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# Red Battle Flag in Coalfields



Demonstration against arrests in Beckley, West Virginia.

West Virginia—site of generations of militant battles between miners and the coal bosses, site of the powerful wildcat movement of the 1970s that defied the “acceptable,” “respectable” and “reasonable” shackles of class collaboration between the capitalists and their labor lieutenants—is today buzzing with debate over a whole new thing—May 1st, 1980.

“This country is shit loaded fucked up! We should all go to Washington and do what they did in Iran!”, an older white worker told the Revolutionary May Day Brigade when they marched through his community.

Thousands of older miners who have nothing but hatred in their hearts for this system which used up their bodies and gave them black lung and a pitiful

pension check as payment for their lives. Thousands of miners who are laid off and thousands of miners who are tired of the endless treadmill of strike—work—strike again, and are asking deep questions about the way out of this madness. Thousands of people— young and old alike—who have profound suspicion that despite West Virginia governor Rockefeller’s promise of coal boom the future holds no promise but more unemployment, strangling inflation and the spectre of war. And in this state where so many lives were snuffed out on the battlefields of Vietnam, thousands are saying, “Not again!”

In this situation, and with a section of the working class which the whole country watches, the capitalists have been very careful to keep stuffing minds full of bull—from constant religion to “Americanism” and other narrow nonsense. But in this situation there is a still small but significant section that has been through plenty and had enough—those who are more than ready to hear the revolutionary message of May 1st and take it up.

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## 30,000 May Day Buttons, Thursday March 27

On March 27, an appeal hearing will take place in Washington D.C. The powers that be are going to try to indict a man on multiple felony charges that add up to 241 years in jail. To some of the biggest murderers and criminals history has ever seen, this man is the most dangerous man in America. His name is Bob Avakian. His crime? He is the most consistent, determined and far-sighted revolutionary leader in the country today. He is the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party—the party that is preparing today to lead the working class and the masses of people in this country to take history into their hands and overthrow these criminals at the first opportunity.

The day of the hearing, March 27,  
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## New Book Analyzes Imperialism’s Greatest Crisis America in Decline

Serialized in the *Revolutionary Worker* beginning with this issue. See page 3

# What U.S. May Day Will Mean Around the World

## Latin American Woman

The following letter was written by a Latin American woman. It has been translated from the Spanish by the RW.

May 1st is a day of intense revolutionary struggle from one end of Latin America to the other. On that day, the copper miners of Chile and the tin miners of Bolivia, the oil workers of Venezuela, the fishermen of Peru, the coffee workers of Colombia, the meatpackers of Argentina, the steel workers of Brazil, the government clerks and the students, men and women, the elderly and the children, Indians, Blacks, whites, Black-Indians, mulattos and mestizos... the people, with their weatherbeaten faces and their rough hands, leave their tools of work and take up the revolutionary flag of the working class. In cities and fields, the workers march on May 1st, declaring their unity with the exploited of the entire world and reaffirming their decision to put an end to the criminal system which, in the name of law and order, God and civilization, keeps millions under the lash of daily misery and repression.

Neither the lies and threats of the CIA press, nor the abduction and assassination of leaders, nor the tactics of "counterinsurgency" which the national goons learn at the military school at the Panama Canal, nor the latest weapons for attacking the demonstrators, nor the attempts by the traitors to the working class (the sold-out union leaders, the pro-Soviet "communists", etc.) to pacify the struggle of the workers for a better future, can stop red flags from being hoisted, and the abhorred (U.S.) imperialist flag from being burned from Mexico to Chile, each May Day.

And this year, the millions of Latin American people who defy homicidal armies so as to keep the revolutionary spirit of May Day alive, will go from disbelief to surprise to great joy when they hear that, yes sir, in the United States itself, there is a new revolutionary ferment, which dares to celebrate the international day of the workers, defying the arch enemy of the oppressed of all America and singing its death sentence in the streets. Latin Americans will pinch themselves to be sure that they are awake, as they read that on May 1st 1980, the workers of the United States, instead of going to the factory, in their latest model Cadillacs, the women instead of playing bingo and polishing up their immaculate kitchens, the students instead of eating their Corn Flakes so they can learn more in school, that instead of the daily routine they took to the streets not to demand better wages, but to demand the very end of wage slavery!

The despised image of the gringo worker (a middle-classish, foolish chump, manipulated by remote control by the TV, ignorant as to political matters and happy with his Coke and McDonalds) will explode in a thousand pieces when it becomes known that here in the paradise of democracy there is a conscious minority which dares—like the rest of the world—to dream the dream of socialist revolution, and to fight so as to make it a reality. That scorn against the gringo up until now well fed and wasteful at the expense of the blood of the workers of the world, will be transformed into respect and solidarity when on May 1st 1980, throughout North, Central and South America, the working class unites its aspirations for a world free of oppression and injustice. It is a historic date. On to win it.

## Ethiopian Student

To the Revolutionary Worker,

Ethiopia is a small country located in the eastern part of Africa, its people have been under the rule of a military regime which pretends to be socialist, but actually is a puppet of soviet social imperialism. Last year there was a call by this self-proclaimed "marxist" regime to the people of Ethiopia to come out and celebrate May Day. These phony marxists were using May Day to confuse the people so that they could continue benefitting themselves by pretending to be genuine revolutionaries.

Hundreds of thousands of workers, students, and peasants were forced to

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## Prisoners: Take up May 1st

To all those  
whose revolu-  
tionary dreams  
fly out from  
behind the  
cold steel  
bars of the  
capitalists' prisons:



This May 1, the first salvos of a new decade of revolutionary upheaval will echo across this land. Thousands of the working class and other oppressed will leave their homes, their schools, their workplaces and take to the streets of this country, declaring themselves part of the international working class and demonstrating their determination to wake up their class brothers and sisters and to hurl the imperialist U.S.A. into the junkyard of pre-history.

To you on the inside—unable now to take to the streets, but inspired to act as part of this class conscious force—we call on you to find the ways to express your support, to unite that day with us in solidarity as we take history into our hands.

And beyond this, we call on you to exercise your influence on others before May 1. Your body may be imprisoned behind bars, but that doesn't mean that your power to build May 1 and educate others is held hostage as well. Make contact with your friends and relatives on the outside about May 1. In every letter you write, in every visit you receive between now and that historic day, spread the word. Make public statements. Urge all those that listen to you—and many do—to take part in opening a new chapter in the history of the working class of the world.  
**On to Revolutionary May 1st, 1980!**



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# America in Decline

## New Book Analyzes Imperialism's Greatest Crisis

The following is an excerpt from a new major work. In the next two weeks we will be serializing a new chapter from an extraordinary new book, AMERICA IN DECLINE—Imperialism's Greatest Crisis: An Analysis of the Developments Toward War and Revolution in the U.S. and Worldwide in the 1980's—to be published soon by Banner Press. This is a pathbreaking effort, written by a writing group under the leadership of the RCP Central Committee and its Chairman, Bob Avakian.

Do you want to really understand why Bob Avakian said "the imperialists are in a lot of trouble... you may not think that revolution is a serious possibility, but the rulers of this country think that it is a real possibility..."? ("Opening Remarks" at the recent RCP Central Committee meeting) This book analyzes why this is so. When you read it, including this chapter, the possibility of revolution, the urgent necessity—and basis—for preparation now like May Day 1980 jumps off the pages at you.

This particular chapter deals with the present condition of the masses in the U.S., its relation to their political mood, and how this objective situation will develop in the future. It is being serialized in the RW and appears in its entirety in the current issue of the Party's magazine, Revolution. Subheads are ours.

At the present time, the majority of the working class does not find itself in circumstances corresponding to a revolutionary situation, nor is it in a revolutionary mood. For that to happen, the income and conditions of work, the stability of employment and other basic conditions must have deteriorated and, along with social relations and life in general, become intolerable in the context of a deep-going crisis, with all the social and political turmoil and upheaval that characterizes a revolutionary situation. But, the present crisis, which has not yet approached such dimensions, may well do so in the coming period, providing the objective basis for not only the minority of class-conscious workers, but tens of millions more, representing the majority, to act in a revolutionary way, at least out of the recognition that their immediate conditions will not change for the better except through the overthrow of the capitalist system.

How are we to understand the development and unfolding of such a situation? And what effect has the economic crisis of the past period had on the consciousness of the working class, broadly speaking? There are two sides to this question. The continuing strength of the bourgeoisie shows up mainly in the form of its political and ideological domination over the masses—in the general backwardness of the working class as a whole, in the strong influence of backward ideas among the masses of workers and the relative influence of backward forces in the working class. To put it another way, it has not mainly been the recourse to force and suppression by the bourgeoisie that accounts for the relative inactivity of and confusion within the working class, though this is obviously a factor of growing importance.

On the other hand, the material basis for this backwardness and passivity—the ability of the bourgeoisie to deliver the goods, so to speak—is being rapidly undercut. As we will see, even this has its contradictory consequences in the willingness and capacity of the working class to raise its head and act as a class with its own interests. Yet there are some sections of the population whose backs are already to the wall, whose conditions of life are intolerable and whose potential for revolutionary activity right now is very great. There is, then, a process at work in which the bourgeoisification of the U.S. working class is breaking down—this is connected with the international situation and crisis of the past decade—and this in itself will give rise to another leap, in the form of a depression or war (whichever comes first) which will thrust people into an even more charged and radically different situation than has been faced in the last 10 years. The contradictory trends must be examined more closely.

The 1950s and 1960s were a period of rising expectations and rising living standards for the majority of the working class. This could only be a temporary phenomenon and had to give way eventually to a period characterized by sharpening attacks—economic as well as political—on the working class in its majority. But this bribery was real enough, since real income rose and stabilized into the early 1970s. Nevertheless, though this bourgeoisification was temporarily dominant, poverty and misery were accumulating during the 1950s and 1960s right along with it.

Mass rebellions among sections of the masses—especially the oppressed minority nationalities—shook the United States during the 1960s. The character of that movement and the relationship of the working class to it was rooted in the specific developments of the post-war period. The lives of Black people had changed enormously; they had come North, off the farms and into the cities, as the capitalists found it profitable to mechanize agriculture. These were very profound transformations resulting in the entry of Black people into the working class. But, as mentioned, Black people were not assimilated on an equal footing into the working class. They were herded into ghettos, subjected to violent police repression, daily squalor and degradation, and the sort of discrimination which has been analyzed. These material changes gave rise—along with the inspiration of anti-colonial struggles throughout the world—to the civil rights and then Black liberation struggles.

At the same time, the universities had opened up to large numbers of youth in the 1950s and 1960s, due to the technical changes in the U.S. economy and the potential danger posed by "sputnik." A whole generation of young people was affected by the experience of coming on to campuses and breathing the stench and hypocrisy of a society which promised them careers and rewarding lives; what they got was a demeaning and deadening education and the prospect of perhaps finding a slot in a man-eating and stultifying society. These were things being felt against the backdrop of the rebellions of Black people and the war being waged in Vietnam—and so there was rebellion among the youth as well against the depredation of the "abun-

dant" society.

Yet, by and large, the working class remained on the side-lines of these struggles. As summarized in an analysis of this period by the Revolutionary Communist Party, "while millions of workers hated the war, and many took part in activities against it, this took place almost entirely on an individual basis, and the banner of the working class was mostly absent from that struggle." So, while workers did come into this struggle, it was mainly students, young people and sections of the petty bourgeoisie that took up this fight in an organized way. And, by the same token, the Black liberation struggle—while it involved a much larger number of workers, especially young Black workers—was not marked by the organized and class conscious participation of the working class. This lack of a working class presence meant that petty bourgeois ideology and other harmful tendencies would be more difficult to combat in both these movements. But the overriding question is not so much the inherent limitations of these movements and struggles, but rather, what was it that relegated the working class to an indifferent or, at times, even hostile reaction to these upsurges? The answer runs through most of what has been said already. Apart, of course, from the treachery of the "Communist" Party, USA and, consequently the fact that there was no political vanguard to articulate the interests of the working class and galvanize it in revolutionary activity around these interests, it was the objective position of the U.S. imperialists that enabled them to muzzle the working class.

These mass movements, it is true, reached their heights during the late 1960s when the United States'

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## REVOLUTION

Vol. 5, No. 1  
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### America in Decline

## Crisis and War: The Mood and Conditions of the Masses

Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party. It is published as a monthly magazine, featuring articles that give a deep and many-sided analysis of major social questions and problems facing the revolutionary movement.

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### A Call to Battle, A Challenge to Dare

The RCP has published drafts for discussion for a new Party programme and new constitution. A statement from the RCP Central Committee.

### Notes on the Movement Against Nuclear Madness

### America in Decline—Crisis and War: the Mood and Conditions of the Masses

The majority of the working class is living on the precipice: able to get by, but only by the skin of their teeth. This article analyzes why, given this condition (brought on by the recent downturn in the economy, especially the 1974-75 recession), the mood of the working class is decidedly non-revolutionary and its consciousness backward. Further, it paints a dramatic view of the future—political and economic crisis on a scale unseen in this country before—that along with or immediately preceding the outbreak of world war, could well give rise to a revolutionary storm led by the working class.

### Slipping Into Darkness: "Left" Economism, the CP and the Trade Union Unity League.

The Depression which hit the capitalist world in 1929 moved through the U.S. like a hurricane, tearing up the economy and ripping the very fabric of society, shaking this country more deeply than anything had shaken it since the Civil War. Never had the illusions of the "American dream" seemed so deceitful, so mocking. The CPUSA threw itself into the work of preparing the workers for a revolutionary upsurge.

Yet a decade later there was not a trace of a mass revolutionary movement!

What happened? This article examines the particular role of "left" economism in laying the basis for later moves and open revisionism, by analysing the Communist Party's trade union work, especially the Trade Union Unity League (1929-1935).

# Junta Terror Reigns in El Salvador

Using techniques tested by imperialism from Vietnam to Chile, the U.S. puppet government in El Salvador continues to attempt to drown the struggle of the Salvadoran people in blood. Fascistic agents of the right-wing paramilitary group Orden, backed by regular army units, are carrying out the U.S. inspired "agrarian reform" by going door to door in campesino villages and work camps, executing anyone suspected of sympathizing with anti-junta organizations—in many villages, this means everybody. In Chalatanango province, sugar canefields were set on fire on all sides of one village, blocking escape. Napalm has been used on several villages in that province. Government troops are concentrating on those villages which have historically been strong centers of anti-government organization.

The junta has completely closed off the city of San Salvador, sending their police and guardsmen from house to house arresting anyone suspected of being a political activist, and confiscating weapons. National guard troops killed at least 60 striking workers during a one day general strike on March 17th, five of them at APLAR, an electronics plant owned by Beckman Instruments of California.

The current bloodbath has drawn broad smiles from Jimmy Carter and the rest of the U.S. imperialists. Last week Carter sent a letter to San Salvador archbishop Romero who had criticized the U.S. aid to the El Salvador government. Smiling Jimmy said, "The promotion of human rights has been... one of the principal motives... of the U.S.; it is on that policy that all aspects of Washington's foreign policy towards El Salvador is based." Meanwhile, the \$11 million military aid bill announced last week is being hurried through Congress, while campesinos in El Salvador report seeing blond-haired, English speaking soldiers giving orders to army troops occupying the plantations.

At this point, very little information is available about the mobilization



Recent anti-government demonstration in El Salvador.

and armed resistance of the masses of Salvadoran people, certainly the most crucial political task at this time. The junta has clamped down with a tight press censorship; 80% of the foreign news reporters have been forced to leave the country, many under threats of death, while those remaining are forbidden to travel.

# Parliamentary Elections in Iran

The first round of the much-heralded elections for the new Iranian parliament got underway last week, beginning the process which is supposed to ultimately lead to release of the American hostages.

The first returns generally reflected the continuing desire of the masses of people to hold firm on the embassy takeover, with a strong showing for both the supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini (who, while maneuvering, remains publicly firm against the U.S.), and the genuine leftist candidates.

Much more important than who gets elected, however, is what the whole process signifies about the direction a number of forces would like to take the Iranian revolution in. Khomeini's call, last week, for people to "storm the ballot box" was a tipoff, as was the fact that most "official sources" in the U.S. and Iranian governments are hinting that the parliament will certainly hand over the hostages.

In fact, these elections are another attempt on the part of the bourgeois forces in Iran to consolidate their power, compromise with imperialism and effectively smother the militant determination of the masses to continue the revolution. While members of the Revolutionary Council are naturally proclaiming the elections to be "a revolutionary process," trying to make phrases like "parliament will decide" sound tough, they all have their fingers crossed dreaming the empty dream that once this bridge is crossed, the masses of people will settle down and forget about politics until the next election.

The slogan that most aptly describes the current events is "vote for me and I'll set them free." The net result of placing the political initiative in the hands of the parliament would undoubtedly be this, and in fact the implications for Iran's political direction would be even more severe.

There's been only one way that effective political action has taken place in Iran, right back to the Shah's downfall—mass revolutionary action, where the people themselves have participated in the most fundamental and only effective way, mobilizing and taking direct action in the streets themselves. When the Revolutionary Council complained about the "two governments" existing in the country, they certainly weren't worried that there would be two parliaments voting separately in Iran. What they meant was which of the two



American flag burned at Iranian New Year Celebration in front of U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

roads would Iran's revolution take.

In this sense, a look at the embassy situation tells it all. The Revolutionary Council wants to take charge to get the whole thing over with behind closed doors, cement ties with the U.S. and "stabilize" the country. The militant students backed by the masses of people have had only one recourse open to them—show their strength in the streets and let the Revolutionary Council know they aren't going to give up.

The contrast between the two processes—one orderly and dignified, the other chaotic and out of control—are actually the contrasts between the two roads for the revolution. If the masses of people relinquish their power, mass political action, to the new parliament, the skids will be greased for a sell-out.

Even while the elections are proceeding, however, there are no signs that the masses have any intentions of forgetting that their role is decisive. Leftist candidates were elected, including Mojahadeen leader Massoud Rajavi who Khomeini had opposed. They based their political views on

mobilizing the masses and continuing the struggle. This shows how many people feel. Also there is the twist added to the celebration of the Persian New Year, when many people jump over small bonfires symbolizing passing from one year to the next. This year many bonfires are made out of American flags.

Khomeini has continued to push the parliamentary road, and in a significant move ordered a "New Year's amnesty" for 61 prisoners who collaborated with the Shah. Along with this, in a message to the students, who had been arresting people based on evidence of collaboration gotten from U.S. documents, he said no more charges of working with the Shah and the U.S. should be made since the country needed to unite.

With the U.S. desperate to regain control of Iran, with thousands of ex-SAVAK agents on the loose, and with an army that is virtually the same personnel as the Shah's except for a few of the very top Shah men, the effect of this decree is treacherous. In particular it protects a couple of Revolutionary

Council members, most likely Ayatollah Behesti and Admiral Madani, from exposure by the students who have hinted they have evidence on two leading figures.

The U.S. has beamed with delight while some political action that they can finally relate to takes place for a change. They even fondly compared the alleged voter fraud to "a Chicago election." A few of their more rabid spokesmen like Senator Hayakawa of California, have been unleashed to call for more direct action, but by and large the U.S. is content to let events take their course and see if the new Islamic Republic can finally put the lid on things.

The next series of elections will take place in mid-April, with some candidates representing the masses involved. While the issue of the hostages is on the back burner for now, with both the U.S. and the Revolutionary Council seemingly resigned to wait until at least May, the class struggle within Iran will continue to sharpen.

National Anti-Draft Demos March 22

# We've Got Another Army for Youth to Fight In

On March 22, thousands from around the country will descend on Washington D.C. in a massive demonstration against the reinstatement of the draft. This will be a real blow against the rulers of this country, and follows a wave of actions over recent weeks. No doubt the big boys on the hill figured they had created an appropriate social atmosphere by the time that Carter announced the plans for registration last February. They figured that the weeks and weeks of news stories featuring flag-waving creeps decked out in "nuke Iran" T-shirts—and then, to boot, a whole other orgy of the same after the Soviets went into Afghanistan—should have set the stage for the sheep-like acceptance by youth of the idea of marching, uncomplainingly, off into the mushroom clouds.

But Carter had scarcely finished his State of the Union Address (or more accurately, his State of the War-to-Come Address), when he found out that for

thousands of youth, if there was any marching to be done, it would be done against the draft.

From New York to California, huge mock draft cards and American flags went up in smoke. Hundreds turned out on short notice. Discussion and debate raged. In one D.C. high school alone, the day after the principal had followed Carter's speech on a local TV station and run out the line that "all my students support the president's decision," nearly 150 of "his" students signed a banner condemning the war moves of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The students at this school echoed the thoughts of thousands, if not millions, coast to coast: "Fuck Jimmy Carter. He can shove the draft straight up his ass!"

Obviously freaked by the strength of the resistance when America was supposed to be "united like it has not been since Pearl Harbor," the Carter administration scurried to the initiative.

At a press conference Carter called the wave of demonstrations a "gross over-reaction." There aren't any plans for a draft now, he explained, just registration. We just like to know where to find you in case something should come up! Two hundred and fifty hand-picked student government officials were invited to the White House for a special briefing by Carter and national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. Brzezinski made it as clear as he possibly could by asking the assembled "student leaders" how many would volunteer for military service. Less than ten hands went up. "That's why we need registration," Zbig shot back.

Zbig had a point; they *do* need registration—they *do* need a draft. But this isn't because their military forces aren't adequate for *today's* conditions—that is, for propping up and maintaining the U.S. empire and its vast exploitation and oppression of people around the world. No, what most concerns them is

tomorrow.

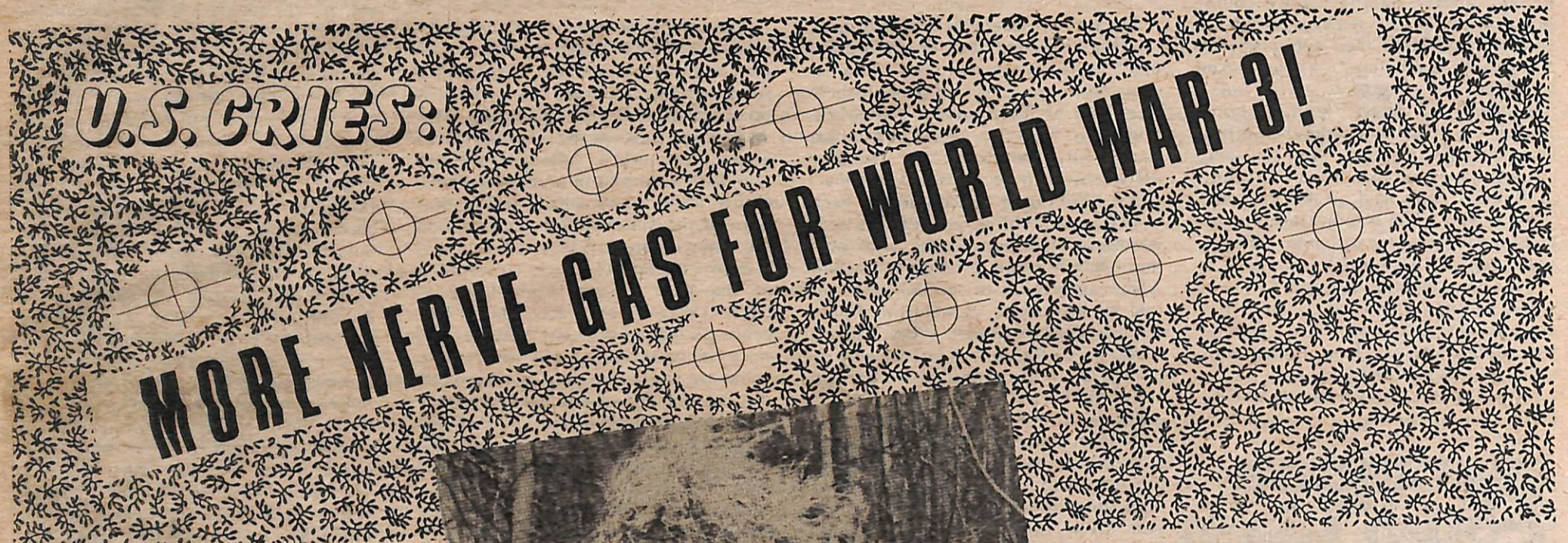
The rulers of this country are certainly aware—as are increasing numbers of people—that things are headed toward a showdown, in other words, world war. The rulers of the Soviet Union (who are just as capitalist, just as imperialist as those of the U.S.) are pushing out and challenging existing domination by the U.S. and its "allies" over large parts of the globe. The U.S., in turn, must defend its empire, and this conflict must ultimately mean war—interimperialist war.

And in this light, because these are the stakes in the '80s and because this motion toward crisis and war is drawing people into political movement now whether they recognize it or not, it is important to take a look at the politics of leading organizers of the March 22 demonstration.

MAD

While others are involved, Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD) is the main group calling the demonstration. MAD was pulled together by several professional lobbying groups, trade

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The U.S. imperialists have suddenly discovered a new threat to world peace. In the wake of State Department "unconfirmed reports" of Soviet nerve gas attacks in Afghanistan, *Time*, *Newsweek* and countless daily papers have run articles on "the Soviet chemical warfare threat." *Time* magazine explains, "To allow continued fighting on poisoned battlefields, Moscow's troops are all equipped with protective suits and masks. Tanks and armored personnel carriers are tightly sealed and carry filters to protect the crews against poison air and dust." Apparently the editors of *Time* have "forgotten" that U.S. troops, tanks and armored personnel carriers have the same equipment. "The Soviet arsenal of chemical weapons may total 350,000 tons," moans *Newsweek*, "compared with 42,000 tons in the U.S. inventory." Never mind that the U.S.—unlike the Soviet Union—has a huge chemical industry that could quickly convert to the production of chemical weapons. In fact, many pesticides currently being produced in these chemical plants are almost identical to military nerve gas.

These "minor omissions" have only one purpose and that is to serve as a call for stepped-up war preparations in the area of chemical and biological warfare and other fields as well. This is but a new rendition of the same old tune of "we need to expand our arsenal in order to deter the Soviets from using their supposed superiority against the people of the world." It is the same argument they've used in regard to "troop shortages", "nuclear missile shortages", "tank shortages", etc., etc. Of course, they are motivated only by the most humanitarian desires for peace and in order to preserve the peace all around war preparations must be made. Such is their imperialist logic.

Now the word is that stockpiling

chemical weapons will "save the world from the horrors of Soviet chemical warfare" just as the MX missile, the neutron bomb, and the Trident submarine are supposedly there to prevent a nuclear war.

In fact, the U.S. imperialists—just like their rivals in the Kremlin—have no intention of "saving" the world from any kind of warfare. The sole concern of each is in putting itself in the best position to wage and win a world war against the other. And they are prepar-

ing to use all kinds of weapons—chemical, biological, nuclear, or "conventional"—whatever it takes to win.

U.S. imperialism's attitude towards chemical warfare was bluntly stated by one of its own chemical warfare planners when he explained why the imperialists would never quit using poison gases: "Poison weapons are too effective, too easy to make and use, too simple to conceal before battle, and too easy to deny after wiping out the population."



NATO soldier dressed for chemical warfare.

The hideous atrocities carried out in Indochina by the U.S. during the Vietnam War are stark testament to the cynical hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism's new-found "humanitarian concern" at the prospect of chemical warfare being used by the Soviets in Afghanistan. Below is a description of the use of chemical warfare in Vietnam from the medical diary of Dr. Nguyem:

"The smell of chemical was unbearable. After five minutes leaves of sweet potatoes, rice, plants and trees became completely desiccated. Domestic animals would not eat and almost died... only 15 minutes later the planes returned and sprayed chemicals a second time... the fish in the streams and lakes were floating in the water, discolored, the buffalo were dead. The grass was poisoned... All the women who were pregnant and all pregnant animals had miscarried on the spot. Ten days later, a squadron of U.S. aircraft came and spread chemicals a third time... Fifteen days later, I could not read. One month later, I could not see. In three months, I could only eat soup... Every time they spray chemicals, they threaten us with loudspeakers, broadcasting from airplanes, telling people to go to the areas controlled by Saigon or they will suffer death."

But the hideous war waged by the U.S. in Indochina pales in comparison to the war they and their Soviet counterparts are rapidly gearing up for. New chemical artillery shells, new chemical rocket warheads, and special chemical warfare companies attached to every U.S. army division: this \$1.3 billion chemical warfare program, while just a tiny fraction of U.S. war preparations, is an indication that no effort will be spared by either the U.S. or the Soviet Union in every sphere of destruction in preparation for World War 3.

# Coalfields

Continued from page 1

So it's no wonder that Sheriff Okey Mills almost swallowed his shot glass when he saw the Revolutionary May Day Brigade roll through the coal camps of Raleigh County. He knows what happens when a spark hits powder. So on Saturday, March 14, faithfully serving his godfathers, Okey and his dogs lashed out. When the Revolutionary May Day Brigade with red flags in the air marched through Glen White (near Beckley), Mills invoked a 1919 West Virginia state law against "displaying red flags" and busted 11 people—Brigade members and supporters. "I'm a law-abiding man—so I wouldn't do it—but my feelings is persons like you ought to be eradicated," Okey Mills told the brigaders, and of course later repeated to the press just to make sure the local cavemen and KKK got the message. The red flag arrests were a blatantly political attack—openly outrageous—and the message behind them was clear: You workers are *not* going to raise the banner of revolution in this state. You are *not* going to march on May Day. On that day, just like every other day, you are going to be in your place, which is under our boot.

The Revolutionary May Day Brigade moved quickly on the county courthouse in downtown Beckley to expose the arrest of 11 of their comrades for "displaying a red flag." As the picket line began, two brigaders started walking down the street, both carrying folded-up red banners under their arms. The sheriff's deputies saw red and swooped down on this dangerous color.

"Look!" one said to his partner, "that's red!" The demonstrators stepped forward to argue with him, "That's not a flag, it's a banner."

"It doesn't matter, it's red."

His partner whispered to him, "It's got a lot of yellow on it..." But he was nudged by the first deputy who said, "It's mostly red."

"It's illegal to carry a banner?" asked the demonstrator.

"It's red!"

"But it's got words on it."

"Especially with words!" the cops said, and he arrested two more brigaders.

The red flag defendants now numbered 14. (The 14th was arrested when he was soapboxing—charged with disorderly conduct.)



March in West Virginia minutes before Red Flag bust.

The message of the May Day Brigade—"Our flag is red! Not red, white and blue!"—had hit a raw nerve. And it came out more clearly in the jail where Okey and his boys gave a demonstration of just what the red, white and blue stands for, brutalizing the red flag defendants with beatings and verbal attacks. "We ought to send you all back to Africa and blow you up," a red, white and blue pig told one Black brother. Another cop brought an Asian-American brother to the jail door and told his kiss-asses, "I want this Chink out in a pine box tonight." One patriotic cop—who forgot that he was wearing his black uniform and not his white sheet—told a white coal miner, "I'll guarantee you'll have a cross burnt on your lawn tonight." And perhaps the most instructive remark came from the pig who said, "You all should have been shot for what you did. In fact, a year from now, you will be shot. Because we're all going to war and this is treason."

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The complaints against the brigaders read like this: "XXX did unlawfully have in his possession and did display a solid red flag mounted on a wooden pole which indicated sympathy with and support of ideals, institutions of governments hostile, inimical, and antagonistic to the form and spirit of the Constitution, Laws, Ideals and Institutions of the State of West Virginia and the United States of America, in violation of Chapter 61, Article 1, Section 6 of the West Virginia State Code as Code 1931, as amended against the peace and dignity of the State." And since the peace and dignity of the state (what the class-conscious workers call the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) is what Okey Mills is most concerned about, he quickly dredged up this anti-red flag law, perhaps not realizing that once he opened up this little can of worms it might be hard to close the lid. He simply saw *red*, as did his congressional forebears when they made the law two years after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, 1917, had fired the imagination of workers all over the world.

On October 31, 1919, not less than one-half million miners struck the coalfields for economic demands. This followed close on the heels of 365,000 steel workers who struck for a union. Attorney General Palmer said of the miners' strike: "The facts present a situation which challenges the supremacy of the law, and every resource of the government will be brought to bear to prevent the national disaster which would inevitably result from the cessation of the mining operation." This was the very same Attorney General Palmer who launched the infamous Palmer raids aimed at decimating the most class-conscious workers and specifically foreign-born workers. More than 6,000 warrants were issued in the U.S. for the arrest of foreign-born workers and 505 were deported at the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920. In the filthy terror of the Palmer raids, J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI were born. In the same year, dock workers in Seattle refused to load guns and ammunition which were being sent against the Russian revolution.

The miners' strike was called off by the leaders of the UMWA three days after it started, and John L. Lewis declared: "We are Americans, it is a conclusion stated in an American way." The miners went back to work; but there would be many bloody battles to come, and many more examples of Americanism as well. But far more than the economic strikes, the government feared the example of the Russian workers seizing the political stage and state power, and the spread of communism, and lashed out viciously, seeing Bolsheviks in every outbreak.

In 1918, Lenin, the great leader of the Russian Revolution, wrote in his *Letter to the American Workers*: "We know

that help from you will probably not come soon, comrade American workers, for the revolution is developing in different countries in different forms and at different tempos (and it cannot be otherwise)... We are banking on the inevitability of the world revolution, but this does not mean that we are such fools as to bank of the revolution inevitably coming on a *definite* and early date...." This was a profound and far-sighted letter, and though today class-conscious workers recognize the Soviet Union has turned into an imperialist superpower, the tremendous victory and lessons of the Russian Revolution, the first country to establish the rule of the working class, cannot be snatched away. The spirit of Lenin's letter that "In short we are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible," is embodied in the red flags of the May Day workers. And it is this spirit which is now haunting the small mind of Oakey Mills in Beckley, West Virginia, and the imperialists who know that big storms lie ahead in the 1980s and want to prevent the revolutionary-minded workers from getting their hands on the red flag.

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With the 14 out on bond, the Revolutionary May Day Brigade and the local May Day Committee put out the call: "The red flag represents the future, and we will not let them strike it down. If they want to arrest it, they'll have to fill the jails till they burst. The lines are drawn, which side are you on? Pick up the red flag!"

Monday, March 17, in Beckley, West Virginia, there was a grey winter sky and drizzling rain. There was tension in the air as two Brigade members arrived at the Raleigh County Courthouse for a press conference to expose the red flag arrests and threats of violence from the sheriff. Across the street a crowd of about 150 people gathered.

TV cameras and radio microphones were thrust in the face of one of the brigaders, a coal miner, as he spoke out: "We've got information from reliable sources inside the courthouse that Sheriff Okey Mills and his uniformed thugs plan to make 'clean arrests' of demonstrators and then once we're behind their locked doors finish the job they began on Saturday when they brutalized people in jail. We want to make their intentions widely known and make it clear that this is not going to intimidate us from raising the red flag." It's not going to stop us from going straight up in the face of their red, white and blue and all the oppression and misery it stands for."

As reporters fired questions at the revolutionaries, a few reactionaries began gathering around, belching out their stupid and hysterical "Go back to Russia" rantings and ravings. Now the press was getting exactly what they wanted. Here were the "outraged

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**RED FLAG THEATER**  
PRESENTS **THE MOTHER**  
BY **BERTOLT BRECHT**

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# Red Flag Flies Over Alamo

San Antonio, Texas. Thursday, March 20. At exactly 2:00 p.m. in the Long Barrack Museum, a slide show clicked on—a reenactment by the Texas army of the fall of the Alamo. At exactly 2:00 p.m., three members of the Texas May Day Brigade, two men and one woman, scaled the walls of the Alamo to raise the red flag of the international working class.

The Alamo. Notorious monument to national oppression. Internationally pointed to, along with the Washington Monument and the Statue of Liberty as symbols of the land of the free and the home of the brave. Davy Crockett, Jim Bowie with his infamous bloodstained knife and William Travis—captains of genocide against the Indians in the Southeast before they turned their attention to Mexican people and Mexican land. If you really want to see how thoroughly red, white and blue reactionary this place is, you just have to look at the picture of warhorse John Wayne that adorns a wall in the Alamo. History was turned upside down as the capitalists cloaked this monument to slavery and expansion of their capitalist empire in sanctity and hallowedness.

The bullhorn blared across the plaza area. A Chicano brother from California spoke from the rooftop. "We're from the Texas May Day Brigade. We've come to set the record straight about this Alamo. This is a symbol of the theft of Mexican land. A symbol of the murder of Mexicans and Indians. And a symbol of the oppression of Chicanos and Mexicanos throughout the whole Southwest." Some Chicano groundskeepers stopped work to join the crowd. People, originally shopping across the street, moved in for a closer look. Tourists stared in shocked disbelief. A buzz ran through the crowd. "Get those commies off there," one man yelled. Another man in his forties zigzagged through the crowd saying, "Revolutionaries, communists, just took over the Alamo. Know how they did it? They threw hooks up and scaled the walls... commando style!" He continued excitedly as he explained to a person in the crowd that, "May Day is the communists' rites of spring."

Suddenly to the left of the rooftop the ropes to a flagpole stirred. Some in the crowd looked quizzical for a moment, then one guy angrily half removed his suit jacket. With eyes bulging, temples pounding and the hackles on his neck standing on edge, he watched helplessly as his beloved flag, the Lone Star Texas flag, was lowered and thrown aside. In its place, rising like a second sun in the San Antonio sky, flew the blood red flag of the workers of every country. And next to it stood three brigaders, proud, determined, brandishing smaller red flags.

And the internationalist message was not lost on some among the crowd. Two Iranians expressed exuberant solidarity. One, a cook making \$4 an hour, stepped up. "I had a fight at work when the hostages were taken. I don't know if revolution is possible in the U.S. but this today is very good. I took my wife (an American) to Tehran on my vacation. I showed her the bloody walls in prison. I showed her what Shah did to my people. Now she is getting in fights too."

A 16-year-old from Saudi Arabia was inspired. "Wow, I didn't know there were revolutionaries in the U.S. My country suffers a lot too," he told an *RW* newspaper seller.

A Czechoslovakian warehouseman in his fifties said defiantly as police prepared for the assault, "I'd spit in those cops eyes." Later when the cops had finally driven off with their captives, he returned to an *RW* reporter and clasped his hands. "May Day is all over the world. This was good." And a middle-aged Mexican couple spoke for millions who live under U.S. imperialism in Mexico and around the world when they said, "Bueno, bueno, bueno," as they moved closer to listen.

Another brigader, a Vietnam veteran, took the bullhorn. "I've seen U.S. imperialism at work. I've seen napalmed bodies of men, women and children. I've seen the tanks roll through villages. That's why we raise the red flag," he spoke, pointing. "To say we are one class worldwide and we have no interest with our im-



Police finally reach May Day brigades on top of the Alamo after the Red Flag flew for nearly an hour.

perialist rulers. And we also raise it in solidarity today with the revolutionaries arrested in Beckley, West Virginia who were arrested for raising it in the coalfields," he added.

Suddenly a police helicopter swooped low. Failing to negotiate a landing on the Alamo, it hovered just to the right of the revolutionaries—attempting to intimidate and drown out the bullhorn. San Antonio pigs began clearing the plaza area. Some troglodytes in the crowd shouted, "Go back to Russia," and assorted caveman grunts. Some older Chicano workers shook their heads, "This is crazy. It won't change anything," but for the Chicano youth it was electric—the gleam in the eye, the clenched fists and the "right-ons" were widespread among them. Two Chicanas, a mother and daughter, discussed the truth that is hidden about the Alamo. "That's right, Mom," the girl said. "They tell us that Davy Crockett is our hero. The ruling class is very skilled at getting us to love our own oppressors." The mother became visibly angry. "They hide too much from us," she said.

But today, for nearly one hour, the truth

reverberated boldly from the Alamo. No, this is not a monument to freedom and democracy, except the freedom of the capitalists to steal land from the Mexican and Indian peoples. No, these men were not heroes. They were mercenary scum, bought and paid for to colonize the land to expand the brutal southern slave system over the blood and bones of Mexicans. No, the Alamo is no sacred shrine to be kneeled before. In fact the class conscious workers of all nationalities take joy in the victory of the Mexican army over the band of imperialist pirates and in the example of the men of the San Patricio corps (St. Patrick's corps), Irish men who deserted the ranks of the U.S. Army and went over to fight for Mexico.

A siren zinged as the San Antonio firetruck pulled up to the plaza. The police, upon finding all the gardeners' ladders chained and locked together, had called in help. A rustle swept the crowd as cops and firemen ascended the ladders. "Get the flag down," a patriot from the crowd yelled. The brigaders were handcuffed and moved to the back of the roof. A Texas flag was again back on the flag pole

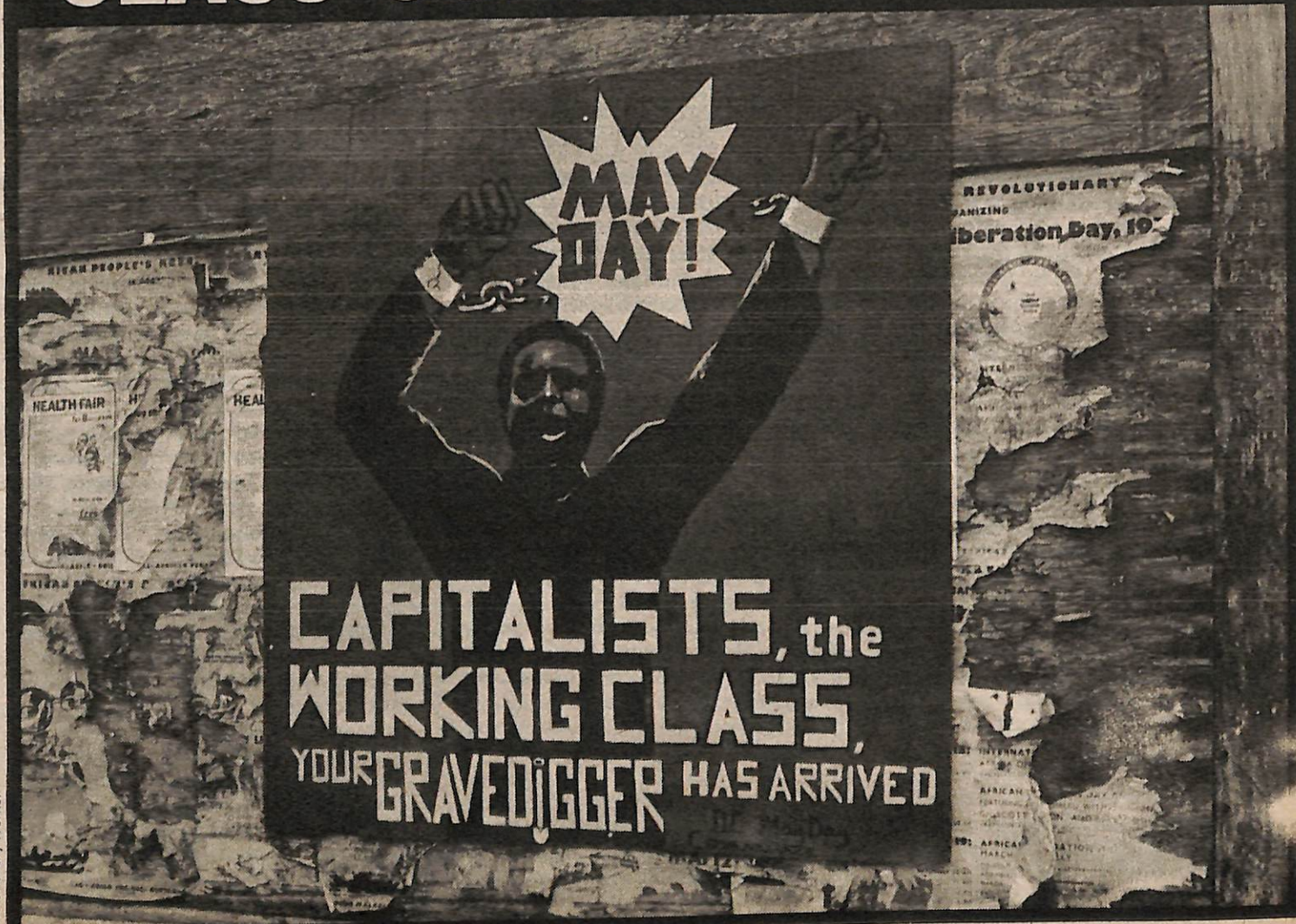
as only half the crowd applauded. The brigaders were made to stand next to the flag pole in a feeble attempt to tell them, "See, we're back on top and we're going to stay there." But it was too late. The sight of the red flag on top of the Alamo had sparked some dangerous ideas in the minds of the people who saw it and all who would later hear the news. The brigaders were again brought to the rear, to a waiting ladder. The crowd gathered there too. One person yelled, "Throw them off the roof. We'll take care of them." A Chicana stepped forward. "They're not going to throw anyone off the roof. I saw where they threw a Chicano (Joe Torres) in the river with his hands cuffed behind his back. I lost a brother in Vietnam and they gave me a flag. I know what that stinking flag is all about." Some of her friends, a white couple from Milwaukee, boomed in response to cheers from the backward sections of the crowd as the brigaders were brought down. They bought a stack of *Revolutionary Workers* and left saying, "If there's not a May Day in Milwaukee, we'll be there in Chicago."

Another man grabbed an *RW* reporter by the arm. "This is great. I haven't seen shit like this since college." When he heard there'd be a May Day march in his state, he gasped. "Birmingham, Alabama! Hey, I'll be there," he said, grinning.

Word spread like wildfire across the local San Antonio radio stations. On one call-in show, responses like this were heard. "I locked my 17-year-old nephew in the house when I heard it on the news," one woman said seriously. "I heard last year this Mexican red Travis Morales (one of the Moody Park 3—*RW*) was stirring up Mexicans in Houston. Now I hear he's stirring them up to march on May 1st," another caller added.

From the rooftop of the Alamo, another powerful salvo has rung out just as the explosions in Birmingham, Alabama and Beckley, W. Va. were echoing across this land. Another powerful salvo was sent into the face of the imperialists. And this salvo has quickened the pulse of millions across this country who saw the news and who hate this system. From the seized Alamo came this battle cry to the working class and all the oppressed, "Take history into our hands. March on revolutionary May Day 1980."

**MAY 1st — WELD THOSE WHO HATE THIS SHIT INTO A CLASS CONSCIOUS FORCE!**



# May Day Buttons

Continued from page 1

the Revolutionary Communist Party and the National May Day 1980 Committee are calling on you to be a part of a powerful statement, to be one of 30,000 people wearing a May Day button—to wear it in defense of Bob Avakian—to wear it in defiance of all the outrageous attacks on May Day and the May Day Brigades. We're not hiding it—this will be a major test of strength with our rulers, a major step towards May Day. Everyone, our overlords and the people alike, will be watching to see who will take a stand on March 27.

Revolution? An impossible dream—or a distant slim possibility? Our rulers think not, or why have they been lashing out—at Chairman Avakian and at hundreds more who have broken with the role of the happy slave and have realized that just struggling to survive, playing the man's game, is a dead end in this dog-eat-dog society. Even more, that it is actually an absurd waste of time given that U.S. imperialism is going to hell.

For the first time in a decade, the question of where this society is headed and revolution are being debated by millions, sometimes in whispers and at times in knock-down, drag-out fights. The challenge is out—on Thursday, May 1, International Workers Day, there will be a section of the U.S. working class who dares to be men and women and break openly with the slavemaster and his red, white, and blue oppression here and around the world.

Behind this debate are the rapid-fire events in the world: Iran and Afghanistan, Nicaragua, an economy lurching deeper into crisis, and the moves toward world war between the U.S. imperialists and their clones in the Soviet Union. Our rulers and their system are in desperate straits. Why else would they move to draft both men and women?—their "people" must be rounded up and be made ready in their millions to fight and die to defend these



rich bastards and their blood-soaked empire!

May Day 1980 is an urgent and necessary step in preparation for the future. The majority of the working class and the oppressed in this country cannot and will not be blind sheep, singing "God Bless America" all the way through the unparalleled suffering that the crisis and war will bring. The 1980s will witness turbulent upheaval. And as the call for May Day 1980 puts it, "Their crisis is our opportunity if we dare to seize it."

Who can forget the mighty revolutionary storms of the '60s which inspired every person with the taste of liberation in their mouth or who had an ounce of hatred for injustice? Turmoil is again beginning to simmer throughout this country, but with it the question, "Is it only to be a righteous stand for two days of justice, or once again a fight for reforms that vanish as soon as they're won, going nowhere? Or is there the strength and the forces to carry it through?" (from the call for May Day 1980) The 1980s cannot and will not be a repeat of the '60s. Our rulers are in more serious trouble—the stakes are up, and the oppressed might have an actual change to get them this time around—if those who already hate this shit and see where things are headed don't just sit on their hands until it's too late. You will blow it with the attitude that "not everybody is ready yet, the time isn't ripe yet—I've got to take

care of business now, but I'll be there with a gun when the time comes." We won't be ready when the time comes if we don't move and start acting today. The "Revolution" has not begun yet—but in a very real way, the revolution has already begun.

The battle for the allegiance of the working class is being fought out today. How can the working class ever fight to abolish its enslavement later if it doesn't get trained, starting now, to break with the imperialists' sickeningly reactionary view of the world—that it's "theirs." How can the working class play its revolutionary role if we let the imperialists perpetuate the lie that if you want to tear this system down, you're the only one, everyone else is contented?

Our oppressors are acutely aware that this war has begun. If the actions of the farsighted and courageous fighters in our ranks, like the workers of all nationalities on the May Day Brigades made no difference, then why do they bother to attack them so viciously?

- **Coalfields of West Virginia:** Slaves raising the red flag struck like a cross to a vampire. 31 are arrested, some on a 1919 law for "displaying the red flag," two for treason. The KKK is invited to work over one Black prisoner.

- **Black ghetto of East St. Louis, II:** The mayor flanked by four bodyguards "visits" the jail cell of a teenager and warns him that if he is caught postering again, his body may not come back across the river.

- **Courtroom in Youngstown, Ohio:** The kangaroo trial of the May Day 10 begins on March 24. Their heinous crime? Leafletting.

- Over 160 arrests of May Day organizers in the last five weeks.

If you sit by passively now, don't whine about how all our leaders from the '60s sold out. Bob Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party didn't and won't. You are just trying to get yourself off the hook if you moan about Malcom X and Fred Hampton getting killed. Look at Lenin—he lived and they made revolution in Russia. Look at Mao—he lived and they made revolution in China. Now we have Bob Avakian. Damn it, can you let them rip him off now when the very real

possibility of revolution may be just years away?

On March 27 the gavel will come down, and the case of the United States of America vs. Bob Avakian will again be put to the test. The chance in the 1980s to finally strangle our slavemaster, to rip his tentacles from the backs of the oppressed worldwide, will hang in the balance. Whether you like it or not, there are only two sides—the government vs. the RCP in the courtroom, the sheriff and the KKK vs. the red flag in Beckley, West Virginia, the oppressor vs. the oppressed. Accelerating events in the world compel you to choose which side you will stand on. Any neutral ground will be cut out from under you, if not today, sooner than you think.

The RCP and the National May Day Committee are putting a call out to you—you who are not so accustomed to your chains, so fascinated with a few crumbs these masters of deceit have let drop from their table, that you will bow and beg from them instead of standing with those who are preparing to end this insanity and brutality called "the American way." We call on you to act today, to take a step which will be a tremendous leap in the battle for May Day 1980. We call on people in their thousands in factories, schools, neighborhoods, unemployment offices to defiantly wear the May Day 1980 button on March 27. The very fact that on that day 29,999 others besides you are wearing the May Day symbol is one sign of the difference it makes to have this Party. You can be sure, the ruling class will be watching. But more important, those from our own ranks will be watching, those who are still walking around half blind and those who already burn with hatred for this "greatest of all societies" and whose anger can be uncorked with a little push and inspiration. Don't throw away the opportunity! Take history into your hands and pin on this symbol of the future.

**ON TO REVOLUTIONARY MAY DAY! DEFEND OUR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP! HASTEN IMPERIALISM INTO ITS GRAVE!**

# Coalfields

Continued from page 5

citizens and good ol' boys" jumping to the defense of the stars and stripes. Courthouse secretaries leaned out of second-story windows waving little American flags provided them courtesy of the sheriff's department.

Yelling and screaming at the Black brother, "Hey nigger, go back to Africa," the group surrounding the two brigaders got larger and bolder. "Just two of them! Where are your red flags now?!" Sheriff's deputies in uniform came out of the courthouse to the cheers of the thugs—out of uniforms—on the sidewalk. This was no spontaneous reactionary outpouring from the crowd but clearly an organized effort. The pigs had mobilized their most loyal servants—the KKK, American Legion, off-duty and on-duty undercover cops. These dogs were foaming at the mouth and packing in tighter when all of a sudden the two brigaders looked up to see a brilliant sight. All eyes turned to look down the street. Around the corner, the marchers came. Forty people—Black, white, Latin and Asian, men and women marching proudly. The Revolutionary May Day Brigade—joined by local supporters—fists raised defiantly. And then all of a sudden, like out of nowhere, there were flags soaring in the wind. Red flags! Thrust powerfully in the air for all to see so there was no making it—like it or not—these red flags were flying!

The red flags of the working class all around the world, the red flag of May 1st, revolutionary red shimmering against the grey sky. For a split second, time seemed to stop. Then a cab cut around the corner, the driver honked his horn, raised his fist out the window and yelled, "Keep it up, May Day!" It was more than the pigs could stom-

ach. In desperation they surged forward toward the march, a few stupidly waving their flag of oppression. In their own twisted way they understood what those red flags represented and they knew they had to drag them down. Squealing and snorting, the pigs and their organized "citizens" went on a rampage. Going after every red flag with nightsticks flailing, they beat their way into the marchers, 4 or 5 thugs on a single demonstrator.

People began running across the street towards the demonstration, but the cops held them back with nightsticks, mace and threats of arrests.

A woman from the May Day Brigade, surrounded by cops—in and out of uniform—would not be beaten down. "Here's your red, white and blue," she yelled, "the red flag is the only flag of the working class!"

One brother lay on the ground, his face shoved in the mud by the two sheriff's deputies who had jumped him from behind. The cops' knees dug deep into his back. Clawing hands tried to grab the flag that he held so tightly. Then with a defiant lunge, his right arm shot upward, scarlet banner unfurled. The billy club rained down, but the red flag had been planted.

"Good Morning Amerikkka!" The UPI wires hummed out an All Amerikkkan fairy tale across the country: "Beckley, West Virginia. To a lot of folks in Raleigh County it seemed bad enough the communist demonstrators were there at all. Worse still were their red flags. But when they taunted old glory, the matrons could stand no more. They waded in, umbrellas flying. They were joined by old men throwing punches and young ones grabbing red flags from the badly outnumbered demonstrators. In all, police said, about 400 people waving American flags traded punches and insults Monday with some two dozen demonstrators before deputies separated them...."

The capitalist media machine went into action, while the local authorities scrambled to get on top of the situation. Everyone was talking about the May Day Brigade. The bourgeoisie launched a two-pronged attack. They ran a flurry of editorials—"Sheriff is playing into RCP hands" and "Mills is making a spectacle of himself," trying to back off from the political nature of the attack, blaming the sheriff and trying to portray the demonstrators as isolated eccentrics. And they ran another message in TV newsreels and pictures in the newspapers of demonstrators being beaten by cops to sear the brains of people who see through this system with the message that "We've got the guns and clubs and watch how we deal with this. If you step forward we are going to crush you." Because for all their talk about how the revolutionaries are isolated, what they fear is that some people are listening. Debate was raging and many are asking themselves the question—are these people crazy or is this exactly what I need to be doing? Even a little slipped out in the bourgeois press when the Beckley *Post-Herald* reported as follows:

"A *Post-Herald* representative asked a deputy if he could ask the citizens of Rhodell to go home and ignore the revolutionaries. (The Brigade was in Rhodell on Sunday.) ... an older woman meanwhile became concerned that a younger woman was listening to what the young woman in the beret was saying. 'Don't listen to her,' the older woman said.

'Well, she's got some points.' 'But they're crazy points.' 'I want to hear what she's going to say.'"

One older Black woman—who was active in the miners' black lung struggles—put it straight out when she told two brigaders, "I watched it all on TV and I didn't sleep too well that night. I felt fear but I especially felt anger. People know inside what you are doing is

right. You are their voices. You're doing what people have been thinking about all their lives. But it's a tough decision to come down off the fence."

It is this sentiment that has been drawn out by the battle for May 1st and the red flag. People have come forward to donate money and food, and to check out more urgently what the hell this is all about. One coal miner who phoned the May Day Committee said, "I saw what happened and I hated what those cops did. I want to get involved with what you're doing, could you send me some literature?"

After discussion with several miners, a UMW District 29 lower-level official said, "They parade around the rebel flag, the confederate flag of slavery. They have that everywhere, yet they stop you people from carrying the red flag. Now that really says something about this system." And another woman said, "I don't know about all this communism and red flag stuff, but I'll tell you one thing. I don't like the red, white and blue, and I've never got the goose pimples when I hear the 'Star Spangled Banner'!"

\* \* \* \* \*

After 1-1/2 days all the red flag defendants were released, but not until they had left their mark on the Raleigh County Jail. The continual racist abuse, the mace, several beatings (one Black comrade was set on by 6 pigs and the beating resulted in a punctured eardrum—the price he paid for refusing to grovel before his captors)—and most importantly, the political message of the defendants—raised lively discussion among the other prisoners. Some prisoners gave the defendants names and wanted literature, and pledged that, in or out of jail, they would be taking the stand of the working class on May 1st.

As each defendant was brought  
Continued on page 17



# Tip of a Secret Service Iceberg

As the days remaining before the March 27th Court of Appeals hearing in Washington, D.C. count down, it is stepping up—and you aren't supposed to even know it's going on. What is it? It's a war—its "soldiers" are a veritable army of political vermin, deadly bulges in their armpits concealed by look-alike three piece suits, faces and unmarked vehicles cut from the same nondescript mold. This is the "secret war" being carried out and escalated daily by the United States Secret Service; its "secrets" will be providing much of the political ammunition shot by the U.S. government in the open attack declared on Bob Avakian and the RCP when the battle once again focuses in Washington, D.C. next Thursday.

Five hundred thirty-four pages of Secret Service documents concerning Bob Avakian and the RCP which were recently released through the Freedom of Information Act, makes clearer the top level government conspiracy to crush this revolutionary Party and wipe out its leadership. Five hundred and thirty-four pages are a hell of a lot of documents, and the sheer quantity of the released material is partially intended to imply that the Secret Service has "nothing to hide." But it's difficult to say "nothing" in such quantity, and the released documents both serve to reveal part of what's been kept hidden in the past and the fact that most of what is going on is still being hidden.

What they do print is obviously aimed at bragging "we are watching you," and painting a ridiculous "all-powerful" picture of these political police.

Apparently unintentionally, these documents in fact prove that 534 pages are merely the obvious tip of a giant, submerged iceberg of political surveillance, harassment and repression being carried out against the Revolutionary Communist Party, with special focus on its Chairman, Bob Avakian, in a coordinated nationwide massive effort by the U.S. Secret Service. Throughout the released files are constant references to other, still-secret documents.

The majority of the materials released deal with the RCP and its activities in only the last two years, in particular since the January 29th demonstration in Washington, D.C. against Teng Hsiaping. What does the material reveal? In part: clear indications of both informants and actual government agents infiltrating RCP activity; prosecution being actively considered against the RCP and its members on the charge of advocating the violent overthrow of the government; "Look Out Lists" maintained by the Secret Service as well as by other government police agencies on RCP connected cars in Washington, D.C. during the campaign to turn D.C. upside down; "criminal/mental checks" ordered by the Secret Service on arrested RCP members and supporters; open cooperation between reactionary organizations and the Secret Service and local police agencies to sabotage RCP led demonstrations and set up revolutionaries for possible arrests; cooperation between a national wire service, well known newspapers and the Secret Service to provide the Secret Service with information on RCP activities where direct Secret Service surveillance would be difficult: if this list can be compiled from a reading of the materials the Secret Service chose to release—what is the nature of the "secrets" the Secret Service is still covering up? (And remember these are files from only one government agency; they contain references to cooperation from the FBI, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms, Military Intelligence and local police agencies.)

The most important and formerly better kept "secret" made clear by these documents is the nature of the Secret Service's ongoing attempt to frame Bob Avakian on the charge that he allegedly "threatened the life of the president." This frame-up grew out of an article by a Los Angeles Times reporter about a speech Comrade Avakian made in Los Angeles last August. Dozens of pages in the released materials detail Secret Service nationwide communications in connection with its "investigation" as the cover for this attack. The activities of the attorneys in both Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. who moved to fight this attack in the legal sphere are detailed. The fact that "daily reports" were (and probably still are being) made by Secret Service branches in connection with the "progress" of this investigation is revealed. Secret Service discussions with the U.S. Attorney in Los Angeles concerning the possibility of prosecuting Bob Avakian on this frame-up are noted. In connection with these discussions, the documents reveal that apparently what "concerned" the U.S. Attorney in California about the Los Angeles Times reporter's "credibility as a witness" against Bob Avakian, was not the fact that Comrade Avakian never made the statement she placed into her article, but the fact that she made a "misstatement of fact in the article as to the location of the subject when the statement was made."

But something else is made clear from these materials, for they also contain scores of pages filled with Secret Service reports on the outrage and opposition of thousands of people across the country on Bob Avakian. The fact that Secret Service director, H. Stewart Knight, received "numerous telegrams" protesting this attack is noted and copies of such telegrams are part of the files. Secret Service surveillance of demonstrations against these attacks in cities across the U.S. are reported on. Plans for and the results of Secret Service surveillance of RCP press conferences which exposed this attack are recorded. Photographs and reports by Secret Service agents about graffiti condemning the Secret Service attacks on Bob Avakian were turned in by government agencies in city after city. The materials even include a photostat copy of a sticker which reads "Keep Bob Avakian Free—Secret Service Hands Off." (It seems that an undercover Secret Service agent was prowling around a working class neighborhood in Washington, D.C. at one o'clock a.m. last December and found the sticker. Of course he immediately tore it down and sent it in to headquarters. Too bad thousands of other stickers are still up!) The materials released by the Secret Service themselves made clear that it has been the actions of thousands of people who have been and are stepping forward to

oppose this attack that have kept the bloody hands of the Secret Service off Bob Avakian.

Another thing which these documents reveal is that the stand and actions of the RCP, its members and supporters, in unity with Iranian students in this country, to mobilize uncompromising revolutionary support for the Iranian people's revolution against U.S. imperialism is a heavy hammer driving a stake closer to the heart of this imperialist beast. This revolutionary work done in support of the Iranian people is clearly proven to be of great "concern" by these Secret Service documents. In particular, the actions last fall of 6 veterans and members of VVAW, together with a member of the RCP, who took over the Washington Monument, called forward the special attention of the Secret Service. They made particular note of the slogans raised—Send the Shah Back and U.S. Imperialism-Get Your Bloody Hands Off Iran, as well as the fact that those arrested were also part of the 150 volunteers who had come to Washington to turn D.C. upside down and stop the railroad of Bob Avakian. Document after document testifies to the fact that the Secret Service has and is working overtime to keep track of all RCP connected activity which lends support to the Iranian revolution.

Finally the materials also indicate, as much by what they don't say as by what they do, that the battle for Revolutionary May Day 1980 has caused a frantic leap in the pulse of political surveillance by U.S. government agencies. Although mention of the Secret Service knowledge of plans for mass, revolutionary demonstrations on May 1st 1980 is noted in documents dated as early as June 1979, most of these notations were scratched through in black ink before the materials were released. But the clerk in charge of deletions did a somewhat sloppy job, and the fact that May Day 1980 has been on the minds of these political police agents for a year now is clear. These scattered scratchings, however, do little to reveal the extent of obvious SS interest in May Day. The missing pages and other comments constantly made by SS agents reveal they've been following every turn of this event.

These 534 pages were hand-picked by the Secret Service from thousands of pages of well-guarded secrets of U.S. imperialism, yet they still serve to paint a picture of the forces gathering as we go into the decade of storms ahead: on the one hand the U.S. imperialists and their

army of political agents and provocateurs, frantically working overtime to surveil, subvert and attempt to smash the revolutionary leadership they know is capable of leading the struggle for revolution against them to victory. On the other hand, a growing revolutionary banner which is increasingly sending shock waves throughout society and which will be firmly planted on the stage of history on May 1st 1980. The following report by a Secret Service agent in St. Louis to the Secret Service headquarters in Washington drives home the fundamental weakness which characterizes the U.S. imperialists and their agents when faced with this revolutionary banner unfurled before millions:

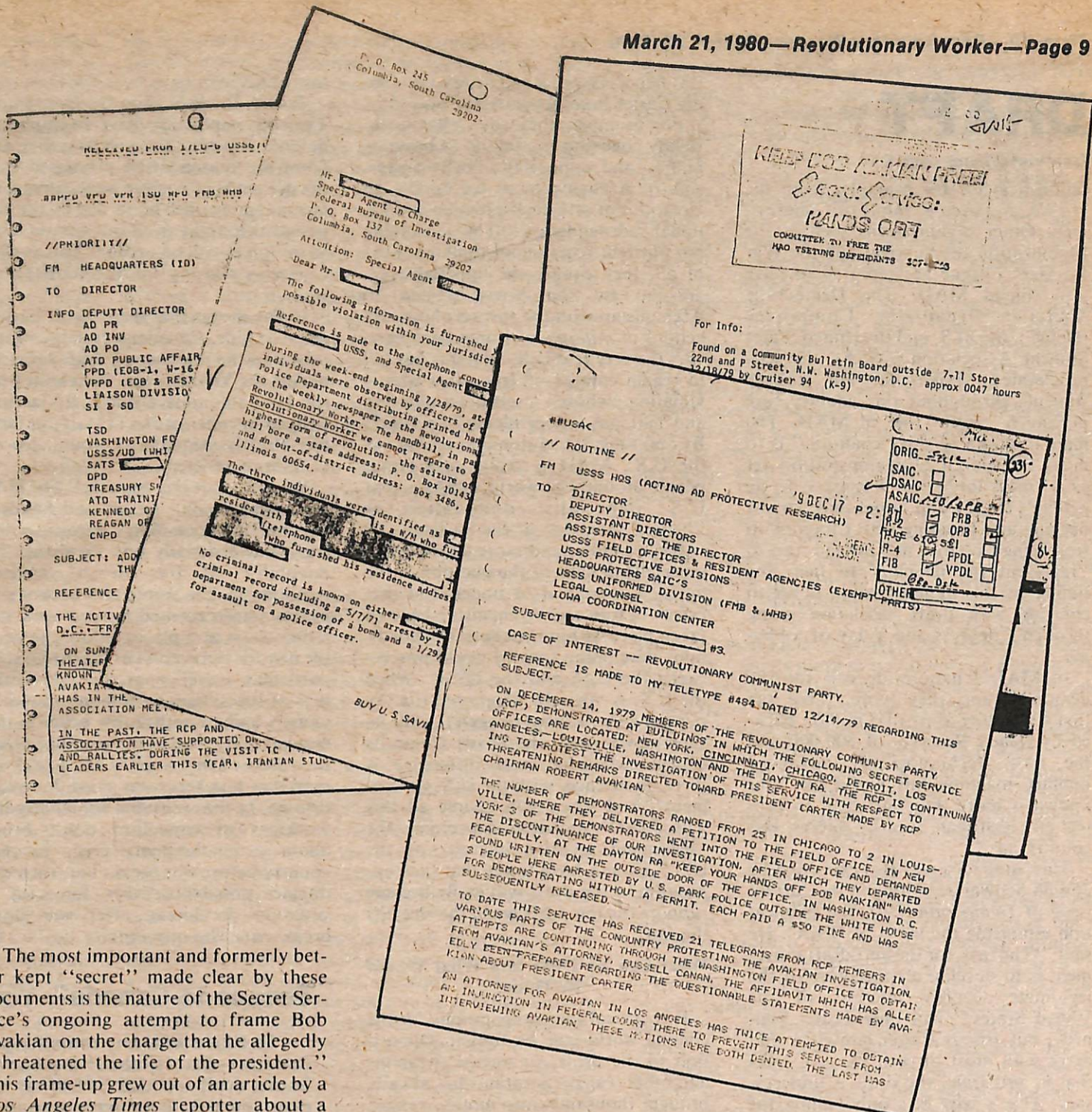
"Subject: banners displaying the name of Bob Avakian.

On 12/14/79, at about 4:30 p.m., St. Louis metropolitan traffic division received notification that a banner was displayed on the overpass of the west bound lanes of highway 40 in St. Louis. Traffic officer X responded to the location and removed two white bed sheet banners with the following inscription in black and red letters, 'Secret Service Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Bob Avakian.'

"On 12/17/79, I (unnamed Secret Service agent) interviewed officer X regarding this incident. He replied that when he arrived, there was no one around and that he, therefore, removed both banners because they were causing a traffic tie up on Highway 40.

"No further action is being taken by the St. Louis officer. These banners will be destroyed locally."

But the U.S. imperialists and all their agents will not be able to destroy the banner held high by thousands of class conscious workers and others which will be unfurled on May 1st 1980—that revolutionary banner is going up and going up to stay. And the banner of revolutionary May Day must also "display the name of Bob Avakian" and the RCP as the revolutionary leadership needed to not only rise up in revolution in the U.S.A., but to rise up in revolution and win. Every attempt by the U.S. imperialists to cover up the actions by their political police like the Secret Service as they seek to frame, prosecute, jail and even kill revolutionary leadership must be exposed, fought, and turned into a clearer understanding of the stakes of the battle before us.



# DRAFT

Continued from page 5

union heavies (for example, from the UAW), and even a couple of Congressmen. Other organizations such as the Mobilization for Survival and the War Resisters League are reported to have also joined MAD. The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), the SLS, and the United States Student Association (USSA), the self-proclaimed spokesman for college students throughout this country, are playing a central role in MAD. The main program of this "coalition" is to make the March 22 demonstration act as a "mass lobby" of Congress, to tie people's energy and hopes into narrow begging and pleading with Congress to stop being Congress and instead start to "represent the people." In fact, the timing of this demonstration is set to coincide with draft legislation going through Congress and a day of lobbying.

In MAD's nationwide call for the demonstration, they write, "We say that a standing army of 2 million backed by Ready Reserves of 800,000 and the most technologically advanced military machine this world has ever known is more than sufficient to protect any legitimate security interest this country has."

This same idea was also expressed by Joseph Schwartz, writing in the current issue of *Democratic Left*, the publication espousing the views of DSOC. He said, "The task for the anti-draft movement is to develop a conception of the legitimate security interests of the United States." Not only Teddy Kennedy, but Jimmy Carter himself would agree with most of this. He too states that *at this time*, the draft is unnecessary. That's why he's only calling for registration, at least *for now*. And on this count, MAD's program is only a faint echo of what our rulers themselves are saying.

What exactly are "the legitimate security interests of the United States" anyway? The only "security interests" of the U.S. are those of the giant U.S. corporations, their imperialist holdings around the world. Was the 1953 CIA coup that restored the Shah to power in Iran "legitimate security interests"? What about the invasion of Korea in the 1950s? The Dominican Republic in 1965? The bloody coup in Chile in 1973? Not to mention Vietnam, Zimbabwe, Lebanon—and the list could go on and on.

But beyond this, the "legitimate security interests of the United States" will undergo rapid change with the advent of world war—and MAD avoids

this like a hot potato. The echo of Jimmy Carter becomes less faint.

For example, they say, "We forthrightly condemn the taking of hostages in Iran and oppose the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan as we oppose all violations of self-determination and national independence." This is nothing but outright reactionary thinking. First of all, they equate the imperialist aggression by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan with the just revolutionary actions of *millions* of Iranian people to stop the very real U.S. attempts *last fall* to regain control of Iran. Just who is violating whose "self-determination and national independence" in Iran?! By opposing Soviet domination *but not* the U.S., MAD is really saying that people around the world should accept U.S. imperialist domination as "better" than that of the Soviets.

But secondly, and more importantly, especially in light of the question of the draft, it is critical to understand that events in Iran and Afghanistan have all taken place within the context of conditions developing toward world war between the U.S. and the USSR. When the U.S. is virtually supported (i.e. by opposing the Iranian struggle), while its superpower rival, the Soviet Union, is condemned—what real difference is there, in essence, with the U.S. government? And when you couple all this with MAD's position concerning the "legitimate security interests of the U.S." it's not hard to see that *such* opposition to the draft will easily become *support* for the draft when the shit hits the fan.

## What Can Be Done and What Should Be Done?

It is critical that preparations for the coming world war be fought. Opposition to the draft, to nuclear weapons and other war preparations has already brought thousands into motion against the government. But even more important is the understanding, and the acting upon this understanding, that as long as imperialism exists, it will give rise to wars between imperialist powers—and thus the need of the imperialists to field an army, at gun point if necessary.

This is not the '60s—what's on the agenda is not a "brush war," as the U.S. imperialists came to call their brutal war of aggression against Vietnam. And more, the objective position of the U.S. has changed compared with World War 1 and World War 2. In those wars, the U.S. imperialists were able to let their allies do most of the fighting, as well as suffer the most destruction, and then enter the war relatively unscathed and in a stronger position to reap the spoils where their enemies—and even their allies—had

lost out.

Today, the U.S. is on the front lines. The U.S. imperialists have an empire to defend, and what this means is that, far from the notion often promoted that the existence of nuclear weapons means *less* manpower will be needed by the imperialists to fight an all-out war, in fact, *more* forces will be needed. This is why Carter is pushing for the drafting of women.

It also means that there won't be any place to hide. Canada, a country which tolerated the presence of draft resisters during the Vietnam war, is right in with the U.S. this time around. It's a full-fledged member of NATO and, in fact, has already said that it would deport U.S. draft resisters.

We can't "sit this one out." The U.S. government won't let us, and besides, *we don't want to*. Why? Because while war, and especially war involving the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons by the imperialists, certainly means unprecedented horrors and destruction, it also places before the people historic opportunities. In the U.S. in particular, it will expose the real workings of this system to millions who previously had an unshakable belief in the system, and reveal to these millions that the rulers of this country are a pack of mad-dog butchers who must be overthrown. In the event that the "normal" workings of capitalism don't bring about a revolutionary crisis in this country before war breaks out, then the distinct possibility exists for such a situation developing after war does break out. The opportunity lies in the

possibility of rising up in this country and making revolution.

What this means with regard to the draft is this: the imperialists will have fielded an army and filled its ranks overwhelmingly with minority and working-class youth, both men and women. These youth will have been trained to fight for the imperialists, but as conditions develop, as the army experiences defeats and not John Wayne fantasy victories, as revolutionary uprisings sweep the country, the imperialists will discover that large sections of their own troops no longer belong to them—the troops will have been won to the side of revolution and will have learned *where* to point their weapons. This happened on a smaller scale in Vietnam; rebellious troops were one reason the U.S. was ultimately defeated there.

It's time to take a good, hard look at what's on the horizon. There isn't any petitioning Congress because Congress is part of the problem. There isn't any "re-ordering priorities" because the priorities that count in this country, those of the U.S. imperialists, are now to go to war with their rivals in the Soviet Union. And there isn't any getting the hell *out*, because wherever you go the man will be right there to push you back *in*.

Imperialist war—and with it the compelling of millions of youth to lay down their lives for the sacred cause of defending this blood-soaked profit system—can only be ended by the imperialists. But it can be ended another way—by revolution. □

## Escape to Canada? You've Got To Be Kidding!

To those with any remaining illusions about being able to go to Canada—that is, about the opportunity to split there to avoid Uncle Sam's draft—WAKE UP! What is the nature of a country that outdid even the U.S. in scheming against Iran and returning some potential U.S. hostages? How do you think a country like this will treat the opposite kind of hostages—draftees that Uncle Sam is trying to grab for himself? We've got no choice—we've got to face the music and either go like sheep to the superpower slaughterfest—or we're going to have to take the path of revolutionary struggle right here.

## Vets! G.I.'s!

### Everyone Who Opposes Imperialist War Moves!

Attend the West Coast Conference of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Where—California State University at Dominguez Hills (near Los Angeles) When—Saturday, March 29 & Sunday, March 30. 10:00 A.M.

More information—call 312—384-3856

# Segregation Gets Rocked and Reggaed in Chicago

"...while Blacks and whites are fighting each other back and forth across the railroad tracks of America, the Capitalist Ruling Class are robbing us blind because they own and control all the railroad tracks in America, and because the socializing agencies of the Ruling Class, the media, the churches, and their mandatory educational institutions have been successful in their designed purpose, 'Divide and Conquer'..."

—Lee Otis Johnson

Chicago. Every city has its dividing lines. On the Southwest side of Chicago, Western Avenue and 2 blocks to the east a set of railroad tracks divide the all-Black West Englewood community from predominantly white Marquette Park, known nationwide as the headquarters of the Frank Collins' and now Harold Covington's Nazis. It is a dividing line that has been crossed in both fear and defiance by Blacks. School buses carrying Black children crossed this line to be met by jeers and reactionary protests. Black motorists have been pulled from their cars and beaten by gangs of white thugs. Black families that have dared to buy homes across the boundary have been

firebombed by fools who have been sucked into believing that Blacks are the cause of urban decay and all the problems in capitalist society and whipped into being enforcers of the oppression of Black people.

On Saturday, March 15, a multinational crowd gathered right on that dividing line and joyfully spat in the face of the divisions fostered and promoted by the bourgeoisie and their mad-dog agents. At the Inn of the Rainbow, right next to these tracks, Rock Against Racism brought Blacks and whites together for a benefit concert.

The place was packed to the seams and the atmosphere was electrifying. It was like the music was a single heartbeat pulsing through everyone's veins. The music was provided by Skanking Lizard, a multi-national reggae band whose driving rhythm was the thread that pulled the whole crowd together, welding a cultural bridge between people who were long separated by different forms of music. Two white workers, rock fans who had never heard a reggae band, later asked the bar's owners to ask the band to return. Even knowing full well that sponsoring RAR is a slap in the face to the reac-

tionaries and opens them up for retaliation, the owners themselves were so blown away by the spirit and unity of the event that they said, "Let's do it again. Next time we'll open up the garden so 300 people can come." The cops lurked out front and peered in the windows, but they didn't dare come in.

Rock Against Racism has sponsored concerts and other events around the country. This, though, was definitely a first for them, and it typified exactly what RAR is all about. At first some of the members were apprehensive about holding the benefit in such a volatile place as Marquette Park which has been the scene of right-wing violence and racial attacks. An incident last December played a big part in deciding to have the band play there. Two people selling the *Revolutionary Worker* in Marquette Park were attacked by six uniformed Nazi stormtroopers. Neighborhood residents jumped up to physically defend the *RW* sellers, and it seemed to be the start of something significant, an indication that the residents of Marquette Park were stepping out to oppose the Nazis' efforts to make Marquette Park a base for a reactionary "white power" movement. In

fact, a number of white youth from the area boldly stepped forward to help build the RAR benefit, a challenge to their neighbors to take a stand.

People who don't regularly go to bars were there and had a great time, including one Black woman who said she'd never in her life dared to step foot in Marquette Park. Some came in off the street to see what all the excitement was about, and when they found out, stayed. Black brothers were buying white brothers drinks. White and Black sisters talked and laughed all night. The whole evening was a lesson in unity that everyone seemed to understand. It was a statement from Blacks and whites bonded together to racists and bigots saying, "Hey, look at us. This is the *natural* state we should be in, this is how we like it, and you don't rule us like you think you do."

A member of Chicago's Thunder Road, a revolutionary rock band, took the microphone briefly and spoke to everyone's feelings when she declared that in the 1980s, by going straight up in the face of the stuffed dogs in brown shirts and blue uniforms and their masters, RAR would challenge their lies that people of different nationalities can never act on their common interests.

There, on a Saturday night, the motto of Rock Against Racism was movingly brought to life—"We're Black, we're white, we're *dynamite!*"—and in the future this powderkeg of people is going to explode in the surprised faces of the exploiters. □

**Bob Avakian Defendants Mistrial**

# Greensboro Railroad Thrown Off Track

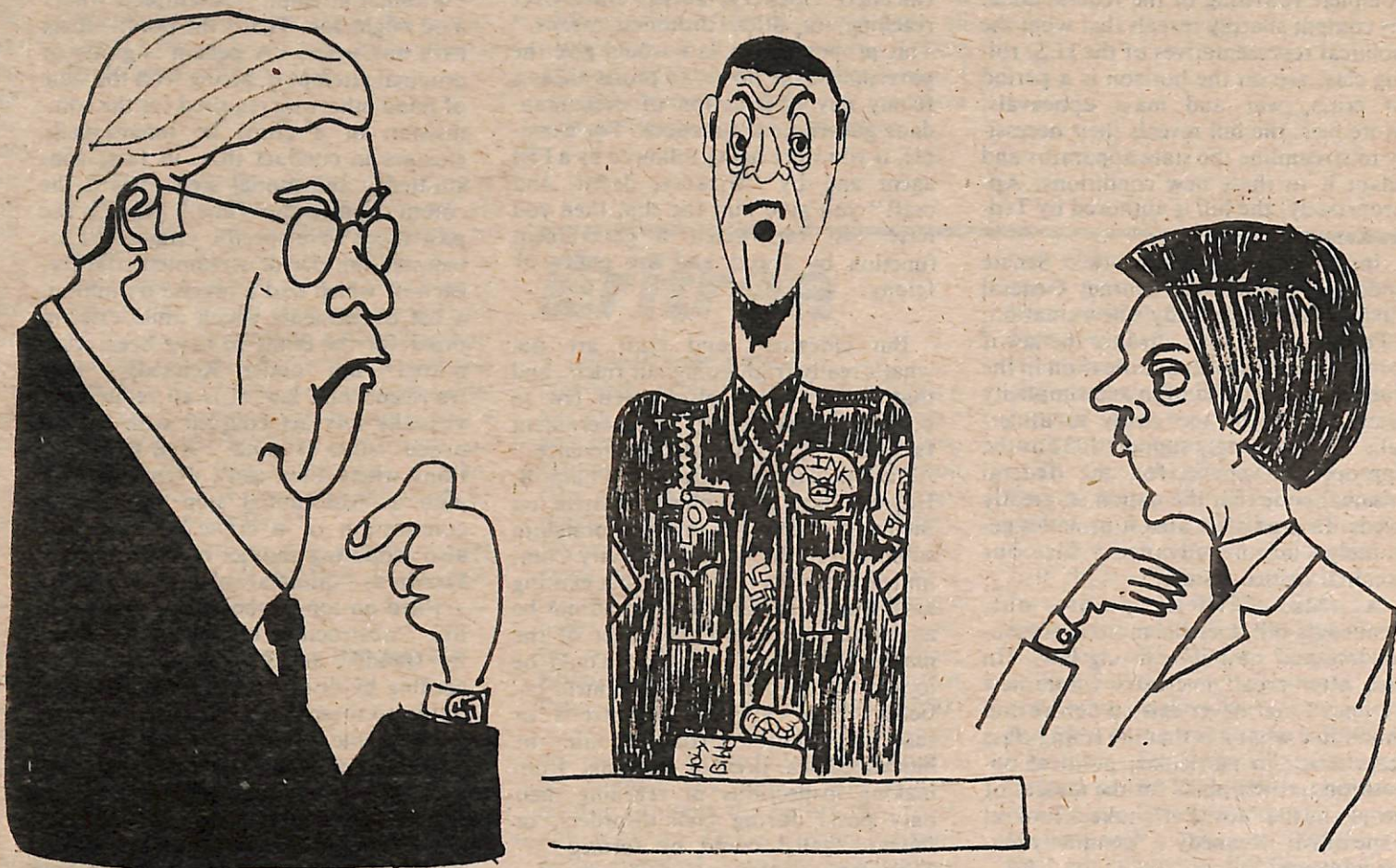
**Monday, March 17.** The appeal trial of the Bob Avakian Defendants in Greensboro, North Carolina ended this round in defeat for the state. A mistrial declared for eight defendants, and one was acquitted. The nine were appealing convictions on inciting to riot and other phony charges arising out of a rally in the Hampton Homes projects where they had gone to call on people to attend Chairman Bob Avakian's speech in Greensboro last October.

This mistrial put a hitch in the attempts of authorities to paint a picture of RCP members conspiring to incite the people of Hampton Homes and to use this atmosphere of "terrorism" against Bob Avakian in his case. They want to jail these revolutionaries in a message to any one else who would step forward to defend the leadership of the RCP. Already since his defeat, the district attorney has announced plans to re-try—unprecedented when misdemeanor cases end in hung juries. No doubt he is already rehearsing his witness for what he hopes will be a stronger case.

By the end of the trial, the prosecution's case had crumbled, as the truth came out in the testimony of defense witnesses. The press, which had faithfully reported as gospel police testimony that the 9 had formed some kind of ring-round-rosy around cops chanting "kill the pigs!" suddenly was silent about the trial as these same police were shown to be liars who had in fact conspired to stop the masses from hearing about Bob Avakian. In an absurd and frantic attempt to firmly impress his "red menace" theory in the jury's minds, the prosecutor spit out, "Haven't you been going all over the city saying the revolution is going to start May 1st and telling people to get their guns and free the prisoners that day?" This D.A.'s real fears for the future went wild when he saw one man who, like many Black men in Greensboro, has been the repeated subject of the D.A. office's attentions, come to court wearing a home-made armband reading, "Free the RCP" and the May Day button he had bought at the Feb. 2 anti-Klan march here.

The state was trying to "prove" the defendants, worked into a frenzy by Bob Avakian, had formed some kind of bizarre chorus line around the four police officers, threatening their lives. But the real chorus line was in the courtroom where first the prosecution's lying witnesses, and then the prosecutor took up the recitation of these charges. In his instructions to the jury, Judge Wood took up the litany and tried to "rehabilitate" the prosecution's discredited witnesses, giving a review of the prosecution's evidence that lasted an hour and a half. Over and over, for each of the eight defendants charged with inciting to riot, he repeated that the revolutionaries "gathered in a semi-circle with 50 to 100 people around the police car and screamed such things as 'get your guns, kill the pigs, the revolution is now!'" The judge then turned to the defense table and sneered, "Did I leave anything out?"

But this well-greased railroad went into a roadblock—one of the jurors refused to believe the police, refused to vote for any convictions, and the jury was immediately deadlocked. First the jurors were instructed to disregard anything by THE LAW—in other words disregard the obvious truth. Judge Wood ordered them to deliberate until 11:00 p.m. Friday night, and all day Saturday, lecturing them about the great trouble and expense the state had gone to, to railroad these defendants—much too much to let a few conscience stricken jurors screw things up! Some of the jurors took up the state's war cries, accusing the one juror who held out for acquittal of being a communist sympathizer and a martyr because as she later told a *Greensboro Daily News* reporter, she felt the police might well have decided to break up the rally at Hampton Homes because they didn't like the political ideas the defendants were spreading. "I was never con-



**Partial cast of characters in the attempted railroad. Left: Judge "Petrified" Wood; center: Sgt. Wilson, the pig with the incredible memory; right: Idol, assistant D.A. and birdbrain.**

vinced there was a riot or a clear and present danger of one happening," she said.

On Monday, the jury was sent back into deliberations, virtually ordered by the judge not to come back without a guilty verdict. In her newspaper interview the juror who refused to buckle said others "hated to go back and face the judge" without carrying out his orders and that "this is costing the state a lot of money." While clearly no revolutionary, this one juror showed some courage in holding up under this kind of pressure. Later, in a signal to reactionaries, the press even printed her picture. But the state saw this frame-up, so carefully timed to come right before the hearings of Bob Avakian, slip through their fingers. The D.A. frantically tried to salvage it, offering the plea bargain three different times during the course of the day. Since it was clear they wouldn't get what they wanted out of the jury, they tried to get the defendants to convict themselves. Each "deal" singled out the RCP member who testified and the only Black defendant, whose rebelliousness has become an inspiration to the youth of Hampton Homes, for special charges. To put pressure on the defendants, bailiffs were set loose spreading rumors that the jury was be-

ing "reasonable" now, that they had broken through the deadlock and were even starting to write up the convictions. This continued right up to the moment the jury came back and announced they were hopelessly hung on all charges except for one acquittal.

Judge Wood declared a mistrial, moaning, "I never even heard of Bob Avakian until I got all those telegrams." He then announced that after this trial, if anyone should believe in the freedom and democracy this country offers its citizens, it should be the defendants. "Some day these young people will cure, like the Chicago Seven, who are today working within the system."

However, the bourgeoisie isn't waiting for the RCP and its supporters to "cure" and set such fine examples as Tom Hayden. A cop and a Mrs. Bennett, a reactionary from the projects who testified for the prosecution, were overheard saying that if they didn't get what they wanted in court, they would "clean up Hampton Homes one way or another." (This same woman had previously shrieked at one of the defendants, "I would like to see another klan type killing of communists, only this time with Black people pulling the trigger.") The police are already hard at work on the problem, following RW

sellors in the projects and literally driving up to people's doorsteps as they talk about the newspaper. A football game between defendants and residents of Hampton Homes was patrolled by seven police units.

In addition, in the wake of their setback, the authorities are already lashing out with more legal attacks. The appeal trial for four of the defendants for disrupting a classroom at the University of North Carolina is now scheduled for March 31st. And they are already plotting to use retrials of at least some of the defendants to deepen their public opinion campaign against Bob Avakian and the RCP.

This trial has been an eye opener to broad numbers of people, including a high school class on "justice in America" that accidentally wandered into the trial and returned to see more, the students from Guilford College who came to support the defendants, to the mother of one of the defendants who was initially hostile to the Party but ended up donating money to the defense in outrage. No matter how much they try to get their shit together in court, they won't find their attempts to keep pushing this frame-up through any easier.

## May 1st, International Workers Day! Take History Into Our Hands!

**WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE—In Iran, Around the World and Here at Home the Flames of Revolution Are Spreading!**

**DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM and the Exploitation, National Oppression and Inequality It Thrives On!**

**DEFEND OUR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP!**

**DOWN WITH U.S. AND SOVIET WAR MOVES—OUR FLAG IS RED—NOT RED WHITE AND BLUE!**

## Hasten Imperialism Into Its Grave!

For more information contact: National May Day Committee  
PO Box 12039, Detroit, Michigan 48212  
(313) 893-7831 or (313) 893-8350

# KENNEDY'S CRIMINAL "REFORM"

Soon, the Criminal Code Reform Act of 1979 will come before the U.S. Senate for vote on the floor. This bill, also known as Senate Bill (SB) 1722 is a complete rewriting of the federal code. Its content sharply reveals that what the political representatives of the U.S. ruling class see on the horizon is a period of crisis, war and mass upheavals. Moreover, the bill reveals their necessity to streamline the state apparatus and adapt it to these new conditions. Appropriately, the bill is authored by Teddy Kennedy.

In testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee Attorney General Civiletti hailed Kennedy's new creation: "The new code must advance the law if it is to be worthwhile. Codification in the interests of consolidation and simplicity alone, would be too costly to undertake... We strongly support 1722 as the appropriate vehicle for the federal criminal code that the nation so greatly needs. In area after area it provides genuinely major advances for our criminal justice system."

As Mr. Civiletti points out, Kennedy's bill does far more than consolidate and simplify existing law. "In area after area" it creates whole new "crimes" that never existed before and shows just what it is that the ruling class fears most, in particular, political opposition to their plans for the masses of people in the '80s. Let's take a look at some of Mr. Kennedy's "genuinely major advances."

First there is the new crime of "impairing military effectiveness." This new crime would be the twin brother to existing sabotage laws. Where the existing law punishes *intentional* sabotage, Kennedy's new law would make the same action criminal if committed "in reckless disregard of the risk that his conduct would impart, interfere with, or obstruct the ability of the United States or an associate nation to prepare for or to engage in war or defense..." Thus the government need no longer prove conscious intent in order to secure a conviction, it need only show "reckless disregard."

That the ruling class is not principally concerned with individual acts of sabotage on this count—but instead by mass struggle and conscious political activity which "obstructs the ability of the United States... to prepare for or engage in war"—is indicated by the fact that along with this new "reckless disregard" crime, there are two others: "obstructing military recruitment or induction" and "inciting or aiding mutiny, insubordination, or desertion." The latter, a proposed new felony, would apply both in time of imperialist war as well as during imperialist peace (in other words, in times of preparation for the next war).

The proposed new crime of "disseminating classified information" strengthens existing law. Up until the publication of the Pentagon Papers by Daniel Ellsberg the government had always maintained that the purpose of existing laws was only to punish disclosures made with intent to "aid the enemy." But when suddenly faced with exposures made with the intent to inform the people (and even if to a limited extent, expose the real enemy), the government tried unsuccessfully to prosecute Ellsberg using the old law. The new law would remove any ambiguity and make it a crime to disseminate any classified documents for any reason. Thus it would become a crime, for example, to distribute documents from the U.S. Embassy in Tehran which were brought back by the Send the Shah Back/Hands Off Iran delegation.

The government has always had laws to protect itself from attempts to defraud the government out of money, property or services. But Kennedy's new law book would create another new crime called "obstructing a government function by fraud." Under this new crime, "a person is guilty... if he intentionally obstructs or impairs a government function by defrauding the government through misrepresentation,

chicanery, trickery, deceit, craft, over reaching, or other dishonest means." This proposed new law would give the government the power to prosecute as a felony any obstruction of even mundane government functions. For example, if you were being followed by a FBI agent and by "trickery, deceit, and craft" you give him the slip, then you have just obstructed a government function by fraud and are guilty of felony.

But chicanery and craft are not what's really frightening our rulers, and that's why there's also a new law to punish "obstructing a government function by physical interference." Assistant Attorney General Philip B. Hayman was particularly insistent on the need for this law in a memorandum submitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee. Hayman is worried that existing assault and trespass laws would not be adequate to contain the anger of the masses: "buildings or doors could be locked to prevent law enforcement officials from carrying out arrests or searches; remote roads could be blockaded to prevent officials from making inspections or reaching their duty posts during civil disorders; or 'human walls' could be formed..." The people might get out of control!

But these are all crimes which the average man can touch and see. It is to Senator Kennedy's great credit that he is able to go where no man has gone before; that he is able to perceive new, deeper, and ever more subtle crime where mere mortals see only shapeless blobs or unconnected facts. Thus, for situations where all else fails, Kennedy has brought forth a truly new crime,

"criminal attempt." Attempted *what*? You might ask. That's the point—there isn't any *what*! "A person is guilty of criminal attempt if, acting with the state of mind otherwise required for the commission of a crime he intentionally engages in conduct that, in fact, constituted a substantial step toward the commission of the crime." Now in the past there were specific crimes like attempted murder or attempted robbery, each of which had a precise definition, a list of elements which must exist in order for the crime to have been committed. But under Kennedy's new transcendental law, it is all reduced to virtually *any* act coupled with a supposed "state of mind." And for situations where they can't even come up with a "substantial step toward the commission of a crime" Kennedy is also proposing another new crime to be known as "criminal solicitation."

Piled on top of these are new crimes like "obstructing official proceedings by fraud," and "obstructing a proceeding by disorderly conduct." In addition to these new laws, there is also considerable strengthening of existing laws. For example, the conspiracy law is written so as to uphold the "Pinkerton doctrine." This doctrine, so called from a 1946 Supreme Court decision, holds a co-conspirator liable for any "reasonably foreseeable" crime committed by another member of the conspiracy even if the co-conspirator had no knowledge of the crime!

Kennedy's new law book would give the federal government power for the first time to appeal a lower court sentence which the government attorney considers to be too lenient. In defense of this, Kennedy has the nerve

to cite the case of the pigs in Houston who were fined \$1 for the murder of Joe Campos Torres. This is a cheap attempt to sucker bait the masses into supporting a new law that will be used against *them*—not against murdering pigs.

The new Kennedy laws would make it a federal crime to give a false oral statement to any federal officer. The power of the courts to punish "contempt" would be expanded, the federal riot laws are expanded, and the federal extortion law is rewritten so as to make it applicable to strikes.

All this represents attempts by a ruling class—all too aware of its weakness—to strengthen the state machinery. And it's no accident that Ted Kennedy has been chosen to give a liberal face to this "reform." A similar, but slightly watered down version of the same bill has been introduced in the House by Representative Drinan of Massachusetts, the Catholic priest who was elected to Congress on the strength of his mild anti-war position with regard to Vietnam.

Nor is this bill entirely new. It is in fact the third version of a bill first introduced during the Nixon administration the height of the anti-war movement. It was then called S-1 (for Senate bill No. 1) and was loudly touted by Attorney General John "Law and Order" Mitchell, until Mitchell was sent to jail in the Watergate scandal. What has changed since the early and middle '70s is the overall position of the U.S. imperialists—and therefore their need to make the "reforms" in this bill.

But neither Senate Bill 1722, nor any combination of repressive laws and legislation, will be able to contain the conscious fury of the masses of people in a revolutionary crisis. Surely the Shah had laws equally as impressive as those of Mr. Kennedy. □

## Soviet-backed Ethiopian Troops Take Heavy Losses Eritrean Fighters Launch Major Offensive

Major victories are being scored in Eritrea's war against the Soviet-backed Ethiopian military regime known as the Dergue. A counter-offensive launched last December by the Eritrean People's Liberation Army and the people's militia has apparently turned the tide after a year and a half of defensive warfare, and the liberation forces have now taken the offensive. The EPLA has thoroughly decimated a 55,000-man Ethiopian force near the city of Nakfa in northern Eritrea, and is now attacking Ethiopian positions in Asmara and Massawa. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front, the main force leading the war for independence, reports that it has now regained control of all rural areas in the country and is pushing to drive the Soviet and Cuban-led Ethiopian Army out of its urban strongholds.

Three years ago this month, on March 23, 1977, Eritrean liberation forces routed the Ethiopian Army in Nakfa and took control of the city. They then mounted an all-out offensive to liberate the towns remaining under Ethiopian control. By January 1978 the entire country, with the exception of five besieged towns, had been liberated.

In mid-1978 the Soviet imperialists gave the Ethiopian junta a massive infusion of modern military equipment and brought in nearly 20,000 Cuban mercenary troops and some 1,500 Soviet "advisors" to lead the fascist war effort against Eritrea. They launched an offensive that was reminiscent of U.S. imperialism's aggression in Vietnam, complete with search and destroy operations, the widespread use of anti-personnel fragmentation bombs, and the saturation bombing of the liberated areas with napalm.

It was at this point that the Eritrean liberation forces chose to effect a retreat, in order to preserve and consolidate their forces. Relinquishing much of their liberated territory, the liberation forces



withdrew to the mountainous region around Nakfa. Over the next 18 months the Ethiopian regime launched five major assaults on Nakfa, but they were never able to take the city.

In its rabid effort to smash the armed struggle of the Eritrean people, the Dergue has committed the most heinous crimes. Imprisonment, torture, execution and ruthless repression became the daily lot of the Eritrean people in the enemy-occupied areas. The Dergue has tried to terrorize rebellious youth into submission, imprisoning and maiming young people who refused to attend meetings of youth associations set up as tools of the junta. In the rural areas, the Dergue has tried to break up co-operative farms set up when the country was controlled by the liberation forces. It has confiscated the crops of the peasantry to feed its own military forces, and has planted land mines on some farms in order to drive peasants off their land.

All of this criminal activity has taken place disgustingly under the signboard of "socialism." The Dergue claims to be a revolutionary socialist regime, and its Soviet backers and Cuban mercenaries are supporting it wholeheartedly with their own socialist facades. But such

"socialism" is becoming a tattered cloak indeed, as the reactionary nature and activity of the Soviet imperialists and their Cuban and Ethiopian clients is being laid bare by the revolutionary struggle of the Eritrean people.

For 15 years the Eritrean people fought against U.S. imperialism and its Ethiopian lap-dog Haile Selassie, who illegally "annexed" Eritrea into Ethiopia in 1962. Twelve years earlier, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had explained frankly that the "strategic interests of the U.S. in the Red Sea basin and considerations of security and world peace make it necessary that this country (Eritrea—*RW*) has to be linked with our ally Ethiopia." The gratuitous reference to "world peace" was nothing but a cynical justification for turning Eritrea into a U.S. outpost on the Horn of Africa, and, in fact, Eritrea became the site of the Kagnaw military and communications base, the largest U.S. military installation on the entire African continent. In order to safeguard its strategic interests in Eritrea, the U.S. made Ethiopia's Selassie far and away the largest recipient of direct American military aid in Africa.

After the Ethiopian military ousted Selassie in 1974, the U.S. stepped up its aid to the new regime, but by that time Ethiopia had become a focal point of fierce contention between the U.S. and its superpower rival, the Soviet Union. The Soviets won out, roping Ethiopia into its corral, and Eritrea was dragged along with it. The Eritrean masses were forced to continue their struggle. While the names of their enemies had changed, the nature of their struggle remained the same—against imperialism and Ethiopian military occupation.

Reports from the front indicate in-

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# America

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uncontested power in the world was coming to an end. However, the U.S. imperialists were not powerless. They still had reserves, the remaining strength to maintain social peace, as far as the working class in its great majority was concerned. The ruling class—and not without a conscious awareness—was able to keep the one force, the working class, that could truly alter the character of these movements from coming into its own, from coming to the fore of these movements, from playing the central and decisive role it must historically play. In short, it was not the intrinsic backwardness of American workers that led to this situation, but the objective conditions that prevailed during the time. The fact is that the working class did not endure great hardships; things were not so bad that they were forced into action. The ruling class was able to make concessions, to throw some crumbs to the workers precisely at a time that U.S. society was in the midst of extraordinary political and social convulsions.

To sum up, these upsurges came at the end of a phase of U.S. imperialist strength and unprecedented prosperity that did trickle down to the working class. This was dialectically the beginning, or the harbinger, of a new period of crisis and war preparations, but the objective situation was one in which the U.S. imperialists could still maneuver, even to the extent of withdrawing from Vietnam and making these concessions at home. The ruling class could not only prevent the radicalization of the working class (which it certainly feared like the plague), but could also use its agents to organize the backward sections of the working class around reactionary positions and into reactionary activities exactly to demoralize others.

None of this denies the tremendously positive impact of these movements—they aroused the revolutionary sentiments of millions and did, in fact, penetrate into the working class, but they were not taken up and transformed by the working class. There were, however, some interesting signs of the times. It became increasingly common for workers to seek out students; if only in a somewhat narrow sense of enlisting support on picket lines in economic struggles. There was a perceived identity of interests. Too much should not be made of this, because it was far less common for these workers to come out to anti-war marches, although this, too, began to happen by the early 1970s. Yet, coming at the same time as reactionary "hard hat" attacks on anti-war protesters, this indicated that the ice was being broken. The Richmond, California oil strike in 1969 and the national GE strike of 1969-70 saw this activity reach more organized and politically advanced dimensions. Statements in support of each others' struggles were drawn up in some cases, mass meetings in which the bigger questions of the day got discussed were held and there was a curiosity and almost grudging respect among many of these workers for the students.

## The '70s—Optimism Shattered

The decade of the 1970s taken as a whole was one in which the optimism that many workers had in the future was shattered, especially by the middle of the decade. Up until then there was the increasing standard of living that has been mentioned and the conviction that children would have more opportunities than their parents did, and that even for the current generation of workers things would improve from one year to the next. But then, a definite stagnation in people's living standards set in. The average real take home pay of manufacturing workers with 3 dependents rose a meager 0.3% per year during the period of 1966-76 and this increase was virtually wiped out by higher local and state income taxes through the early 1970s.<sup>2</sup> Spendable earnings after taxes actually showed a decline in 1979 over the previous year. What is called discretionary income (this is money income left over after expenditures on food, shelter and other necessities) per worker has been falling since 1973. By the end of the decade, the average American was spending 36% of his disposable income for housing, about twice as much as 10 years prior.<sup>3</sup> In fact, according to federal surveys, only 15% of potential home buyers could meet typical monthly payments. The *New York Times* in its decade-end review of the 1970s could sum up that "virtually overnight, the American dream of owning a home became a mere fantasy for many."<sup>4</sup>

Expectations were changing along with—and on account of—changes in living habits. Consumption patterns began to reveal the breaking down of bourgeoisification, as non-essentials began to occupy a smaller and smaller portion of average family spending. The point is that workers could no longer count on steady and uninterrupted improvement. Now it was more a matter of keeping one's head above water. But, and this is very important, if the decade of the 1970s was marked by these real changes in living standards and by declining expectations, this was still largely within the framework of continuing security and stability, at least for the bet-

ter paid sections of the working class. It was a fragile security and it was based on getting further entangled in credit, holding down more than one job, where it was possible, and having more than one wage-earner in the family. Table 2 shows 11.5 million families of production workers with both husband and wife working, and 8.5 million with only one worker.

The sledding was tougher, people were struggling to hold on, more desperately trying to maintain certain living standards, while some were losing out. The opportunities to get ahead were severely restricted. The children of workers could still go to college, though they were, in increasing numbers, shunted off to community colleges, many of these no more than high schools with ash trays. The majority of these students were programmed for "failure"—tested and counselled right back into the working class—and the lifetime income advantage of these students over high school graduates was hardly consequential.

The early 1970s witnessed a dramatic increase in strike activity. Postal workers struck for the first time and the federal government called out the National Guard. Longshoremen on the West Coast effectively shut down port activity there. A wave of public employees' strikes paralyzed several cities. The strikes were of longer duration in succeeding years and reached their peak, in terms of the number of stoppages, in 1974. This was the high water mark in post-war strike activity. What brought this on was the interaction of the first real deterioration in living standards, particularly with the onset of inflation, and the spill-over effects of the turbulent social movements of the late 1960s and early '70s. This was registered in the infusion of oppressed minorities, youth and Vietnam veterans into the work force who brought with them a broader experience and hatred for the system and a general rebelliousness. (See Table 3) There was a more insurgent mood in the country—again not approaching that of a revolutionary situation, but the dislocations of the 1960s did shake things up a bit throughout society.

The situation was defined by increasing economic attacks by the capitalists; in stronger language than had been heard in decades, workers were being told that the pie was not getting any bigger. Productivity drives, various attacks on work rules, the beginnings of "take-aways," where certain customary benefits or conditions of work were subjected to renegotiation or withdrawal, became more frequent. Within the auto industry, some plans for reorganization and forced overtime touched off local strikes. Public workers—who through the decade of the 1960s had achieved unionization, in many cases, and made wage gains—were now being squeezed as the urban crisis (as part of the developing overall crisis) dictated layoffs and changes in work rules.

These were the early warning signs of the impending downturn as the capitalists sought to compensate for falling profits. Following an extended period of real wage gains, this tapering off of real incomes coupled with productivity attacks (like forced overtime) propelled a militant reaction. Older workers responded along the lines of "how dare they" or "I've never seen things this bad before." For many younger workers and veterans it was more an angry and defiant "fuck this shit." In fact, it was in the early 1970s that the bourgeoisie took note of the phenomenon of the "new breed worker" in the coal fields or the auto plants, hateful and mistrusting of authority. There was something to it. At GM's Lordsburg (a highly touted modern assembly plant), it took several years to impose labor discipline on the youthful work force. In Detroit, the problem of absenteeism and sabotage was commented upon widely. Young Black workers were regarded as a source of restiveness on the job. Foreman-employee relations, the "blue-collar blues," etc. occupied the attention of some sectors of the bourgeoisie.

This was a transitional situation. Workers' hands were being forced, but they regarded their current condition of holding down a job and making ends meet—even if this meant working overtime or a second job—as the principal aspect of their lives. It was strike activity, therefore, that was predicated on the experiences of the 1960s—that it was possible to secure more in the way of benefits and, at the very least, hold the line against these attacks. You could almost afford to be defiant—for the great majority of jobs could still be gotten (actually, it was not uncommon for young workers in auto plants to be fired one day and get hired on at another plant the next). To some degree the old-line union leadership was losing credibility. Within the mass unionized industries, these strikes resulted in some wage gains and expanded fringe benefits.

There were some struggles which went beyond the conventional bounds of strike routine. The miners had engaged in a powerful strike movement beginning in the late 1960s, which persisted through much of the '70s. While they were subject to the same influences that have been described, particularly the introduction of Vietnam veterans into the work force, there were also some special conditions faced by miners. The '50s were not a period of boom for the coal industry. Thousands of jobs had been wiped out by mechanization, while pensioners, widows and disabled miners were living at barely subsistence levels. Black lung disease and unsafe working conditions grew worse with the spread of mechanization,

Table 1 WEEKLY WAGES—PRODUCTION WORKERS  
All non-government, non-supervisory workers  
Gross Weekly Wages

	Current dollars	1967 dollars	Spendable Weekly Wages (in 1967 dollars)	
			Worker with 0 dependents	Worker with 3 dependents
1950	53.13	73.69	63.83	72.19
1960	80.67	90.95	73.95	82.25
1965	95.06	100.59	83.59	91.32
1970	119.46	102.72	82.49	89.95
1975	163.89	101.67	82.34	90.53

Production Workers in Manufacturing

1950	58.32	80.89	69.71	78.17
1960	89.72	101.15	81.82	90.32
1965	107.52	113.79	94.26	102.41
1970	133.73	114.99	91.86	99.66
1975	190.51	117.56	93.49	102.56

Table 1 source: Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1979, pp. 325-28, Table 98

Table 2 MEDIAN AFTER-TAX EARNINGS OF PRODUCTION WORKERS 1973-77

	Number (millions)	1973	1977	% Change in real earnings
Couples Both working	11.5	\$10,805	\$14,538	-1.3%
Couples Husband working	8.5	\$8,780	\$11,793	-1.5%
Female family heads	3.1	\$3,813	\$5,363	3.1%
Male family heads	.7	\$6,840	\$9,020	-3.3%
Unrelated individuals	7.8	\$4,430	\$5,998	0.0%

Table 2 source: Monthly Labor Review, August 1979, pp. 43-44, Tables 1-3

Table 3 VIETNAM-ERA MALE VETS, 20-34 YEARS OLD, IN THE WORKING CLASS

	Number (thousands)	White	Black and other minorities*	As % of all 20-34 year olds in this occupation
Operatives and Laborers	1,486.0	1,297.2	190.1	28.7%
Craft	1,231.5	1,144.4	83.4	33.8%
Service	157.8	129.7	28.3	19.5%
Clerical and Sales	549.6	486.5	62.0	32.2%
Farmworkers	81.4	78.8	3.2	15.9%
Total Working Class	3,506.3	3,136.3	367.0	29.5%

Table 3 source: Monthly Labor Review, August 1974, pp. 23, Table 5

\* According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the category "Black and other minorities" includes 90% Blacks, the other 10% being Native Americans and Asian Americans. "Spanish surname" persons are included in the category "white."

and when the industry picked up in the 1960s the kettle boiled over—a strike and wildcat movement which cut deeply into coal operators' profits and became an inspiration to workers throughout the country. Yet and still, this was conducted within a trade unionist framework ("we miners vs. the coal bosses"). By the middle 1970s it began to run up against the limits of spontaneity that marked it from the beginning: knee-jerk resistance to economic attacks by the coal operators which, though powerful and significant in the militancy of the rank and file, could not sustain a movement as workers saw that what was won was quickly snatched back. This struggle, in itself, was not adequate to train and educate workers to their larger and more long-term interests in taking on oppression in all its forms, in making revolution.

As the crisis deepened and the capitalist class was more deeply torn by conflicting interests, a severe recession hit the coalfields, which had been sheltered somewhat from the mass unemployment of the downturn of 1974-75. There were a number of mine-closings and shutdowns; unemployment in the coalfields increased markedly, while the coal operators seized on the situation to tighten the clamps on those still working and intensify attempts to "boost productivity." The given orientation of fighting from on the job and with the prospect of wage increases was even less able to sustain a movement.

Nevertheless, the experiences and the limitations of the miners' struggle were object lessons for the whole working class. The early 1970s also saw the upsurge of the farmworkers movement, which was conditioned by the savage exploitation in the fields and the general oppression of the Chicano people. This struggle, too, in its intensity and some of the broader questions it threw up about what was going on in society took on greater significance.

## '74-'75 Crisis

The downturn of 1974-75 hit the working class like a tornado. Specifically, the ranks of the industrial reserve army swelled to proportions unseen in the United States since the Great Depression of the 1930s. And while there was some recovery from the depths of the contradiction which hit in the early part of 1975, and some reduction in unemployment for some sections of the working class, there was no recovery at all for the masses of Black people and other oppressed nationalities. And overall the course of the crisis since 1974-75 has left its mark on the shifting mood of the masses.

By the first quarter of 1975, 2.3 million fewer persons were employed than in the third quarter of 1974. 8.2 million workers by mid-1975 were officially counted as unemployed, compared to 4.3 million workers during 1973. The unemployment rate shot up to a post-war high of 8.9% during the second quarter of 1975, and 8.5% for the year's average.<sup>5</sup> The massive layoffs spread across all industries as the crisis deepened, especially the manufacturing and goods-producing industries. Construction workers were the hardest hit. At one point, more than 1 out of 5 construction workers were on the unemployment lines—or at least out of a job. Manufacturing unemployment rose to a post-war high of 12.2% in the second quarter of 1975. By March, 13.2% of durable goods industrial workers were unemployed. "Blue collar" unemployment (manufacturing, construction, mining and transportation) more than doubled—from its 5.3% level in 1973 to 12.9% by the second quarter of 1975.<sup>6</sup>

It was the tremendous magnitude of unemployment, more than anything else, that unsettled people's lives dramatically. 21.1 million workers who either worked or looked for work in 1975 experienc-

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# How can we apo taking history into ou

The following are excerpts from a speech given by Chairman Bob Avakian in Cleveland, Ohio during his national speaking tour:

I'm very pleased to be here in Cleveland, and I think this meeting is taking place at a very important time—a very important time in general, in terms of what's going on in the world as a whole, a very important time particularly in terms of what's going on in this country, and more particularly what's going on right here in Cleveland. What we see going on here in Cleveland is a part of what's going on in the country and the world, but it has its own particular features. I think we ought to understand that it's time that the working class in this country began to act in its own interests and stopped letting ourselves be bounced around once again like a pinball played by these capitalists, bounced back and forth between their no-end tricks of one kind or another, their lying politicians, and their reactionary so-called solutions that don't solve. In particular we've got a very sharp situation in this city beginning on Monday, and that's the question of what's gonna happen in these schools, what's gonna happen with the busing. I think it's important for us to address that straight up, because it's time, as I said, for the working class to step onto the stage of history, to take up and lead the fight against all oppression and not allow itself to be led around by its enemy, divided up, and tricked into going at each other's throats once again while the rulers of this country push us further down and keep us further enslaved and oppressed, and prepare to do even worse to us and people all around the world.

Because that's the nature of this system and the people that rule over it, that's what they're doing right here in Cleveland around segregation and busing. That's what they've been doing around the country—they want to get people further divided, they want to get people to go at each other's throats even more unable to see their higher or broader interests and fighting each other. And how do they go about it? They go about it the way that's built into their system, the way that they've always promoted and fostered in this country—especially by fanning antagonisms between Blacks and whites (or between oppressed minorities and white people in general) on the basis of further oppressing and degrading and discriminating against and segregating the minorities in this country, and treating them to additional burdens of oppression besides what the rest of the people get.

Now one thing we got to understand clearly about the rulers of this country who do all this, the real estate companies and even more so the bankers and the corporation heads who strut around all over the world

and right in this country make billions, literally billions of dollars, by segregating and discriminating in housing, education, on the job and everywhere else. Do they all of a sudden have a genuine concern for bringing about equality, ending segregation, discrimination? Does anybody here believe that?—then raise your hand. See, nobody will, because people know better (there might be a few who believe it but they're probably embarrassed to raise their hands). These capitalists are the people that are responsible for this. And when they come up with something we always have to look at it very critically and understand this: they are not coming up with anything out of concern for our interests, they're not coming up with these busing plans around the country in order to end discrimination, segregation, oppression and all the rest of it, because they profit by it economically and they profit by it politically—by keeping the people divided, forcing one people even further down than the other and then getting everybody to fight over crumbs. Now all of a sudden, just like in 1974-75 when they were in deeper and deeper economic crisis—and now it's getting more serious—they come up with another plan and they are very consciously working to try to turn this into another Boston, to try to get the white and the Black people fighting each other.

So what should be our stand? What is it time for the working class to do? It's time for us to quit being chumps. As far as their busing plan—it doesn't make any difference to us one way or another, it's not gonna solve the problems but it's not the worst thing we have to face either. What *does* make a difference to us is that we cannot allow them once again to whip us up behind these reactionary ideas and these reactionary scum like the Nazis and all the rest of them. The working class has gotta be out there, and particularly *white* workers gotta be out there, saying that if these buses are gonna roll, there is not gonna be one single attack on a Black child or anybody else among the people, especially the Black people in this city, and we are gonna take a stand and unfurl the banner of unity, and we're gonna be out there, not just talking but acting to make sure that that does not happen. Not because, as the ads from the Bar Association say, "It's the law," but because we've got our interests—fuck their law!—we've got our interests.

We know their busing plan is not gonna solve these problems—if it did, we'd be for it, we'd be out there stumping for it ourselves—but nevertheless, we cannot allow them to set us against each other. We can live with having kids bused around. Hell, a lot more than that goes on already and a lot worse than that is gonna

be brought down by the rulers of this country. And some of these people who jump up and say, "Not my kid, he's not gonna be inconvenienced, he's not going 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 miles out of the way," some of them are the kind who'll stand up and cheer when he goes off to fight in the next war. You're a goddam hypocrite—and it's time you woke up and recognized reality! This system out here has got nothing but misery for you and your kids and all the children in future generations, as long as it lives, as long as it thrives and survives in this country and the world.

Look at this country they say is the greatest of all countries. What a bitter farce. What nerve they've got to say that. You look at this country that they claim is the land of opportunity, that holds the greatest future for the people. What people? What does it really do and what really happens? Here you've got in this country one of the highest suicide rates in the whole world. One of the highest suicide rates, and especially among youth! Youth out here are killing themselves in some of the highest numbers in the world, and in growing numbers, more and more all the time. Now why? Do you want to tell me that in a country where more and more youth look around them and see what's before them and decide they've gotta take their own lives rather than face that—you want to tell me that's one of the greatest countries in the world? This country is a cesspool! This country is filthy and it stinks! Not because of the people but because of the system, and we have to recognize it, we have to face up to it and call it out for what it is and rally the people to rise up and abolish it, or there's never gonna be anything decent, nothing but this hardship and even worse corruption, degeneration and degradation, as long as this system goes on.

We have to call it out for what it is and we got to jolt people awake to what our higher interests are. We can't be led around by trick bags and misled into these reactionary backwater directions that go nowhere except back under the system's boot. We have to wake people up. You tell me—why are the youth killing themselves out here? Think about it, why are they killing themselves? Because they look out at what this system has done to their parents, their families, the people around them. They've seen people chasing the rat-maze of this so-called American dream, their parents and others, for years and years and years; they've seen it blow up in their face, they've seen their parents going around mad at each other, mad at themselves, blaming themselves for the fact that they couldn't provide the American dream to their families—actually believing that it's their own fault that their families are ripped apart. That it's their own

## 300 Meet in Paris in Solidarity with Bob Avakian

The following telegram was sent by a meeting of 300 people held in Paris to protest the Railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsejung Defendants. One of the Mao Defendants spoke at the meeting.

Complete story to follow for next issue.

TO: DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF APPEALS  
U.S. ATTORNEY'S OFFICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

COPY SENT TO U.S. EMBASSY IN PARIS

300 PEOPLE INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF 11 MARXIST-LENINIST AND PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS FROM EIGHT COUNTRIES MET IN PARIS TO CONDEMN U.S. POLITICAL REPRESSION OF THE RCPUSA. BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO DEFENDANTS MUST STAY FREE. PERSIST IN YOUR REACTIONARY PLANS AND YOU WILL BE MET WITH WORLD-WIDE OPPOSITION.

**WU**  
western union

The profound demonstration of proletarian internationalism at the Paris meeting (see telegram at left) has inspired us to reprint here the section on International Relations from the New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (drafts for discussion).

As the Draft Constitution says "This basic programme can be accomplished only on the basis of and through the unity and mutual support in revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries; communism can only be achieved on a world scale through the final defeat and elimination of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes and of every vestige of exploiting class society throughout the entire world."

### International Relations

The proletariat in the United States has a great responsibility and a great mission: to carry out a revolution which, once victorious, will be like lifting a giant bone-crushing burden off the backs of the people of the world. It will mean the defeat and elimination of one of the two greatest international exploiters and oppressors. It will be an event whose magnitude will be completely unprecedented in world history. Even Nazi Germany did not oppress anywhere near as many people, and the U.S. therefore is justly hated by even many more. Literally hundreds of millions worldwide will rejoice and will step up their own struggle for emancipation.

Upon coming to power, the U.S. proletariat will re-

## Avakian Speech in Cleveland

# Apologize for our hands?

fault that the kids can't stand the parents and the parents are fighting all the time, going around not only fighting and being ripped up in that way but blaming themselves and each other. And the kids look at all that and they say, "Not me! If I'm gonna be dead at 25 anyway I might as well get it over with now and not wait 40 years to have them officially declare me dead and bury me."

Any system that has such a bleak and rotten future for the kids that are coming up, that in growing numbers and in some of the highest numbers in this world are killing themselves—right there is reason enough that this system should be overthrown and swept into the graveyard of history! And that's exactly what we're going to do. So when you're talking about your kids, when you're talking about the future generation, when you're talking about the youth, when you're talking about the way the world is going, the first and most basic thing we have to recognize is that unless and until we see beyond their schemes and their attempts to divide us, to push one down further than another and get us fighting like dogs over crumbs, until we rise up beyond that and see our higher interests and recognize that we have to unite, that we have to fight against the capitalist system, and that a crucial part of our struggle is to fight against discrimination, segregation, police terror—especially against oppressed minorities—and all that, until we see the broader and longer-term question of where this society and where the world has to go, then we are never gonna see anything but the same misery. And we are never gonna be nothing but chumps and fools being led around and played off one against the other and being trick-bagged from one scam to another for generation after generation until we look out beyond all this, till we raise our heads out of the muck that they constantly push us back into, and say, there's something higher, there's something further, there's something more fundamental and more important going on here, that we have to unite in our common interests, our highest interests, our longest-term interests toward the goal of revolution.

And on every question, whether it's busing in Cleveland or unemployment or the question of people having to come to this country and work their lives away and maybe be declared so-called "illegals," whatever question it is, we have to look at it from the standpoint of our class—how is it going to affect the struggle that we have to build, the understanding and the unity we have to achieve to overthrow and move beyond this system and advance to a higher stage? Until we begin to look at how every question affects the struggle between us, the working class, and the



capitalist class that rules over and wrecks our lives and mangles and twists them, until we ask first and as our basis—what does this question have to do with, how is it affected by and how does it affect, the struggle to abolish this capitalist system and move on to socialism and ultimately communism, how does it fit into the overall class struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed, not just here but throughout the world—until we begin to stand fundamentally on the basis of asking that question first and foremost, we will always be made fools of, we will always be run around in circles, and we will always remain where we are—under their boot with their whip across our back.

And that's the message that our Party brings out. We can't allow ourselves, we don't have time to be out here any longer like fools, there is too much sharpen-

ing up in the world, there are too many heavy things on the horizon for us to allow ourselves to be dragged into the swamp, to be pushed back into the muck and to fight each other like dogs over a bone. No, we have to recognize our higher interests. I'll tell you one thing. These busing plans on the one hand are a sham, but I'll tell you from my personal experience, in terms of where I am today and what I understand today, I consider myself extremely lucky to have gone to a high school that was about half Black (and other minorities) and half white. It taught me about the world. It taught me about a lot of things that I didn't know about. The lessons were sometimes painful, they didn't come easy, and everything wasn't nicey-nicey the way some of the liberals want to tell you it is. We

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Excerpt from Draft Programme

# This Country Will Be A Question of World Revolution

nounce all wars of aggression and plunder in word and deed. If the U.S. imperialists and their Soviet rivals, along with their respective allies, have already unleashed a world war, then the victorious proletariat will immediately pull its state out of that war. It will stand against and expose the imperialist nature and conduct of the war.

If the inter-imperialist war has not yet begun—and revolution in one of the superpowers is the only thing that might prevent it—then the U.S. proletarian state will refuse to enter such a war. In either case it will renounce all imperialist alliances, such as NATO; and it will, upon seizing power, make public all the secret treaties and agreements made by the imperialists to serve their international plunder and war schemes. The remnants of the imperialist army will be dismantled and in its place will be the new army of the proletarian state. Its tasks will be first to defend the new state power against the internal reactionaries who will not only dream of but will try for a comeback, and also to defend the socialist state against any aggression by international imperialist powers and other reactionary states which will be in league with the home-grown reactionaries. All U.S. forces will be withdrawn from foreign soil and from the territorial waters of other countries and all the U.S. military bases in other countries will be dismantled.

The socialist state in the U.S. will immediately cancel all unequal treaties and end all colonial relationships, direct or indirect, with other nations. It will renounce all

privileges extorted from other nations at the point of a gun by the imperialists.

The U.S. colony of Puerto Rico will be immediately freed, that is, if the Puerto Rican people have not already won their freedom. And in that regard, if war—world war or civil war—is raging in the U.S., the Puerto Rican people should be supported by the proletariat in the U.S. to take advantage of that situation to break free and claim their own emancipation from U.S. imperialism.

The policy of the proletariat in the U.S. will be to use the state power it wins to strengthen relations of support and assistance for revolutionary forces throughout the world—supporting just wars of national liberation and socialist revolution and forging the closest unity with any other socialist states. It will be open to establishing relations with reactionary states but only according to the principles of peaceful coexistence and subordinate to proletarian internationalism and support for revolution.

Beyond that, as it liberates the productive forces in this country from the shackles of capitalism, the working class in power will unleash them not only for the benefit of people here, but to assist the exploited and oppressed the world over in their revolutionary struggles and in the revolutionary transformation of their countries, which have been, to no small degree, held back by imperialism. This will mean genuine aid and will be nothing like the "foreign aid" of the imperialists, which is used to further ensnare and enslave the people of other countries.

Upon coming to power, the proletariat will need

powerful armed forces which—although organized according to completely different principles—will need to be equipped with the weaponry the imperialists have, including nuclear weapons. The proletarian state in this country will take up the struggle to abolish nuclear weapons the world over—and this struggle will be fundamentally different from the phoney "disarmament" talk of the imperialists. However, the remaining imperialists and other reactionaries, being desperate gangsters, will not so easily give up these weapons. This makes it quite likely that it will be a long time before all nuclear weapons are finally abolished—although the destruction of the U.S. capitalist state will be a mighty stride in that direction.

So long as capitalism and exploitation exists in any country, this will be a base for the bourgeoisie in its attempts to defeat the working class and restore capitalism everywhere. And wherever capitalism rules and maintains backwardness, it stands as a great barrier to the peoples of all countries in developing the rational use of the world's resources and productive forces. The international working class can emancipate itself only by emancipating all humanity; it can achieve communism only by eliminating the rule of capital and the chains of exploitation and the remnants of class-divided society everywhere.

# How can we apologize?

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had fights. I went to high school, and the first week I went there—I had gone to a junior high school that was almost all white—the first week I got down to this high school that was half Black, I was in three fights in the first week. But all three of those dudes were my friends within a month. That's the way it is with the youth. Goddamit, some of those old fuddy duddies, leave the youth alone and let them learn about the real world, and more than that let them get some revolutionary consciousness and start uniting!

Forget this goddam pie in the sky! Hey, you all have been youth before, think back about the reality, don't just block out the part you don't like to think about; life is rough out there being a youth anyway. It's madness in this country!—especially if you're a youth and you don't have the right outfit, you hair isn't done right or if you don't hang around with the "right crowd" of people, then you're an outcast. It is misery out there because this system corrupts and wrecks and perverts everything, including people's personal and social relations. There is nothing good to be had under this system and the only way forward for the youth is to begin to learn about each other, to get to see their common interests, and more than that to get revolutionary consciousness—which our youth group, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, is bringing out to them—and to become part of fighting for the real future. Not these chump piddly-ass goddam things they put out here and try to get us fighting over like dogs, but the real future of taking control of and transforming society and completely changing it from top to bottom in the interests of the people so we won't have no more segregation, we won't have no more discrimination, we won't be divided and ruled over, we won't have any more handful of people sucking the blood and living off millions of other people and keeping them in misery—that's the only future and the only thing decent out there for the youth. And in the final analysis, it's the only alternative to their either blowing their own brains out or having them blown out on a battlefield fighting for nothing except to keep this capitalist madness going another week or another month or another year or another decade longer.

I was interviewed by one guy on the radio, he said, "Why are you a revolutionary? Who influenced you?" I said, "Well, we could talk about Eldridge Cleaver, we could talk about Bobby Seale, we could talk about Mao Tsetung, we could talk about Lenin and Marx, and we could also talk about Billy Carr and Melvin P." He said "who?" I said, "That's my point. You see, Billy Carr and Melvin P. were friends of mine. Billy Carr got shot and killed at age 30 over nothing except a chump little petty argument in an after-hours joint, and his life was really over 15 or 20 years before that. Cause this system, it carved out nothing for him. So he took to a life of crime, petty ripping off, and he got killed for it, just like many thousands of others out here in one way or another. And many of his other partners got shot up and killed in Vietnam, the ones who couldn't get out of that, who got caught up in that. And Melvin P.—he was another friend of mine in high school. He was crazy at age 17. His life was over at age 17, because that's what this system had in store in one form or another, either he'd go crazy or he'd be like so many other people who go around thinking that you're actually completely mad because you're the only one, so they tell you, who can't stand this shit any longer. That's the reality of it. And that's also why you have people turning more and more toward revolution, because they come to see, hey, it's not me, I'm not crazy, everybody else isn't out here just loving it like they say, thousands and even millions of people hate this system and what it does to people, and want change. But they need to be waked up and helped to see the revolutionary road.

And that's why they've gotta have a Party, that's what our Party is out here for and that's what it's being attacked for. Because we won't back off. We don't give in and go along with whatever seems popular or whatever the convention is. How could we possibly do that? I read this column in the paper the other day called "Dear Martha." I think it was down in St. Louis. You know, it's like Dear Abby and Ann Landers and all the rest of this. Think about this: here this girl writes in and she says, "My boyfriend is making a lot more money than I am. We used to make about the same. He got a better job. We still like to go out at night and do things, go out to nice places, and here I'm making \$100 and some a week and he's making a lot more, and he's now bought himself all these fancy new outfits and he looks real sharp, and I look like I'm in rags and my outfits are no good, and I'm ashamed to go out with him. So I said to him, 'Aren't you ashamed to go out with me?'" Now who the fuck wants to worry all your life about petty shit like that and have your life be about nothing more than that kind of madness! But that's what they try to reduce us to.

One of the greatest things about the 1960s in this country was for example the women who said "To hell with being Mary Hartman and Edith Bunker! (That was before they had those characters on TV, but I'm talking about the type that women were rebelling against.) They said, 'There's a whole world out here to become part of and change, along with the men. Who wants to go through your life having your highest concern be the waxy yellow build-up on your floor?'" And

who wants to go through life, like they tell us to, exercising the one freedom that they will never take away—in fact, the freedom they will encourage and even promote you to exercise—and that is the freedom to open your mouth, move your lips, and have your very oppressor speak through your mouth. To open your mouth and talk the fool and the chump for him.

I was on this other TV program, and they had Charles Kuralt on before me. You know, he's the one who goes "on the road" and tells little fairy tales, Alice in Wonderland bullshit about America. And he thought it was very impressive that there was a parakeet he discovered in one place who managed to imitate Walter Cronkite and said, "That's the way it is." Well I meant to ask him—I didn't get a chance but I wanted to ask him—what do you find so astounding about that? Walter Cronkite is nothing but a parakeet for the capitalist class in the first goddam place!

Now Walter Cronkite's got a reason for that. He's getting paid hundreds of thousands of dollars, got his best friends in all these big corporations, he's got a reason to be doing that. But we don't! And the rest of these people out here that aren't awake, they don't got a reason either. But they need to be waked up. They need to be jolted awake, they need to be grabbed awake, they need to be shaken awake to what the reality of this country is. Not this pie in the sky, American dream lie that explodes in your face everyday you turn around, and then tells you after everything it's done to you that you're the one to blame. How can we possibly be afraid to challenge that?

I know some people come forward and say, "Listen. I agree with a lot of this but hey, it's hard to go out there. As soon as I step out a lot of people attack me and they say, 'What do you wanna hang around with them commies for? Why don't you tone that shit down? Why don't you do something else, you know, it's not popular, blah, blah, blah.'" A lot of people out here, people right in this audience I'll bet have been through this and said this. And some people wouldn't even come to this meeting because they have to go back to work and face other people who are gonna ask them, "Did you go down to that commie meeting?" And they don't want to deal with it. But we got to. How can we possibly be embarrassed about taking the world into the hands of the people? How can we possibly be embarrassed about taking history into our hands? How can we possibly be embarrassed or have to try to apologize for stepping into history, becoming conscious, and joining the process of moving it forward in the interests of the whole world and the world's people? How can we possibly be defensive about that?

It's only if you don't see where the whole world is going, what this process is, how history is moving. All throughout the world there are millions and millions and millions of people who are becoming politically aware. Not walking around like they want us to walk around, like zombies, repeating their mad little nursery rhymes about how "this is the greatest possible country in the world! Where else but this country could a poor working stiff like me have a camper?" Now this is what some of these backward—and I'm gonna call them what they are—fools out here are talking. You know what they remind me of? And I'm gonna say it straight—they remind me of a goddam prostitute who goes out here night after night and can't say nothing bad about her pimp! This dude is using her up, mistreating her, tricking and running her around in circles to snuff the life out of her by the time she's 25, and she says, "Oh, he beats me so nice! If it wasn't for him I wouldn't be nowhere, I wouldn't be nothing, I'm shit, I'm dirt, if it wasn't for him I wouldn't have anything." And these backward fools, that's what they're talking like.

We go out to Ford Motor Company in Detroit or someplace, (I forget where, maybe Cincinnati, it happens in every city) we go out there passing out leaflets about this meeting, selling our newspaper, and some of these clowns who are not yet awake, and look like they're extras from the Night of the Living Dead, come walking up with a dollar bill in their hand and say, "Look at all Ford Motor Company's done for me, I love it!" Now this makes about as much sense as if some slaves on a plantation were trying to get people together and organize an uprising and one slave walked up, raised up his chains, rattled them, and said, "Look all this master has done for me, I love him!" That's about how much sense it makes. You don't talk about all that you gave up to that man, all he took from you, the life he sucked and squeezed and suffocated out of you for your whole life to give you back that little miserable pittance that keeps you just coming back and doing it all over again as long as you can until he says, "I don't need you anymore; get out the door and starve or go kill yourself, it's not my concern." Now am I telling the truth or not? Let's get down to what the reality is in this country!

Where I went to high school, I came out of this one scene into another. The world was being turned upside down just like it is right now. It was the late '50s and the early 1960s. Struggle was raging. The 1950's really was a miserable dead period. I think that the 1960s actually brought about the only rebirth we've seen in this country for a long time, even though what was started then still has to be finished. People came awake and

alive for the first time in years in this country. And that was what was happening in the late '50s and the early 1960s—people challenging, people questioning after years, not like some of these old fogeys out here who say, "Hey, you can't question, it's authority, it's government, if they didn't know what they were doing they wouldn't be our leaders," and all the rest of this bullshit they feed us all the time. The world was being turned upside down. The Civil Rights movement was raging. Black people were saying, "We're not going along with this any longer, we've always hated it, we've always fought against it, and now we're determined to get rid of it once and for all."

And when I went to high school, I was smacked in the face with this. I believed like a lot of others in this American Dream. I went out and played football, I loved football. (And I still like it, as a matter of fact, but I went and saw this movie "North Dallas 40," and it's hard for me now to enjoy football as much as I used to, because it reminds you real graphically how capitalism mangles and destroys even football and corrupts and pollutes everything it touches. But nevertheless, in high school I was playing football.) On our team there were Blacks, there were whites, there were Mexicans, Chinese, everything out there on the football field. And we were all friends on the football field, but when we came off the field, a lot of people said, "Hey, that's as far as it goes. Now you go your way and they go their way, and they might be your friends on the field, but that's far enough. You can't go to their home and sit down and have dinner or talk with their family, because they're different from you, and furthermore, they're not as good as you." And that's what we were fed, that's the lies. I was told all kinds of horror stories before I got to that high school. I was told all kinds of lies—unbelievable lies—I have to look back and wonder how I could actually believe some of the madness that I was told about people who had a different skin color and had a little bit different cultural interests and so on than I did. But I learned a lot. People came up to me, and they said at that time—it's just like many things right today—people I thought were my friends said, "Hey, if you keep hanging around with those niggers, then you're not my friend any more." And I said, "Fuck you! I don't need a friend like you!"

That's what they said, and you had to take a stand, the world was being turned upside down—it wasn't anything just about me, there were millions of people, especially young people, who had to take a stand at that time. The world was being turned upside down whether you liked it or not. I remember this guy came up to me and he said, "Hey, I hear that you actually believe in going out with Black girls." I said, "If I like her and she likes me, why not?" He said, "Well, why don't you stay with your own kind?" I looked at him and I said, "You mean like you!" And that's the reality. You were faced with these choices: were you gonna be a goddam hypocrite, go out there and slap each other on the back when you're playing football or joke around a little in class, maybe, but then when the football practice is over, or you leave the classroom you're gonna go two different directions and you're not gonna be friends?

And it wasn't popular not to be a hypocrite—that's the truth, that's the kind of society capitalism is. A lot of people wanted to say, "you can't do this," or other people would come and say, "Listen. I agree with you (they'd say it in private) but hey, I'm gonna be too unpopular if I do what you're doing and what other people are doing. If I don't stay in my own crowd, if I challenge the accepted social norms, I'm gonna be unpopular, I might not have any friends, I might not get invited to the senior prom." Well, who gives a goddam! Because the world is about a lot more than all that petty bullshit.

And if people can't relate to it, then they're gonna find that their minds are gonna be changed anyway, just like this dude out here in Levittown, Pennsylvania that I read about in our Party's newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*. You see, the system jolts people awake, it bangs them on the head, it forces them to think about things they don't even want to think about. And everybody, I'm sure, has had some kind of experience themselves of being jolted awake by reality. Well, it happened out in Levittown—which as you all know is supposed to be Perfectland USA, the dreamland, suburbia, the American Dream, mayonnaise and white bread and all the rest of it, and here are these people out there finding themselves in the same situation people all over this country are in, being extorted for higher gas prices, when they can get gas; having to stand in line, being conditioned and regimented not just to have to pay higher gas prices, but also, we should understand, being conditioned and regimented to accept the situation when wartime comes, when oil has to be rationed and things have to be held in check much more tightly. That's what we're being prepared for with these gas lines, and we'd better wake up and understand it.

So when some of these independent truckers, small businessmen, came into the town of Levittown, angry about the rise in gas prices, a lot of the townspeople who were furious about having to stand in line to be ripped off at the gas pump, got together with them and started protesting, started raising a little hell, probably the first time many of them ever really stepped out of line in their lives in this land of democracy and freedom—where the freedom to shut up and work hard for some capitalist, keep your mind empty, keep

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# Coalfields

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before the magistrate, they found out that instead of being charged with "displaying a red flag," this second group was charged with "riot" and "obstructing a police officer." The "red flag" charge had become too politically explosive.

In fact, as we go to press, the authorities are backing off of their red flag law, and in doing so they are exposing precisely what they want to stop from spreading in the coalfields. They have offered a deal basically to drop the charges if the defendants will only agree not to demonstrate in West Virginia until the middle of May! Good old American democracy—you've got all the "freedom" you want—just don't try to use it.

But the stand of the class-conscious workers toward their carrots and their sticks, which has been demonstrated many times in this battle for May 1st across the country, is clear. A fine example of this was shown to them when the first red flag defendant—a 40-year-old Black worker and member of the Revolutionary May Day Brigade—was brought up the elevator and led before the magistrate into the almost empty

courtroom. In the front were several deputies and in the back were a few of the "outraged citizens." He sat down at a table and in the front to fill out papers and then, looking up, saw a welcome sight—several comrades from the outside coming into the courtroom. Smiling triumphantly, he reached in his pocket and pulled out a piece of tattered cloth. The magistrate groaned and turned his head away, and the cops' faces went pale. Waving proudly in the air, right in the face of the sacred dictatorship, was the banner of the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat—the red flag!

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On Wednesday, March 19, the day after the red flag defendants were all out of jail, the afternoon streets of downtown Beckley were shaken awake once again when all of a sudden a young Black man marched up in front of the courthouse with a May Day button on his coat. He whipped out two red flags and began waving them in the air. Two reactionaries jumped out of a car and confronted him. "Why are you waving that flag? Are you a communist? In this town you shouldn't be carrying no red flag!"

A fight broke out and the cops dragged them all into jail. In the jail,

the cops confiscated his two flags, but when they tried to take his May Day button he protested. "If you want to wear this button, you'll have to pay me 50¢ for it." After paying a \$61 fine, the brother was released. Undaunted, he left the jail knowing exactly what he had to do. He marched right over to a fabric store for materials and to the dime store for sticks... and made himself two more red flags.

Why did he do it? As the brother told the *Revolutionary Worker*, "I was in the courthouse Monday when I saw all these pigs with these sticks. I bust through the crowd, and then, man, I saw all these red flags! I saw the whole demonstration. I was right there.

"Then later on on the television, they said it was you who started it. But it was a lie. People were getting beat up by pigs. Then Okey Mills said he *had* to arrest people for their own protection. And that was a lie. I'm not with the RCP but I want to change this system too. You're my friends and you know I don't like this system. It cost me \$61 to do this, but I'll tell you right now—if it costs me that much again, I'll do it, because it was worth it!"

# Eritrea

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creasingly widespread demoralization among the Ethiopian troops, as more and more the Dergue is press-ganging Ethiopia's largely peasant population into military service. The war is not popular among the Ethiopian masses, whose living conditions are among the worst in the world, and who are being driven down even more as the Dergue pours all the country's resources into the war effort. At the present time, Ethiopian official figures indicate that there is one doctor for every 80,000 people in the country, and one hospital bed for every 3,000. Hunger and disease are rampant and 30% of the children born in Ethiopia die before they reach the age of five. This is a telling exposure of this so-called "socialist" society that is touted so highly and defended to the hilt by the Soviet imperialists.

Under these conditions it is no wonder that the Ethiopian people are growing weary of the regime. Minority nationalities within Ethiopia are beginning to take up arms against the government, particularly the Tigrean people of the northern part of the country, who under the leadership of the Tigray People's Liberation Front are now fighting in unity with the Eritrean people against their common enemy.

Desertions from the Ethiopian army are on the rise and many deserters have taken to joining forces with the Eritrean liberation struggle. In some cases, Ethiopian troops are actually fenced in their bases with barbed wire to prevent desertions, and the Ethiopian generals have resorted to summary executions of dissident soldiers in an effort to main-

tain order. After 18 years of war, the ranks of the best trained troops have been decimated, and the war is largely being fought by inexperienced recruits. It has been reported that during the recent period, 109 Ethiopian "explosives experts" have been blown to bits trying to disarm Eritrean land mines.

The five Ethiopian offensives against Nakfa during the Eritreans' strategic retreat gave an indication of the direction in which the war was headed. The first three offensives resulted in some forward motion for the fascist troops. The fourth offensive was essentially a stalemate. Then the Dergue army amassed all the firepower that its Soviet and Cuban backers had provided them. Included in the assault was a 5,000-man elite force of anti-guerrilla combatants, trained in the U.S. before the Soviets moved into Ethiopia and held in reserve for just such a "decisive" battle. They were annihilated by the Eritrean liberation forces and the popular militia. The fifth Nakfa offensive was a resounding defeat for the Ethiopian Army and their imperialist backers.

The Eritrean victory in the fifth battle of Nakfa paved the way for the counter-offensive which is currently in progress, and which the western press has kept conspicuously under a barrel. The U.S. is still hungrily eyeing Eritrea, and hasn't given up on Ethiopia either.

But the revolutionary struggle of the Eritrean people, especially over the last few years against the Soviets and earlier against the U.S.-backed regime has shown that they are ready to continue their fight against imperialism for as long as it takes.

### Correction:

The article on the movie *Attica* which appeared in last issue of the *RW* (No. 45) had an error in the headline. The headline should have read:

TV Show Reverses Verdict

ATTICA MEANS IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL!

# Ethiopian Student

Continued from page 2

line up in the streets. Signs with phony revolutionary slogans hailing the regime, flags, and pictures were distributed. Everything was ready to change this international workers day to a fiesta of the oppressors. All streets where the crowd were supposed to pass were decorated by the flags of the oppressors. A big balcony was built where the fascist Mengistu (Chairman of the military regime) himself could sit and follow the movement of the marchers. Foreign officials from all kinds of revisionist and fascist countries were invited to the fiesta.

Thousands and thousands lined up to march. The oppressors were sitting and smiling, thinking that everything was under control. The march began. For a while the government placards were carried by the marchers. After a few minutes something strange was seen inside the march. These placards suddenly disappeared and were replaced by anti-government slogans denouncing Soviet Social Imperialism and fascism in Ethiopia. There was also an anti-government chant. An armed group came to defend the marchers against the regime's army.

All this was unbelievable to Mengistu and his Soviet groomed generals. As usual they ordered their army to shoot. Just on that day more than 1000 people were killed in cold blood. The casualties on the government side were also numerous.

Last year May Day was the day the Ethiopian people changed the fiesta of the oppressors into a real May Day. They fought against this most inhuman fascist regime with anything they had continuously for 2 days.

This year the American people have their chance to take history into their own hands.

An Ethiopian Student

# How can we apologize?

Continued from page 16

your mouth shut, or get out of line one step and have a club or a gun come down on you to show you where your place is. You see, in this country, if you don't know what the rules are, as soon as you break one, knowing or not knowing it, you'll find out what they are. And that's what people in Levittown found; they started getting angry and protesting, and here came "Officer Friendly," supposed to be like on TV. On TV all you get, just about, is pigs—you got pretty pigs and you got ugly pigs, you got long-haired pigs and short-haired pigs and you got dumb pigs, but you got pigs, pigs and more pigs on TV—all of them your friend and protecting you! And I'm sure most of these people believed these fairy tales, because they hadn't yet experienced the reality. And what happened—they started protesting and they saw what these pigs are—pigs!

These pigs came out and they dragged pregnant women into the streets and beat them in their gut, stomped on them; they took little kids and ran over them with their motorcycles; they took old people and turned attack dogs loose on them, sending scores of people to the hospital—for two days—because the people were trying to protest some higher gas prices in this country. And in the midst of this people learned a lot of lessons. Our people were out in the midst of that struggle, selling our newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker* (this paper right here), and more and more people are coming to check this out—everybody's got to check this out, not just read it, but get it into the hands of thousands and thousands of more people, because this is a weapon exposing the system and preparing us concretely and politically for revolution. Anyway, we were out there in the middle of this struggle in Levittown, and this old white worker, worked most of his life away for some goddam steel company, thought he was gonna take part in the American

Dream, came up to us and said, "I'll tell you the truth, in the 1960s, when Black people were out there fighting for their rights, fighting against the police, I thought they got what they deserved, but now I know they were right."

You see this is the reality of what this system does. It jolts people awake, it forces them to think, it causes them to question the hardship it puts them through, the crisis and wars it plunges them into. And that's why the rulers of this country, as they can see the crisis sharpening up and things getting more and more intense out there—people with anger exploding, often against each other, often against ourselves, but nevertheless the capitalists themselves can see the storms are gathering—they can't stand for there to be a party out there that doesn't compromise with them, that doesn't flinch in the face of them, that doesn't back off, that's not worried if we're a little unpopular or if some people say "I can't hang around you because I don't want people identifying me or calling me a communist. A party that doesn't let itself be taken off the track by that, doesn't let itself be backed down by these superficial idiotic ideas that still have hold on a lot of people's minds, but stands up and tells people the truth and says "This is where this system is heading, this is the only place it can head, further and further dragging us down, dragging us even toward World War 3, and we cannot stand around any longer, we cannot sit around any longer, we cannot simply pray, we cannot simply hope it will go away, we cannot hide from it, we've got to become conscious, we've got to get united, we've got to get prepared, and we've got to rise up millions strong and make revolution in this country 'cause that's the only answer to it!"

Now they can't stand for us to be out here telling the truth to people and not backing off of it. And each time they attack us we go further, we go deeper, we go

broader and we take that question to more people—and that's why they keep coming down harder and harder. 'Cause they're not playing a game. And we're not playing a game, either. This is not a game out here. Many people say they don't believe revolution is possible in this country, they don't believe that this question of making revolution is real. I'll tell you something, the people who run this country do. The people that run this country know this shit is serious, they know that the question of millions of people coming into motion against them is real. Because they know what they got in store for us—much as they're trying to hide it, they know that there's gonna be more unemployment and more crisis in the economy, while people are worked even harder and driven to death even faster on the job; they know the housing is gonna tumble around us even faster, the schools are gonna be even lousier, the hospitals are gonna close and slam their doors in our faces, and they know most of all that to try to get themselves out of this and prolong this system even a little bit longer and breathe a few more last gasps into it, they're gonna plunge the whole world into war, they and their Russian imperialist rival.

Now this is the question that every person is gonna have to face. But I'll tell you this. In the period ahead, someone is gonna come knocking on your door. You're not gonna be able to stick your head under your pillow and pretend it's not there, you're not gonna be able to escape with dope or alcohol or tranquilizers or any of this stuff people try to use to get through the day in one way or another. They are gonna come knocking on your door, the capitalists are gonna come knocking. The class-conscious among the proletariat—the class in this country that doesn't have a stake in this system, no real interest except to rise up and overthrow it—its class-conscious forces are gonna be there knocking on your door. And we're not gonna quit knocking until you, until million and millions like you, come out from the confines that the capitalists try to force us all into and march onto the stage of history to stay.

# America

Continued from page 13

ed some unemployment during that year. In other words, more than one out of every five workers experienced a spell of unemployment in 1975.<sup>7</sup> Of those who had worked during 1975, over 7.7 million were out of work for more than 15 weeks, while 3.4 million were on the unemployment lines for over half the year.<sup>8</sup> For the first time since 1957-58—and even that period pales in significance beside the 1974-75 downturn—the more stably employed, high seniority workers were facing unemployment. Nearly 20% of the 7.83 million unemployed in 1975 ("officially listed") were adult men in the prime working ages of 25 to 44 years old—this was the highest percentage in the period since the Second World War.<sup>9</sup> At certain points virtually entire industries were at a standstill. Workers with 3, 5, 10 years seniority were given indefinite layoff slips, and as the crisis deepened through 1975, bankruptcies multiplied, leaving workers with 20, 30 years on the job completely jobless and often without pensions.

Cities like Detroit, where the pivotal automobile industry is concentrated, took the brunt of the swelling of the ranks of the unemployed. The level of unemployment in Detroit soared from a low point of 101,600 (or 5.4%) in November 1973, during the boom in car production, to 315,300, or over 15%, by March 1975, as inventories piled up and factories shut down.<sup>10</sup> The unemployed lined up inside and often outside the unemployment offices in numbers reminiscent of the Depression of the 1930s. In the inner cities, the rate of unemployment reached Depression levels.

These statistics indicate the two-fold impact of the crisis. On the one hand, many workers who thought they had "job security" and were counting on their seniority to carry them through thick and thin found it ripped out from under them. It was, it might be accurately said, a traumatic experience, and the initial reaction was intense bitterness and anger. The situation of many of these workers was perhaps encapsulated in the jobs demonstration organized by the AFL-CIO hacks in Washington, D.C. in 1975. Chartered buses ferried workers—among whom were many of the older workers with more time—from the East Coast and Mid-west. The hacks had orchestrated the event both to cool out the workers and parade their favorite Democratic saviors and hopefuls along with their grab-bag of legislative reforms. They were met, however, by pandemonium and near-riot conditions from the crowd; the old "liberal-labor" warhorse himself, Hubert Humphrey, was shouted and booed down. In New York City, around the same time, 10,000 construction workers shut down city streets and bridges in protest over the loss of jobs. This scene would be repeated several times in other cities during this period. In short, the immediate response of those workers in the more highly paid and highly socialized industries (this latter condition in particular obviously doesn't apply to the construction workers) was an indignant and, occasionally, active one—or at least a receptivity to collective action.

At the same time, the situation worsened gravely for minorities and youth. The crisis of 1974-75 compounded the longer-term trends. The labor market prospects of many young Black men were so bleak by then that many permanently dropped out of the conventionally measured labor force. Government data reveals that the proportion of Black male teenagers with work experience over any given year fell from 67.3% in 1966 to 47.2% in 1977.<sup>11</sup> The trend was just as pronounced for those in the 20-24 age bracket. Many of those people who were working part-time jobs, who were coming in and out of the work force irregularly, mothers on welfare, disabled older workers, and the youth, were pressed hard. Widespread incidents of people freezing to death, of starvation, the further spread of prostitution and dope and so-called "survival crimes" were accompaniments to the downturn. This was most pronounced among the bottom layer of the unemployed, the urban poor who were concentrated in the ghettos. From among many of these people came the 30,000 persons who applied for many fewer jobs at the Plaza Hotel in the new Renaissance Center in Detroit, lining up by the thousands for several days running. Again in Detroit, 5000 unemployed showed up at a Cadillac plant one morning on the rumor that applications would be given out. Hundreds had slept there overnight. In July of 1977 in Chicago 2000 unemployed surged into a new supermarket to apply for the 300 job openings. In New York City, thousands crowded into three application processing centers to apply for 2700 temporary C.E.T.A. slots in February 1977. Headlines everywhere told

the story: "3000 Seek Jobs in Atlanta Melee," "Job Seekers Swamp City Hall," "Job Seekers Break Down Doors," etc.

Despite the jolts experienced by tens of millions of workers in the years 1974 and 1975 and the initial reactions of rage, there was no gathering storm of resistance to speak of. If anything a mood of conservatism set in, especially among some of the more stably employed. This was not across the board or uniform, but what characterized the ensuing years was a settling in, an adjustment to a new situation. There was not a sense among the basic sections of the proletariat that they had nothing to lose—although for some in fact this was quite immediately and materially the condition of their lives and they tended to look at things somewhat differently. Rather, among large sections of the working class it became a question of how to hold on to what you have, how to scramble through, how to put off paying bills, how to bend and gyrate to protect the little security and comfort that was left.

There were real things going on throughout society which reinforced this. First, there was the partial recovery. The nature of this recovery has been analyzed in the preceding chapter, but for now a few things must be said. Many of these laid-off workers in basic industry were cushioned by unemployment and supplementary unemployment benefits. 75% of the unemployed in 1975 claimed unemployment insurance—this reflected the higher proportion of layoffs relative to new entrants or re-entrants into the work force.<sup>12</sup> Supplemental benefits came perilously close to running out for great numbers of these workers, but by 1976-77 employment was picking up in the auto industry, for example. This was the "sluggish recovery" which would be a constant source of concern to the bourgeoisie. By 1977 1.6 million jobs had been recovered since the high point of the downturn—but still there were more than 500,000 more unemployed than in 1973. Due to a spurt in housing starts, construction employment increased by 9.4% in 1977 (the largest percentage gain of any of the major industry groups), but there were still 200,000 fewer construction workers by the end of 1977 than in the period preceding the downturn.<sup>13</sup> In other words, there was recovery, but not so much of a recovery. Between June 1977 and June 1978 the rate of unemployment decreased from about 7% to 6% and from then to the end of 1979, the rate has fluctuated between 5.7 and 5.9%.<sup>14</sup> Also, quite clearly in response to the initial outrage over unemployment and the political danger it posed, the bourgeoisie had embarked on an inflationary stimulus program which included the creation of federally funded jobs. These programs were employing upwards of 750,000 people.<sup>15</sup>

What was going on, then, was that people in basic industry were being re-called, but the continuing existence of fairly high unemployment acted as a reminder, in effect to many that things could be worse. Some of the phenomena of the early 1970s that have been described were temporarily turned into their opposite. For example, where new hires came into basic industry (there was some stepped up hiring in auto and steel during the recovery years 1975-78) many of the young among them were practically grateful for a job. Overtime was something that people looked for—and quite obviously had no other choice if they were going to get by. Since there had been no large-scale social movement erupting out of the contraction of 1974-75 and since there were still some props left, some life rafts to cling to, there was a tendency to seek out "practical" and individual solutions to problems. This was reinforced by the general tack of the bourgeoisie, which was not to launch a full-scale assault on the living standards of the working class. There were the jobs programs, but also the credit expansion that underwrote the recovery. 1976 and 1977 were banner years for auto production. And people, including workers, continued to buy cars. Overall the saving rate fell to about 3% of disposable income as the 1980s opened, and installment debt as a percent of disposable income rose to an unprecedented 18.4%.<sup>16</sup> Since the downturn, consumer debt has been growing at a rate 50% faster than the growth in personal income.<sup>17</sup> And so, while repossessions were more the order of the day, it was still possible to open new lines of credit. How tenuous all this is and where it may lead will be discussed later.

The bourgeoisie did not launch a new wage-price program in the wake of the downturn—in part summing up the reaction to the wage-price controls of 1971, which were a factor in the strike wave of 1973-74, but also because the effectiveness of these and other measures was questionable given the depths of the crisis. There were some heavy attacks levelled on workers, but they tended to be selective: in the rubber industry, construction, meatpacking. These did touch off some militant battles. It is not

the case that things were peaches and cream elsewhere: accident rates showed an increase in many industries in these years of so-called recovery, for instance. But there was no concerted offensive to depress wages and working conditions. The partial recovery had the effect of increasing the stratification within the working class—between those who continued to work and eke out an existence and those on the margins of the labor force—the burgeoning welfare or "underclass"—and there were the differences in attitudes among sections of the young workers, trying to get started, and the older workers, trying to hang on.

Perhaps a microcosm of the degree to which the conditions of life of the more socialized and highly paid sections of the working class have been jostled and upended by the crisis, but where some margin—and an increasingly slim one at that—of readjustment remains, can be found in the situation of steelworkers in Youngstown, Ohio. Here is a city that has been devastated by two major shutdowns, the first costing some 4000 jobs in 1977 and the second an additional 3500 jobs. A steelworker after five years on the job might be earning more than \$16,000, depending on his or her position and amount of overtime. In addition, there were fringe benefits like life insurance, pension, dental plan, discount on prescriptions drugs and scholarships for part-time attendance at college. These were the things that at once made up for the dirty and dangerous work that was life for a steelworker (not to mention the rotating shifts) and afforded workers a measure of security. In cities like Youngstown it was literally the case that generation upon generation would organize their lives around the mills—just about everybody who lived in the area worked there or had a relative who did. When the announcement of the first shutdown came down, a group of open-heart workers who had only recently been awarded jackets for setting new tonnage records went out to the river that was oozing with the pollutants the mills dumped into it and threw their jackets in. It was a metaphor of how people felt: cheated and robbed, lied to and deceived. There was an initial flurry of activity—demonstrations and a few job actions. Much of this was channeled into dead-end and bogus schemes to buy the mill. Those still working in the other mills were equally stunned, and the question that hung over people's heads was, "Will it or will it not happen here?" The sense of permanence, that there would be a future in these steel mills, was shattered.

But what became of those who lost their jobs? Many initially qualified for federal import relief pay. Most creditors in the city temporarily extended and renegotiated various credit arrangements. A Youngstown State University study showed that among the former Sheet & Tube employees 1000 took early retirement, 1500 found jobs in other industries, services and trades in the district, 800 moved away, while another 800 or so were unemployed or in training for other jobs (which basically amounted to being unemployed).<sup>18</sup> While perhaps 30% of those laid off found other work, for most of them the change meant being underemployed and earning considerably less; for those who were working at all, the average pay was more in the range of \$10,000. The effects were different for different aged workers. Those with 20 or 30 years seniority, maybe in their mid-40s or early 50s and some with children still at home, would have a harder time picking up and leaving or getting another job. At the same time, not all of them were able to go onto social security or collect pensions. For many of the younger men it meant seeing wives go off to work, and it was mainly among these workers that houses were lost or sold. But selling a house was no easy matter, given the conditions in the area. Actually the loss of tax revenues from the mills forced cuts and belt-tightening in the schools in the small towns in which the mills were located. What principally characterized the experiences and reaction of those who lost their jobs was a recycling into lower-paying jobs, a kind of fateful resignation among the older workers—which prompted early retirement where possible—and yet among a section of them and the younger ones an anger that gave rise at times to militant action. But, in the main, people went their own way, seeking out individual solutions, some more successfully than others. The fact that a second major shutdown took place and unemployment in the area was approaching 10% made this less of an option at the beginning of 1980. This occurred as the economy was entering another recession and the room to maneuver and get by was contracting. That even these expectations were dashed to a greater degree probably accounted for the more militant mood of workers as evidenced in several demonstrations and job actions. □

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