservoir of support that exists among the American people for the liberation struggles raging in southern Africa. In the coming months ALSC will be stepping up its activities in conjunction with other forces leading up to African Liberation Day this April which once again this year will be an occasion for a mighty outpouring of militant hatred of the American people for imperialism, national oppression and white minority rule. ■

Victory Rally Ends Iron Miners Strike

Mesabi iron ore miners ended the longest industry-wide strike in United Steelworkers (USWA) history with a December 17 victory rally in Hibbing, Minnesota.

In addition to winning gains around important health and safety issues and the handling of grievances, the strikers won incentive pay raises of 75 cents an hour, bringing them up to the pay in the steel mills. This was the strike's basic demand. Raises will cover 85% of the workers in the mines and iron ore processing plants. The 15% left out are non-production workers. Earlier the companies had demanded that these non-production workers take a pay cut. In fact, in the first few locals which reached agreement with the companies, this is what happened.

Especially in Minnesota's mining areas, the strike was marked by a high spirit of militancy and solidarity. These locals, which were the last to go back, held a mass march against the companies in early November, among other actions, and went to Chicago and Gary to organize support among steel workers in the mills there. But beginning in mid-November in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, iron ore locals began settling with the companies one by one, which weakened the strike and prevented further gains. These local settlements were encouraged by USWA head Lloyd McBride, who all along had maneuvered to disorganize the strikers and undermine their actions.

The 16,000 workers had gone out against the iron ore companies owned and controlled by the big steel companies on August 1. Since they are covered by the USWA's no-strike agreement (also known as the Experimental Negotiating Agreement—the ENA), the companies at first flatly refused to negotiate on the pay issue. But faced with the specter of open defiance of the ENA, the USWA was grudgingly forced to go along with the iron ore locals' claim that the strike was around local issues and therefore not covered by the no-strike deal. Despite the two-faced nature of the International's "support" the iron ore miners forced the companies to do what they swore never to do.

All in all, the fact that the iron ore miners were able to break through the stranglehold of the ENA and win major gains is an important blow against the steel companies, the USWA leadership and their no-strike deal. ■

local union to strike officially for three months.

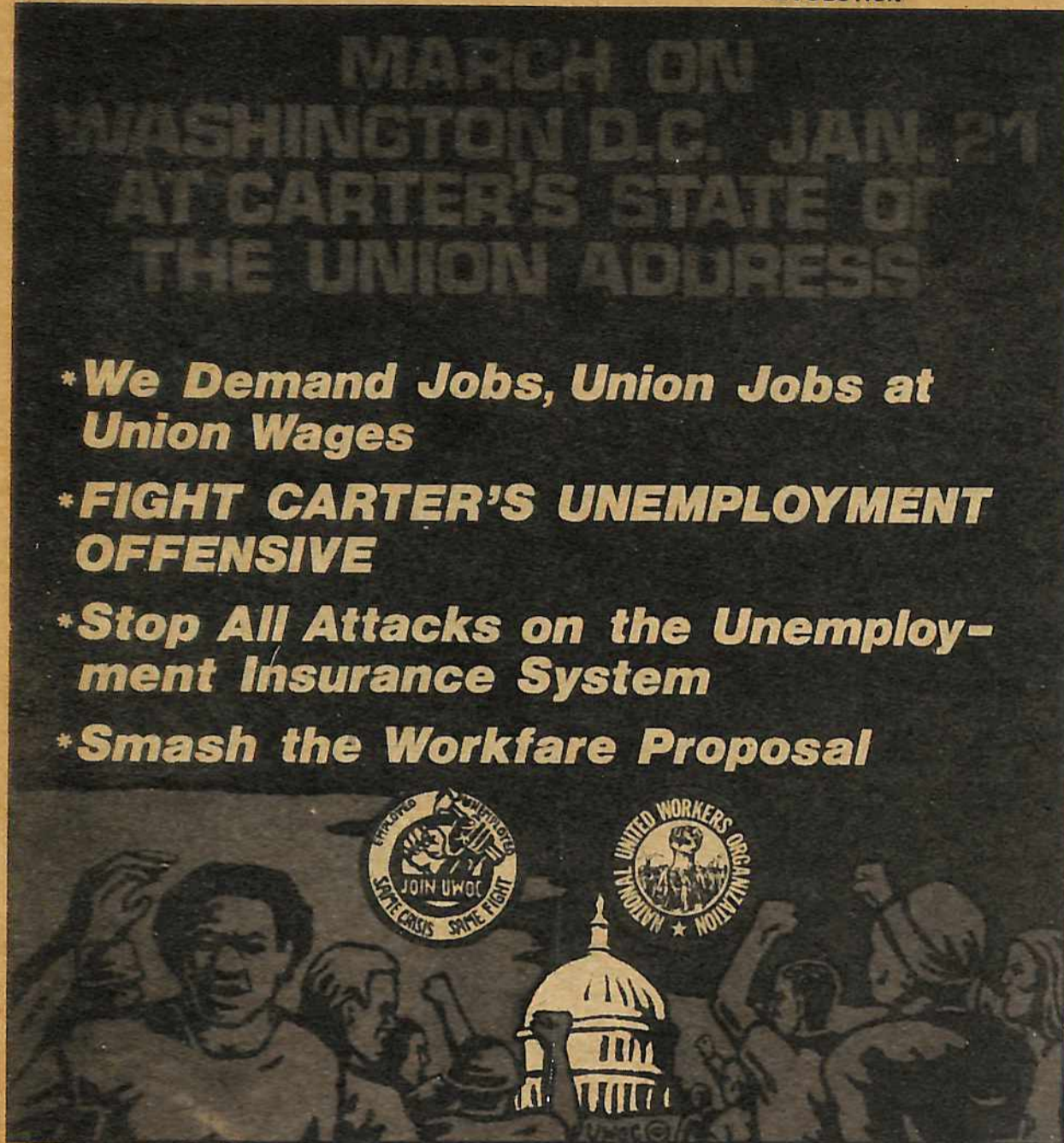
National Contract

When the national contract came up October 1, the company had already thrown its demands on the table and broken off negotiations. These included taking away the right to strike over local grievance issues such as those which led to the recent strikes, a wage cut (through cutting incentive pay), and the right to ignore seniority when it came to determining layoffs and overtime. For the first time in 30 years, the company refused to agree to the wages set by the Basic Steel package.

In short, the company was out to set back wages and working conditions many years and take away the right to strike with which the workers had been able to win past gains. The workers responded by going on strike, the first national Pullman strike since the battle of 1894.

Christmas is a hard time to be on strike, and the company has been trying to make full use of that fact to demoralize the workers. Going up against Wall Street's Pullman Day celebration meant taking the offensive and turning the fact that the strike is continuing through the holidays into an exposure of the company's crimes.

As the 80 Pullman workers who came from the five Pullman plants in the East and Midwest threw up a picket around the Stock Exchange, they found that those inside had slammed the building's steel shutters shut. Some high school students on tour of the Wall Street area got a lecture from the workers on the real history of America and the conditions facing the workers today. Soon some office workers and other Wall Street employees—who have plenty of their own reasons to hate the big corporations—joined in the picket line. The spirit of the demonstration was summed up on one of the picket signs, "Eugene V. Debs Strikes Again!" ■



Pullman strikers from Chicago marched down Wall Street, renaming it after Eugene V. Debs, a revolutionary working class fighter.

Pullman Strikers Picket Wall St.

For over a hundred years, the Pullman company has been famous for its thorough, systematic and undisguised methods of pushing its workers into the dirt. It's a tradition Wall Street is proud of. On December 2, to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Pullman stock being peddled on the New York Stock Exchange, Wall Street was renamed Pullman Street for a day.

But while Wall Street was honoring the ghost of George Pullman, one of the most infamous of the early robber barons of American industry, the sudden arrival of striking Pullman workers sent real shivers down their spine. The workers tore down the street sign that said "Pullman Street" and put up their own which read, "Eugene V. Debs Street."

George Pullman was not a man to miss a chance to rob the workers. Not being content to rob them on the job, he paid them in script instead of cash and he had them live in Pullman-owned houses, sold them food and clothing at the Pullman-owned stores at Pullman prices, and used the fact that everything was his

private property to try and keep out unions and agitators. But when he cut wages and raised the rent on these railway car workers in 1894, they exploded into one of the most famous strikes in American history, a strike which spread the flames of class struggle along the railway lines from coast to coast. It was led by the revolutionary socialist working class leader, Eugene V. Debs.

A hundred years later, with George Pullman dead and buried, replaced by former astronaut James McDivitt, the old company town is now part of Chicago. But the battle between the company and the workers is once again raging. Recent years have seen a number of significant local strikes at Pullman plants around the country. The workers, now members of the United Steelworkers Union (USWA), beat back a round of speedup and layoffs at the company's Bessemer, Alabama plant in a successful strike last year. They also stopped a threatened pay cut in Hammond, Indiana by first wildcatting for a week and then forcing the

Steel Workers Fight For Every Job

When Bethlehem Steel announced last August that it was eliminating 3500 jobs at its Lackawanna plant near Buffalo, N.Y., it was hoping to get these cuts over with as little resistance as possible. But Bethlehem steel workers and other workers around Lackawanna have refused to simply watch their jobs and their town go down the drain. Like workers in Youngstown, Ohio, Johnstown, Pa. and other steel towns hard hit by massive layoffs and shutdowns, they are organizing to get their jobs back and challenging the companies "right" to simply throw them out.

On December 17, 60 steel workers, their families and workers from other plants in the area, led by the "Fight for Every Job Committee" at Beth Steel, marched two miles through the streets of Lackawanna. The workers, some of whom were laid off despite over 20 years seniority, marched behind a big banner stating, "Our Lives, Not Their Profits. Fight for Every Job!" As the march wound through the town, many onlookers picked up the chant, "We built this mill, we built this town, we won't let Bethlehem drive us down!" and joined the march. At the rally at the end of the march, their demands—No Job Cuts! Reopen the Whole Mill! No Overtime While Workers are on Layoff! and Full Benefits for Those on Layoff!—were posted right on the door of Beth's employment office.

The Fight for Every Job Committee was formed in Lackawanna on September 1, following a visit by steel worker members of the National United Workers Organization from Johnstown, who were themselves fighting a layoff of 4000 Bethlehem workers there. They called on their fellow steel workers to build rank and file organization that could unite the outrage workers felt at these cuts and direct the fight squarely at Bethlehem. The TV stations made the Johnstown workers' visit the number one story on the six o'clock news, and that night 20 Bethlehem workers and other workers from the area initiated the Fight For Every Job Committee.

Soon after the massive layoffs were announced, Bethlehem started combining jobs in the plant and instituted mandatory overtime in the coke ovens and other areas of the mill. As anger began to grow, workers began to fight in small and large ways. Whole departments started working "by the book" and production slowed to a crawl at times. When Bethlehem firemen had their number cut to less than half, they sent out letters to local fire companies asking them not to come onto company property while men were laid off. Billet yard workers held a special meeting to fight job combinations and overtime. Many started to refuse overtime. When wildcat talk began to spread in the coke ovens, USW President Lloyd McBride, playing cop for the company, threatened any local with recidivism if it took a fighting stand against the layoffs.

As this outrage boiled over inside the mill, the Fight for Every Job Committee helped to pull these scattered and spontaneous struggles together, calling for mass actions against the company, in opposition to the USWA leadership's program of fighting imports and cooperation with the companies in this.

Several actions were initiated and fought for within the union, including a picket line at the company office and one at company-union hearings around mandatory overtime, which was itself a direct violation of the contract. A set of resolutions were taken into each of the locals in the plant in an attempt to get a fighting program passed. A petition drive was initiated in the area against the cuts, which gathered 1500 signatures in a short period of time. A series of "Fight For Jobs Bulletins" were put out to mobilize workers for these actions, while combatting Bethlehem's propaganda smoke-screen about not being to blame. The Buffalo National United Workers Organization also played a part in directing the sentiments and struggle which grew out of the layoffs into a movement against the company and its flunkies.

Like the rest of the steel companies, Bethlehem claims that foreign imports, high taxes, environmental costs and low worker productivity caused the layoffs. But tax breaks in 1972 "to guarantee jobs" were used by the company to automate the bar mill and led to job losses. In the last 10 years, 10,000 jobs were eliminated at Lackawanna while production soared higher than ever. As the committee's bulletins brought out, anti-import measures, tax breaks, etc., will not mean more jobs, but will mean higher prices and increased profits for Bethlehem, and better enable them to continue job eliminations through automation and modernization. Indeed, just as soon as Carter decided to set a minimum price for imports, the steel companies announced a 5.5% increase in prices.

Can Layoffs Be Fought?

With the steel companies in a real crisis, the press

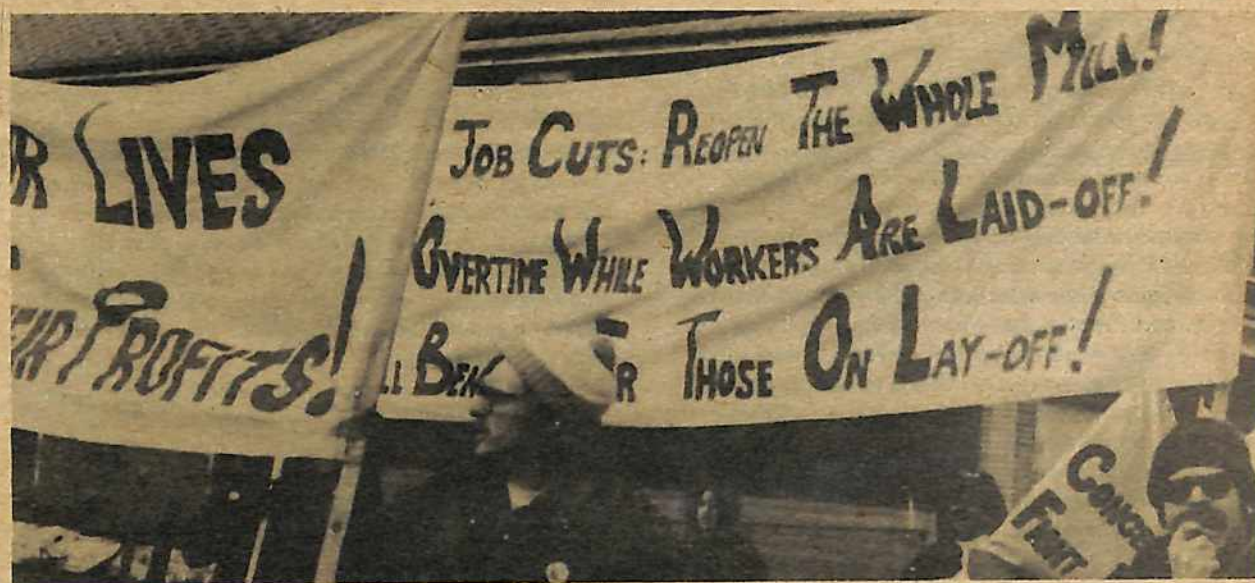
giving play to all their problems, and USWA leaders like Lloyd McBride saying "They have every right to lay workers off if they can't make enough profits", the question of "can we really save these jobs" is a big one among workers. Bethlehem is in business to make profits, not jobs or steel, and must and will do everything in their power to increase their ability to do this. But this necessity stands in direct opposition to the needs of the working class. The only limit to the workers resistance to any particular layoff attempt is their own organization, strength and consciousness of their class interests. As steel workers have experienced, "cooperation with the company" in the past has only led to more layoffs, speedup and the loss of the right to strike—leaving steel workers in a weaker position to fight back against the next round of layoffs.

In the current fight, the Fight for Every Job Committee is growing in strength and starting to become a real magnet for workers who want to fight back. And through struggle their understanding of the correct road forward is deepening. The Committee's recent decision

to take part in the January 21 demonstration in Washington DC against the cuts in unemployment benefits and for union jobs at union wages and to put out a call to other steel workers to join this demonstration (see below) is another sign that the far-reaching nature of the fight is becoming clearer to steel workers.

The Committee's decision to endorse this demonstration was reached following a struggle over the differences in the political line of the January 21 and that of the CP (ML)'s Jobs or Income Now march in February. Seeing the impossibility of winning support for their demonstration in opposition to the Union Jobs at Union Wages march, a February march organizer opportunistically tried to bogart his way through, saying why not support both marches since they are both for the same purpose. But the discussion went into Carter's actions in the last year—pushing the unemployed and those on welfare into slave wage jobs—and pointing out that in this situation to simply build for jobs—any jobs—provides cover for Carter's attacks. It was also brought out how the CP(ML)'s single focus on "jobs" furthers the cover-up by attacking Carter's failure to "live up to his promises"—when Carter's promises must be exposed as plans for vicious attacks on all workers. After this kind of discussion, the Fight for Every Job Committee voted overwhelmingly to support only the January 21 march for Union Jobs at Union Wages.

With the development of the Fight for Every Job Committees in Lackawanna and elsewhere, the ties being built between steel workers across the country and the strengthening of the stand they are taking, the struggle against layoffs in steel is beginning to build in strength and scope. ■



Fight For Every Job Committee demonstrates in Lackawanna, N. Y.

Bethlehem Workers Endorse Jan. 21 March

January 21, Washington, D.C.: Workers from every industry nationwide—employed and unemployed—will march shoulder to shoulder to demand Jobs, Union Jobs at Union Wages, and to Stop All Attacks on the Unemployment Insurance System.

As steelworkers we are on the front lines of this battle. Over 20,000 of us have had our jobs cut in the past year. In the mills speedup and job combinations run rampant. In the face of this the leaders of our International Union have not only preached for us to "cooperate" with the companies, they have threatened to throw into administration any local which fights this job cutting offensive.

In the same week Jimmy Carter gives his State of the Union Address, we will hit hard back at him and the bosses he fronts for. They tell us "imports, high taxes, environmental costs and low worker productivity" are the problem. They say the steel companies are not to blame. Their road of cooperation is dangerous. It is the same "cooperation" that brought us the no-strike deal and last year's sellout contract, which supposedly guaranteed "lifetime job security." They have even tried to rob us of our very will to fight by saying we are powerless because, after all, "the companies are in the business to make a buck and that's that."

We have broken our backs for generations to make the steel companies rich. We have poured our sweat into every ton of steel they have squeezed a profit out of. And now they want to throw us on the slag heap, discard us like old machinery, taking the wealth we have produced for them and using it to push us out on the street.

No! This is not what we have worked so hard for! Here in Lackawanna, New York, as elsewhere, steelworkers have chosen to fight for what is our right. The Fight For Every Job Committee, a group of rank and file Bethlehem Steel workers and others, has begun to organize. We have opposed the company's policy of working some of us to death on overtime and speedup, while laying others of us off. We are fighting to make our union into a weapon in our hands.

We are reaching out to our fellow steelworkers who are sick and tired of plants shutting down and cutting back, leaving wanton destruction in their wake, and who want to make this fight a dividing line—a showdown between our interests and those of the owning class. We are having demonstrations, holding petition drives and taking this battle right into the mills.

We endorse the march in Washington, D.C. on January 21st called by the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee and the National United Workers Organization. We call on all steel workers to shoulder our share of the responsibility for building this into a powerful demonstration of our class.

We have experienced firsthand the attacks this demonstration will fight back against. With thousands of us being pushed into unemployment, we deserve every penny in benefits we can get. The government's cut-backs in the number of weeks of unemployment insurance, which are supported by the top AFL-CIO leaders, are designed to force us to take yet more of the burden for the companies' profit crisis. Together with the job cuts, they are designed to weaken our position as a class of people to maintain a decent standard of living.

And we don't just want any kind of jobs. We don't want Jimmy Carter's low-wage, nonunion workfare jobs, which would drive the wages of all workers down. We won't go back to work for Bethlehem Steel for the \$2.85 an hour they tried to force us to take! No! We want Union Jobs at Union Wages. We want *our* jobs back! We are building a mighty storm of resistance to these vicious attacks.

We call on any steelworker who is angered by these job cuts to join in this demonstration. We call on any steelworker who thinks we have a right and a responsibility to oppose the cuts in unemployment insurance and wants union jobs at union wages to come. And any steelworker who is convinced that the road of cooperation with the steel companies is the road to hell owes it to himself to come and bring others.

All Out to March in Washington, D.C., January 21st!

—Fight For Every Job Committee ■

2000 Plus Attend ISA Convention

The Iranian Students Association in the U.S. (ISA) recently held its 25th annual convention in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, from December 25-January 1. The more than 2000 Iranian students attending from all over the U.S. summed up the recent political work of the ISA and set its tasks for the upcoming year, especial-

ly in light of a developing mass upsurge among the Iranian people and the big victories won in the November 15-16 demonstrations in Washington, D.C. against the Shah's visit to the U.S. As the call to the convention stated, "This convention is taking place in excellent conditions for struggle both on the domestic and international level."

This was by far the largest ISA convention in its history. And even this didn't reflect the whole of ISA's membership since many couldn't come, due to work schedules and the expense of travelling long distances. 2500 people attended the convention's "international night," which was composed of solidarity from revolutionary and anti-imperialist organizations from the U.S. and around the world, cultural presentations and a new film on the Washington, D.C. demonstrations.

During the convention, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, gave a well-received speech expressing soli-

darity with the ISA and outlining the Party's view of the international situation and the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat in relation to it. Comrade Avakian also spoke on the situation of the working class in the U.S. and the tasks of the RCP.

The convention was highlighted by a spirited march of 1500 through downtown Oklahoma City on December 30, the same day that Carter met with the Shah in Teheran. As an indication of the increasingly strong ties between the Iranian student movement in the U.S. and the people's revolutionary struggle in Iran, a number of demonstrations took place in Teheran on December 30 right under these butchers' noses—just as happened during the Shah's trip to the U.S.

The main political discussions at the convention centered on the developing upsurge of the Iranian people's movement and the political tasks of the Iranian student movement in the U.S. in relation

Continued on page 17

LA Convention Demands More AFL-CIO Backs Carter Attacks

Shortly before its 12th annual convention last month, the AFL-CIO mailed out its official Christmas card for this year, featuring a portrait of a clown painted by George Meany himself.

This card more accurately portrayed what Meany said and did at that convention than all the tons of press releases the labor federation put out about it. But all the humor fades from this picture when it is seen in the light of the attacks that the working class now faces and the way that Meany & Co. are going along with, and in fact are part of, these attacks.

It's not that the convention failed to take up some of the top questions facing the working class. "Most of all," Meany told the 867 delegates on his opening day report Dec. 8, "we want jobs." Along with this, he mentioned falling living standards, housing and health care costs, discrimination and so on. Meany even took account of these questions as broad social questions, and he especially focused in on the government in regard to all of them. In this sense, it was an extremely political convention.

But the politics were capitalist politics. The AFL-CIO continued its campaign to whip up national chauvinism—railing against foreign imports and inviting a dissident Soviet poet to sing the praises of the USA. But the convention concentrated on other matters.

The programs put forward by Meany and his associates amounted to hailing the government's attacks on the workers as "victories" and urging the workers to concentrate on lobbying and voting so that the government would do even more of the same. This same old poison put forward by Meany and Co. for so many years has become all the more poisonous. The urgency of these questions has sharpened. Moreover, just as the workers are beginning to move around them, so also the government is mounting major attacks around these same questions, especially unemployment, which Meany identified as "America's Number One economic problem."

In his opening report, Meany declared that Carter's election "brought into office a sense of hope and a spirit of inspiration that has brightened the land". He added that "many" of Carter's proposals represent "major steps toward the direction of labor's own program in each area."

What exactly has Carter done to "brighten the land"? Among other things, according to Meany, the setting of the minimum wage at \$2.65 and the cutback of unemployment insurance to 39 weeks. (We'd hate to see what Meany's idea of darkness looks like.) Meany turns these attacks on their head and presents them as victories—because, after all, wasn't the minimum wage raised from \$2.35, and aren't 39 weeks of unemployment benefits better than something less—and didn't this cutback save the unemployment insurance system from bankruptcy? Left out of Meany's report are the facts that in terms of buying power the minimum wage has sunk lower than ever in recent history, and that the situation of millions of unemployed is more desperate than ever.

Call for "More"—More Attacks

Of course, since the AFL-CIO membership isn't made up of fools, Meany has to account for the fact that things haven't gotten any better under Carter. The distance Meany has therefore put between himself and Carter—as a "loyal opposition"—accounts for Carter's much publicized failure to appear at the convention.

Meany criticizes the President for not having "done enough". Specifically, he says that Carter's jobs programs

are a step in the right direction but the number of jobs they've created should be doubled. These jobs programs, as we've pointed out before, all boil down to forcing people on unemployment insurance and welfare to take low wage non-union jobs—at minimum wage or even less in many cases—so as to use these workers as a wedge to drive down the whole working class. By demanding more of the same—and not even saying a single word about union jobs at union wages—Meany has put himself 100% on the side of the capitalists in regard to these attacks.

In fact, the same is true of the whole program presented by the AFL-CIO Executive Council and largely rubber-stamped by the delegates—a call for limiting foreign imports, increased government spending, and tax policies and cheap loans to encourage business growth. All this is based on the theory that what's good for business is good for the workers—the old "trickle down" theory. But everything the government and business have done to bring about an economic "recovery" has been at the expense of the workers.

The capitalists' efforts to recover their profits have mainly taken place business by business and plant by plant—resulting in throwing 10 million out of work and speeding up millions of the rest to make American industry more profitable. But increasingly, these efforts are being carried out by the government itself, with Carter's unemployment offensive being the sharpest example.

Today, there are divisions within the bourgeoisie about how, to what degree, and when the government should step up these efforts, since in the recent past, they have not been very successful (such as wage controls) and since even things like extensive government jobs programs, which would aid wage cutting and union busting, would cost a lot of money and threaten increased inflation. Meany criticizes what he calls the economic program of big business—no government intervention in the economy—but in reality he is standing with one line in the bourgeoisie against another.

He tries to cover all this by making some noises about the "continuing concentration of money and influence into fewer and fewer hands while millions of Ameri-

cans are denied a fair share" and calling for a "full-scale congressional examination of the structure of the American economy." Part of this is plain old trade unionist reformism (a "fair share" for the workers, as though the goal of the working class was a bigger share of its exploitation), but even more, this call represents Meany wielding his power and influence in behalf of the bourgeois policies and figures with whom he is associated, such as Hubert Humphrey, whose original Humphrey-Hawkins bill was a plan for far more extensive use of the kind of minimum wage "public works works" programs than Carter has yet put into effect.

Union Membership Declines

One thing Meany tried to bury at the bottom of his report is the present state of the AFL-CIO. During the two years since the last convention, the number of AFL-CIO members has actually declined by half a million. Only 20% of all workers are in unions today—the lowest percentage since the early Fifties. These figures reflect the millions out of work in unionized industry as well as overall, and some sharp union busting campaigns waged by the capitalists in a number of industries and areas.

The workers in this country fought and many died to establish the unions which today Meany and other agents of the capitalists run as their private businesses. These labor traitors have been built up by the capitalists as a way to control the workers and rob them of their organized ability to fight. Nevertheless, today, a lot of employers don't need or want even Meany's brand of traitor "unionism," and they're trying to get rid of unions altogether. Meany & Co. verbally denounce this trend (although they limit it to calling union-busting "law breaking," forgetting that it is usually the law—in the form of the courts, the cops and the NLRB—that the capitalists use to carry out these attacks). But because of where their own interests lie, they cannot unleash the power of the rank and file to meet these attacks head on. Instead, even where the battle involves the existence of the union, the top labor hacks generally sabotage the struggle altogether.

But according to Meany's report, the Federation's net assets have grown by \$2 million since the last convention two years ago. This money is to be used for the further expansion of the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, to train more George Meany's to step into his fancy shoes at the welcome moment of his death. The AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust has grown to \$72 million, which makes Meany and his associates who control these vast sums millionaire capitalists themselves. Meany's salary has been raised to \$110,000 a year, as befitting a large corporate executive. In keeping with his class position, bloated George's program for the unions is a direct assault on the workers and has to be exposed and fought tooth and nail. ■



Members of UWOC and NUWO demonstrate outside AFL-CIO convention in L. A. Earlier four workers from these groups confronted hacks inside, demanding the AFL-CIO oppose Carter's attacks on unemployment insurance.

3 NUWO Members

Ohio Klan-Busters Acquitted

"This is a criminal trial not a political soap box"
 —City of Columbus Prosecutor David Winters. *"They say this is just another criminal trial like a purse snatching—baloney—the real issue in this trial is the Ku Klux Klan"*—from the opening statement from the defendants.

The trial of three of the Ohio Klan busters came to a close just before Xmas. Members of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) from Ohio, George Allison, George Preston and Tom Welsh faced charges of incitement to violence and felonious assault.

It all stems from what went down last July 4, when 300 people busted up a KKK rally in Columbus. The statewide Klan rally, supposedly directed against busing, was actually a forum for the Imperial Wizard and his bunch to spread their gospel of race hatred. Instead the Klan was sent scurrying out of town with their sheets between their legs.

The local ruling class in Columbus decided someone had to pay for the whipping the Klan took. They quickly took a young Black woman to trial in juvenile court and convicted her instantly, before a defense could be built. Then four members of the NUWO were charged and set for trial. They decided to set an example with these charges, so as to insure future "right to free speech" for the Klan or any other spokesmen whose message fits their need.

But their example backfired. Instead of teaching people "you can't fight back," the struggle they ran into before and at the trial brought out the widespread and deep-seated hatred of the Klan throughout the state. Hundreds of people were involved in the defense effort and thousands more throughout Ohio checked out the trial as it went on and saw more clearly what the Klan has been up to and who was holding hands with them.

Leading up to the trial, Defense Committees had been formed in Columbus, Cincinnati and Cleveland. These committees, while small, were the moving force around Ohio leading up to the trial. Workers, professionals, students and others, worked together on the committees. They organized fund raising dinners, speaking engagements and a number of demonstrations in Columbus in addition to packing the courtrooms

the eight days of the trial. Petitions were passed around the plants where the defendants worked in an effort to get union resolutions of support. Plenty of supporters were gathered but the officials cancelled all the meetings where resolutions were to be brought to a vote.

Broad Support

A letter of support which sharply denounced the Klan was signed by leaders of community organizations, churches, unions and universities. One signer was the ex-pastor of the church in Birmingham, Ala. that was

bombed by the Klan at the height of the Civil Rights movement, killing four children. The letter was an opportunity for people from many walks of life to state their support of the stand taken against the Klan on July 4th, as well as on other occasions. Just before the trial began this letter was run as an ad in the Columbus newspaper. It was paid for by contributions of the signers in addition to money sent with letters of support from around the country.

What came through in all the work that was done was the almost universal hatred of the Klan and what they stand for. Still, there was a great deal of debate and controversy at the plant cafeterias, at the bars, and on campuses wherever the campaign was boldly taken out. Questions like whether even the Klan has the right to free speech, or whether by running them out of town, people were just providing them with a bunch of free publicity. Questions such as how the Klan and others like them are being used around the country in volatile situations in order to ignite violence against oppressed nationalities and point the finger of blame of peoples' problems away from the capitalists.

As it turned out these questions were not just de-
Continued on page 18



Workers from the National United Workers Organization demonstrate together with others against the Klan in San Diego, California.

Dawson 5 Beat Racist Frame-up

After nearly two years of imprisonment for a crime they didn't commit, murder charges have finally been dropped against five Black youths from Dawson, Georgia on December 20. The Dawson 5—Roosevelt Watson, Henderson Watson, J.D. Davenport, Johnny Jackson, and James Jackson, Jr.—faced death in the electric chair until the state's prosecution case was exposed as a racist frame-up and a pack of filthy lies.

In January 1976, the five youths were charged with armed robbery and the murder of a white customer in a Dawson grocery store. At that time, they were two

miles down the road from the store, drawing water from a well because Watson's hand water pump at home was broken. Although much of the evidence pointed to the store owner himself as doing the shooting, the police automatically took his testimony that four Black youths took \$100 from the cash register and then took his .25 caliber pistol and shot the customer in the head. However, his pistol was never found, and it took the owner a full five days to "identify" 17 year old Roosevelt Watson (who regularly did the family shopping in the store) as one of the killers. Roosevelt, his brother, his cousin, and two friends were quickly picked up by the police and charged with murder. However, their only crime was being poor and Black in a system that thrives off the vicious exploitation of working people generally and the national oppression of Black people and other minorities.

Pig "Questioning"

After his arrest, Roosevelt Watson was taken to another town for the kind of "questioning" one might expect in these circumstances. State police threatened to shoot him if he didn't confess. When they shipped him up for a lie detector test, he was told that he was going to be electrocuted. In addition, he was threatened with castration and forced to wade in a

cold pond for several hours "looking for a weapon." Under these conditions, Roosevelt signed a "confession," which he denounced as soon as he got back in touch with his family and friends in Dawson. The other four youth "confessed" after Terrell County authorities held cocked guns at their heads.

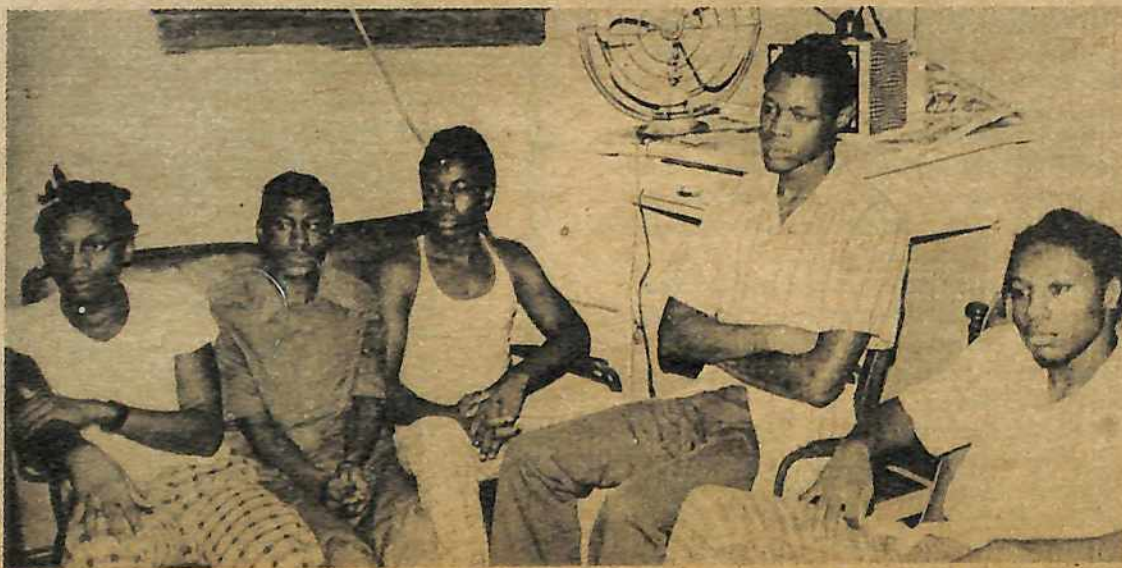
At pre-trial hearings in August 1977 (a year and a half after the supposed murder), the state's case crumbled when a local cop admitted that his partner had obtained the confession from Roosevelt Watson at gunpoint. The five youths were finally freed in mid-December when a Georgia Superior Court judge ruled that the so-called confessions could not be used in court.

National and worldwide coverage was given to this blatant frameup. This was much more possible because Dawson is just 20 miles from Jimmy Carter's hometown of Plains, Georgia. Blacks in Terrell County still live in grinding poverty. National oppression there is maintained by the same capitalist system as everywhere in the country.

Still in many ways the Dawson case reflects the fact that, while the South has undergone radical transformation since World War 2 (especially the widespread disappearance of the sharecropping system), in some areas of the South, Black people suffer some particular forms of national oppression which arose on the basis of the old semifudal system. Though the population of Terrell Co. is 70% Black, Blacks hold no elective positions in the city or county governments. Along with the certainty of more public exposure of this case, demonstrations, courtroom actions and support work of all kinds in the South and other parts of the country were crucial to freeing the five youths.

According to the bourgeoisie's political mouthpieces, dismissal of the charges is supposed to prove that the American system of justice works for everyone. But the basic reason these Black youths were freed lies in the great advances made during the civil rights and Black liberation struggles of the 1950's and 60's in attacking the vicious system of discrimination and national oppression and exposing it as the common enemy of workers of all nationalities.

The tremendous power of the Black liberation struggle in the '60s and the reservoir of hatred for oppression set the stage for a significant victory when the state of Georgia was forced to drop all charges against the Dawson 5. ■



Dawson Five struggle exposed the racist, trumped-up charges against these youths and scored a victory against national oppression.

Federal Reserve & Finance Capital

Carter Axes Arthur Burns

When President Carter moved to replace Arthur Burns as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board (the Fed), December 29, the *Wall Street Journal* called the Federal Reserve chief "the second most important man in Washington." Even the mass circulation daily newspapers gave their readers a brief glimpse of the Fed and its power to influence the fate of millions, even though the mass media usually does its best to shroud the Fed in mystery and confine it to obscurity in the pages of the financial section.

What is the Federal Reserve System, why is it both so important and so little publicized, and what is the controversy that gave rise to Carter's decision to replace Burns with G. William Miller?

The Federal Reserve is an arm of the federal government whose formal role is to regulate the amount of money in circulation. It is the bankers' bank, lending and borrowing huge sums from private banks. It raises and lowers interest rates and the amount of cash that private banks are required to keep on hand. It sets the pace for money policy in the country as a whole. Above all, its function is to manipulate the availability and the price of credit—loans and interest rates—which is critical to businesses big and small.

But the Fed is no classless bureaucracy and mere overseer of finance as the bourgeois media claim. True, it does a lot to control banking, but it itself is controlled by the top finance capitalists who use it to carry out their policies and to whip smaller banks and the capitalist class as a whole into line behind those policies. It is one of the sharpest examples of the intertwining of finance capital and the state. Because of its function it is quite openly and directly controlled by the financiers themselves. This is why they prefer it to operate out of public view. Its role as an organ of the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists is even more naked than the President and Congress, agents of the monopolists who clothe their service to the capitalists' political rule with demagoguery and many more "democratic" deceptions.

Monopoly capitalism—imperialism—arose out of the merger between bank capital and industrial capital around the turn of the century. Finance capital, the product of that merger, dominates the economic life of society, and the monopoly capitalist class exercises dictatorship through the bourgeois state. The Federal Reserve System plays a vital role in this dictatorship.

Birth of the Federal Reserve

Like much of the state apparatus of capitalism, the creation of the Federal Reserve System as a state bank in 1913 was advertised as an instrument for control over the monopolies. In fact it represented an attempt to cut away at the power of the top financier of the day—J. P. Morgan, who dominated much of banking at that time—by a rising and increasingly powerful John D. Rockefeller and other monopolists. Morgan was able to turn this attack around by getting his men into controlling positions in the Fed, which was more or less a private arm of the Morgan empire until the days of FDR when Rockefeller and others finally knocked Morgan down, which included getting a Rockefeller man to head up the Fed.

Today, with the state more deeply directly involved with the economy than ever, both in terms of direct dealings with companies (through contracts, loans, "regulation," etc.) and in terms of setting overall economic policy, the role of the Federal Reserve System is even more important than in previous periods. The vast majority of banks are part of its network, profoundly influenced by the Fed's decisions on both a day-to-day and long-term basis.

The boards of the Fed's twelve regional banks are made up of the top representatives of business—both actual heads of banks and other corporations and various experts who serve them—and serve as an important way in which business is organized and controlled, since decisions about credit have a lot to do with which businesses expand or die. In turn, the Federal Reserve Board which presides over the whole system is made up of representatives of the top handful of financial groups—the Rockefellers, Harrimans, Mellons, Bank of America, etc.—whose positions on the Board are symbolic of their positions at the core of the ruling class.

Questions of policy at the Fed, including the nomination and firing of the chairman of its governing board, reflect both questions of policy within these ruling circles and moves to serve the particular interests

of some at the expense of others.

But while control of credit allows the monopolists to dominate business—small, medium and large—just as their financial power and political control through the state allows them to exercise dictatorship throughout society, still they are not able to make things go as they might like. In the years since the Depression, the bourgeoisie has turned more and more towards Keynesian government intervention in the economy (especially deficit spending) to try to counter economic stagnation and more recently, growing crisis. All this has resulted in more and more inflation. That this policy represented a necessity for the ruling class is clear from the fact that all U.S. presidents, especially from JFK on, have followed it, including that one-time self-declared enemy of Keynesianism, Richard Nixon.

During his eight years as chairman of the Fed, an important part of Burns' job has been to counter that inflation by holding back the growth of the money supply. His efforts completely failed to prevent the explosion of inflation in 1973-74, and could not halt the resurgence of inflation during the last year, despite the fact that Burns did succeed in bringing down the amount of money circulating.

More Stimulation

Increasingly, the bourgeoisie (or at least a dominant camp within the bourgeoisie) has turned to even more stimulation, following the failure of a real and lasting "recovery" to appear after the 1973-74 "recession" and the continuing crisis in the economy today. Burns has more or less opposed this and continued to stress inflation as a greater danger to the capitalist system than stagnation. His policies which made him a "balance" to the government's economic stimulus programs has made him a barrier to intensifying these efforts. Above all, it is necessity and not opinion which led to his dismissal, for while Burns is certainly correct in saying, for instance, that a tax cut to stimulate investment will help fuel inflation and make investment more difficult, still, the bourgeoisie has no choice but to do whatever it can to try to get the economy moving today or it will find itself in even more trouble.

Unlike Burns who was a professor and an advisor to presidents, his replacement, G. William Miller, is a multimillionaire businessman and, as he describes himself, "a pragmatist." Miller was head of the Textron corporation, a conglomerate which was made up of "three different profit centers," as an executive said—or in other words, a typical monopoly capitalist company in which all sorts of concerns are tied together by one thread—common financing. In turn, this conglomerate is no doubt linked up with larger and more powerful interests, although more research is needed to clarify this. In addition to his role as a director of the Federal Reserve Bank in Boston, Miller is also chairman of both the Conference Board (a council of "leading" businessmen—i.e., a good number of the most powerful) and the National Alliance of Businessmen, a group set up in the '60s to give "business leadership" to the ferment around social problems. Regardless of the immediate interests Miller may be linked to, his career shows that he is very well suited to serve the broad interests of the monopoly capitalist class as a whole.

It is too early to go deeply into future policies of the Fed. In fact, for the bourgeoisie as well as all its government spokesmen, this is more a time of preliminary efforts and debate than of throwing everything headlong into a single policy. Still, it is known (through articles and speeches by Miller) that he advocates tax cuts for industry combined with cutbacks in government spending (or actually, tax cuts for business and tax increases for the masses, combined with more governmental direct aid to business and less spending on social services), and along with this general economic stimulation, more government control over allocating credit to specific businesses and sectors of the economy. His recipe for dealing with inflation involves "workfare and training programs" (which, like the workfare programs proposed by Carter would "train" the unemployed to drive down the wages of all workers) and "a two or three year moratorium on strikes, with a requirement for arbitration of disputes."

Of course, lest Miller make Burns look good by comparison, it should be remembered that for some time Burns has been openly advocating cutting unemployment benefits to 13 weeks. Shielded by presidential appointment (even the President by himself can't dump him for a term of 8 years as chairman and 14 years

on the Board), the head of the Fed is free to openly propose and promote the reactionary programs of the bourgeoisie.


As the bourgeoisie moves towards even more direct government intervention in the economy, it tries to cover itself with fine words about "regulating," or controlling business, presenting every action on behalf of the finance capitalists as a step towards bringing business under the control of the "people." AFL-CIO President George Meany is a prime example of that, because at the same time as he calls for the government to "investigate" and "control" business, he calls for more government programs to "solve" the problems faced by the working class on the basis of the power of the monopolists and their state.

Tinkering Can't Control It

Nothing the bourgeoisie has done, none of its tinkering and manipulating and expert maneuvers, has brought the economy under control. The capitalist economy is fundamentally controlled by economic laws which operate regardless of the programs of the Fed chairman or even the whole capitalist class. The workings of these laws inevitably lead to crisis, and the measures they take to avoid this only lead to more severe crises in the long run. Yet the very growing severity of the crisis forces them to do more and more—to mount a series of attacks which all come down to the bottom line of squeezing ever more out of the working class and ever more intense fighting within the capitalist class for control over this surplus value. Thus their very frenzy for profits in the midst of growing crisis not only sharpens the conditions for building the struggle against the capitalists, but also makes it increasingly possible to expose the government and the whole dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and direct the struggle more consciously and openly against the whole rule of the capitalist class.

The central role of the banks—and within that, the state bank—in the economy is another example of the tremendous centralization that grows under imperialism. Under the capitalists, this can only mean intensified anarchy along with increased exploitation because their system is based on the ownership of the means of production by an exploiting handful, in contradiction to the socialized nature of production. But the proletariat, by abolishing private ownership of the means of production, smashing the whole bourgeois state and moving to eliminate the organization of society imposed by capitalism, will be able to really control the economy and continue to revolutionize it as part of its struggle to transform the world. ■


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Continued from page 5

as well." Precisely! When the working class holds power it uses scientific experiment and utilizes scientific personnel to further exercise its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, newly engendered as well as the remnants of the old society, so that in dialectical relationship with further advancing the productive forces the working class can move forward toward its final goal—communism. According to one of the authors, J. Rifkin, while it might be true that all previous scientific and technological developments can be made to serve one social system or another, it does not hold true for research into genetics because "it is qualitatively different from all previous technology" (from our telephone interview with J. Rifkin).

An example of how the authors see this "qualitatively different" research transcending the class nature of society is seen in their treatment of the controversy surrounding an Italian biologist, Dr. Daniele Petrucci, who in 1961 "fertilized an egg and allowed it to grow outside the human body for fifty-nine days." But then he "destroyed his creation because it was deformed and enlarged—a monstrosity." (p. 106-7)

The authors go on to add "Petrucci's baby created such a worldwide sensation that it even reached into the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China [wrong from the start to put them into the same category!]. *Jenmin Jih Pao*, the official Chinese newspaper, praised his effort: 'These are achievements of extreme importance, which have opened up bright perspectives for similar research... Nine months of pregnancy is no light or easy burden and such diseases as poisoning due to pregnancy are detrimental to health. If children can be had without being born, working mothers need not be affected by childbirth. This is happy news for working women.' " (p. 107) Leaving aside the question of who was in control of the press at that time in China or what was "official" (for the class struggle in China was extremely sharp at that point, as the Cultural Revolution was subsequently to show) the statement remains essentially correct. While "test-tube babies" is not a question that history is demanding a solution to at the present time, it is certainly not wrong to speculate on the immense force for the liberation of women that such a development could lead to. Contrary to the age-old myth, there is certainly no joy, no "gleam" about the face of a pregnant woman, other than the joy of knowing what the result of their suffering will be.

Who Should Police Science?

The petty bourgeois outlook of the authors—on the one hand their fear and hatred of the capitalist ruling class, on the other their inability and refusal to throw in their lot with the working class and its revolutionary struggle—comes out in countless ways in the book. In a roundabout way the authors raise the question of who should police science. (pp. 36-39) In criticizing the Asilomar Conference (a meeting in 1975 of 140 biologists from 17 countries to discuss the dangers of research into recombinant DNA) they correctly point out that asking the scientific community to police itself is "analogous to the FBI's meeting to decide how to regulate itself." (p. 37) But what the authors cannot do is directly address the question of who should "police" science. They know it cannot police itself, and they certainly know that the capitalist ruling class will only police it to serve their own ends. Therefore they draw the conclusion that all research into these fields should be stopped (p. 230), which is not only reactionary but impossible as well.

What about the possibility of the working class and the masses of people "policing science"? Not in the sense of ordering the scientists about or ripping down their laboratories, but in the sense of guiding scientific research, linking it up directly with the masses and the struggle for production, and leading scientific personnel down the road of socialist revolution. This is precisely one of the big accomplishments of the Cultural Revolution in China—linking scientific research with the masses and with the revolution—and certainly one of the goals of the revolutionary working class in this country after it seizes power.

The class outlook of Howard and Rifkin even blinds them to the suffering of the masses. In the lowest point of the book they launch into an attack against artificial insemination, pointing out that "perhaps a million living Americans... were conceived in this way, 1% of all children born." (p. 91) All they are capable of seeing is the bourgeoisie's efforts to "screen" potential sperm donors and certain ridiculous bourgeois legal complications that arise. This, coupled with the real but miniscule medical danger of accidental incest arising from marriage between two people with the same biological "father," apparently, is enough for the authors to disregard the heartache of childless couples, for whom artificial insemination might be the only way, with the present level of scientific knowledge, to have children.

As if to show their complete departure from science, even while writing a book on science, they write this ridiculous passage: "What effect would widespread AID [artificial insemination by donor] have on family relationships? What new forms of sibling rivalries will develop among children who share the same mother but have different donors for fathers? How will children relate to the male figure who is present in the home but has no biological connection with them?" (p. 100) Do the authors really think that children born through artificial insemination will not grow up with exactly the same love for their fathers as if they have been conceived in the natural way? They might as well come out against adoption! In fact, on this point the authors are actually uniting with the idiocy of the Jensen and Shockley type racists who hold human behavior is principally biologically determined.

The same blindness to the suffering of the masses comes out in their treatment of "mood altering drugs." (pp. 176-8) While correctly slamming the drug companies and their promotional techniques, the authors present these drugs such as Librium and Valium as if the bourgeoisie had stumbled upon Huxley's soma, the drug in *Brave New World* which made people happy and willing slaves. Damn right a hell of a lot of people in capitalist society need tranquilizers at certain times and a lot more women than men (a fact cited on p. 177). Why not blame the capitalist system and not the drug?

The Book's Philosophy

Running through the whole book is a philosophical line of the petty-bourgeoisie (basically a type of bourgeois philosophy). Early on they write, "'Man the engineer' may soon become 'man the engineered.'" (p. 4) Here they completely reverse the entire flow of history. "Man the engineer" is the future, communism, "man the engineered" is the basic fact of all previous human society, and the socialist revolution is basically the transition between the latter and the former.

If what the authors mean by "man the engineer" is that under advanced capitalist society man has much greater control over nature than in all previous forms (though still far less than possible, even at the present stage of historical development) they still miss the boat. Under capitalism, the blind workings of the laws of the capitalist system "engineer" man, not the other way around! Not only is this obviously true of the working class (after all, the biggest component of "man" in capitalist society) who are "engineered" from birth to death, it is even true of the capitalists themselves, who are, in Marx's words, "capital personified," that is, they basically act out the laws inherent in capital itself.

But clearly the most important philosophical question is raised by the title of their work itself: who should play God? Surprisingly, the book never directly addresses this question, leaving the reader to suspect that perhaps it was just a catchy promotion gimmick by Dell Publishing to sell books. But actually the book has a very clear line on God, essentially *deism*, a refuge for those whose knowledge of the physical world is enough to make all forms of superstition repugnant, but whose world outlook prevents them abandoning God altogether.

Although Rifkin at least professes a distaste for "labels" (interview) this view is clearly spelled out when they write of the danger of "irreversibly change[ing] the evolutionary wisdom of years with the creation of new plants, new animals, and new forms of human and post-human beings." (p. 8) This "evolutionary wisdom" coupled with comments of Rifkin that there is a "logic to nature" and a "force beyond human society" (interview) is a classical deist view which accepts God as an all-encompassing and motivating force but which refuses to grant God a personified form. When deism first arose with the bourgeois revolution it was indeed revolutionary; now, like all forms of religion, it is hopelessly reactionary.

The authors provide in a well written and lively way some of the material necessary to draw the inevitable conclusion to the question posed by the title. But they refuse to draw it. As Mao put it in his powerfully moving speech, "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains": "Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people," and, of course, Mao would add the masses of people the world over.

There is no immutable divine force or "order" with which man cannot tamper. Every advance in science, in production and in revolution testify to that. In fact, there are laws of nature and society, but the heart of the matter is exactly that by grasping these laws, by waging struggle, man can and inevitably will step by step forge his own future.

The authors claim that "today we live in a new era, a new reality. Today we live in the midst of the Biological Revolution." (p. 15) Is this the essence of the times we live in? No, it is not. We live in the era described by Lenin long ago, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

To Rifkin and Howard and others like them we can only say: Cast away your fear of the bourgeoisie, cast aside the blinders of capitalism! Put your faith in the masses of people and in revolution! Long before your *Brave New World* has been created, the people, led by the revolutionary proletariat, will have toppled the rule of capital and the masses will have begun to play God. ■

Struggle Intensifies in Ethiopia

The struggles of the Ethiopian people and the oppressed nationalities in the Horn of Africa for democracy and national liberation are advancing in the face of massive repression by the fascist military junta led by Col. Mengistu. In addition to Mengistu's butchers, the people of the region are also confronted with fierce rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviets for domination. The people are fighting courageously to determine their own destiny by repulsing both superpowers and all their reactionary pawns.

Worldwide, support is growing for the battles being waged by the Ethiopian people, much of it under the leadership of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), and by the oppressed nationalities in Eritrea and Ogaden. The Worldwide Federation of Ethiopian Students has called for demonstrations against the Mengistu repression and superpower intervention. In the U.S., the Ethiopian Students Union of North America had a demonstration in New York on January 9.

The Ethiopian military junta (the Derg) rode to power in February 1973 during the massive popular upsurge that toppled Emperor Haile Selassie, a long-time and staunch ally of U.S. imperialism. Since then their rule has been no easy ride. While claiming to be Marxist-Leninists, the Derg has not only done nothing to change the semifeudal, semicolonial character of the country, it has unleashed a war of terror against the masses of people who are persisting to fight for a democratic revolution in Ethiopia.

The liberation struggle of the Eritrean people, which the Derg is desperately trying to stamp out, continues to win new victories. Ninety percent of the countryside of Eritrea is controlled by Eritrean forces, particularly the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, and the only major city still controlled by the Derg is Asmara, the

capital. But all roads leading to it have been cut off and the airport, through which the Derg has been receiving large amounts of Soviet weaponry and supplies, is under siege and may already be in the people's hands.

The Mengistu regime is in great disarray and sharp struggles have broken out within the Derg between pro-U.S. and pro-Soviet forces which are presently in control. To keep themselves in power, the Derg has unleashed wave upon wave of bloody repression on the people. Its principal target has been the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party and its military arm, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Army. Thousands of youths have been machine gunned in street demonstrations, revolutionary workers have been executed in the name of "workers revolution" and "socialism" and there is widespread torture of political prisoners. Since 1974, 30,000 workers, peasants and youths have been massacred in cold blood. Recently, the junta started a new round of house-to-house searches in another attempt to "liquidate" the EPRP and the EPRA.

The Derg has taken an anti-U.S. stand, including the purge last February of wavering pro-U.S. forces within its own ranks, only to jump in bed with the social-imperialists. The Kremlin vultures are busy flattering Mengistu as a "Marxist-Leninist" and have to date provided him with at least \$700 million worth of military aid as well as Cuban "advisors"! The Brezhnev clique claims this "aid" is to defend Ethiopia's revolution from internal and external reactionaries! Soviet arms and Soviet-backed mercenaries are being used to murder peasants in Eritrea, striking workers in Ethiopia and to wage war against oppressed nationalities in the Ogaden region, just like U.S. military aid was used to massacre and oppress the masses of people under the reactionary regime of Haile Selassie. Neither of the superpowers and their pawns have been able to stem the people's struggle in the Horn of Africa. ■

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Free José Maria Sison!

Philippine CP Leader Arrested

On November 10, 1977, military intelligence officers of the Philippine Army smashed their way into a shabby house in La Union Province. The man they came to seize was Jose Maria Sison, better known as Armado Guerrero, the chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

It was only after 9 days of savage "questioning" and a face to face confrontation with Marcos, who tried to buy Sison off, that the government decided that Sison could not be broken and publically announced his capture. Although his defiance means a kangaroo trial and a threatened death sentence, Sison stood proud. In fact Marcos, who has previously announced that the capture of other leaders of the CPP and the guerrilla New People's Army under its leadership meant the end of the CPP, had to admit at the press conference that his government had won only a tactical victory: "Knowing the nature of the Communist Party, there will be an effort to replace all those who have been captured."

There is no question that Sison's capture is a setback for the revolutionary struggle in the Philippines, a struggle that has continued to develop through many difficulties. For many years his life has been closely intertwined with that struggle. In the early 1960s he helped found a radical youth group, Kabataang Makabayan, which had a profound effect on a whole generation of Filipino youth and on the country as a whole.

In 1968 he led in the reconstitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines which, from that time, based itself on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. At this time, this group was made up not only of revolutionary-minded young people but many veteran revolutionaries who were from the by then stagnant and thoroughly revisionist Philippine Commu-

nist Party. Among these were some units formerly of the Hukbalahap guerilla group which, after the collapse into revisionism of the old C.P., fell apart or degenerated into banditry.

From that time forward, the CPP and its military arm, the New People's Army, have led the Filipino people's struggle against the Marcos dictatorship and U.S. imperialism—which is backing up the regime with \$120 million a year in military and economic aid. From a handful of fighters a decade ago, the NPA has grown to today's 10,000 guerilla troops—armed with captured weapons and active in every single province of the country. Together with the peasants in hundreds of villages, NPA units have forced rent reductions and other concessions from landlords and set up people's militias to defend these gains.

An important recent development is that under Sison's leadership, the Party and the NPA have linked up with the rebellion by the Muslim peoples in the southern islands—creating a national united front against Marcos and U.S. imperialism. In addition, Sison wrote the basic theoretical work of the revolutionary movement in his country, *Philippine Society and Revolution* and many important articles and polemics on key questions of line and policy.

Setbacks and Growth

Sison's capture follows arrests in recent years of other top leaders of the CCP and the guerrilla struggle, two of whom, Commander Dante and Victor Corpus, were recently sentenced to death by one of Marcos' kangaroo courts. When these setbacks occurred, Sison wrote a statement which declared, "The revolution will go on and the Party will continue to lead it. So long as there is oppression, the people's resistance

perous farmers' interests, as well as the bourgeoisie's as a whole. This bill calls for \$7 billion in government subsidies for the coming year to keep the majority of farmers in business. Wheat farmers, for example, will receive \$1.2 billion in deficiency payments for their 1977 crop—bridging the gap between the \$2.25/bushel price at which they can store their wheat under government loan programs and a "target price" of \$2.90 set by Congress for 1977. The new law also requires grain farmers to cut down their wheat acreage by 20% to qualify for the price support program.

However, these price supports will not rescue the vast majority of striking farmers, since most have relatively high production costs based on recently purchased land and machinery. The farmers who will prosper and grow under the new farm bill are those with most of their land paid off and large-scale operations under way. As the Arkansas banker said, the "marginal guys" will just have to bite the dust.


Still, the underlying contradictions are left untouched. The bigger wheat farmers will simply intensify production on the most fertile 80% of their former acreage and new surpluses will continue to depress prices, as well as force the government to cough up billions more in price supports. In addition, the bourgeoisie is walking a narrow tightrope in the international market, where their push to solve the balance-of-payments deficit by opening up new agricultural export markets is banging heads with the growing demands from steel, textiles and other big U.S. monopoly concerns for protection against cheaper imports.

The administration currently is splashing around, desperately trying to sell off the huge U.S. grain surplus to the Soviet Union, Poland, Japan, and other countries. They also want to set up a 35 million ton international grain reserve fund mainly paid for by other countries, as well as stabilize prices at a level favorable to U.S. grain producers. However, these schemes are certain to end up shipwrecked as each country's bourgeoisie is forced to resort to dog-eat-dog competition to ensure its own survival.

The Road Forward

Under capitalism, it is inevitable that the development of large-scale mechanized agriculture will ruin and eventually drive out the vast majority of small farmers. This has historically swollen the ranks of the industrial and agricultural workers—the proletariat—which is the only thoroughly revolutionary class in society today. In addition, these developments have provided more favorable material conditions for the eventual socialization and state ownership of agriculture under socialism.

But all this has meant increased hardship and suffering for millions of small farmers, sharecroppers, and agricul-



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will continue and the Party will have the conditions to thrive on." As for the loss of key leading people, he said while such setbacks might create big difficulties "So long as the masses are aroused, organized and mobilized for their own just revolutionary cause, we will continue to reap victories and will never run short of capable Party leaders at every level. Party cadres continually emerge from the revolutionary masses and are tempered and developed in the course of revolutionary struggle."

Despite the capture of Sison himself, the Communist Party of the Philippines still maintains the deep ties among the masses it gained through years of struggle. The struggle in the Philippines will continue to grow and to bring closer the day when Sison's captors meet their just reward. ■

tural wage laborers. The current upsurge among the small farmers must be supported overall, though it has only begun to deliver the heavy blows against the capitalists it potentially can.

It is correct and necessary for the farmers to fight for concessions from the government—such as demanding a moratorium on foreclosures and immediate aid for small farmers facing bankruptcy. In addition, the spearhead needs to be directed against the high prices charged farmers for equipment, against the grain speculators and "middleman" monopolies, as well as against loan cutoffs and the extortion of high interest by the banks. The capitalist exploiters must pay—not the farmers or the masses of working people.

Beyond this, the working class must relentlessly expose the capitalist system's responsibility for the crisis, continue to build its revolutionary struggle against the class enemy, and patiently explain that the only prospect ahead for the vast majority of small farmers under capitalism is hardship and the threat of ruin; the only future for them lies in fighting together with the working class for socialism. ■

Farmers ...

Continued from page 2

farmers as "traditional guardians of our values of hard work from dusk to dawn" in order to plug the great benefits of the "free enterprise system." However, for a number of important reasons, the basic interests of the capitalist class lie in holding down the prices of heavily exported goods like wheat and feed grains.

The first reason is the strain on the Treasury caused by the billions of dollars in farm price supports. Especially in a strained government financial situation, such money will take away capital or from government expenditures for things like stepping up war preparations against their arch-capitalist rivals in the Soviet Union.


The second is a high rate of inflation and the political dangers that inevitably accompany sharply higher food prices. This has been seen in the public outcry over skyrocketing food prices during 1973-74 and in the big rebellions in Poland in 1970 and in 1975, when the state capitalists there jacked up meat and other food prices 50% and more.

However, the bourgeoisie's "solutions" to the farm crisis are primarily determined by their need to export billions in agricultural products to cover their massive and dangerous balance-of-payments deficit. This deficit is a major running sore of U.S. capitalism and is constantly threatening to unhinge the stability of the dollar and U.S. investments worldwide. After President Carter met with four carefully selected farmers in mid-December, he told the press that raising prices as high as the farmers were demanding would "make it difficult for us to compete with international prices on many of our export items."

The overriding concern of the bourgeoisie as a whole is to keep prices low enough to expand grain exports in the face of stepped-up competition from Canada, Australia, Argentina, and other grain producers. The Big 6 grain trading monopolies and the more prosperous farmers represented by the American Farm Bureau take this position even further. They are knocking the administration for not doing enough to open up new export markets and knock down tariff walls, especially in Western Europe. And they are openly critical of the higher grain price support levels set for 1977-78 for running the danger of losing international markets.

New Farm Bill

Nevertheless, the administration's recently passed farm bill for 1977-81 basically upholds the more pros-



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Frame-up of Filipina Nurses Overturned

Last month just before the holidays, the fight to free Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez, two Filipina nurses convicted on July 20 of poisoning patients in a VA hospital, won a significant victory. Judge Philip Pratt declared a mistrial based on actions of the prosecution during the trial. In his ruling he said that the government attorneys Yanko and Delonis misled the jury, suppressed information and basically made it impossible for the two nurses to get a "fair trial." Before and after the conviction there were thousands of supporters who felt that the two were certainly not getting a "fair trial." From the beginning Narciso and Perez were the victims of a racist, anti-immigrant government frame-up.

In the summer of 1975 several breathing failures, some resulting in death, occurred at the Ann Arbor, Michigan VA hospital. When problems at other VA hospitals became public an uproar started over the Ann Arbor deaths as well as the overall conditions at VA hospitals. Just as they've done so often in the past these "authorities" came up with a couple of foreign-born scapegoats.

Outrageous Frameup

Even before it got to the courtroom it became obvious that the case was an outrageous frame-up. The FBI and hospital director Lindenauer began a campaign of harassment against the nurses. Any leads not pointing directly to Narciso and Perez were ignored.

In March 1977 the prosecution admitted they had no eyewitnesses to any of the crimes and no motive, but the case came to trial anyway. It became public during the trial that the FBI and VA had instituted a reign of terror in the hospital and had harassed, threatened and bribed many witnesses. Evidence and testimony by patients and co-workers favorable to the defense were suppressed. Public sentiment was so overwhelm-

ingly favorable to the nurses that at one point, one of the U.S. attorneys made a statement to the *Detroit Free Press* that although he knew most people thought they were innocent and even if the jury found them innocent, "he knew they were guilty."

Although there were many demonstrations and other displays of support in Detroit and other cities that went on during the trial, there were still a lot of supporters who thought the whole thing was so obvious that there was no need to worry that the nurses would be found guilty. One line held by some during the whole campaign was that the persecution of the nurses was some kind of tragic mistake or aberration of an otherwise democratic system and "inconsistent with the principles of American freedom and justice." Similarly, some held that the prosecution, the FBI and VA were the "bad apples" in the system and that the "good apples" would see that justice would be carried out—the judge, the jury system, etc. This set people up for a big shock when the verdict came down. The same kind of thinking also hindered the building of a really serious, powerful mass movement to free the nurses, instead pushing reliance on legal maneuvers and calls on various government agencies, especially Congress, to "investigate and straighten out the mess."

But what the frame-up of the nurses revealed was that the system is putrid in all its parts and no part can straighten out the other. The forces that carried out the persecution and monkey trial of the nurses were certainly not black sheep but some of the pillars of capitalist society—the courts, the FBI and one of the government's most sacred cows, the Veterans Administration. The news media, although it condemned the most obvious outrages of the trial, played its part by spreading much of the racist garbage with which the government hoped to confuse the people. For example, tales of all the hospital patients who were refusing care from Filipinos and other Asians as a result of the case. Spreading this kind of poison aimed at dividing the people was certainly not the least of the ruling class' motive in pursuing this case. Certainly they wanted to get the VA off the hook and make the FBI, which has been more and more exposed in recent years, look good. But it is not the first time that the capitalists whose profit system is constantly wracked by crisis and who face increasing resistance from workers and other sections of the people have used cases like this to promote national and racial divisions.

Struggle Wins Victory

The Narciso-Perez trial brought to mind the famous Sacco and Vanzetti case where two immigrant workers were railroaded to death by the ruling class, which included an attempt to whip up anti-foreigner hysteria at a time when immigrants were playing an important role in the rising struggle of the working class. But again, spectacular racist frame-ups are only the most glaring

outrages of the system that daily fosters national oppression and racial division, including its routine railroading of minorities through the courts and through the jails and prisons of the United States.

Narciso and Perez themselves, who originally had so much faith in the U.S. government they had cooperated fully with the FBI till it became clear they were being framed, declared their total disillusionment and disgust with the system. There were big demonstrations protesting the verdict and thousands raised their voices in anger in some way. Even the capitalist media had to come out and question the verdict and condemn parts of the handling of the case.

Close on the heels of the verdict Judge Pratt sent the two nurses away to Alderson Prison for "psychiatric evaluation." The government was stalling for time, trying to figure out what to do with this case that had become a stinking albatross around their necks. The obvious frameup had not gotten over, and it was becoming more of a political liability to let it stand and to leave open the question of what really happened at the VA hospital, as well as cause a few red faces at the U.S. Attorney's office. With the declaration of the mistrial the government hopes to again say, "See, the system does work." But like Watergate this is bound to leave a deep impression on the people despite the ruling class' attempts to make one arm the "good guy" and the other the "fall guy." Although the battle is not over yet, the declaration of the mistrial was a real victory and a tribute to the struggle of the people and to the courage of Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez. But it should not be forgotten that the government still has the option of trying the nurses. While the first indications were that this would not happen, a new trial is not entirely out of the picture. And supporters of Narciso and Perez must remain vigilant until all the charges are dropped. ■



Over 1000 people demonstrated in front of the Ann Arbor VA hospital a few days after the initial verdict, proclaiming the innocence of Narciso and Perez, and protesting the FBI frame-up and VA cover-up.

Other Charges Still Pending

I-Hotel Fighters Beat Felony Raps

The San Francisco cops and District Attorney swore they'd nail the International Hotel 10. They had films, "positive identification," witnesses—everything they thought they would need to hang the 10 on as many as four felony charges, carrying three to four year sentences in state prison *per charge*. Their crime—standing up against the capitalists, defending people's homes and communities, fighting for the International Hotel.

These ten people, along with many others from Chinatown and the Bay Area, came out on the morning of September 17 to stop the illegal demolition of the I-Hotel. In a clear display of capitalist justice and "equal treatment under the law," Four Seas Investment Corporation and its bulldozer-driving mercenary, Fred Grange (who knocked a big hole in the back of the Hotel before he was stopped), are being charged with misdemeanors. Suspended sentences are the likely penalty, if any.

But when I-Hotel tenants and many supporters turned out to stop the bulldozers from levelling their homes and community, the San Francisco cops were unleashed, trying to crush a struggle that had made big gains against the rich. Right from the start, the I-Hotel 10 Defense Committee said that "It's the rich who are guilty and those ten did nothing wrong."

On December 19, the first day of the preliminary hearings for the seven I-Hotel fighters charged with serious felonies, the DA's representatives dismissed all charges against three defendants. Then for five days the poorly coached cops lied and stumbled all over the place. For five days, the supporters of the I-Hotel 10 packed the courtroom. At that point the judge reluctantly reduced all the felony charges to misdemeanors and dismissed the outrageous "lynching" charge against

the seven remaining defendants. In a disgusting display of trying to shift their guilt for countless crimes committed against the people, the SF police had originally charged the ten I-Hotel fighters with "lynching"—for trying to protect Chinatown residents and others from a brutal police attack in front of the I-Hotel.

The capitalists wanted to use the I-Hotel 10 to show that if people took a stand there would be harsh con-

sequences. But support for the 10 started the day of their arrest and has continued to grow. Petitions were circulated throughout Chinatown and elsewhere, gathering hundreds of signatures demanding the charges be dropped. Some Chinatown residents have given money to the defense from their hard-earned savings. The I-Hotel 10 Defense Committee has been building support broadly, and a number of community organizations and unions have sent letters to the DA to drop the charges. It's because of this kind of support and the whole militant history of struggle for the International Hotel that the judge was forced to reduce the charges.

March 13 has been set as the trial date for the seven remaining defendants. The Defense Committee is going all out to defend the I-Hotel 7. Important victories have been scored, and defense efforts will continue until all charges are dropped against all the fighters for the I-Hotel. ■

San Francisco

Hyatt 4 Charges Reduced

Charges against the Hyatt 4 were reduced late in November from felony to misdemeanor battery. The Hyatt 4 are workers who were arrested last summer when, in the course of building for the founding of the National United Workers Organization, a powerful demonstration was held at San Francisco's Hyatt Hotel to stop a union busters' conference held by Advanced Management Research.

On November 29, the first day of the preliminary hearing, over 100 workers jammed the courtroom and held a spirited noontime rally called by the Hyatt 4 Defense Committee. Speakers brought out that it's right to fight against union busting—the July 26 demonstration to "Bust Up the Union Busters" pointed the way forward for the working class. Workers, or-

ganized by the National United Workers Organization, were at the Hyatt Hotel not just to protest union busting, but to stop it!

The District Attorney was forced to drop the charges against two of the Hyatt 4 before the preliminary hearing, and after the hearing the judge also dropped the charges on the other two to misdemeanors. The fact that the charges were lowered reflects the growing support for the Hyatt 4. Letters of support and official resolutions have poured in to the District Attorney's office from unions throughout the Bay Area—machinists, postal, auto, retail clerks, IUE, warehousemen, demanding the charges be dropped.

The Hyatt 4 Defense Committee is organizing to get the charges dropped altogether. ■

Aerospace Contracts

Lockheed Workers Wage 84 Day Strike

Editor's Note: *The recent strikes in the aerospace industry were an important development in the workers' struggle. The RCP related to these strikes in southern California, the Seattle area and, to a lesser extent, in other places. Much of this work consisted in participating in and helping give guidance to the work of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) in relating to these battles. The following article addresses primarily the struggle in aerospace in southern California, the national center of the industry, and the work of the NUWO in relation to it.*

The 1977 aerospace contracts between Lockheed, Boeing, McDonnell-Douglas, Rockwell International, Pratt & Whitney and Curtiss-Wright and workers in the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the United Auto Workers brought more, much more, determined resistance than the bourgeoisie had bargained for. In 1977, the aerospace companies launched an industry-wide offensive on aerospace workers that was met with tenacious opposition by rank and file workers. This was led by an 84 day strike by members of the IAM against Lockheed in Burbank and Palmdale in southern California, Sunnyvale in the San Francisco Bay Area, and in Georgia.

The 1977 contracts came up at a time of crisis throughout the economy and particularly in the aerospace industry. The imperialists are preparing for war and they must build the weapons to fight this war. But U.S. imperialism is in an increasingly bad position economically, so they are out to prepare in the least expensive manner possible. This adds a requirement to their arms purchasing that demands "more bang for the buck."

One way these economy moves come out is in the design and production of new aircraft, once done in the lucrative "cost-plus" contract form (the method by which the companies were guaranteed all their costs plus a fixed percentage profit). Competition is much more intense for these contracts and they are let at one price for both the design and manufacturing of the plane. A government official recently said in regards to McDonnell-Douglas' ATCA jet tanker contract, "We don't know how many planes we'll get, but we know how much we're going to spend." This is in contrast to the contracts of the '50s and early '60s that were let for 500 planes and cost-overruns unlimited. This is also a major reason the U.S. opted for cruise missiles instead of the \$100 million B-1 bomber.

In commercial aviation, Boeing, McDonnell-Douglas and Lockheed are at a turning point, one in which they must improve the profitability of airliner production or face being gobbled up. These companies gambled on jumbo jets in the mid-'60s and invested billions into them. At that time they were predicting a straight-up growth in airline passenger travel. With the worldwide economic crisis, their plans have not materialized and the rise in price of fuel has made the jumbo jets an unwanted bird. Airlines are asking for a whole new generation of smaller and more fuel-efficient aircraft. While all the companies are looking for joint financing, with European, Japanese and U.S. governments as the partners, Lockheed is in a particularly tight spot because they are still \$400 million in the red on the L-1011 superwide passenger plane.

Company Attacks

This is the immediate reason why the capitalists were so desperate to mount an offensive on the workers and their seniority rights, wages, pensions and working conditions in 1977. The particularly dire position in relation to their competition that Lockheed is in led to the sharpest attacks, and the strongest resistance, in the industry.

In the past few years, Lockheed has stepped up harassment of older workers in order to force them to take early retirements. This has taken the form of transfers to harder jobs, pushing production quotas up all the time, and transferring workers from the Burbank to Palmdale plant and back, a distance of more than 50 miles. Lockheed wants older workers out because they have the highest pay, most vacation days and the least ability to produce at the faster rate that the company must have. Lockheed, where the average age is 47, wants to run out the older workers and replace them with younger, faster workers.

To get from where they are to where they need to go, Lockheed proposed a contract in 1977 that was an attack on every major point regarding seniority and job security. They proposed that a worker be required to have 15 years seniority instead of six to qualify for bumping rights. On top of that, they proposed to deny bumping rights at all to people who have held their job

classification for five years or more. Lockheed wanted to retain a scab force of 2% removed from any seniority restrictions at all. They proposed this at the outset of negotiations and didn't back down until three months into the strike.

Sharp Struggle in Los Angeles

Members of the Organizing Committee for a National Workers Organization (now NUWO) initiated work last summer around the upcoming union contracts. Despite the fact that they had almost no contact with workers in these plants in L.A., the importance of the industry to the L.A. area where several hundred thousand workers are concentrated demanded that the class conscious forces play a role. NUWO members summed up the main issues facing aerospace workers and correctly determined around which the contract battles would take place. They wrote a brochure that went into the forces driving the aerospace companies and formulated the key demands of the rank and file. This brochure was distributed before the contract expired at Lockheed on October 1. It played a significant role in sharpening up the questions before the rank and file as to why Lockheed was attacking in the manner that they were. The contract expiration passed and the hacks got an extension. Then a walkout at Boeing happened on October 3 and the situation in L.A. changed radically.

While there was a lot of anger at Lockheed's proposal, there was not a mass movement to strike right away. But the news of the Boeing strike sparked an upsurge in the Lockheed plant that got the wheels turning and the strike going in one short week. A regular business meeting of IAM District 727 was cancelled because the hacks had not prepared for discussion on a strike and hundreds of workers were there to discuss just that. They were forced to call a special mass meeting for October 8. More than 5000 workers showed up and voted 86% to hit the bricks the next day.

The capitalists saw the impact on Lockheed workers and all aerospace workers that the Boeing walkout had. Faced with expiration dates of October 1 at Rockwell and October 17 at McDonnell-Douglas, they did not want to have the wave spread to the whole city. McDonnell-Douglas refused to negotiate with both the unions there until the Boeing strike was over. The hacks pushed the same rotten line and said that they wanted to "wait and see" what happened at Boeing before preparing demands and serious negotiations.

The efforts by the capitalists to keep the strikes separated and the workers disunited were actively opposed by members of the NUWO. At the initiative of members of the NUWO, a rank and file organization, Aerospace Workers Organized to Fight, was set up for the contract battle. They raised the question broadly at McDonnell-Douglas to join in the fight. The discussions and struggle that this sparked in the Douglas plants forced the hacks to work overtime in keeping a lid on the battle. They devoted hours to explaining how their policy of "wait and see" was the only responsible approach.

In the course of the fight in aerospace, some advances were made in linking up the fight in the Los Angeles area with striking workers in other areas, Seattle especially. When, through the NUWO, workers from LA and Seattle "got their heads together" over the phone, it turned out that some of the strikers at Lockheed had been talking about sending a message of solidarity to their striking brothers and sisters at Boeing in Seattle. Aerospace Workers Organized to Fight in LA wrote up the solidarity statement, read it over the phone to Seattle, and 5000 copies were run off and distributed among Boeing strikers when they went to the Kingdome pay windows to collect their checks. The response was electric. Many strikers were starved for information about what was going on in Los Angeles and wanted to know more about both Lockheed and the NUWO.

The letter from the workers in southern California was coupled with a leaflet from the Seattle NUWO which pointed to the key tasks in carrying the battle forward and exposed the vicious aims of Boeing and their intent to crush the workers which could only be beat back by stubborn resistance.

Later, the Seattle NUWO drafted a concrete program for building the strike and the Party ran an editorial in *The Worker* analyzing the situation and calling for workers throughout the area to join the battle. 10,000 copies of the NUWO program were distributed. The leaflet provoked great controversy among the Boeing workers and was overall greeted with a tremendous response. Some workers took whole stacks to pass out to their fellow workers. The NUWO in Seattle drafted a letter of solidarity with striking workers in southern California the day of the ratification vote. Within four hours over

a thousand signatures were collected on the letter.

LA Lockheed Sellout

Lockheed was set back by the determination and tenacity of the rank and file workers. In the face of lies about an empty strike fund (the IAM Constitution provides for use of the general fund in emergencies), tremendous hardships that the long strike caused, and the thinning of their ranks two months into the strike by the return to work at Sunnyvale, the workers held firm in southern California. Lockheed started to tremble. They said that there was no way that they would meet production requirements for 1978. Seeing that the workers flat-out would not accept the company's maximum program of attacks on the entire workforce, Lockheed opted to limit the attacks to new-hires. The new proposal was voted on December 28.

The hacks thought they had an acceptance in the bag. They "unanimously" recommended rejection, only to use it as a club in the future. The 3400 workers at the meeting shook the hacks and the company to the bones and rejected the proposal by 54%. The enemy saw that their cup was almost half-full and came right back and called another vote on January 2.

The hacks said that firstly a driving rain on December 28 prevented many people from voting. Secondly, there were "slight modifications" in the proposal that warranted another vote, Lockheed changed a few words around but it was essentially the same turkey. The hacks did not recommend this vote either way but in fact made every effort to sell the rag. They said that if the strike went over 90 days, Lockheed could "legally" hire a new workforce entirely. This had an effect on people who felt it would be better to vote to go back with at least what union they had than with no union at all. Lockheed-Georgia and a small (500 workers) service center in Ontario, California voted to accept the package earlier. This meant that Burbank and Palmdale workers were on their own. Given the strength of the hacks and their line and the relative weakness of the more class conscious forces, the workers saw no real alternative but to accept the contract. In spite of this, 1000 out of 4000 people voted to stay out.

The presence of NUWO at the January 2 ratification vote made further advances in their influence at Lockheed. The fact that the IAM hired professional goons to push active workers around and organized reactionaries to take leaflets out of workers' hands pointed to the fear they hold of the rank and file uniting in its own interests. One hack told a NUWO member, "If it is rejected this time, you better leave the state!" The NUWO used its influence among the workers, both those that voted for and against, to sum up why a no vote was important. Their position was that the contract was the same turkey with new dressing that the company offered earlier. Further, that the hacks had no right at all to call another vote on the same attacks.

The work done in the aerospace contracts, and the ties made with the masses of workers, has laid the basis to further build the NUWO in the aerospace industry. Very shortly, a national brochure will be printed and sent to every major concentration of aerospace workers from the NUWO. This brochure will sum up the tremendous struggles of 1977 and help to build the battles that are still going on. Because NUWO took part in and gave leadership to these great battles, the foundation is laid to build a strong section in this key industry.

All in all, the fight around the aerospace contracts represented an important advance. Aerospace workers have shown that they will fight militantly in their interests, and as the situation develops further, more and more will come to see much more fully what their class interests are. ■

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Coal...

the nonunion mines and choke off coal production. Caravans of thousands of miners converged on these mines, especially in eastern Kentucky. Trucks are being stopped and tons of coal dumped on the roads. In Utah and Colorado railroad trestles leading into the mines were blown up and roads and bridges were blocked. Operators have been forced to fly in scabs with helicopters and have called out state police to escort strike breakers into work at the nonunion mines.

In Birmingham, Alabama, 1000 miners formed a caravan to shut down the scab companies. District 31 in northern West Virginia had all nonunion mines shut in the first week of the strike. On January 3rd 600 miners armed with ax handles, hunting knives and guns prevented the reopening of mines in predominantly nonunion eastern Tennessee where most coal production had been stopped for three weeks by roving pickets. UPI reported that a caravan of 75 cars swooped down on two nonunion mines in the southern part of Indiana in the first week of January. "Windows were broken, a bulldozer was set afire . . . and three pieces of equipment were set ablaze at another mine."

By the end of the first week of the strike a spokesman for *Business Week* magazine admitted on TV that a whole lot more nonunion coal was being stopped than the operators had expected. Nonunion miners were getting into the struggle. By the fourth week of the strike 75% of the nation's coal production was stopped. This was a big blow to the companies' arrogant statements that since the union has already been so weakened over the years that nonunion coal accounts for about 50% of production, there would be little problem in continuing an adequate supply of coal.

There is no doubt, though, that miners are up against a tough battle. The coal operators have seen this contract struggle as decisive for a long time and they have gone all out to insure the miners' defeat. In an attempt to weaken and demoralize the strikers and starve them into submission, the Miners' Health and Welfare Funds, run jointly by the companies and the union, announced at the beginning of the strike that all health benefits for over 800,000 active, retired and disabled miners and their families and widows were being cut off. At this point miners and their families have absolutely no health benefits. And the Fund's trustees have announced that on the first of February all pensions will be terminated!

The capitalists' main tactic, however, has been a huge propaganda barrage telling union miners that they are in a "pitifully weak" bargaining position, that they cannot possibly win the strike. The newspapers and TV in the coalfields and throughout the country are constantly filled with stories about the huge stockpiles that have been built up by the big coal consumers. The utility companies, the largest single user of coal, were said to have a 100 day stockpile at the beginning of the strike. (At the same time, the utilities themselves have begun running ads pleading with consumers to cut power use because of the strike!)

It's no wonder the success in shutting down the mines and stopping coal production has been a big inspiration to miners—and to a lot of other workers as well.

Struggle Inside the Union

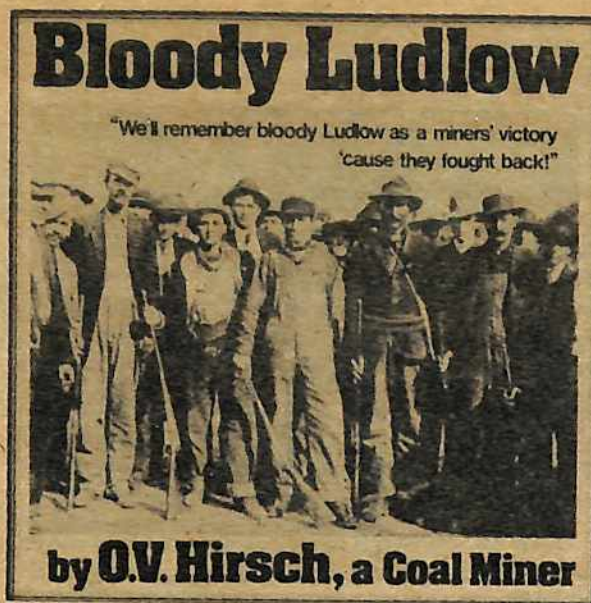
But miners are not just up against the companies. The union, which should be their main shield against these attacks, is under the shackles of the bourgeoisie. It is run at the top by company-loving scabs and traitors, and even on a district level is in the hands of opportunists and sellouts.

This has come out in a lot of the rank and file action against the companies' efforts to keep coal production going. The roving pickets and other actions to shut off production have been largely spontaneous, but nonetheless effective. But district officials and some aspiring opportunists have made an increasingly strong bid to get it under their control. Since they can't cut it off, they are trying to co-opt and restrain the militancy of the rank and file, narrow the fight as much as possible and confuse people about the aims of the strike.

For example, while many nonunion miners will respect the UMWA picket lines at their mines, there are those who will work if they can get away with it. The only way to stop these guys is to make it very clear that they are in for some very unpleasant consequences if they cross the line. Often the only way to make sure the companies are not able to dig coal is to see to it that their equipment is not in working order.

At one mine in eastern Kentucky, 200 union miners came down on a mine, guns in hand, and told the 75 nonunion miners in no uncertain terms that they better not go to work. But the district official jumped in and said, "Wait a minute. We can only ask these men not to go to work. If they want to, there is nothing we can do about it."

In another case a strike leader from District 6 in Ohio got on television all over the coalfields the day



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before caravans of hundreds of miners were to converge on Kentucky from Ohio and West Virginia, to promise there would be "no violence" and that anybody who started trouble would be sent home immediately.

The same "leader" denounced the Miners Right to Strike Committee in the press, charging that they were "messing up" the ratification process. These opportunists see that the miners are going to fight, but they want to make sure that the fight doesn't carry over against the sellout contract the leadership is preparing.

Despite the fact that the activities of these opportunists have taken a toll on the strike and have demoralized some miners, they have been unable to stop the anger and militancy. When news of the sellout Miller was negotiating with the companies leaked out, especially word about the "stability clause," the outrage of the rank and file was so great that many of these district officials had to come out against what was going on. Even Miller himself had to back down. In the face of Miller withdrawing his agreement, the companies broke off negotiations and as the strike started its second month, their tactic seemed to be to grind down the miners further before resuming negotiations.

Miller has also made it clear that he has not given up on his plans to go along with the coal companies. On January 1st he snuck into Beckley, West Virginia and told the press that the union would be willing to make a big compromise in negotiation, that he would be willing to go along with fining miners for honoring picket lines, if the companies would be willing to compromise and agree to settling grievances at the mine site. This is nonsense, since settling grievances at the mine site is already in the present contract and has been meaningless.

Miller's pathetic flunkysm for the coal companies has become well known. But an incident before negotiations began shows how ridiculous it is. His fear of

any challenges to his grip on the union had led him to wild firings of such large numbers of union staff that he didn't even have enough people to pull together the union's negotiating position. So the new head of the Federal Mediation Service, whose job it is to step into strikes and jam the companies' position on the workers, went out and recruited people who Miller then hired to do the job.

The government even suggested the guy who is in effect the chief "union" negotiator: Harold Hoge. When the trustees of the Miners' Health and Welfare Funds unanimously voted to cut benefits last June, Hoge was the union's member of the Board of Trustees. Miners were so angry that they demanded he be removed from the Funds immediately.

The sentiment among the miners at this point is that they have got to keep fighting to win their demands. But there are a lot of questions, particularly among active miners who have been in the thick of the struggle for a number of years, and some confusion among miners generally over how to proceed.

Among many miners and supporters of the strike, unity is a big question. This comes out of an honest desire to see an end to what seems to some like destructive bickering in the union and a feeling that what's needed is for all the forces in the union to get together. Other wonder how much and how long miners can keep fighting, or whether it's worth it. There is some feeling that "if we can only get the health cards back we can go back without the right to strike, because we strike all the time anyway without the 'right.'" But most miners know that if they go back to work and all they got is the health cards—which were won in 1946!—it would not only be a big defeat now, it would put them in a much weaker position to fight back against future attacks.

As the Miners Right to Strike Committee has pointed out, unity of the rank and file is very important. But it can only be around the interests of the workers, not around the sellout plans of the union officials to cave into the capitalists. Part of building this *fighting unity* is to draw the lines even sharper between the demands of the miners and the maneuvers of the companies and their flunkies.

Face of the Enemy

The miners struggle begins to show that there are much bigger forces at work here than just miners vs. coal bosses. In this strike the capitalists have come down with many forces of their system against the miners in an order to stamp out their struggle before it spreads further. They've got their politicians, radio and TV commentators and newspapers, and a lot of the other forces at their disposal, pumping out attacks on the strike and the demands of the miners. In short, miners are up against a whole class that's organized nationally.

The forces that have come into play in the miners' own battles are an example that indicates this is so. Still more, this is clear in other broad political attacks and questions in society that affect miners, along with all workers and others who face oppression under this system.

But miners are part of a class too. And an organized, politically conscious working class is a mighty potent force against the capitalists. That's why the capitalists do everything they can to stop the organization of the

Continued on page 16

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Youth ...

Continued from page 4

youth to revolution and communism, the only one that can train youth as communists and that can become a powerful force among broader and broader numbers of youth, and in the course of every battle, point to the greater battle looming ahead, the fight to topple capitalist rule.

A Bold Step

All of this means taking a bold step as a very important part of the RCYB's tasks—going out openly to propagate communism among the masses of youth in order to bring the most advanced into the RCYB and to begin creating a working class pole among youth.

Will this be an easy task? Certainly not. And in fact, much of the struggle and discussion leading up to and at the founding Convention of the RCYB centered around how and why this step must be taken. For example, some comrades—Party members and others—did not agree with the view that the word "communist" should be in the name of the organization. Would having the word "communist" in the name stand as a roadblock to people joining this organization? Should the new organization have some more general, looser principles instead of clearly being a communist organization?

Drawing on different experiences, both longer time communists and many new people took part in the discussion leading up to and at the convention, most talking in favor of the RCP's proposal of the name Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. People put forward that in fact the correct way to deal with anti-communism is to have communism openly identified with the kind of mass struggle and work the RCYB will be taking up—only in this way will the lies and distortions spread about communists and communism by the bourgeoisie begin to be broken down.

In going out to lead the struggles of youth and bringing youth into the overall struggle against the imperialists and doing this openly as a communist organization, the RCYB will help to break down anti-communism not only among youth, but among the masses of people generally. Of course, this will create great controversy—but this controversy is not only unavoidable but something the RCYB and all communists do not seek to avoid. It is only by taking this controversy head on, taking up the struggle against the bourgeoisie on the ideological front—that the RCYB will be able to bring in and train new communists.

As for the question of the word "communist" being a roadblock to joining the group, with some youth this will undoubtedly be initially true. The point that must be grasped is that the RCYB must struggle with youth to *make a leap* to communism. Youth joining the RCYB must embrace the basic stand that Marxism means a whole world outlook and that communism is the final aim of our struggle. If this were not the case, then what would be the point of having a RCYB?

This doesn't mean that we should write off those youth not immediately ready to make this step—ways have to be found to work with them—but the fact is that if the RCYB is going to win the battle to win over youth to the struggle against the imperialists, it has to build an openly "red" pole among youth. This can only be done through repeated experience—as through different battles over a period of time, youth begin to see what in fact "the reds" stand for. This requires that the RCYB cannot be any fly-by-night outfit, but must, while picking up on key struggles, be based in the neighborhoods as well as the campuses. And it must be remembered that this will be taking place in the context of worsening conditions, with imperialism in a downward spiral. As youth and the masses of people face increasing attacks, as the solutions of the bourgeoisie are more and more exposed as no solutions at all, the practice and ideas of the RCYB and the Party will stand out more and more as the only real alternative to the situation people face. But this will only occur if from the beginning, and throughout the long struggles people will be fighting, the road and future of standing with the working class is held out clearly and openly to youth by the RCYB.

Especially throughout this period of deepening crisis but a still low level of organization and struggle, only a group of young people with a relatively high degree of unity will be able to weather the ebbs and flows of the mass movement and consistently put out this other road to youth. That is an important reason why the RCYB must struggle with youth to join on the basis of making a leap to embracing communism. Of course a big task will be to continue to train members politically and ideologically as communists, but it is only this communist "glue" that will be the basis for the group to stick together through this period—and in fact will enable it to unite broadly with many youth in major battles.

As was said earlier, this is definitely a bold step—but it has to be taken and there are many examples to draw on when similar bold steps were taken. Les-

sons should be learned from those who carried NLF flags in the early anti-war marches, who openly stood with the "enemy" and faced tremendous red-baiting—or from the Panthers who popularized revolution and Mao's "Red Book" in a bold and broad way at a time when, even among large numbers of radical youth and students, Marxism-Leninism was considered obsolete.

By doing this, the RCYB will be making a valuable contribution to the whole revolutionary struggle. Youth as a strata are not isolated from the rest of society—as more and more of a red pole is built among youth, this will have the effect of helping "give a good name" to communism among the broad masses of people.

Tasks of the RCYB

How will the RCYB carry out this bold step and its purpose of training and developing communists while exerting a steady influence on the broad masses of youth? By taking up the three tasks put forth by Chairman Bob Avakian in his speech, outlined earlier in this article.

The RCYB must immediately set to work developing a program of struggle on the major issues of the day facing youth and the American people. It must develop forms, mass organizations and campaigns to unite broad masses of youth in these struggles against the enemy and in the course of these struggles fight to more clearly reveal the face of that enemy.

But in addition, the RCYB must pay attention to taking up the ideological struggle among masses of youth, work which has a potentially powerful positive influence on the broader sections of the people, especially the working class. Ideological work is not some garnish that's sprinkled on to dress up and give some flavor to the battle—it is an integral part of waging struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The RCYB must enter into the controversy created around the word "communism" and communist views of God, democracy and so forth, and put out an entire world view to oppose the world view that the bourgeoisie is constantly pumping out in dozens of ways. This is especially important among youth who have big questions. We must actively work to answer these questions through struggle and ideological work, and in this way channel their daring and unwillingness to accept things the way they are, into the revolutionary struggle.

Of course, this doesn't mean dropping out of everything else and just going out on street corners to talk about socialism with a red T-shirt on. But as was said by several people during the discussion at the Founding Convention, "Dammit, we are communists—and we should say so!" And more than saying so, the RCYB must actively take up propagating communism as an important task in and of itself, boldly attacking the old and dead-end ideas and solutions of the bourgeoisie, creating controversy that even partly from its shock value will be able to break youth loose from the way they've been trained by the bourgeoisie, and

open their eyes to a whole new way of looking at and doing things. And so when the RCYB does enter into a struggle with broad masses of youth, it will be with a clear communist presence.

As the RCYB links up with the struggles of the masses of youth, there must be a close relation of theory to practice. Within the organization, Marxism-Leninism must be consciously applied to leading the struggle forward, to linking it with other battles, and to helping the broad masses of youth raise their heads and see a bigger picture than what can be seen in any particular struggle—the nature of this society as a whole and the historic goal of revolution and communism.

In all this, as in the period before the Founding Convention, the correct line and political leadership of the Party and the Central Committee are the fundamental guarantee of continued advances.

Build the RCYB

Much hard work is needed to get this new organization rolling, and discussions and decisions raised at the convention need to be deepened and developed.

Plans for mass campaigns around fighting the Bakke Decision, supporting liberation forces in South Africa, and "Jobs for Youth" have to be fleshed out. Already in the works are plans for a national week of action against the Bakke Decision sometime this spring. A schedule for work leading up to this year's African Liberation Day has to be developed and this takes on special importance with each new victory in this country, as well as in Africa itself, against apartheid and minority rule. Also on the agenda are efforts to support the coal miners' strike entering its second month.

A big task this year will also be to carry on and deepen the ideological education and consolidation begun at the convention. Forms of political education both internal and mass forums have to be developed to help RCYB members continue to make the kind of leaps in understanding that occurred at the convention and to take up the struggle on the ideological front among broader numbers of youth. Regular newspapers for students and youth are in the works, as well as a series of pamphlets. New ways of carrying on this work will also have to be developed in the course of all this.

It is necessary in the near future to take up in an organized way and under the leadership of the Party these and other questions such as organizational structure, strengthening the working class youth section of the RCYB, etc. The whole RCYB certainly has its tasks cut out for it. But there is no doubt that based on the great advance of the Founding Convention that the RCYB will continue to make advances, in the spirit of daring and enthusiasm of youth fighting for a new world that was captured in the closing speech at its Founding Convention:

"We are determined to be the generation that grows up to establish socialism in this country. The future is ours, because we have shown this weekend that we do dare to take it." ■

Coal ...

Continued from page 15

working class and to keep it within the narrowest and most limited channel possible. They are constantly summing up the battles that workers fight as useless and wasted efforts that don't win anything. This is exactly what they have tried to do around the wildcat strike movement. And in fact there is still a lot of confusion among miners over how to sum up the wildcats, which the companies and union officials promote and try to take advantage of.

So miners, like all workers, have to not only fight, but build the kind of organization that can expose what the capitalists are up to and take them on *politically*. Otherwise it does become hard to see how to move ahead in the face of increasing hardship, particularly if workers are fighting the union leadership as well every step of the way. Then it does become a question of just being able to "hold out" to try to gain something.

Workers who do see more the terms of the battle have a big responsibility to go out actively and organize their brothers and sisters around the stand and the interests of the workers. When this does happen it pushes the struggle ahead and encourages people to fight on because they see more clearly what's ahead.

Committee's Action

To an extent the Miners Right to Strike Committee has been able to do this in the strike, despite the tremendous red-baiting attack that has been leveled against them in recent months in an effort to label the committee communist, drive a wedge between the active forces and the rank and file as well as to divide communists from other active and advanced miners. The Committee has been putting out a regular strike bulletin to keep miners informed about what is going on and to sharpen the issues. It has also been active in setting up Strike Centers and mobilizing support from other workers and other class forces. And a lot of support has been forth-

coming.

In Beckley, West Virginia, for example, the Miners Support Committee obtained the names of 250 professionals, small businessmen and others on a support petition that was published in the newspapers, causing quite a stir. They have also been successful in getting doctors involved to donate their time and services to miners and their families.

Nationwide, the National United Workers Organization, of which the Miners Right to Strike Committee is a part, has been working to build support. Right before Christmas, workers from the NUWO and Auto Workers United to Fight took up a collection at the Ford River Rouge plant. They collected a lot of canned goods and over \$530 in cash for the miners. A worker in AWUF who is originally from Logan County, West Virginia came down to the coalfields and turned the money over to miners at a press conference. This show of solid support from other workers was very dramatic, particularly compared to the complete lack of effort by the union to build class wide support.

At a bus garage in Providence, Rhode Island, NUWO members took up a collection and bus drivers emptied their pockets, contributing \$113 on the spot. At the U.S. Steel Clairton plant near Pittsburgh, workers got 200 layoff slips for Christmas. The following week, workers from the Miners Right to Strike Committee, the *Steelworker* newspaper and other members of the NUWO went to the plant with signs saying "Fight the Layoffs," "Support the Miners." At one gate they raised \$150.

There is no question that workers can fight and win concessions from the capitalists. Iron miners in the Mesabi range in Minnesota just ended a bitter three month strike that won real gains. (See article on p. 6.) Coal miners through their struggle have won big victories in the past. The sheer magnitude and persistence of their struggle in recent years are a big threat not only to coal companies, but to the whole capitalist class. They have made great contributions to the struggle of the working class. As miners, along with other workers, become more politically conscious and organized they are bound to make even bigger contributions to the working class. ■

NCOB Refuses to Unite

Professionals Meet On Bakke Case

On November 19-20 a conference was held by professionals and students to "forge a common road forward in response to the attack that Bakke represents." (Referring to the Bakke Decision, see *Revolution*, January and October 1977) The National Conference on the Bakke Case, Affirmative Action and the Professions was held at the College of Medicine, Howard University and attended by several hundred people. The major issues included both an analysis of how Bakke is an attack on affirmative action and the problem of fighting for a correct line and building unity in the movement to fight the Bakke decision.

Over 40 professional and political organizations sponsored the conference. This included Black professional organizations such as Black American Law Students Association, Black Psychiatrists of America and the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and other organizations, including Lawyers for the People and the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

"Reverse Discrimination" Hoax

A major focus of the discussions was to smash the charge that affirmative action is a form of "reverse discrimination" against white people. This charge is a blatant expression of national oppression and as such a "divide and rule" tactic in the interests of the ruling class trying to pit whites against Blacks, Chicanos and other minority nationalities. The actual court case of Allan Bakke presents reverse discrimination as the key issue.

In 1974, when Bakke applied to UCD (medical school at the University of California at Davis), there were 3000 applications for 100 first year placements. At that time 16 of the 100 positions were set aside for minority applicants. Bakke charges that people were admitted to the 16 positions with lower scores than his and therefore he was the victim of discrimination. What he doesn't explain is that there were whites admitted with lower scores, that some of the 100 positions are also set aside for wealthy alumni of UCD, or that he (Bakke) had been turned down by 13 other medical schools in 1973-74.

The Bakke case turns the facts of national oppression on their head. Bakke makes it seem that Blacks and Chicanos are on "Easy Street" now that they are allegedly given preferential treatment over whites. Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, the fight has been to defend the victories won by Blacks and other minorities during the '60s which the ruling class has been chipping away at and attacking—intensifying national oppression. This applies not only to the areas of health care and education, but to every area of life, especially jobs.

The conference united on the correct view that Bakke is part of the overall attack on Blacks and other minorities. The source of the attack is the ruling class ploy to dump the crisis they face on the masses, to divide the masses by nationality and promote conflict, and to reverse all progressive reforms won in the 1960s by the struggles against national oppression. However, the unity achieved at this conference is not shared by other forces taking up the struggle against the Bakke decision.

Other Forces in Field

The main forces that conference participants were concerned with were the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD) and the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition (ABDC). In the main, the conference focused on how to build unity with NCOBD while at the same time reserving the right of the organizations involved to put forward their analyses of the issues and plan independent actions. The conference passed a resolution that, in part,

"1. Calls upon the NCOBD and the ABDC to undertake to organize a meeting of the major national organizations involved in building this fight with the purpose of forming a new democratic coalition to build for a major demonstration in Washington, D.C. in early April. This national coalition should exist so as not to interfere with the autonomy of any of the organizations involved, yet builds the greatest possible unity among all forces.

"2. Calls upon all organizations involved in the fight against Bakke to participate in such a meeting.

"3. Mandates the creation of a continuations committee representative of those persons and organizations attending this conference to facilitate the implementation of this resolution and communicate the success of this effort to all conferees."

The continuations committee was composed of 14 people from as many organizations.

The NCOBD refused to hear the two people chosen to represent the continuations committee. This is not surprising if the political line of NCOBD is analyzed as the basis for their sectarian stance toward this conference.

Incorrect Line

NCOBD holds that "The Carter administration has . . . taken a slightly anti-Bakke stand . . . the position is basically a middle of the road argument." This is misleading, and incorrect. They base this on their view that "within the federal government there has been and still is lots of controversy and struggle on the Carter position." The correct view is that Carter and Co.'s move is only based on the President's views of what will serve the overall interests of the capitalists.

This incorrect NCOBD line also includes other key points: 1) They make racism the central question, rather than correctly understanding national oppression, its relation to the overall class struggle, and the source of the Bakke attack—U.S. capitalism and its crisis. 2) The key forces to unite with according to this line are the NAACP, PUSH, Congressional Black Caucus, etc. This clearly reveals a limited reformist orientation that ignores the history of mass struggle that won affirmative action in the first place and sells out the masses in favor of tailing reformist bourgeois nationalist forces.

There are many other issues incorrectly put forward by NCOBD. A blatant one is their view of how to make the Bakke case an international issue: "In the UN context, we could also pressure the U.S. ambassador to the UN and former civil rights activist, Andrew Young, to raise this issue."

This is a reactionary and ridiculous line that takes the initiative away from the masses and places it in the hands of a major flunkey of the U.S. imperialist ruling class. If, for example, this line were adopted by forces working in support of African liberation, then rather than building mass struggle, work would be to get behind Young to work through the UN and the U.S. State Department to contribute to African liberation. No, this is a backward approach that must be rejected and denounced.

At this time the forces fighting against the Bakke decision are growing and the conditions for making the anti-Bakke struggle a big battle are excellent. The key task is to fight for a correct political line on this question while building unity in the course of waging the Bakke battle. The interest of the masses of people can be served best by one united movement against the Bakke decision, but only if the unity is guided by a correct political line. The development of this struggle can be pushed forward if NCOBD abandons the reactionary position it now holds and unites to take up the struggle with those upholding a correct line.

The main way the struggle will move forward, however, is for honest and genuine forces, such as those who participated in the November anti-Bakke conference, to unite around the correct political line and fan the flames of mass struggle in the heat of battle. ■

ISA ...

Continued from page 8

to it. Over the last year economic and political conditions in Iran have deteriorated so rapidly that every strata of the people—workers, peasants, students, petty-bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie—has been hurt by the Shah's policies in one way or another. Since September 1977 almost daily demonstrations against the regime have been taking place in different cities and universities. One key thing about them has been their general orientation towards the working class and oppressed masses—the main slogan put forward has been "Workers, Peasants, Students Will Win!"

On the basis of this situation, the convention took some important political decisions to strengthen its political and organizational ties with the student movement inside Iran. This calls for more struggle within the student movement as a whole for a unified, correct line on the overthrow of the Shah, the role of the working class, peasants, students and others in a country like Iran, and expulsion of all imperialist powers from Iran, especially U.S. imperialism which is dominant there. The convention also called for stepped-up production of literature for widespread distribution inside Iran, and readying students who can still return to Iran to join the revolutionary struggle there. In particular, the ISA strengthened its position that the student movement, both inside and outside Iran—at the same time as it links up with the growing struggles of workers and peasants in Iran—itsself can deal major revolutionary blows against the regime and its imperialist backers. At the convention the ISA continued to uphold its resolute opposition to the Soviet Union as a reactionary superpower, contending with the U.S. for the right to gobble up the resources of the Middle East and attacking the revolutionary struggle there.

Movement of Iranian Students Growing

The rapid development of the Iranian student movement and the ISA's leadership within it in the U.S. won over large numbers of Iranian students to attend the convention. In fact, ten groups of Iranian students that had been working closely with the ISA in recent months joined as full chapters, and ten more groups affiliated themselves closely with the ISA to begin a period of common work.

Carter's "human rights" offensive and the joint campaign of Carter and the Shah in the last year to build support for the regime were also discussed at the convention. It was pointed out how various sections of the ruling class in Iran—who have sharpening contradictions with the Shah on how to deal with the growing people's movement among all classes of the people—have tried to use Carter's "human rights" propaganda smokescreen to gain some popularity among the people. However, this has been largely exposed and defeated. Illusions that Carter is different from any other chief representative of U.S. imperialism and that he is not backing up the regime 100% have been discredited.

Along these lines, the convention agreed that the

ISA's work among the masses of American people must be stepped up, based on their analysis of the importance of the reactionary regime in Iran to U.S. imperialism as gendarme for the oil-rich Persian Gulf, so much so that it could very probably lead to U.S. military intervention if they felt it necessary to maintain their grip on the area. Building on the great advances made both before and after the Washington, D.C. battle in exposing the Shah's fascist regime to millions of the American people, the convention resolved to step up political exposure of how events in the Gulf and Iran are increasingly affecting the lives of the American people.

Main Campaigns

The convention adopted three main campaigns for the year ahead:

- 1) demanding freedom for the 100,000 political prisoners in Iran, exposing the widespread use of torture and through this publicizing the growing revolutionary movement inside Iran and the Shah's increasingly desperate attempts to crush it.
- 2) preventing the regime's fascist political party from setting up any public organs in the U.S. and wiping out the SAVAK outside Iran.
- 3) exposing broadly the Shah as U.S. imperialism's chief gendarme in the Gulf area and working to break off the many contracts between the fascist regime and corporations and universities in the U.S.

Obviously, as the ISA has stepped up its political work especially after Washington, D.C., they are coming under increased attacks—from immigration, SAVAK agents, the police, university administrations and other reactionary authorities. The U.S. government's overall strategy now is to try to avoid creating a deportation case of national prominence such as the one in Houston when 92 Iranian students were arrested and threatened with deportation to Iran. Instead, they are attacking chapter by chapter, city by city so these won't make national news. They basically want to put the ISA on the defensive, fighting legal cases, raising money and so forth.

In fact, since the demonstrations at the White House, the ISA has been attacked in 43 separate cases by U.S. immigration, and the police. In one of the most vicious and blatant attacks, SAVAK agents at the Chicago YMCA campus have repeatedly brought large groups of goons onto the campus, armed with knives and bats in order to single out and provoke ISA members and other progressive Iranian students. After one incident on campus in early January, when the Iranian students started defending themselves from attack by these SAVAK agents, eight squad cars of Chicago police simultaneously pulled up. With guns pulled, they beat many of the students, finally arresting four. On the basis of this set up the University administration broke its own rules by declaring the ISA illegal at the YMCA campus.

With desperate attempts like these to stop the Iranian student movement, the U.S. monopoly capitalists and their government are demonstrating they know all too well that their ugly features, as well as those of the Shah, are being increasingly revealed to the broad masses of people. ■

"Peace" Plan ...

Continued from page 3

The real stumbling block to Sadat's scheme is Israel's flat-out refusal to give up the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip areas. Begin continues to refer to the West Bank as "Samaria and Judea" and to proclaim that they are inseparable parts of the "biblical boundaries" of Israel over which it intends to maintain sovereignty. He absolutely rejected in any shape or form a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. Instead he proposed a 26 point plan for "administrative autonomy" which was nothing more than a blatant ruse to legitimize continued Israeli occupation.

This proposal called for the establishment of an administrative council, over which Israel would exercise veto power, to take care of such things as education, social welfare and transportation. Palestinians would be allowed no police or security forces. "Security and public order" would be maintained by the occupying Israeli forces. Palestinian immigration into the area would be restricted while the Israeli settlements (really fortified outposts) on the land taken from Arabs since 1967 will continue.

In fact, the Zionists have a plan to launch an intensive immigration drive, with plans to settle new immigrants in the occupied West Bank-Gaza areas. According to a ranking Israeli official, this is aimed at creating "an internal political force against Palestinian statehood." Faced with more Israelis packing up and leaving the country than are currently coming in, Begin is expected to count heavily on the Soviets to allow mass immigration of Jews to Israel.

As for the 1.1 million Palestinians now living in the West Bank and Gaza, the Zionists would give them the "right" to choose whether they wanted to be citizens of Jordan or Israel. They would have no right to be Palestinians. Israel has remained adamant in its refusal to face the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinians.

What Israel and its U.S. backers are seeking is the peace of a thief hovering over his booty, willing to return some of the stolen property in exchange for Arab agreement to recognize the Zionists' right to keep almost everything it has taken.

In an effort to explain the fact that Israel is offering no concessions and making no real efforts to ease Sadat's cowardly attempts at capitulation, the *New York Times* reported recently that "the Egyptians do not comprehend Israel's intense emotions about defensible borders to avoid falling easy prey to surprise attack."

Oppressors Can't Bring Peace

There is certainly every reason for the Zionists to be uptight about the future. So long as those they have robbed and oppressed remain, they can never rest easy. There can never be peace, only a continuing effort to hold occupied land and to silence and crush Palestinian resistance by military force. They may be able to negotiate some agreement with Sadat or Jordan's King Hussein, and maybe even with President Assad of Syria, which would be supported by Saudi Arabia. Over any significant period of time this could only intensify the revolutionary struggles in such countries. Even if they are able to temporarily clamp down on the Palestinians with the connivance of some of the Arab governments, a very big "if," the Palestinian struggle is bound to explode again. It's no wonder that the Zionists are so concerned about defensible borders!

Sadat's Desperate Straits

Sadat for his part is desperate for a settlement. Egypt is embroiled in massive economic crisis and political instability. Demonstrations of students, workers and peasants against his austerity measures and political repression rocked Egypt in the last year. Aid from Saudi Arabia and the U.S., along with Sadat's "opening to Western investment," have failed to stem the crisis or alleviate the situation internally. With his regime tottering on the brink, Sadat hoped that his bold move with Israel and the promise of peace for the Egyptian people would win him new support. Military expenditures have been a tremendous burden on Egypt's economy and he hoped that a settlement with Israel would curb the skyrocketing inflation and bring new aid from the U.S. imperialists.

For the U.S., Sadat's move towards a separate negotiated agreement with Israel was a real breakthrough.

Until Sadat's betrayal, there has been strong unity in the Arab countries around the demands for the return of Israel's occupied territory to Egypt, Syria and Jordan and at least strong verbal support from the Arab rulers for the Palestinians in their struggle against Israel. The Soviets, while offering de facto recognition and providing immigrant manpower to Israel, have tried to exploit this Arab sentiment by usually posing as a supporter of the Palestinians and promising military and economic aid to the Arab countries. The refusal of the Soviets to adequately supply Egypt during the 1973 war and the fact that Egypt had mortgaged its economy for

Soviet aid show that their only purpose is to get a stranglehold on the countries of the Middle East.

The U.S. has been trying hard to bust up Arab unity, particularly the Organization of Oil Producing Countries (OPEC), and to solidify its dominance in the region against its Soviet rivals by putting itself forward as the only superpower able to work out agreements with both the Israelis and the Arabs. They have not been as successful as they would like, and from the Arab viewpoint real results from these promises have not been forthcoming.

Sadat's unilateral action with Israel is an attempt to set up the conditions to force the other Arab governments and the PLO to go along with the terms he makes with the Zionists. He also saw the possibility of cutting out the Palestinians once and for all. As Carter put it, those Palestinians who refused to go along with the Sadat program had "forfeited" their right to any say in a Middle East settlement. This, of course, means the PLO, which has gone on record against it. In other words, since they refused to go along with being stabbed in the back, they had lost the right to have any say in whether they would be stabbed in the back.

The U.S. has been trying to achieve the same aims through the reconvening of the Geneva Conference, set up after the 1967 war. The Soviets have also been aiming at a Geneva Conference, which it is a co-convenor of along with the U.S., as its best shot now at having a strong say in developments in the area. But superpower efforts to get the key Arab countries and the Palestinians to a Geneva Conference that would essentially grant all of Israel's demands, especially formal diplomatic recognition from the Arab countries, have become increasingly bogged down chiefly around the question of the Palestinians. Then came Anwar el-Sadat, Time magazine's Man of the Year and U.S. imperialism's Man of the Hour, attempting to cut through the morass.

Sadat's treason and flunkiness to U.S. imperialism and the Zionists has been met with outrage throughout the Arab countries and the world. In Beirut, Lebanon, tens of thousands of Palestinians marched in the street on the 13th anniversary of the founding of the PLO, denouncing Sadat as the traitor he is. Similar demonstrations have been held in Syria and in the occupied West Bank. At a meeting in Tripoli, Libya, in early December, right after he returned from Israel, Sadat was sharply denounced by five Arab states and the PLO.

Klan ...

Continued from page 9

bated in shops, neighborhoods and meetings but also right in the courtroom. Of course while the prosecutor initially tried to claim the trial was not political it became clear from the first day that the real question in the case was the KKK. The prosecutor's star witness was the Imperial Wizard, who many people may remember from the newspaper picture of him getting slugged on July 4th.

"The Klansmen were just standing to attention with their American and rebel flags," he said, "protesting forced busing, when they became victims of unprovoked attacks."

As the defense lawyers and the defendants themselves started asking questions, still more reactionary garbage from the wizard started shining through.

Yes, he had been convicted of possession of dynamite during the West Virginia book burning controversy back in 1975. Yes he had been down there to fuel the flames and to recruit for the Klan just as he was doing in Columbus on the 4th. Yes, he did think the races should be separated to preserve "racial purity." He denied he ever used racial slurs. But when confronted with a quote of his where he spoke of a "nigger killer," he replied, "No, I said 'nigger go-getter, not killer.'"

Klan Exposed

By the time the Wizard stepped off the stand not only was the true nature of the Klan starting to become clear but so was the aid and support they've been given by the government. As soon as the wiz left the courtroom anti-Klan demonstrators took off after him, chasing him all the way out of the courthouse to his getaway car. Their intention was to present him with a blood soaked Klan robe, symbolizing the generations of terror the Klan has carried out on behalf of the ruling class.

The rest of the prosecution's case was mainly the Columbus cops lying through their teeth about the supposed violent and inciting acts they saw the defendants commit. In fact almost all their testimony came from viewing video tapes of the July 4th demonstration and slanting their testimony to fit the film to lend an air of legitimacy to the Klan's case. The prosecutor put a few ACLU officers on the stand to claim the Klan's right of free speech had been violated. They didn't want to stand by and allow "one group of extremists to attack another." "Doesn't matter what the Klan has to say—everyone has the right to say it," they said.

The defense case took on that bunk as well as other questions the trial had raised. Witnesses blew away the Klan's factual evidence, showing the prosecu-

Sadat's response was to bluster that these people were "ignoramuses" and "dwarfs" and he expelled the PLO from their offices in Cairo and broke off diplomatic relations with Syria, Libya, Algeria, Iraq and South Yemen.

Sadat, however, is not without support. The U.S. imperialists have given him strong backing and the governments of Jordan and Saudi Arabia, while offering some criticism of his moves, have given tacit approval to his efforts. And Sadat has managed to line up a few Palestinians from the West Bank to meet with him.

CP (ML) Offers Help

Sadat also received some help—insignificant except by way of self-exposure—in the form of disgusting sophistry from certain self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. Perhaps embarrassed by the universal condemnation of Sadat's reactionary moves, the Communist Party (ML) had to resort to the method of eclecticism to offer up a flimsy cover-up for Sadat. They called these moves "a step against superpower hegemonism" while quickly scurrying to point out that this is despite the fact "that they are taken in opposition to the aims of the Palestinian struggle" and thus "makes it impossible for him to bring peace or to push forward (!) the struggle against imperialism and its chief tool in the Middle East, Israeli Zionism." To support this nonsense they argue that both the U.S. and the Soviets were displeased with Sadat's maneuvers! Obviously the Soviets don't like it, because the U.S. imperialists stand to gain. But true to form, the CP(ML) holds that whatever harms the interests of the Soviets and benefits the U.S. imperialists is a good thing. Their palaverings make Barbara Walters seem coherent.

The fact is that Sadat has hitched his star to the U.S. imperialists and the impact of his diplomacy with Israel will be of great benefit to their interests. Why else are Carter and Vance touring the Middle East to drum up support for him?

All this only underscores the reality that superpower contention will continue to keep the Middle East in turmoil, no matter what advantages one of them gets at any given moment. And Sadat's traitorous capitulation to U.S. imperialism and Zionist aggression will continue to be met by fierce struggle from the Palestinians and the masses of Arab people. ■

tion witnesses to be liars. The real nature of the KKK was brought out by a witness who saw the wizard's right hand man the night before the rally packing a sub-machinegun and talking about taking care of business.

In the closing statements the defendants spoke to the jury about the NUWO, about why workers and others of all nationalities took a stand against the Klan that day, about the role fascist groups like the Klan are playing in the country and who benefits from their words and actions. Finally the defendants asked the jury themselves to take a stand against the Klan by voting for an acquittal.

During the closing statements the judge, as he had done a number of times before, threatened the defendants with contempt of court if they didn't stop agitating. He did it out of earshot of the jury and the packed courtroom—to "maintain his neutrality." But when his threats were openly defied and the political statements continued he sat on his hands and fumed. He tried to retaliate moments later when he gave the jury legal instructions weighed heavily in favor of the prosecution. But—instructions or not—the jury voted not guilty on all charges.

As one older woman said later, "Ain't no way we was going to send you boys to jail for what you did."

There are still charges left against another defendant from the July Fourth action. But the powers that be in Columbus have to be considering whether or not to stick their noses into another hornet's nest. If they do there is still plenty of sting left.

Judge's Letter

Support around Ohio and the rest of the country and the anger and hatred that came out against the Klan are so evident that the judge in the case tried to cover his political butt by writing a letter to one of the defendants just three days after the trial ended. In it he claimed to be anti-Klan "just like you." But he upheld the Klan's right to proclaim their poisonous message. In closing he wrote, "You won fair and square. I'm enclosing \$25 to take your wife out to dinner . . . but don't engage in any more violent activity . . . it endangers our very society . . ."

The judge got a reply. "Your check is going as a donation to the Fight the Klan defense committee. You, the prosecutor, the cops, the whole system you are part of gives birth to and protects the scum of the land, the Klan. You claim to be neutral but during the trial you tried to convict and jail us every step of the way. The jury along with hundreds of others throughout Ohio took a stand against the Klan by setting us free. But you, judge, are on the other side of the fence. You are a willing servant of the rulers of this country just as much as the Imperial Wizard is. He performs a certain job for them and so do you. Your robes may be different colors but your stand is the same." ■