



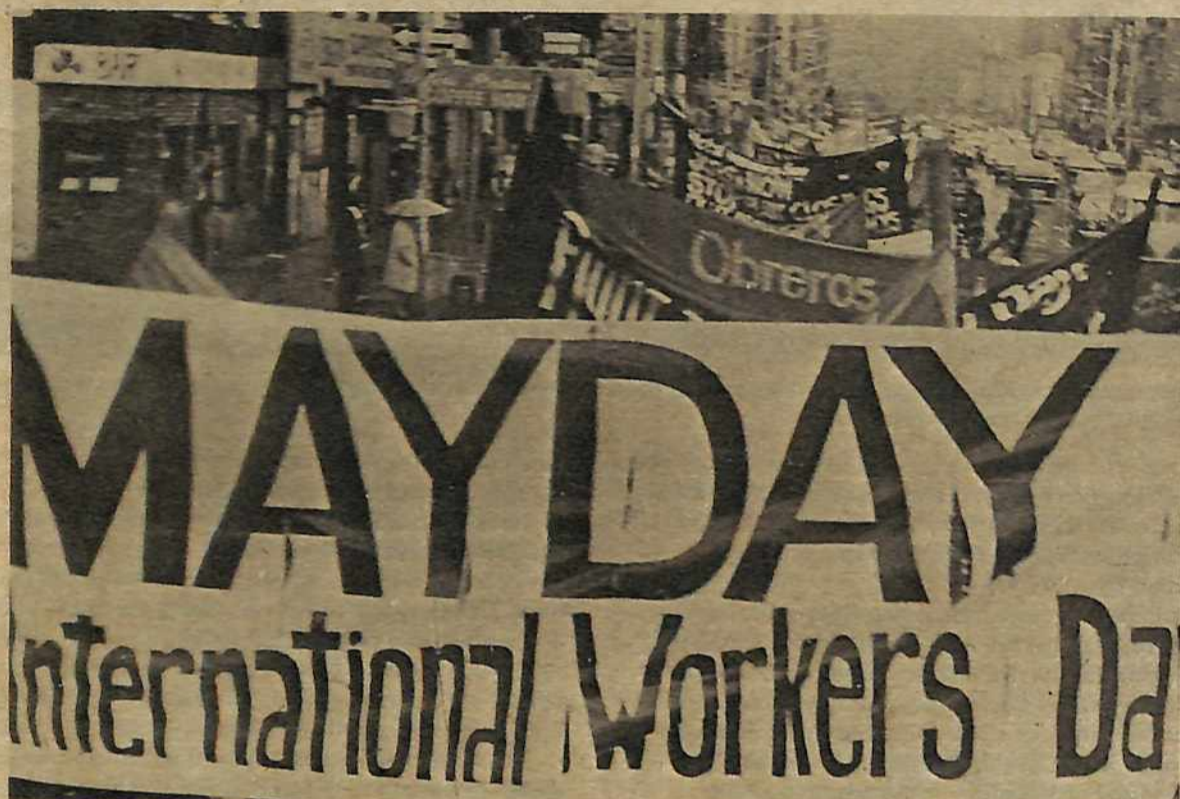
# REVOLUTION

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

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## May Day, 1976 - centerfold

### Bosses Fear Sparks Will Spread

# Rubber Workers Clash With Big 4

As we go to press a very significant strike of 68,000 rubber workers is in progress. The strike involves workers at the Big 4 rubber companies—Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich and Uniroyal. In addition a strike was due to begin at General Tire on May 15 but the International rubber union officials backed down and extended this contract.

Sharp lines have been drawn in this strike with these workers very determined in their struggle. This, combined with the strike's relationship in particular to auto and to other coming contract expirations for millions of workers, means that this strike could potentially be a powerful force driving forward the class struggle this year.

The strike began with a bang on the night of April 20. Rubber workers were just itching for a way to hit back at the companies and at long last they had their chance. Walkouts began in many plants hours before the official announcement of the strike and there were spontaneous celebrations in some places as workers realized production was grinding to a halt and the battle had begun. At the big rubber plants in Akron workers rode around the plants honking their horns, shouting their encouragement and determination to fellow workers.

The next morning, bright and early, powerful mass pickets spontaneously formed, and the plants were completely blocked off. In Akron no salaried employees or trucks were allowed in. This was particularly significant because the international offices of Goodyear, Firestone and Goodrich are there and the strikers put pickets up there too, and closed these offices tight. Some gung-ho executive-types tried to get in and they were shoved back.

Meanwhile over at Goodrich the workers found a long pole and a bunch of them carried it over to block the gate. The cops—company bootlickers that they are—jumped some of the guys, hospitalizing some and arresting six. Other workers were so enraged by this

incident that they later forced the county to suspend one of the sheriff's deputies who hit a striker with his flashlight.

In Marysville, Ohio, the story was the same at Goodyear with a mass of strikers preventing the sheriff's deputies from breaking the line. A company shanty was burned to the ground in the process.

In Salinas, Calif., the workers massed on the picket lines in front of the Firestone plant.

Besides using the police the companies responded to this strike in a typically arrogant way. Quickly getting injunctions limiting pickets to a token two to four per gate, they tried to reopen most of their plants using salaried employees as scabs. And in Marysville, Ohio, they indicted and prosecuted 20 strikers on charges of arson, etc., for the burning of their shanty. Their message to the workers was clear: "You may be out on strike but we're still the boss."

#### Meeting Attacks

Although many of the union officials have recommended that the workers cool it and respect the injunctions, the companies' actions have stirred contempt and anger on the part of many workers. In the first week rank and file pickets at Goodyear in Akron held off trains, trucks and salaried personnel for several hours. Workers at Firestone's synthetic latex plant in Akron stopped tank trucks from coming in to supply scab production after busting a headlight to show they meant business.

On Thursday, May 6, there was a large picket at the Los Angeles Firestone plant, with one striker arrested before it was broken up. In Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 150 workers mass picketed on May 10 and 11, blocking foremen from working, despite an injunction. Workers from Local 5 in Akron picketed the city hall demanding justice in the case of the police brutality a-

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# Momentum Builds For July 4th Demo

*The following report is based on the first-hand experience of people building in Philadelphia for the demonstration planned for there on July 1-4. Their experience is similar to what people working on the demonstration in other areas have begun to report. It is important to learn from this in building everywhere for a powerful demonstration in Philadelphia—the scene of the capitalists' Bicentennial extravaganza—Ed.*

As July 4th approaches, the capitalists and politicians are really heaping it on. The Bicentennial minutes are becoming Bicentennial hours. But as much as they would like it, their efforts to rally people around themselves are not unchallenged. Posters, manifestos and stickers put out by the July 4th Coalition are beginning to cover transit stops, light poles and abandoned buildings all over Philly proclaiming: "WE'VE CARRIED THE RICH FOR 200 YEARS—LET'S GET THEM OFF OUR BACKS!"

The work has begun in a big way in Philadelphia to build around that slogan and the demands: Jobs or Income! and We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War! The forces are out to build the struggle against the capitalists and to build the movement and organization of the working class and its allies. More and more workers are seeing clearly that this is why we are building the July 4th demonstration and they are taking it up on that basis.

From the start much work has been done to spread the word broadly about the demonstration, to put it out as a big question for people to think and talk about. The word is getting out and people are responding. Coming from many different struggles, they are united in opposing the way things are and demanding a better life. At the unemployment office, one worker read the manifesto and commented, "This thing says what my life has been for the last 35 years." Others question what we are saying. Some ask, "Is it real? Can we change things?"

Another older worker came to the coalition office after reading the poster. "I like what the manifesto says, where do I sign up," and then he added, "me and my friends have to organize for this." And people are organizing—taking the campaign to their neighbors, fellow workers and relatives.

We have tried to build the campaign as a fight against the enemy. We have been taking the campaign out boldly into the shops and organizing workers around the slogans and the demands, trying to link these together with the ongoing struggles in the plants to help bring out the common bond between our growing struggles. In a local steel fabricating shop literally hundreds of stickers were put up all over. The bosses went nuts and told a forklift driver to take all the stickers off his truck. He refused, saying "I didn't put them on there, but I sure as hell ain't going to take them off."

#### Tied Deeply to Ongoing Struggles

Efforts are beginning to agitate for the demonstration in the shops, and to hold plant gate rallies, to get unions and rank and file workers' organizations to support it. Going all-out to get thousands of signatures on the UWOC JOBS or INCOME petition has been a key tool for building the demonstration and mobilizing the class. We are trying to make it an organized way for workers to express their feeling about this rotten system and to express their determination to do something about it.

The petition can be made into a real focus for many things the working class hates about the rule of the

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# Capitalist Attack Staved Off By S.F. City Strike

At the end of the first week of May, striking city craft (building trades) workers in San Francisco and the Municipal Railway (Muni) drivers who shut down the city transport system in solidarity returned to work after a five week strike. Their determination and militance had beaten back, at least temporarily, the wage cutting plans of the city's Board of Supervisors. This was a setback not only for the city government, but for the whole ruling class, which had been following the strike carefully hoping for a "model" wage-cut that could be applied in other cities, and private industry as well.

The strike ended when the workers' union "leaders" cooperated with the city to force them back with an inconclusive and potentially dangerous settlement. In fact, it is little more than an armed truce, but the strength and unity built by the workers during the strike, if maintained and expanded, will give the city fathers fits again if they renew their attack.

The nature of the battle was familiar—an attempt to shift the city's budget crisis onto the backs of the workers. The city government had plotted its attack carefully—after most city contracts were settled, they focused on the skilled crafts, whose pay has in the past been pegged to workers in private industry. Throughout the negotiations they worked to isolate the skilled workers and promote divisions within the class. The decay of services for the masses of people, the effect of the capitalist crisis on San Francisco's budget, was blamed on lazy, overpaid, "featherbedding" workers. City officials argued that pegging should be eliminated and wage cuts of \$2,000 to \$7,500 a year implemented, since the workers didn't need as high wages as craft workers in the building trades because they have more job security!

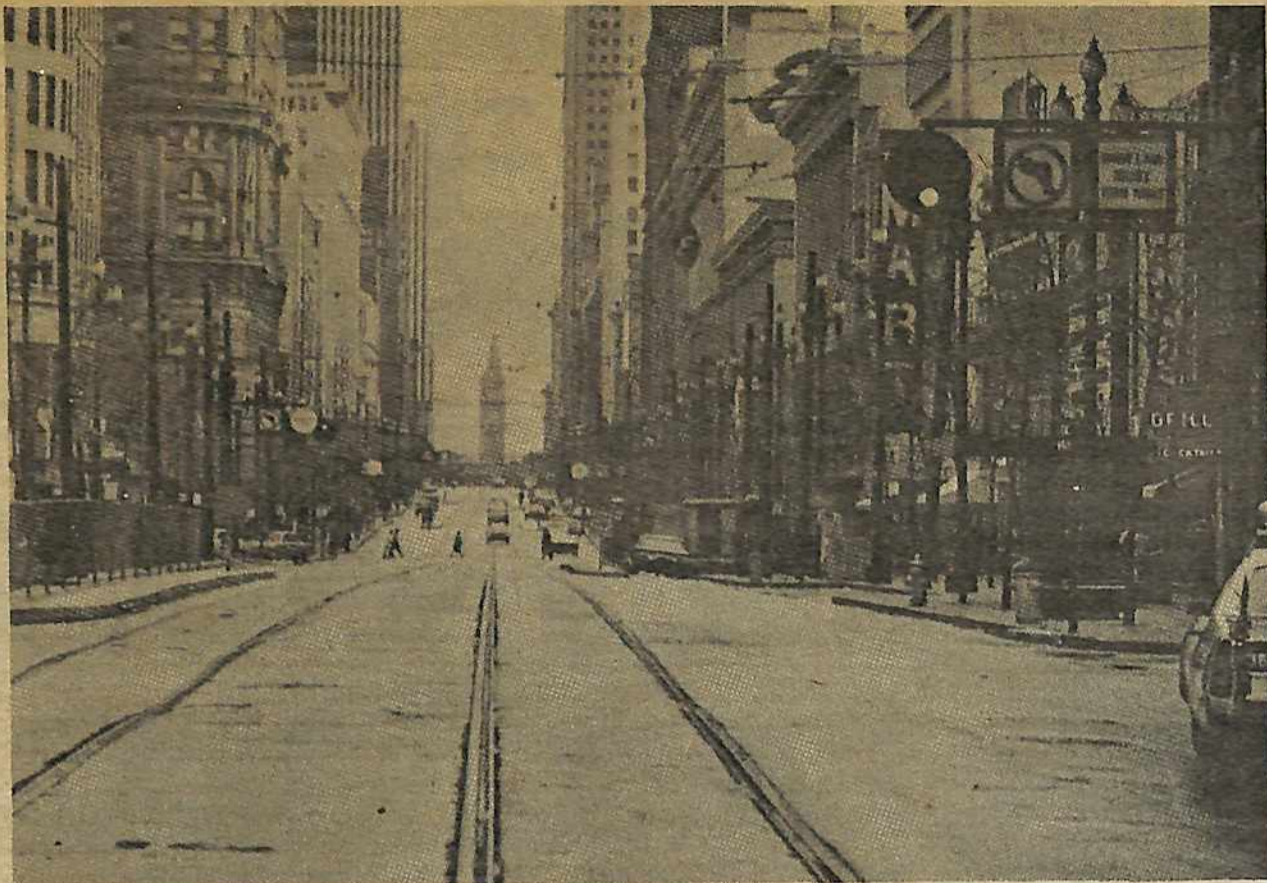
They played up the myth of masses of streetsweepers raking in what the capitalists called "fabulously high salaries" for all it was worth. Always aiming to pit one group of workers against another, the Board of Supervisors posed the question: "Either we cut these guys' wages or we raise your taxes. Why should you have to pay more taxes for a raise for people who make more than you do already?"

Despite this intense preparation to smash them, the city workers were not about to be handed a massive cut in wages. As reported in last month's *Revolution*, they went out strong, setting up pickets and making life hot for scabbing supervisors. The Muni drivers who run San Francisco's busses, streetcars and the famous cable cars voted to honor the picket lines and shut transport down tight.

This act of solidarity was strengthened by the work of Concerned Muni Drivers, a caucus in the local for several years now, which put out a broadsheet and several leaflets explaining that continuing to stay out would be striking a blow for all city workers and the whole working class. The Muni drivers stayed out strong even though each of them lost five weeks pay. These workers, largely Black, rejected efforts by some union officials to undermine unity with "those white, high-paid craft workers." All this caused *Business Week* magazine, for one, to rage against "the puzzling, costly solidarity of the Muni drivers."

The strike was generally strong despite the constant efforts of the union hacks to undermine it. It had a big effect in the city and caused a lot of controversy, especially in the light of all the bosses' propaganda groundwork. The May First Workers Organization (M1WO), a fighting workers group drawing its members from active fighters in industries and shops through the San Francisco Bay Area, put out three leaflets calling for support for the strikers, organized a car caravan and just before the strike ended, started setting up "buck a week" solidarity clubs in some plants.

Through the course of the strike, members of the May First Workers Organization, including striking city workers, summed up what was happening and some shortcomings in their work in the early part of the strike. One important lesson learned was that it was not enough just to call for supporting the picket lines without taking on in a bold and direct way the bourgeoisie's campaign of slanders and arguments. To develop a real working class campaign it is necessary



San Francisco's commercial center looked like a ghost town when Muni workers shut down city transit system in support of striking San Francisco city workers.

to expose what the capitalists are up to in the broadest sense, showing how they aim to use things like different rates of pay for different groups of workers as a lever to pit worker against worker and drive the whole class down.

By aiming the blow at the ruling class, showing who it is that really grows fat at the expense of the masses and bringing out the real links and significance of the strike to the general class battle, not only is broad support for the particular strike built, but in the course of the struggle, advances can be made in developing consciousness and organization in the class as a whole. At the same time, to take out this kind of clear class view, the May First Workers Organization needed to develop and strengthen the closest possible ties with the workers on strike.

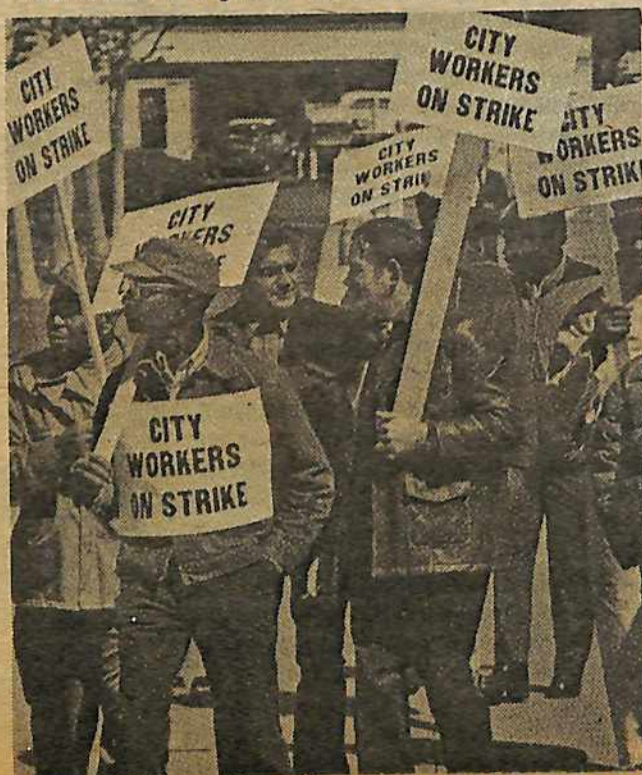
For its part, the bourgeoisie continued its divide and rule program. One tactic was mobilizing "civic minded" clean-up days featuring the Mayor pushing a broom for the TV cameras, and the media pushing the message that everything was running just swell without the workers.

This was not too convincing to anyone, including the capitalist mouthpieces who were running it out. Downtown stores lost a half a billion dollars because no one could get downtown. Roads began to wash out from broken water mains.

Hetch Hetchy, the massive city-owned power and water supply reservoir near Yosemite National Park remained shut down despite injunctions and attempts by armed scabs to release the valve on the huge main. Cattle ranchers and other cities who rely on Hetch Hetchy water had used up their reserves and launched multimillion dollar law suits against the city.

A number of militant actions taken at rank and file initiative, often forcing the late and grudging approval of the hacks, led to a two day airport freight shutdown, Bay Area Transit tie-ups, the closing of the San Francisco convention center and other headaches for the "city fathers."

The hacks, worried about their shaky control of the strike and its militance, worked out a convenient "compromise" with the city officials behind the workers' backs. First, the head of the Laborers local, whose members had fought hard but had little real rank and



Though city and union officials engineered a settlement, little more than an armed truce exists between San Francisco city workers and the capitalists who run the city.

file organization, lied about how the strikers were losing and told them to forget the wage cuts.

He said the workers should concentrate on worrying about two ballot propositions, E and K, put up by the Board of Supervisors, which if passed would enforce lower pay and make mandatory the firing of any city worker who went out on strike. Then he announced he was calling off picketing as a gesture of "good faith." As one worker said, "If someone's out to kill you, you don't commit suicide as a good faith gesture!"

The Muni union hacks followed up quick. Although earlier meetings had drawn 800 workers and up, they held their meeting in a hall with a capacity of 400, set up a raggedy sound system and otherwise created carefully prepared confusion.

They wanted to force the Muni drivers back to work and break their solidarity with the other city workers. But the most they could do was use the confusion they'd created to attach a qualifier to the resolution to the effect that the Muni strike would continue as long as craft lines were up and until the propositions were dropped. Many of the 1,000 workers there left the meeting believing they had voted to maintain their absolute support, but that night the capitalist mouthpieces on the TV news seized on the hack's trickery to gloat that "Working class solidarity is breaking."

Now it was the turn of the other craft leaders. They pointed to the Laborers and Muni unions as a sign that the strike was collapsing and pushed through the "final settlement:" the issue of wage cuts was to be studied by a stacked "fact-finding commission" and E and K were off the ballot—for this election anyhow. The commission's report is not binding. The strike could break out again when it comes in this June or if the city goes through with its announced plan to cut Muni pay in August.

More important than the temporary respite from the cuts, the workers won advances in their ability to struggle. Throughout the strike hacks and cops alike failed to cool their initiative out and the rank and file became more organized. Concerned Muni Drivers was strengthened in the struggle, winning both new members and increased respect. Among other sections of the city workers, the beginnings of rank and file organization was born in the course of the strike. Some workers joined up with the May First Workers Organization, seeing from their own experience the importance of its role in building a class-wide revolutionary workers movement.

San Francisco, according to bourgeois media reports, is "back to normal," but this is the calm before the storm. The ruling class has not dropped its campaign to shift the burden of the city crisis onto the workers with divide and rule tactics. The advances in strength and unity the city workers and Muni drivers won during this strike provide a basis for reaching out to the whole class in the Bay Area and preparing to wage even more determined combat with the "city fathers" and the ruling class they front for. ■

## Revolution

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# The Day to Day Struggle And the Revolutionary Goal

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

Last October, at the time of the announcement of the founding of the Revolutionary Communist Party, I wrote an article in *Revolution*, focusing on the question "How does the Party carry out its central task today?"—"to build the struggle, class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and develop its leadership of a broad united front against the U.S. imperialists, in the context of the world-wide united front against imperialism aimed at the rulers of the two superpowers."

In that article I noted that "The present struggles of the working class in this country are centered around wages and benefits, working conditions, against speed-up, lay-offs, compulsory overtime and other attempts by the capitalists to increase the exploitation of the workers."

This, I pointed out, forms at present the "center of gravity" of the working class struggle and the work of the Party. And (to quote again from that article) "It is mainly by building this struggle and bringing light into it...that the Party will be able to mobilize and unite masses of workers, link up struggles and make the greatest strides in broadening the workers' movement into the all-around fight against the imperialist system, uniting and leading all those who are oppressed under it" toward the goal of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing socialism under the rule of the working class. This represents a summation of fundamental principles adopted by the Party at its founding Congress.

Since that time, on the basis of carrying out this line, advances have been made in linking up with and leading mass struggles and some important questions have come more sharply into focus. In particular, the question of the relationship between this "center of gravity" and the central task of the Party, between the day to day struggles and the revolutionary goal of the working class, the question of how to advance the movement of the masses of workers from its present level into a revolutionary workers movement aimed at the overthrow and eventual elimination of the bourgeoisie and class society—this is a vital question to which the whole Party and all class conscious workers must consistently devote our efforts to solving, in the course of building struggle against the ruling class.

Fundamentally this is a question of mass line, of constantly concentrating the correct ideas of the masses and returning these to the masses in the form of lines and policies that will enable them to move forward in the fight against the bourgeoisie. But this will remain merely a slogan—"mass line"—and be reduced to reformism, to limiting the struggle of the working class to an attempt to improve its position under capitalism, unless it is really based on the application of the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, unless it is guided by the basic truth which this science reveals: that capitalism is incapable of providing any real "improvement" in the position of the masses of workers, that it is based on exploiting the working class as wage-slaves and oppressing the great majority of society, that it stands as the direct barrier to the development of society, and that the working class must and will lead the masses of people in sweeping it aside and replacing it with a higher form of society.

In noting where the struggle of the working class is mainly concentrated today, and determining on that basis the "center of gravity" of the Party's work at present, we are taking stock of where things actually stand and stressing the importance of linking up with and leading these struggles, involving literally millions of workers. But, as the Party's Programme states, this means striving to fulfill three main objectives in these—as in all—struggles: "to win as much as can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy; to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the struggling masses and instill in them the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat; and to develop the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists, recruit them into the Party and train them as revolutionary leaders." It must be emphasized that all three of these objectives must be carried out, that they are dialectically related and it is impossible to correctly carry out any of them except by carrying out all three together.

## How to Move Forward

But in taking stock of where the struggles of the workers are presently concentrated and stressing the need to link up with and lead these struggles as summarized just above, the point is not to say that we want

the working class movement to *remain* at this level, for that would mean in fact continuing to condemn the workers to wage-slavery.

Besides, as I wrote in the previous article, many workers are already involved in fighting on various battlefronts against the ruling class, and not only around wages, working conditions, etc. But as I pointed out in that article, while "many workers are actively involved in these battles...[this is] generally not in an organized, class conscious way."

That is, these workers together with others who are hit by particular attacks, fight back against them spontaneously, and still largely without a class conscious understanding of the *nature* of the fight and its relationship to the overall struggle against the capitalist enemy. To put it simply, in fighting on these various battlefronts the workers involved do not, as a rule, do so consciously as *workers*, as part of a *class*, which must take up and lead all these battles *in its own class interest*.

It is the case that today it is mainly in the fight around wages, working conditions, etc. that workers fight with a *beginning*, an *elementary* and only elementary, *sense* of fighting together as workers. It is extremely important to work to raise this embryonic sense of common bond as workers into more developed class consciousness through the course of all these basic

**"Fighting blow for blow on all fronts, and led by its Party, the working class will develop its movement of today into a revolutionary workers movement that fights exploitation and all oppression in order to end wage-slavery."**

—from the Programme of the RCP, USA

day to day battles. But these struggles, and the work of communists in them—even if carried out in the most correct way—will never in and of themselves lead to the achievement of the revolutionary goal of overthrowing capitalism and establishing socialism, nor establish in the understanding of the workers involved in these struggles the need to build their fight toward this goal. It is only as they learn to take up every major question, every important battle against the enemy, *and* to take them up as part of their own class struggle against this enemy, with the aim of overthrowing it, that the workers raise their consciousness to class consciousness in the fullest sense and develop their movement into a revolutionary struggle.

The point of noting where the workers' struggles are mainly concentrated now is to be able to unite with them and lead the masses of workers in broadening their movement into the all-around struggle against imperialism, the revolutionary struggle to overthrow it. In order to achieve this, the Party, through the application of the mass line, as stressed before, must carry out the principle of developing "fighters on one front against the enemy into fighters on all fronts." (Party Programme)

This means especially working to arm the masses of workers with an understanding of the *class basis* of all events in society and enable them to draw the links, in their understanding and actual struggle, between all the different battles being waged throughout society against the common enemy—the capitalist class.

It means keeping firmly in mind and applying in practice the strategic understanding that "Only by uniting with all social forces fighting imperialism can the working class develop consciousness of its own historical role as capitalism's gravedigger," and that through this process "the working class not only wins allies in the course of building the united front, but learns why it alone can lead them to overthrow the monopoly capitalists." (Party Programme)

## Draw Out Real Connections

How do we resolve this contradiction—that today the actual struggle of the masses of workers is concentrated in the fight around wages, working conditions, etc., but that in order to develop its revolutionary consciousness and play its revolutionary role, the working class must

build and lead a broad united front against the monopoly capitalists, must act as the vanguard fighter against all oppression? The answer lies in approaching *every* struggle of the working class—and for that matter every struggle involving different strata and social forces—as part of the political objective of building a revolutionary movement, led by the working class, aimed at overthrowing and eliminating capitalism.

The connection between a fight, for example, against layoffs and the fight against the imperialists' aggression and war preparations, is not that we want "jobs not war"—for to put this forward under capitalism is merely to spread illusions about the nature of the system, which inevitably produces war and unemployment—but that both of them are directed against the "same dark forces," against the ruling class of capitalists, and that in the long run, in order to do away with both unemployment and war, it is necessary to do away with their source, the bourgeoisie and the imperialist system. The same applies for the real links between all the different struggles in society.

We cannot carry out this kind of political work, and build a revolutionary workers movement, if we try to show how every event in society relates to the "center of gravity" of the present workers' struggle. We can only do it by showing, in a living way, how every event, every struggle, including those concentrated

now in this present "center of gravity," relate to what they all, in fact, do have in common: that every attack people are forced to fight, that every abuse and outrage, all oppression, is rooted in the capitalist system of exploiting the working class as wage-slaves, in the fundamental contradiction between socialized production and private ownership, which can only be resolved through socialist revolution, led by the working class and its Party.

These questions are, of course, not new ones in the history of the working class movement in this country or internationally. In fact, V.I. Lenin spoke directly to these same problems in developing the revolutionary movement of the working class in Russia at the beginning of this century. "There is nothing more warranted," Lenin wrote, "than the urging of attention to the constant, imperative necessity of deepening and broadening, broadening and deepening, our influence on the masses, our strictly Marxist propaganda and agitation, our ever closer connection with the economic struggle of the working class."

Note that Lenin emphasizes "our strictly Marxist propaganda and agitation." And he goes on to say that "Because such urging is at all times warranted, under all conditions and in all situations, it must not be turned into special slogans, nor should it justify attempts to build upon it a special trend in Social-Democracy [Communism]. A border line exists here; to exceed the bounds is to turn this indisputably legitimate urging into a narrowing of the aims and scope of the movement, into a doctrinaire blindness to the vital and cardinal political tasks of the movement." And Lenin concludes that "We must educate the whole class of wage workers to the role of fighters for the emancipation of mankind from all oppression. We must constantly teach more and more sections of this class; we must learn to approach the most backward, the most undeveloped members of this class...to raise them steadily and patiently to the level of Social-Democratic [Communist] consciousness without making a dry dogma out of our doctrine—to teach them not only from books, but through participation in the daily struggle for existence of these backward and undeveloped strata of the proletariat."

Once again, it is important to stress, as Lenin does, that the key to this is to carry out "strictly Marxist

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# Bosses, Hacks Lash Out at Rank And File In Mine Union

Last August 80,000 miners rocked the country by waging a fierce wildcat strike for the right to strike, defying the power of the coal bosses, their union officials, the government, and the whole capitalist class. Since then, the struggle of miners has continued, despite a heavy effort to stomp it out.

Now in a disgusting and revealing move, Arnold Miller, president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), has ordered three union brothers to appear before the International Executive Board to face disciplinary charges for their role in a wildcat of 20,000 for Black Lung benefits in March.

Skip Delano, Aubrey Brown and Bruce Miller are being charged with conspiracy to call a strike, conducting meetings, speaking at local union meetings about the strike, passing out bumper stickers and with being on picket lines. These brothers took part in and helped lead meetings of hundreds of rank and file miners and their families when the Black Lung bill HR10760 was before Congress. The bill was discussed and exposed as an attack on hard won benefits, one that would give benefits to a few and end compensation for up to 95% of all miners who contract Black Lung.

The brothers and thousands of other miners opposed the UMWA leaders' sell-out support of the bill. They continued to fight for the demands of the rank and file, including "15 years of work means benefits for disabled miners"—demands backed up by thousands of petition signatures sent to the International over a year ago. The miners demanded that Arnold Miller call for a memorial period, a provision in the contract giving miners the right to strike for a period of a week. Miller refused and the rank and file struck without his support.

## Members of the Right to Strike Committee

The three brothers are members of the Miners Right to Strike Committee, a rank and file organization that began after the February-March, 1974 "gas shortage" protest strike and before the '74 contract struggle, during which thousands of miners demanded the right to strike be included in the contract. The Committee united with and helped lead last August's right-to-strike, anti-injunction wildcat that involved over 80,000 miners as well as other struggles involving miners and other workers in the coal fields.

The capitalists are stepping up their attacks to smash the miners' struggle. A key part of this is their desire to end the decade-long upsurge in wildcat strikes that cut so deeply into their profits. They seek to break the powerful resistance the miners put up in the face of attempts at increased exploitation—continued violations of the contract by the bosses, job rights, safety, new absentee policies, etc. But even more than the economic interests of the coal capitalists is behind these attacks. The whole bourgeoisie would like to put a straight jacket on the miners. Their militant and mass resistance is a constant inspiration to workers in all industries—a living example and sign of the potential power of the working class.

Arnold Miller and the UMWA International Executive Board (IEB) have been tapped by the bosses to direct much of the main blow of the capitalist class' offensive. Miller and a number of the IEB members came to power only recently in the UMWA. Previously, the union leadership was in the hands of the gangster group of Tony Boyle. Boyle was notoriously corrupt, besides selling out the interests of the rank and file at every opportunity. In 1969, he even had his chief rival for the union presidency murdered, along with his family, after he had already stolen the election.

Rank and file miners had organized against the Boyle regime, forming two organizations, the Miners For Democracy (MFD) and the Black Lung Association, which zeroed in on the death-dealing health conditions Boyle was ignoring. Miners shut down mine after mine through wildcats, trying to win what their own union leaders wouldn't and to jack the companies up. Boyle was unable to stop this. Arnold Miller ran for union leadership against the Boyle group and won in 1972. Miller promised to return the UMWA to the rank and file and institute reforms. The victory of Miller, or more to the point, the defeat of Boyle, came



Coal bosses and their man Arnold Miller, president of the UMWA, are determined to destroy the ability of the rank and file miners to defend their jobs, their health and their very lives. Their main target is the workers' ability to wage militant wildcat strikes and the movement for the right to strike. But police, court injunctions, fines and jailings of rank and file strike leaders have never broken the miners' militancy in the past and they are not succeeding now.

on the crest of this mighty movement of the rank and file in the coalfields and it was important as a reflection of the strength of the miners.

The capitalists also worked for their goals through Miller's victory. Tony Boyle was too exposed and too much hated by the rank and file to be of much use in controlling the miners. They hoped for something better in Miller, and Arnold and his buddies seem hell-bent in proving the bosses right. Miller and the IEB handed out a 10 point program to end wildcats after the August strike, making an open comparison to the government declaring martial law.

One of the brothers ordered to appear before the International, Bruce Miller, is in jail; a fact the IEB ignores. His order to appear was sent to his home. Bruce is in jail for helping to lead the Black Lung strike. Handing a Black Lung leaflet to another union brother was "enough evidence" for a federal judge to sentence him to six months for "contempt."

Besides sentencing Bruce Miller to jail, the courts are being used to fine locals thousands of dollars which

have to be paid to the coal companies. Two hundred and twenty Zapata Coal Co. miners have been ordered into court for violation of a life-of-the-contract injunction. Three carbon fuel locals and the International were fined \$736,000 for 48 wildcats between 1969 and 1973. \$50 to \$100 a day per man is the standard ransom for wildcats.

But the resistance is still strong. Wildcats have not been stopped. Miners are taking on these attacks every day and launching campaigns to defend themselves and strengthen their ranks. A defense fund for Bruce Miller has been set up and a petition campaign to abolish the 10 point program and drop all the charges against union brothers is under way.

These miners have come under attack because the capitalist class cannot tolerate the continuing struggle of the miners and the example it provides. They aim to make their own kind of "example" out of these men, and use it against all miners and the growing workers movement. Beating back these attacks is important to all workers. ■

## Goal...

Continued from Page 3

propaganda and agitation" in connection with these struggles, to base ourselves on this revolutionary science and apply the mass line as the revolutionary weapon that it is, on this basis. (Quotes above from Lenin are from his article "On Confounding Politics With Pedagogics," written in 1905, Vol 8 of his *Collected Works*.)

Already, as I noted earlier, there are both advances and also sharp questions that have arisen in the work of the Party in carrying out the correct line adopted at its founding Congress—questions that have been pinpointed here. Experience should be summed up with these points in mind.

There have been cases, for example, where we have led large numbers of workers in fighting against particular attacks, and in large-scale, even sometimes protracted struggle, yet we have failed through the course of this to carry out "strictly Marxist" political work. There are even cases where, for example, in the period building up to May Day, we have united with advanced workers to lead masses of workers in hard fought crucial battles, and yet few, and sometimes none, of these workers have been involved in building for May Day, or even in attending the celebration itself. In this case, what is the purpose of building the day to day struggle?—unless as an end in itself, in which case it can only lead to a dead-end.

The same applies to work—and weaknesses in our work—in building for the July 4th demonstration in Philadelphia. Again, we can only draw the real links between the "daily struggle for existence" and other events and struggles—including especially major political events like May Day and the Bicentennial demonstration—if we draw out, in a living way, the links that both have to the larger question of building the movement of the working class as a whole, and its allies against the bourgeois rule, against the imperialist system. And again, if we don't draw the links in this way and build for these important political events in this

way, then what—other than reformism—can be the purpose of our work?

The point is not that the daily struggle of the workers around wages, working conditions, etc. is unimportant or should not be concentrated on—it is, in fact, the present "center of gravity" of the workers' struggle and the Party's work. The point is that we must build these and all struggles in a revolutionary way. We must keep in mind, at every step in developing these struggles, and in building and linking up every major battle against the imperialist rulers, the revolutionary goal. We must work painstakingly and consistently to continually raise the level of the workers' movement, to raise ever broader sections of the working class to the conscious struggle against capitalism and for socialism, to rally the greatest number of allies of the working class in the fight against the capitalist enemy and enable the working class to lead a broad united front to overthrow this enemy and achieve the goal of emancipating mankind from all oppression and finally eliminating the bourgeoisie and class society altogether. ■

### OUR CLASS WILL FREE ITSELF AND ALL MANKIND

Speech on the Celebration of the  
Founding of the Revolutionary  
Communist Party, USA by Bob  
Avakian, Chairman of the Central  
Committee of the RCP, USA,  
October 1975

\$ .75

This pamphlet is available from RCP Publications for \$ .75. See the publications box on page 15 for this and other literature from the Party.

# World War: The Correct Stand Is a Class Question

The factors for world war are rapidly rising. This is a blunt assessment, but one that is confirmed every day by the words and the actions of the two superpowers. Should anyone doubt it, he would do well to consider Angola, where the rulers of the U.S. and the USSR instigated and fueled a reactionary and vicious civil war in which more than 100,000 people died—all to determine which superpower would get the inside track in its rivalry to control Angola and all of Southern Africa.

The superpowers carry on about "fighting imperialism" or "defending freedom" and they mean imperialist adventure and heightened rivalry. They speak with pious determination about "national defense" and seek to justify stepped up war preparations.

Can a new world war be prevented and if not how should the working class prepare for it and what are its interests and goals if such a war does break out? These are critical questions which demand careful and deep-going answers and not slick or panicky responses.

Fortunately, the international proletariat has considerable experience in two world wars, summed up by some of its greatest leaders, to draw on. While the working class suffered greatly in World War 1 and World War 2, where the correct Marxist-Leninist line was applied, great advances were won, including the victory of socialism in several countries.

The basic approach of the working class in analyzing and responding to a war in the era of imperialism was laid out clearly by Lenin in polemics with various opportunists during World War 1. First, he demystified war, quoting the bourgeois military expert von Clausewitz: "All know that wars are caused only by the political relations of governments and of nations; but ordinarily one pictures the situation as if, with the beginning of the war, these relations cease and a totally new situation is created, which follows its own laws. We assert, on the contrary, that war is nothing but the continuation of political relations, with the intervention of other means." Politics, Marxism teaches, is concentrated *economics*, is based on the relationship between different classes in society. Lenin summed up, "The class character of war—that is the fundamental question which confronts a socialist." (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, p. 78)

## World War 1

World War 1 was a war between two blocs of imperialist powers which broke out in 1914 over the existing division of colonies and large sections of Europe. Ever since the complete division of the world among the Great Powers by the late 1800s, some rising imperialist classes, particularly the German capitalists, had begun pushing hard for a redivision, for a bigger piece of the action. Small skirmishes instigated by the Great Powers took place in Egypt, Morocco, the Balkans and elsewhere, and alliances between the different governments were made, broken and rearranged. Two years before the war broke out it was clearly predicted by the socialist parties of the world assembled in the Second International.

The war was finally triggered by the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on Serbian soil. Austria, with Germany's blessings, invaded Serbia to "extract reparations" and the alliances as they then stood swung into combat, basically pitting Germany and Austria-Hungary against France, Britain and Tsarist Russia.

Lenin summed up the class character of the war after it had broken out: "This war is in a treble sense a war between slave-owners to fortify slavery. This is a war firstly, to fortify the enslavement of the colonies by means of a 'fairer' distribution and subsequent more 'concerted' exploitation of them; secondly, to fortify the oppression of other nations within the 'great' powers, for both Austria and Russia (Russia more and much worse than Austria) maintain their rule only by such oppression, intensifying it by means of war; and thirdly to fortify and prolong wage slavery, for the proletariat is split up and suppressed, while the capitalists gain, making fortunes out of the war, aggravating national prejudices and intensifying reaction." (*"Socialism and War," in Lenin on War and Peace*, FLP, Peking, pp. 10-11) In article after article, speech after speech, Lenin hammered home to the workers Marx's great message, "The workers have no fatherland," and warned them they were being used as cannon fodder in a war between international bandits.

His task was made more difficult by the collapse of the Second International as the leaders of most of its member parties scurried at the outbreak of the war into bed with their respective bourgeoisies, uttering little squeals about "defending our country."

Lenin mercilessly ripped the covers off these traitors to socialism and exposed the moralistic rationalizations they used to justify their treachery, like pointing to the *other* side as "expansionist" or the "aggressor" in the war. Lenin countered this with the internationalist stand of the revolutionary working class: "The character of the war (whether it is reactionary or revolutionary) does not depend on who the attacker was, or in whose country the 'enemy' is stationed; it depends on *what class* is waging the war, and of what politics this war is a continuation." (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, p. 80)

Lenin refers to "the German financiers" as having "started the war" *once* in his 52 page article "The Collapse of the Second International" (*Lenin Collected Works*, Volume 22) and not at all in many others, so little importance does he attribute to this question. Similarly he points out that the struggle of the small Serbian nation against Austria *by itself* reflects the national-liberation movement of the Serbs, but that, "The national element in the Serbo-Austrian war is not, and cannot be, of *any* serious significance in the general European war." (*"Collapse of the Second International," Vol. 22, p.235*)

The working class could in no way unite with or give the least aid to its own ruling class in such a war, this much was clear, but at the same time, World War 1 was not merely a fatal tragedy. Indeed, Lenin showed, it created a very favorable situation for the working class for overthrowing the bourgeoisie amidst the mi-

sery their war caused in the countries involved. "The war has undoubtedly created a most acute crisis and has increased the distress of the masses to an incredible degree. The reactionary character of this war, and the shameless lies told by the bourgeoisie of *all* countries in covering up their predatory aims with 'national' ideology, are inevitably creating, on the basis of an objectively revolutionary situation, revolutionary moods among the masses. It is our duty to help the masses become conscious of these moods, to deepen and formulate them. This task is correctly expressed only by the slogan: convert the imperialist war into civil war; and *all* consistently waged class struggles during the war, all seriously conducted 'mass action' tactics inevitably lead to this." (*"Socialism and War," p. 22*)

With this revolutionary perspective, it was not enough for the proletariat merely to *refuse to support* its own ruling class in its war effort. "A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, cannot fail to see that its military reverses facilitate its overthrow." (same, p. 25)

In short, the Leninist line, forged in ideological and political struggle during World War 1, is that the response of communists to a war between imperialist bandits is to use the mass line to mobilize the working class and its allies against the bourgeoisie's war efforts and for revolution. It was this line that led to the victory of the great October Revolution and the birth of working class rule in the Soviet Union out of the flames of World War 1.

## What Has Changed?

It would not do, however, to apply Lenin's line mechanically or indiscriminately to the present situation. It is necessary to determine if matters have changed in the 60 years that have elapsed since World War 1.

Are we in a different historical era or epoch than that Lenin was dealing with? This question has been answered with exceptional clarity by the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people in their struggle to repudiate the counter-revolutionary Lin Piao. The late comrade Chou En-lai summed it up in the main report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China, "Chairman Mao has often taught us: We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. . . Stalin said, 'Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.' This is entirely correct. Since Lenin's death the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today."

Today there are no longer a half a dozen or so imperialist more or less equal "Great Powers." Among the imperialist countries, there are now only two serious contenders for the throne of chief exploiter and oppressor of the world's people—the United States ruling class, "our" bourgeoisie, and the new capitalist class which tore down the great socialist society built by the workers of the Soviet Union and established its own corrupt rule there. No other imperialist power is strong enough to contend as an equal with either superpower, especially in forming blocs for the purpose of world domination. The "lesser" imperialist powers align themselves with one superpower or the other as the most feasible route to expanding their own empires. Although this basic drive puts the rulers of these countries in contradiction, to an extent, with the superpowers, it mainly shows they are still the moribund and parasitic bandits Lenin described so well. As the threat of war sharpens, their drive to share in the redivision of the world—and their fear of being among the redivided—will tend to compel them ever more to fall in line as junior partners in one camp of thieves or the other. And certainly superpower status doesn't make the U.S. or USSR any different in essence from the "Great Powers" of Lenin's day.

Does his description of "the younger and stronger robber (Germany)" out "to rob the older and over-gorger robbers," not precisely describe the relation between the USSR and the U.S.? Is it not the case that the roots of a third world war lie precisely in the fact that the existing "partition of the world *compels* the capitalists to go over from peaceful expansion to an armed struggle for the *repartitioning* of colonies and spheres of influence?" (*The Collapse of the Second International," p. 226*)

It is this compulsion, this drive to "expand or die," that is pushing the world toward World War 3, independent of anyone's will or desires. "Either the working class in the U.S. and the Soviet Union will prevent such a war by overthrowing these greatest oppressors, in conjunction with the world-wide struggle against

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"Turn the Imperialist War into a Civil War!" This was the policy and a slogan of the Bolsheviks during World War 1. Russian workers and peasants turned their guns at their own government and made revolution. By correctly analyzing the class forces involved and fighting fiercely for the interests of the proletariat, Marxist-Leninists have been able to lead the working class to great victories and advances during the previous two world wars.

# World War...

Continued from Page 5

them, or they will launch a world war before they can be overthrown." (*Programme of the RCP, USA*)

Another potential objection to carrying out the line Lenin developed should an inter-imperialist war break out is that conditions in the U.S. (and the USSR) are not the same as they were in Europe and especially Tsarist Russia at the outbreak of World War 1. The argument goes: There is not a large class conscious workers movement strong enough to or prepared to topple even a weakened bourgeoisie and patriotic sentiments are so strong that a line of "revolutionary defeatism" could never take root. Lenin himself dealt with this kind of cowardly capitulation, answering opportunists whose arguments he characterized as, "Hopes for a revolution have proved illusory, and it is not the business of a Marxist to fight for illusions." ("The Collapse of the Second International," p. 213)

He ridiculed this "realistic" stand on two counts. Firstly as discussed above, war and especially imperialist world war tends to create revolutionary situations by its very nature—putting unprecedented strains on the bourgeois state and unprecedented hardships on the working class and masses of people. Secondly, he pointed out, "No socialist has ever guaranteed that this war (and not the next one), that today's revolutionary situation (and not tomorrow's) will produce a revolution. What we are discussing is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists—that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, explaining its scope and depth, arousing the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over to revolutionary action, and forming, for that purpose, organizations suited to the revolutionary situation." (same, pp. 216-17)

Nor is a revolutionary situation a precondition for this work. "It is impossible to foretell whether a powerful revolutionary movement will flare up during the first or second war of the great powers, whether during or after it; in any case our bounden duty is systematically and undeviatingly to work precisely in this direction." ("Socialism and War," p. 22)

Only such a policy will strengthen the working class in the course of the war so that, even if it is unable to make revolution, it will still be in the best position to deal with the result of the war for the bourgeois "fatherland"—victory, defeat, stalemate or even occupation.

## Existence of Socialist Countries

Is there then no significant change since World War 1 that affects Lenin's line on war and revolution? Of course there is such a change—the existence since 1917 of the Soviet Union and since World War 2 of a number of socialist countries, despite the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and several Eastern European nations. While in the most fundamental sense Marx's statement that "The workers have no fatherland" remains true and crucial for exposing the patriotic appeals of imperialist ruling classes, it can also be said that a genuine socialist country like the Soviet Union until after Stalin's death or like China today belongs not only to its own people but to the international working class for whom it is a beacon-light.

Lenin wrote about the possibility of wars involving socialist countries in 1916, well before the October Revolution gave birth to the first one. He correctly analyzed that socialism would not win victory everywhere at once and that some countries would remain under bourgeois rule. "This must not only cause friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the socialist state. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie." ("The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution," in *Lenin on War and Peace*, p. 61)

Understanding this principle is the key to understanding World War 2 and how it changed from an inter-imperialist war to a war of the type Lenin describes. Like WW1, the Second World War when it began was a war to redivide the world, with Germany—now allied with Italy—once again in the position of the up and coming imperialist bandit.

Like World War 1 it was preceded by shifting alliances and smaller conflicts and acts of aggression. Full scale war broke out when Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, to annex it. Alarmed by German successes, France and Britain declared war on Germany.

Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese revolution and the international working class, declared, "On whichever side the Anglo-French or the German, the war that has just broken out is an unjust, predatory and imperialist war." ("The Identity of Interests Between the Soviet Union and All Mankind," *Selected Works*, Vol III, p. 277) This analysis went to the heart of the situation. Although bourgeois rule in

Germany had a fascist character and the German ruling class openly attacked Poland first, this did not change the character of the war. "Germany started the war in order to plunder the Polish people and smash one flank of the Anglo-French imperialist front. As for Britain and France, they have regarded Poland as an object of plunder for their finance capital, exploited her to thwart the German imperialist attempt at a world re-division of the spoils, and made her a flank of their own imperialist front. Thus their war is an imperialist war, their so-called aid to Poland being merely for the purpose of contending with Germany for the domination of Poland, and this war, too, should be opposed, not approved." (same, p. 279)

Thus for the international proletariat, the tasks were the same as they had been in World War 1. In Mao Tsetung's words, "The Communist Parties and the people of all countries should rise up against it and expose the imperialist character of both belligerents, for this imperialist war brings only harm and no benefit whatever to the people of the world, and they should expose the criminal acts of the social-democratic parties in supporting the imperialist war and betraying the interests of the proletariat." (same, p. 277)

In the same article, Mao also cautioned that the nature of the war could change and objective circumstances could call for the entry into the war of the Soviet Union and the peoples of the world. Less than two years later, on June 22, 1941, this occurred. Hitler launched the bulk of his forces against the Soviet Union, boasting they would drive to the Ural mountains in three months. The next day Mao Tsetung summed up the changed world situation in an inner Party directive: "for communists throughout the world the task now is to mobilize the people of all countries and organize an international united front to fight fascism and defend the Soviet Union, defend China, and defend the freedom and independence of all nations." ("On the International United Front Against Fascism," *Selected Works*, Vol III, p. 29) This was the general line for the duration of the war.

## Change in World War 2

The change in the character of World War 2 was not to a "war for democracy," or just an "anti-fascist war." There was no change in the character of the class rule in the imperialist powers—for the "worse" in Germany or for the "better" in England, the U.S., etc.

The new character of the war was determined by the event which changed it, the attack on the Soviet Union and its entry into the war. The war became, as the *Programme of the RCP, USA* points out, "...a battle for the defense of the future as it was already being realized by the Soviet working people in building socialism. Millions of workers and other oppressed people around the world fought and died to defeat the fascist Axis in order to defend socialism and to advance their own march toward socialist revolution."

Opportunists in the leadership of some communist Parties took advantage of the necessity to unite with their bourgeoisie in fighting this war, in order to cave in entirely to them—to negate what was now the secondary aspect of the war—that Britain, the U.S. and so on were still in it for the same imperialist reasons they had been from the beginning. These revisionists—Earl Browder, who headed the Communist Party in this country, chief among them—used the war to put their Parties entirely at the service of the capitalists.

However, this was not the main trend. In many cases, communists grasped the necessity of entering the war on the same side as the imperialist bloc that had been forced to ally with the Soviet Union and turned this necessity into freedom. They took advantage of the split in the imperialist camp and the alliance of one bloc with the Soviet Union, to fight for leadership of the struggle against the Axis, and use that leadership to advance the struggle to socialism. Within a few years of the end of World War 2 the socialist camp had grown to a dozen countries.

## Today's Situation

Since World War 2, the world has undergone many changes. The socialist camp no longer exists and the country that was its core, the Soviet Union, is now one of the two main capitalist enemies of the world's people.

Today the world is in a very volatile situation. Everywhere contradictions are heating up, among them the desperate contention between the rulers of the U.S. and the USSR. How should the international working class take the growing danger of world war into account? The RCP has dealt with this question at some length in an article in the November 15, 1975, *Revolution*, "On the World Situation, War and Revolutionary Struggle." Some of its points are summarized below.

In the approach of the international proletariat to the question of war, the role of the People's Republic of China, a socialist country belonging to the workers of the world, is of great importance. As a country where the working class holds state power, "China is able to use its diplomacy and state to state relations to make use of contradictions among the imperialist

and reactionary forces, and to build unity between peoples and countries in resisting superpower domination." China does this, paying particular attention to thwarting Soviet expansion, in order to delay the onset of war and enable the people of the world to be in a better position should war break out. China also follows this policy in order to make it more difficult for the Soviet Union to attack China, which stands as a bulwark of world revolution. Defending China is an objective and a duty not only of the Chinese people but of workers all over the world.

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

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

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

"By the same token, a working class which does not have state power, while it does not have the same ability as the socialist countries to use state to state relations, etc. to further the worldwide struggle, also does not have the necessity to make compromises with various imperialist and reactionary forces and governments, in the same way as the socialist states do in order to make use of contradictions, etc."

By focusing its efforts on building the struggle for revolution, the working class is dealing genuine blows to the two superpowers and making the best possible preparations for carrying on the struggle under conditions of war.

As it has in the past, the question of war today provides a big opening for opportunist lines. One form is to speculate on the twists and turns the struggle may take in the future, on the character a new world war may assume if it should break out, all to set aside the difficult task of waging the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. Often a cover-up is pretending to carry out China's foreign policy to the letter. Some may say, "Why should we bother to develop our policy and tactics by applying Marxism to the concrete analysis of concrete conditions? We'll let the Chinese comrades do it for us."

As pointed out in the November 15 *Revolution* article, Mao Tsetung himself dealt with this question very sharply in 1946, at a time when the Soviet Union was making certain necessary agreements with imperialist countries. He put forward a principle that still holds today: "Such compromise does not require the people of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromise at home. The people in these countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions." ("Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation," *Selected Works*, Vol IV, p. 87)

Proletarian internationalism means nothing if it is not based on the struggle for proletarian revolution.

In summation, the experience of the working class over two world wars has provided a rich legacy to learn from today in the face of the growing drive to war on the part of the superpowers. Confronted with the threat of war, the U.S. working class and its Party has to cut through the imperialist-spread smokescreen of calls for "national unity for national defense," which are nothing but justification for imperialist crimes.

The key weapon for doing this—for coming through a war fighting for and advancing the interests of the working class—is the method of *class analysis* of the war's general character. Only in this way can the real causes of the war, and the road forward be discovered.

Armed with this understanding and deep knowledge of the particular conditions in each country, the proletariat decides its policy and its tactics, no matter what difficulties or twists and turns may arise in the actual situation, always based on what will advance the struggle to overthrow capitalism, build socialism and move to communist society. ■



Zimbabwe guerillas prepare for air attacks. White settler rule in Rhodesia is doomed. Liberation forces will topple the imperialist backed government. U.S. imperialists are scrambling to develop new plans to insure their interests and undercut the influence of the Soviet imperialists.

## Can a Leopard Change His Spots?

# U.S. Tries "New Policy" in Africa

1969—Presidential advisor Henry Kissinger defines U.S. policy in Southern Africa in a secret memo to Nixon. It opposes any support for African liberation struggles, declares that "The whites are here to stay and the only way that productive change can come about is through them," and calls for "closer relations with the white-dominated states."

1976—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger flies to Southern Africa for the first time. Speaking to newsmen as "a senior government official" he says the U.S. will provide "economic, moral and political aid" to liberation movements and hints at military aid too. In a major speech in Lusaka, Zambia, he declares complete opposition to the white settler government of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), calls for "majority rule within two years" there and warns South Africa that the segregationist *apartheid* system must end.

### Can a Leopard Change His Spots?

What miraculous development is this? Can U.S. imperialism have changed its nature to take the side of the liberation struggles of the African masses? Hardly! Rather this development is a move by the U.S. ruling class to cut its losses in Southern Africa—the ones it has already suffered in Angola and the ones that loom on the horizon in Namibia (South West Africa), Azania (South Africa) and most immediately in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

In fact, Kissinger's "Lusaka doctrine," as it's being called by the press, shows that the U.S. is still committed to the present regime in South Africa. The point of the "meaningful changes" the U.S. is demanding—basically elimination of the most blatant barbarisms of the *apartheid* system and a few token blacks in government—is to undercut internal and external opposition to the South African government by making it appear to be an advocate of "progress," even if at a snail's pace. The heart of the U.S. policy in Southern Africa, however, is not preserving white rule, but keeping in power an exploiting class that will open its arms to U.S. imperialist plunder of the area. The U.S. ruling class will go along with changes necessary to insure the minimum of interference with its investments and profits, scheming all the while to extend its control.

### Zimbabwe—Focus of Struggle

This is clear in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) where the U.S. can no longer hang on too tightly to the minority white settler government of Ian Smith, which faces collapse under the blows of the liberation struggle of the African masses. In fact, Zimbabwe is the next test in Africa not only for the U.S. imperialists, but for their opposite numbers in the Soviet Union, the new bourgeoisie there.

Rhodesia is an "independent" former colony of Britain with 275,000 white settlers, where an all-white government maintains traditional colonial rule over 6,000,000 black Africans. This setup has been under

increasing pressure from a growing national liberation movement engaged in guerrilla warfare and other forms of struggle, and externally from independent African nations and an international trade boycott called by the United Nations.

### Armed Struggle Growing, Despite Traitors

Lately Prime Minister Ian Smith has been stalling desperately for time, opening phoney negotiations for "eventual" majority rule—he suggests a thousand years—with a few traitors to the national liberation movement, and even bringing a few traditional African chiefs into his cabinet for display purposes. Meanwhile however, the liberation forces during April were able to cut for a while both the railroad and the main highway from Zimbabwe to South Africa, the Rhodesian government's only friendly neighbor since the final liberation of Mozambique from Portuguese colonialism last year. Thousands of new liberation fighters are training in base camps in bordering nations and several African governments have indicated their willingness to provide not only supplies but military troops for an all-out push in the near future. Zimbabwe is rising up. "Rhodesia" has had it!

As the struggle in Zimbabwe develops, it is becoming a good example of the common approach the leaders of both superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, use to try and turn the situation to their advantage (or, in the case of the U.S. especially, at least minimize losses) and to win to their camp sections of the leadership in the struggle. Basically each is trying to offer an enticing "short cut" to those struggling for the liberation of their country. From the USSR, the "short cut" is the offer of military hardware and at least 15,000 Cuban soldiers as shock troops—expendable as far as the Kremlin is concerned—to put the hardware to best use. These, they promise will cut through the Rhodesian army like cheese. On its part, the U.S. government's suggested "short cut" lies in trying to turn a weakness, its ties with the racist governments of Rhodesia and South Africa, into a strength—pointing out that it is in a position to twist arms and "avoid needless bloodshed." Perhaps, Kissinger implies, he can persuade Smith to agree to majority rule and with 20 times as many black voters as white, that should take care of things. At the minimum, it should be possible to keep South Africa out of any fighting, at least, Henry suggests, provided the Russians and their Cuban expeditionary force aren't invited in by the liberation forces or the African governments.

### Superpower Maneuvering in Southern Africa

The two superpowers interfere in liberation struggles like the one in Zimbabwe and seek to gain the deepest possible influence in them. This is not out of any genuine desire to aid them to victory and independence but rather to hold them back and to create the conditions to control these nations to the greatest possible

extent once political independence has been won. Because of their socialist cover, the New Tsars of the USSR have an easier time extending their influence, but their motives are becoming more exposed. Some months ago, for instance, Mozambique's Premier Joachim Chissano expressed some disillusionment with Soviet "aid," saying he hoped they would not try to pressure the Angolan forces they backed the way they had his government.

The basic strategy of each superpower toward the independent nations of Africa and the Third World in general is to aid in the consolidation of a capitalist or feudal ruling class, loyal or at least tied to it.

### Nature of Independent African States

Although several independent African nations have governments that call themselves "socialist," in fact none of them are dictatorships of the proletariat. In many cases they are governed by people who led the struggle for political independence—intellectuals, professionals, colonial civil servants and military officers, patriotic merchants and businessmen and, particularly where there was protracted armed struggle, leaders from the ranks of the peasants and workers. But over time one class or another must rule. If the proletariat does not hold power in alliance with the peasantry and the broad masses of people, a capitalist class will emerge to do so.

Even where this occurs, the government will not necessarily be subservient to imperialism. "A number of non-socialist governments in the Third World, including even some that represent the rule of the landlords and big capitalists in these countries, are to one degree or another resisting the domination of the imperialists, especially the two superpowers. While in the final analysis these forces are fighting for a bigger chunk of the exploitation of their own peoples, and while they cannot and will not fight for complete independence from imperialism," (*Programme of the RCP, USA*) nevertheless they can be united with to the extent they continue to resist imperialist domination. This is important for the working class, led by its Party, in these countries to do, as it carries on the struggle only it can lead in the final analysis—to defeat imperialism, achieve socialism and eliminate all exploitation.

The winning of political independence from colonialism by the nations of Africa was a great setback for the imperialist system and a great victory for the world's people. However, winning political independence is only one step and cannot be maintained for long if the struggle does not go ahead. Centuries of colonial and imperialist plunder have left a legacy of poverty and economic underdevelopment in these countries. Their economies at independence were weak, scarcely industrialized and dependent on cash crops like cocoa or unprocessed mineral ores to the U.S. and Western Europe.

### Self-Reliance or Imperialist "Aid?"

As a result, one of the main questions the class struggle rages over in these nations is: what road to economic development? Depend on foreign investment and "aid" or continue to fight imperialism and practice self-reliance? This is where the two superpowers, as well as Japanese and various European imperialists, move in. As they do with the liberation movements, the imperialists offer "short cuts" to developing nations—big infusions of capital and technical know-how. This can come in the form of direct capitalist investment or "aid" with a million strings and conditions attached. The superpowers offer other kinds of "aid" besides economic, too, with the aim of increasing dependence—they will be only too happy to train and equip a country's army, help run its educational system and so on.

All this goes to "develop" the economy along capitalist and state capitalist lines, thus reinforcing capitalist relations of production and helping to consolidate a dependent capitalist class. And, needless to say, all this also goes to enrich the imperialists through debts, "mutual trade agreements," etc. In fact, the other half of Kissinger's Lusaka doctrine consists of flashing around a fat roll of cash, offering aid here, there and everywhere, including a well-publicized seven billion dollar project to reclaim part of the Sahara Desert as farmland.

The Kissinger visit only highlights the intensity of both superpower contention and revolutionary turmoil in Southern Africa. His trip highlights imperialism's weakness, not its strength. His was a twofold task—to prevent further victories like Angola for the Soviet rivals of the class he serves and to try and protect the future of U.S. influence and investment in Southern Africa, whether by cleaning up the act of the traditional white settler governments or by finding acceptable ways to replace them.

But it is the struggle of the masses that is toppling the old order in Southern Africa, creating the battlefield on which the superpowers are clashing and it is the struggle of the masses that will determine the future there, despite the schemes of one or another imperialist to advance its interests. ■

## Momentum...

Continued from Page 1  
capitalist class. The petition can be passed out at the gates and inside the plants. And it's important to see that there is no reason why thousands of signatures can't be obtained in larger plants if it is put forward boldly and connected to the fight of all workers.

Workers are enthusiastic and ready to sign once they find that it is not just "another petition." When they hear that the petition is going to be brought to the demonstration as proof that working people are standing with the campaign even if they cannot make it to the demonstration and that it is to be driven at the head of the march on a forklift, the signatures flow.

UWOC is using the petition and other agitation to link the July 4th demonstration to the day to day struggles of the unemployed and their work at the unemployment centers. Workers are getting a concrete understanding of the meaning of the slogan EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED, SAME CRISIS, SAME FIGHT! The development of the overall campaign and the use of the UWOC petition in the plants as well as on the unemployment lines are good examples of uniting the employed and the unemployed.

Workers are responding with real interest to the plans to dramatize the demands of the unemployed by setting up a tent city of the unemployed in Philadelphia. UWOC in several cities is also planning to build for the July 4th action by setting up mini-tent cities in the coming weeks.

The local July 4th Committee in Philadelphia is taking the campaign right into the heart of the birthday party the capitalists have planned for themselves. While emphasizing building existing and ongoing organizations, the committee has brought together workers from different industries, the unemployed, veterans, youth and students to develop, broaden and systematize the work of building for the demonstration. Discussion at the first meeting centered around the slogan and the two demands: Jobs or Income and We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War. People focused on the importance of taking the campaign to build for the demonstration into the plants in the area and to struggle to unite as many workers as possible around the demands, showing how they expose two of the ugliest characteristics of the system that makes life miserable for the working class and the overwhelming majority. Out of these meetings plans have been laid for plant gate rallies to build for the demonstration.

### Role of Wide-Scale Agitation

Although this work in the plants is very key, it is directly related to the equally important task of doing broad and large-scale propaganda and agitation around the demonstration. This will have results beyond the actual turnout at the demonstration. The effect of the work done in building the July 4th campaign goes far beyond this particular demonstration. It is part and parcel of the contradiction people feel, of the turmoil and struggle between classes intensifying throughout this society.

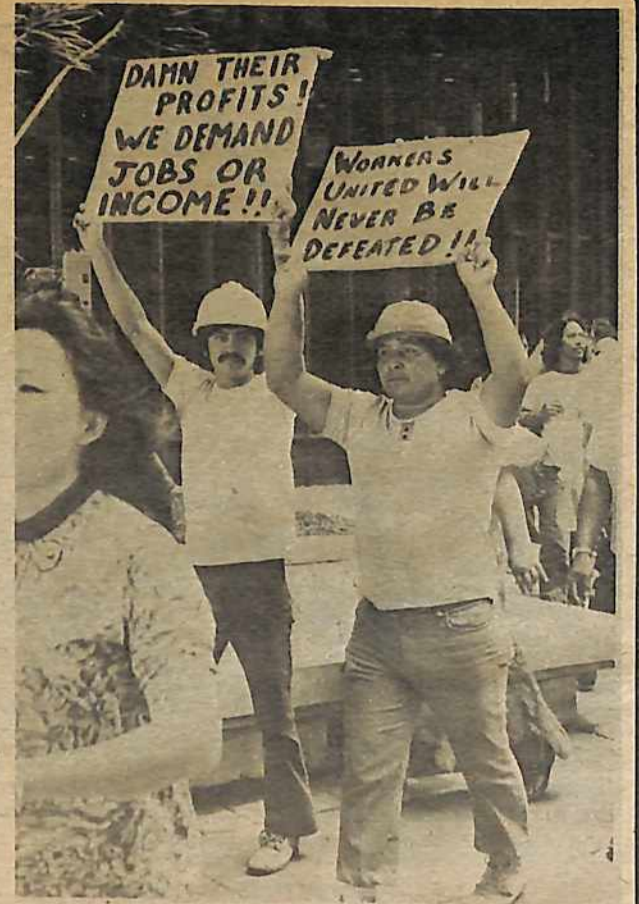
A big part of our task is to counter the bourgeoisie's "public opinion" work with our own, to concentrate and express the disgust and the anger people feel about the way we are forced to live, particularly around the questions of unemployment and the growing threat of another imperialist war, to hit back at the bourgeoisie's line that we've had 200 years of the best of all possible worlds and should eagerly await another 200.

We are trying to get the masses of people involved on whatever level possible in building for this demonstration to get the rich off our backs—and in the process advance in building the understanding and organization necessary to really carry this fight through.

Every Saturday people in teams of ten from the local committee and the groups that make it up set up a table with literature in places like shopping centers and raise high a banner proclaiming, WE'VE CARRIED THE RICH FOR 200 YEARS—LET'S GET THEM OFF OUR BACKS—DEMONSTRATE JULY 4th. At the same time people fan out "soap box" speaking, leafletting, making contacts for further outreach and getting signatures on the Jobs or Income petition.

At the same time a car with a speaker system on the roof rolls through the area announcing that we are in the area and giving a short rap about July 4th. After just three weeks many signatures have been gathered on the petition and almost one hundred people who've signed petitions have volunteered to participate in one form or another.

There are few people we have found whose families are unaffected by unemployment. We meet workers, housewives, youth—people coming forward for hundreds of different reasons, all tied to a common hatred and desire to fight the source of our problems. Con-



## Hawaii: 300 Join UWOC Rally Vs Benefit Cuts

On April 12, 300 angry workers converged on the Hawaii state capitol to demand that the legislature keep its hands off unemployment benefits. As in dozens of other states, Hawaii is attempting to put the axe to the benefits in total disregard for the workers' needs. A bill is pending that would deny unemployment insurance to anyone who quits, is fired or suspended.

The demonstration was organized by Honolulu UWOC on a few days notice by going out to unem-

ployment lines, shopping centers and even door to door, passing out leaflets and collecting signatures for a petition against the bill. Carpenters got UWOC into their union meetings and showed up in large numbers for the action, along with pineapple workers and others.

The demonstration was the biggest action of the unemployed in years in Hawaii and shows clearly the determination of the workers not to carry the capitalists through their crisis. Fight, Don't Starve! ■

tacts and organization are beginning to grow on this basis.

One woman recently came forward from the Saturday outreach. After signing a petition, she was contacted. She invited her friends into her living room for a presentation and discussion. This meeting brought the committee into contact with a local anti-police repression committee, and some multi-national youth groups. These people in turn are discussing reaching still others.

As can be seen this work affects more than the people who originally hear our rap or sign the petition. People who volunteer to participate are contacted by one of the sponsoring organizations or the outreach committee, who set up presentations for the initial contact's friends and neighbors. They in turn are encouraged to set up similar events. As a consequence the movement continues to build and broaden.

And while the local July 4th committee has been an important form for doing this work particularly in Philadelphia, because it is the site of the demonstration, ongoing groups of workers and others like VVAW and UWOC are also growing in influence and contacts in the course of this. In Philadelphia and elsewhere they will be building the same movement after the demonstration is over.

### Political Discussion

The local committee meetings themselves are not just technical meetings to discuss where we are going to poster, or what street corner we are going to satur-



ate. They are seen as political events in themselves that are built for, where people's understanding about the slogan, demands, and the very nature of the capitalist system itself is deepened.

At one meeting the Vietnam Veterans Against the War film "Only the Beginning" was shown. The film, which draws on the perceptual understanding of veterans about Vietnam and shows veterans throwing their medals back on the Capitol steps during that war, sparked discussion about how that war was summed up and how the rich were preparing to get us in another war, only this time with the Soviet Union.

People gained a further understanding of the slogan, "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War!" and how it had to be taken out. At the end of the discussion one of the workers commented, "If I would have known in 1966 what I know now, I'd have joined VVAW instead of the Army!"

### Local Outrages

These meetings are also used to bring forward ideas about how to broaden the campaign through unleashing the initiative of the people against the outrages and decay of the system. Two such ideas are being carried out now. One is for a special poster to put up on the 40,000 condemned and abandoned homes in Philadelphia that proclaims "another bicentennial monument to the rule of the rich, demonstrate July 4th," and a sticker to be plastered all over the Red, White and Blue public transportation system exposing the absurdity of painting over the junk that is falling apart.

The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War have been taking the call out to campuses throughout the area. Plastering walls, bulletin boards and dormitories with posters, setting up tables and passing out literature about the 4th. On almost every campus, forums about the demonstration have been held and from these have sprung local school committees to continue to build the campaign. A student at one campus stated after joining a local committee, "I came here [to the school] and really tried to make it in the system. But you can't. You've just got to do something." Many of the students are coming forward from these to join the RSB.

People everywhere are responding to the slogan and demands not because they are flashy or "wrapped nicely" but because they speak the truth about the nature of this system. They can see concretely all our struggles coming together, can see the face of the enemy much clearer and so too they see clearer why we've got to unite to get the rich off our backs. The demonstration is growing and with it so is our unity and strength. ■



## Opportunists Plan Rally

# Deadend Approach To the Bicentennial

Because things are going the way they are in this country, an awful lot of people aren't buying what the ruling class of capitalists is trying to do around the Bicentennial. For this reason, the class conscious forces of the working class have real opportunities, as well as an obligation, to organize against the capitalists on this front, too, and build struggle, organization and understanding among the people that will last long after the Bicentennial barrage has died down.

But at the same time there are some petty bourgeois forces who are entering the political arena of the Bicentennial under their own banners, with their own slogans and programs representing their own interests and outlook. The line of these forces and the actions they're trying to organize do somewhat speak to people's dissatisfaction with the way things are, but instead of moving things forward they can only serve to turn back struggle against the capitalists and to confuse and disorganize the masses.

Already two major groups of these forces have announced plans for their own demonstrations July 4th. Who are these people and what do they represent? Why can't there be a single, united action? Basically this is a question of what kind of movement can and must be developed out of the Bicentennial actions, and of what kind of a movement these forces are trying to pull together.

### People's Bicentennial Commission

One of these forces is an outfit calling itself the People's Bicentennial Commission (PBC), which describes itself as "radical in the patriotic tradition of Tom Paine and Sam Adams" and today's inheritors and defenders of the revolution of 1776. Generally their ads, commercials, etc. about the wonders of that revolution and the system born from it aren't much different from those brought to us by the big bourgeoisie, except for one thing—these people tell us that what's wrong is that "democracy" has become "corrupted" by what they call "corporate capitalism."

Many people don't like the way the corporations use the Bicentennial to push their own products, and many hate the corporations themselves. But instead of uniting with this sentiment to move things forward, the People's Bicentennial tries to tell people that everything can be solved by a little spring housecleaning. They go around telling people that all we have to do is somehow gain "entry into the government and corporate bureaucracies" so that "control of the economy is taken away from the very rich and very few" and "human values are placed above property values."

Recently these people have gotten a lot of cooperation from the bourgeois press and TV, especially getting lots of publicity for their offer of a \$25,000 reward for secretaries who turn in their bosses for tax evasion, bribery, etc. This kind of nonsense serves the bourgeoisie well by trying to direct people's disgust at how government and business operate toward an impossible reform—a capitalism where the combined action of good guys in government and people playing "watchdog" can keep the big capitalists from acting in their own class interests and exercising their rule.

Another more important set of petty bourgeois forces has also thrown itself into action around the Bicentennial. While they have basically the same stand and outlook of the People's Bicentennial Commission of somehow making the system work, they speak less about going back to the "good old days" and instead say they are for revolution and advancing current struggles.

### Another "July 4th Coalition"

This amalgamation has recently taken to calling itself the "July 4th Coalition," which is sure to cause confusion since this is the same name used since March by the coalition which responded to the call of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War to build the July 4th Philadelphia demonstration and which includes the RCP. In fact, confusion is the main stock in trade of this coalition which is led by opportunists like the revisionist "Communist" Party (CP), the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (an "above ground" organization guided by the line of the Weather Underground terrorist group), various Trotskyites and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

For these opportunists, the Bicentennial is time, as they say in their public statement, to "fight for the universal application of those rights proclaimed to the world from Philadelphia 200 years ago." Under the general slogan of "After 200 Years We Are Still Fight-

ing For Our Freedom," their action will put out three main demands: "For Jobs and a Decent Standard of Living, For Full Democracy and Equality, and For a Bicentennial Without Colonies—Freedom for All Oppressed Nations." What is this telling people, and what kind of movement are they trying to build?

### Demand Imperialists Meet People's Needs?

In their national bulletin, under the slogan about jobs, they begin, "We live in one of the richest societies in the world, and yet wealth is so concentrated in the hands of a tiny elite that the workers who actually produce that wealth can hardly make ends meet." This describes the way a lot of people see it, people who want to take on and change this situation. But what can be done about it? In the end they say, "It is time to put an end to the irrational squandering of our resources on weapons of war and in the pursuit of profits. We must demand that this government meet the real and pressing needs of all our people."

This is really only a rehash of the revisionist's favorite slogan, "Jobs Through Detente," or as it sometimes goes, "Jobs Not War." It says that if only we could get "this government" to not spend so much on guns, then there would be enough money to fix things up and there would be jobs for all. This doesn't square with people's experience that economic crisis and war go together like peas in a pod, nor does it answer the bourgeoisie's claim that the workers should support their war preparations because that brings jobs. What it does do is try to hide the fact that both unemployment and war are built into the capitalist system, and to hold back the struggle against these things by hiding what causes them.

Such a line can't build the workers' struggle and organization around unemployment, but only try to turn the unemployed into a "pressure group" reduced to begging for a better government policy. This is far from the stand of the working class, for whom the slogan "Jobs or Income Now" is put forward in the spirit of "we mean to have these things and we don't care what it takes."

Around the question of war, too, their line disarms and disorganizes people. The forces gathered around the leadership of a working class line are taking up the slogan "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" in order to warn people of the danger of war between the two superpowers, sum up people's experience in the last war and put forward the stand and interests of the working class in this situation. But these opportunists cover up for the war preparations of both the U.S. and the USSR by concealing the unquenchable drive for profit and world domination by both that lies behind this. Instead they say the U.S. arms buildup is simply "irrational," "reckless" or "greedy profiteering." As for the Soviets—"no comment" or "it's just for defense."

The revisionist CP has long done its best to serve these two masters (and especially the Soviet ruling class) by trying to convince people that "detente" is real and war preparations a mirage or an "irrational"

policy mistake. This line leaves the rulers of the superpowers a free hand to prepare for war and leaves the people politically unarmed to struggle against imperialist war and the system which makes it inevitable.

### "Bicentennial Without Colonies"—Misleading

That's why it's also wrong to raise the slogan "For a Bicentennial Without Colonies." This slogan obscures the nature of imperialism, reducing it to a question of colonialism, which isn't even the main way in today's world that imperialism oppresses countries abroad, and especially promotes the myth that imperialism is simply the policy of big developed countries gobbling up Third World countries.

They write that this is "an intolerable situation both for the people in this country in whose names these crimes are being committed and for those who are indirectly and brutally victimized by such policies." Instead of showing how the same system exploits and oppresses the working people in this country and hundreds of millions around the world, in order to mobilize the workers to fight against it, including its hold on colonies, these people are saying that the problem is only a matter of bad policies and would limit the fight to the oppressed nationalities themselves and those who don't like their "name" being dragged into the mud.

And worst of all about this slogan is that when the danger of world war, one of the most blatant and horrible crimes of imperialism, is increasingly staring people in the face, these opportunists are carrying on as though such a thing could never be, as though imperialism was just a problem for the Third World. They do everything to hide the real revolutionary interests of the workers and oppressed people of the world in uniting to fight against such a war, the exploiting system behind it, and to topple the criminals responsible for it.

Not only are these opportunists not interested in organizing the workers to fight the imperialists, but they're certainly doing the bourgeoisie's work in confusing and dragging down honest people from the petty bourgeoisie who oppose and want to take on this system.

### "Genuine Democracy?"

The same is true of their slogans about democracy. Some are totally meaningless ("Self-Determination for All Black, Poor and Oppressed People"—since self-determination means the right to set up a separate country this shows just how serious they are); some are completely acceptable to the bourgeoisie ("Equal Rights for Gay People"—while this country's rulers often welcome homosexuality with open arms); and some do touch on something real ("End Police Brutality," for instance). But like their slogan of "After 200 Years We're Still Fighting For Our Freedom," they don't ever say freedom from what—they don't dare expose the class content of freedom or the class nature of the enemy.

This is made even worse by the fact that they explain it by saying "Our history has been one of constant struggle against the privileges that stand in the way of genuine democracy," as though the struggle of the working class today is for the same thing that the revolution of 1776 was fought. All this means is that the system is still not perfect—which even President Ford shows he's forced to admit when he tells us that at least it's getting better. They never point their finger at the system of wage slavery itself under which "democracy" can only be a veil hiding the real dictatorship of the capitalist class.

This opportunist line is based on a petty bourgeois desire for a system that keeps them above the workers but makes them "equal" to the big bourgeoisie—and

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## Interview With Recently Returned Workers

# China: New Victories In Revolution

*The following interview was conducted with some of the members of a recently returned U.S. workers' delegation to the People's Republic of China, which was there during the recent sharp upsurge of criticism and removal of former vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping. They bring out what they saw and learned and its meaning to the workers' struggle worldwide—Ed.*

**Question:** What were your over-all impressions of what the People's Republic of China is like?

**Answer:** All the members of our delegation went to China to learn from the experience of the Chinese workers, to discuss the developments of our struggle and to exchange views on common problems that we face. We were real excited to see what a country looked like that was in the hands of the working class.

The fact that China is in the hands of the working class jumps out at you even before you land in the country. As you fly over the countryside you see land put to use like you never seen before. First, every inch is under cultivation and the boundaries of the plots go to the contour of the land, not to the retaining wall of some rich capitalist's profit.

That first impression was deepened in a thousand ways during our stay there.

Everywhere you go building is in progress. Hospitals, housing, new factories, stores, you name it and it's going up. Workers at work in the factories, in clean, safe workshops, working hard but not frantically, producing what is to be used for the good of all society. Kids and older workers both learning from each other, and both making real contributions to the building of a new society.

You see a new society in progress, dramatically changed from before the revolution. You think back to what their society was like before 1949 and you know the tremendous hatred the Chinese people have for the capitalists and the pride they have in building up their own society. And in a million ways you understand the meaning of "we are one class around the world." We were treated with respect, deep friendship and militant solidarity everywhere we went. We exchanged views and experiences in the spirit of "we learn from each other."

*We understand that you were in China during and after the incident engineered by counter-revolutionaries in Tien An Men Square when a crowd demonstrated against the government and burned several cars and buildings. Could you tell us what the response of the people was?*

We left Peking a couple of days before the incident in the square occurred, so we were not in the city when the thing broke. But we saw the response of many workers.

Our delegation was in the middle of a meeting when the two resolutions of the Central Committee were read. [These were to dismiss Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts and to appoint Hua Kuo-feng as First Vice-Chairman and Premier—Ed.] We heard the news broadcast on the loudspeakers outside but of course we could not understand what was said. But right after we heard sounds of chanting and drums in the distance which we later found out were demonstrations in support of the Central Committee resolutions and calling for all people to condemn the incident at Tien An Men Square and to continue the campaign to beat back the capitalist roaders.

These demonstrations were the result of a mass movement initiated by the Communist Party that has been going on for some time in every shop, school, hospital, army base and commune in every corner of the country. Everywhere we went during our visit workers were discussing the questions and had been for a long time, and were carrying on mass criticisms of the policies of Teng Hsiao-ping and other capitalist roaders.

When we went to a factory, big character posters [this is one form of struggle where slogans and political messages are written on big posters—Ed.] written by the workers about this campaign would fill the walls from the roof to the floor. Workers would even have smaller posters that they had written around their work areas and next to their machines.

The day after these two resolutions were announced the majority of workers were away having meetings to discuss the important decisions. On that afternoon, when we visited an oil refinery, workers were marching through the entrance to the plant carrying signs in support of the two resolutions and pledging themselves

to continue on in the campaign to beat back the capitalist roaders.

All over China meetings of thousands and hundreds of thousands were being held. It was unbelievable to see the entire country rise up like one fist to support the Central Committee, the two resolutions and to continue the campaign.

*You mentioned several times that this is part of the latest campaign to beat back the "capitalist roaders." Could you explain more about what this means?*

In China the capitalists and all exploiters have been overthrown. Their private property, the machines and capital owned by one individual to steal the labor of another, has been stripped from them.

This change did not come easy of course, but was the product of over twenty years of protracted struggle involving the broad masses of the Chinese people led by the working class and its political party, the Communist Party of China. Through the application of the science of Marxism-Leninism to the actual conditions of the Chinese revolution, enemy after enemy was defeated and on October 1, 1949, Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Party, proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Once the working class was in power, it set out, led by its Party, to build toward communism. To accomplish this goal the class is transforming all of society, doing away step-by-step with the ulcers left over from capitalism and fighting to eventually establish a community of workers where class distinctions are a thing of the past.

Tremendous advances have been made in the last 27 years. Where millions starved before, people are well fed and there are large reserves of food grains, etc. Housing, health care, education and other basic necessities are now provided for the masses of people. Industry is growing up everywhere.

But with the long history of foreign domination and feudal exploitation in China, its economy is not highly developed. And more importantly, while there have been changes, all these changes have not meant the capitalists have been eliminated or that China has achieved communism yet. Socialism did not spring into this world with the effects of the capitalist world swept clean. The working class inherited many of the "birthmarks" from the old capitalist society that it has to deal with.

*Break this down. What do you mean by "birthmarks"?*

An example around this is Tsinghua University in Peking. That was this whole thing around "closed door classrooms." The line of the ruling classes of the old society which had to be fought against was going to classrooms behind closed doors—developing knowledge away from class struggle, away from production and experience and contact with the peasants and workers. You would end up having educated forces in society who really don't have any real knowledge because they didn't take part in practice. You would have an agricultural student who had been to school for four years and when he went out into the countryside he couldn't tell the difference between rice and wheat. This is a "birthmark"—an intelligentsia that sees itself as better than everyone else, that sees itself as having this kind of special knowledge that they have to guard, through their intellectual endeavors and stuff. In fact their knowledge is distorted, stunted, because it is divorced from practical experience, work and struggle. Intellectuals trained in this way are not only a laughing stock for workers. They form part of the basis for a new capitalist class to arise. All this goes in the direction of the old society if it's not struggled against.

For a relatively long period of time after capitalism has been overthrown the inequalities it causes continue to exist and these provide the material basis for a new bourgeoisie to emerge. For example, there is the contradiction between mental and manual labor, like in this example from Tsinghua University. There is the fact that 80% of the country is still peasantry. Ownership in the countryside, while based on the commune system of collective ownership of land and implements by thousands of peasants, is still a lower form of socialist ownership than state ownership of the factories, and there are still some private plots in the countryside. There is the force of habit from the old ways of doing things. There is also the force of old traditions, like the one which said the gods chose the leaders and the



*Teng Hsiao-ping's line was repudiated during the Cultural Revolution. But under the guise of promoting modernization he was attempting to reverse the path charted by the Chinese working class. Shipyard workers in Shanghai rallied to denounce him and support his removal.*

laboring people were doomed to be slaves forever.

There is what Marxists refer to as "bourgeois right" which gives to unequal individuals in return for unequal labor equal amounts of income. For example, the fact that an engineer with no family to support will receive higher wages than a production worker with a large family.

All these things provide the basis for a new capitalist class to arise and in particular for a political line to emerge which systematizes and pulls together the class interests of these elements. This political line is that bourgeois right and inequality should be maintained and expanded. In other words the intellectuals should remain divorced from the masses and monopolize expertise; the peasant economy should be based even more on production from private plots; and the struggle to move the society forward and gradually eliminate these inequalities should be reversed and undermined. Left unchecked, capitalist elements will grow and flourish and attempt to seize power away from the masses of workers and peasants.

This was the bourgeois political line fought for by people like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao [two ex-leaders who the Chinese workers struggled against and defeated in the past—Ed.] and Teng Hsiao-ping today. These kinds of "capitalist roaders" will emerge and have to be struggled against in any socialist country. In China the emergence of capitalist roaders was tied into the nature of the Chinese revolution.

At first it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution led by the working class and its Party to overthrow the foreign imperialists and their allies in China, especially the feudal landlords. So in its wake it pulled many bourgeois democrats who were interested in getting rid of the foreign imperialist and the feudal system but did not stand with the working class in its struggle to eliminate all private ownership and exploitation, and achieve a classless society. As the revolution deepened and the basis for a new capitalist class has been gradually restricted, some of these elements have jumped forward, taken their stand against moving towards a classless society, and in fact, fought for a return to the dog-eat-dog capitalist society.

But these capitalists are not in power in China and this makes all the difference in the world. Led by its Party, the working class controls the reins of the state and is able to use them to crush the resistance of these capitalists. One thing this means is that the capitalists don't own the factories and can't exploit the working class. It also means that the political line of the working class is in command and the working class is able to mobilize in a million ways—through its mass organizations, through the press which it controls, inspired and led by its political Party—and politically defeat the bourgeois line of the capitalist roaders.

It is by struggling to keep its political line in command and by waging this sharp class struggle that the working class is able to gradually restrict bourgeois right and eliminate all the "birthmarks" of the old society. The mainly peasant economy is transformed step-by-step into ownership by the whole people and the differences—in level of development as well as form of ownership—between the city and countryside are gradually eliminated, as both are developed.

The workers themselves become the true admini-

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# China ...

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strators of society. The differences between mental and manual labor are gradually wiped out. Instead of goods being distributed by the value of the work, production is expanded and the relations of production revolutionized to the point where goods can be distributed according to need. In this way the basis is laid for the gradual elimination of the capitalist class and all class distinctions forever.

All of these changes do not happen automatically, or through a peaceful and tranquil development, but only through a fierce and protracted class struggle, as the incident at Tien An Men Square shows. The Soviet Union, where the working class lost power and the new capitalist class now rules, is a tragic example of what can happen if the political line of the bourgeoisie wins out. So in the transition from capitalism to communism, in the period of socialism, it's a question of going forward, of the working class really becoming the masters of society and transforming all of it, or of going backwards to the miseries of capitalist society.

*Who was Teng Hsiao-ping and why did he come under attack?*

When we first got to China we went to Tsinghua University in Peking. There we talked with the head of the University and several teachers and students about the mass debate to criticize the capitalist roaders and in particular Teng Hsiao-ping.

We learned that during the Cultural Revolution Teng had come under great attack as the right hand man of Liu Shao-chi. He was criticized for his policies, removed from some posts and told to mend his ways. Later he was restored to leadership after he had criticized his earlier mistakes and said he would struggle to serve the working class.

But in recent times he again came under strong criticism from the masses. Teng Hsiao-ping, like Liu Shao-chi before him, said that the class struggle is dying out, that the contradiction in socialism isn't between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. He said, "How can we talk about the class struggle every day?"

At the same time he preached about the dying out of the class struggle he himself carried out the class struggle in practice. Teng Hsiao-ping was a political representative of the bourgeois elements and fought for a political line which would have allowed inequality to grow and led back to capitalism. As far as he was concerned the gains and changes won in the Cultural Revolution were wrong and needed to be reversed.

In the trip workers emphasized to us the question of the separation of manual and mental labor—something inherited from the old society. In the course of going to schools and factories and whatever, people time after time spoke about that contradiction, whether it be the contradiction between the students and the teachers or whether it be between the workers and the technicians.

*Could you give an example of this contradiction between manual and mental labor and what Teng's*

*line meant and how the working class is struggling to overcome these divisions?*

An example would be in this hospital in Taiching, where the oilfields are. We were talking to the doctors about the Cultural Revolution where this whole thing around criticism of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Tsiao-ping broke out for the first time.

Their line during the Cultural Revolution had been that medicine was not guided by building the class struggle, but by improving the medical skills and expertise of the doctors. The doctors in this hospital only wanted to work on unusual diseases, very rare cases. At the same time in the oil fields the masses of people had very common kinds of problems and diseases which the doctors didn't want to touch. The slogans and the criticisms raised by the people was that the "doctors love the complicated cases but not the patients."

The Cultural Revolution meant a struggle involving hundreds of millions of people. One of the questions which the people raised was around medicine—what kind of conditions the masses of people face and then going to develop medical procedures to deal with this. Led by the Party this struggle was summed up and a 5-level health care plan was developed: the health clinic, which is a neighborhood thing; the clinic which is a little more centralized; the central clinic which is the clinic for a whole area; the regional hospital; and the general hospital.

The policy now is that 1/3 of the doctors and medical people go down to the grass roots area at different times. They are called mobile units. They see what the particular problems the people face and they work together to serve the people and determine what are the diseases that they really have to go into. This is combined with a lot of education of the people around medicine and diseases.

Teng didn't believe you could train people who are peasants to be doctors. Only "professional experts" would do. That is the thing he said about "barefoot" doctors. In speeches at Tsinghua University and a few other places he came out and said that the reason that barefoot doctors are barefoot is that they don't know anything—they don't know anything about medicine.

"Barefoot" doctors are doctors who do 60% of their work in the fields. They deal with the problems and diseases that are not super-complicated—like preventive medicine and dealing with whatever kind of common problems people have. They are called barefoot because in the main they are peasants and because they work in the rice paddies. And the training of these "barefoot doctors" has meant tremendous improvement in the health care of the people.

The other thing the Cultural Revolution meant and which Teng didn't like was the July 21 schools. The July 21 schools were set up during the Cultural Revolution based on a directive from Mao Tsetung. Basically it's a medical college that chooses students from the workers and peasants in the area and it trains the workers as doctors. They study half a day and they practice medicine half a day. They take part in production and help with the medical care.

This came out of a lot of struggle around how do you develop medicine that serves the people and how do you raise the general medical ability of the people, link it to practice, to the general concerns and illnesses of the people. In the July 21 Medical College workers study for a year and a half and after they graduate

they go back to the workshops and the basic units. Whatever they can't take care of they send to the different clinics and hospitals.

Another example of cutting out the cancer from the old society is the thing about May 7 Cadre Schools. Lin Piao had criticized these schools as "hidden unemployment." Teng Hsiao-ping had the same opinion.

Actually they are also directed at breaking down the differences between mental and manual labor. Government workers would work in an office and develop this policy or that policy and it began to develop into a thing where they were somehow separated off from the particular problems that people faced, say in the countryside. There was a lot of bureaucracy and red tape. A whole lot of struggle and criticism was raised by the workers and peasants around this. The Party helped to spread this criticism and sum it up.

As a result the May 7 Cadre Schools were developed in the course of struggle for these government workers. Every three years the government workers go into the countryside to these schools for 3 to 6 months and in that period they spend 40% of their time doing self-study on Marxism-Leninism and 60% of the time they work in the fields. Also for about 3 or 4 weeks they go and live among the peasants.

At the same time the workers and peasants have a great deal to say in how to run the government. In the factories this happens through the different committees. In every factory you have a trade union committee, a youth committee, a women's federation committee, an overall revolutionary committee and a Party committee.

The trade unions for instance are very important mass organizations of the workers to keep the power in their hands. This was something that developed out of sharp class struggle with the capitalist roaders. They put out the line that the trade unions should simply be organizations that dealt with wages and working conditions, and not organizations for political struggle and administration. As a result nearly all the trade unions were dissolved at one point in the Cultural Revolution. Since then they have been rebuilt as political organizations, aimed at assisting the workers in organizing themselves to increasingly understand and master production and society.

Each plant or factory has a trade union committee that has responsibility for carrying out the general line of the Party in addition to particular tasks. They organize study classes and help take part in the struggle against the capitalist roaders. In one city where there is a very large steel mill, the local trade union council is running over 13,000 study groups right now.

*What did the trip do or change in how the workers in the delegation looked at the overall struggle of the working class for freedom both around the world and in the U.S.?*

There is a lot you could say to this question, but there are several points that came out very sharply through the course of the trip.

The first is that we as workers are freedom bound. We will liberate ourselves. You look at the experience in China and you see a long series of rulers come and go. You had the slave owners, the landlords, the war lords, the dynasties, the imperialist invaders and you had the Chinese capitalists. Just like in this country all these bloodsuckers said *their* rule was permanent and the masses of people were here on this earth only for the purpose of serving the rulers.

Their screeching was only so much hot air. Far from being on the scene forever, each fell due to the long and determined struggle of the people for freedom. Now for the first time in China you have the rule of the majority over the minority, of the former slaves over the former slave masters.

And the Chinese working class is building a powerful socialist country out of the rubble left them in the past, they are not resting on past accomplishments but are continuing to advance in the struggle to beat back all attempts to restore capitalism and to advance forward to communism—the complete elimination of the division of society into classes.

The second point is the seriousness of the study and application of the science of Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese conditions, and the deepness of the political discussion on how to build their society and the world revolution. It would be very hard in China to push a line that represents the interests of the capitalists and have it hold sway for any length of time. In China the working class is in power and they are continually honing the tools to keep that power in their hands.

Finally there was a saying that represented the life of a leader of an oil drilling team in China which every member of our delegation will never forget and will always try to follow in our struggle. "Where favorable conditions exist seize the time and make advances; where unfavorable conditions exist, create favorable conditions to make advances."

The world is ours if we dare to struggle to take it and in taking it we will transform it to free ourselves and all mankind. The experience of the class struggle in China gives us greater faith in the fact that, led by its revolutionary Parties in each country, the international working class will, despite whatever twists and turns on the way, win victory over every enemy. ■



Students and teachers in Chungking put up big-character posters denouncing the attempts by followers of Teng Hsiao-ping to reinstitute the old methods of education: training privileged experts in isolation from workers and production.

# May Day Celebrated Nationwide

*May Day we march and forge new steel,  
Our class more powerful than anything,  
Flags flying, banners waving,  
Forward now! The world is changing!*

These words, written by a worker from the Post Office in the San Francisco Bay Area, captured the spirit that ran through the May Day demonstrations throughout the country.

For the first time in a generation, workers in the United States celebrated International Workers Day, May First, under the unified leadership of a vanguard party—the political party of the working class, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. In more than 20 cities thousands of workers altogether took part in marches, rallies and programs under the slogans “Fight Don’t Starve,” “Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression,” and “Down with the System of Wage Slavery!”

In the Midwest, May Day demonstrations were marked by a powerful march of well over two hundred in Milwaukee, which included strong contingents from several of the city’s key industries, and an indoor rally of two hundred in Chicago which was followed by a car caravan to Republic Steel, site of the Memorial Day Massacre in 1937 in which ten workers were murdered, where red flags were planted in commemoration. May Day celebrations were held elsewhere in the Midwest: in Detroit, where an evening program included a play addressing the question of war from a working class perspective, the Dayton-Cincinnati area, and Cleveland, where seventy-five people, including a contingent of 20 unemployed workers active in the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, held an evening program.

In the South programs were held in Atlanta, Birmingham and Houston. In Atlanta 45 workers gathered in a local park for a militant and enthusiastic May Day rally.

Rain blanketed much of the East Coast on May First but the downpour did not dampen the enthusiasm of the workers who attended (although it did cut down on attendance in some cities). In Philadelphia one hundred took to the streets carrying red umbrellas. In Rochester, New York, 85 workers and others from several upstate New York cities marched in what was the most significant May Day celebration there in recent times. New York City was the site of a march of over 450 in the pouring rain, including powerful contingents from important industries throughout the New York City-Northern New Jersey area. Workers from all over New England marched 200 strong in Boston and May Day programs were also held in Baltimore and Trenton, New Jersey.

On the West Coast numerous May Day activities were held, including a march and rally of 650 in the San Francisco Bay Area and a rally of over 200 in Los Angeles—

held in the face of efforts by the city authorities to ban the rally. Workers in Honolulu held an evening program attended by 200. And May Day events also took place in Denver, Portland and Salinas, California, as well as a spirited march in Seattle.

## Coming from Key Struggles

Of great significance at the May Day celebrations across the country was the participation of many workers from many of the key industries and key battles in the U.S. All along the line, from helping to plan the programs to struggling with fellow workers to participate and marching in contingents and speaking at the events themselves, significant numbers of advanced workers took part. In most of the celebrations workers reported to the assembled workers about the advances and developments in the struggles they were involved in and linked them with the overall battle of the class.

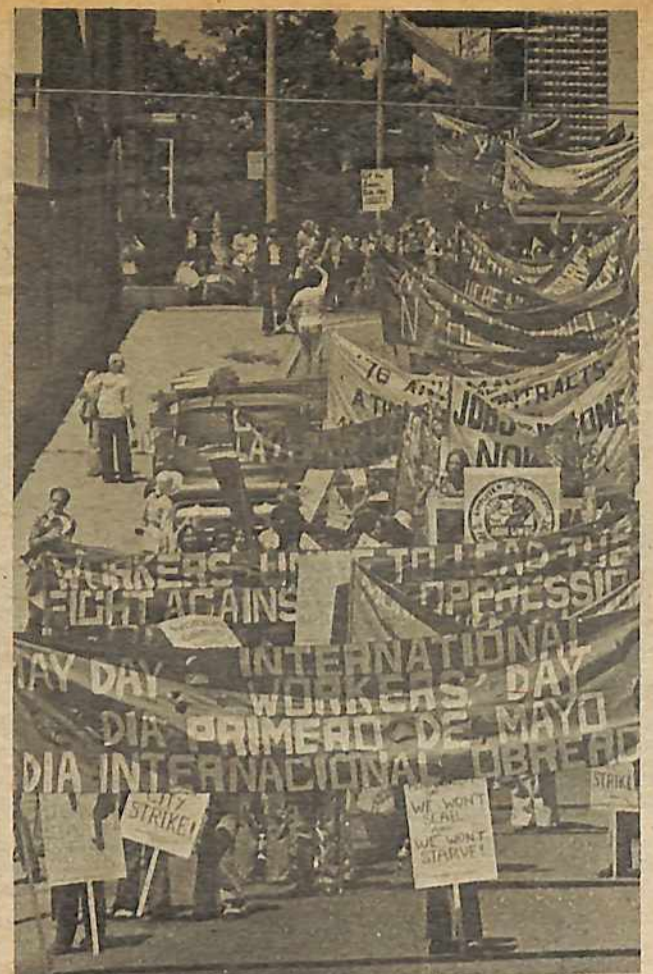
In New York an auto worker from the thick of the battle put it this way: “Things have been changing. It’s not going 150 miles an hour but it is picking up. It is growing. When we were passing out literature some guys used to throw it on the floor. But things inside, the attitudes, have been changing. I want everybody here on May Day to join with me to help carry out the fight. And that banner right there proves it and shows it. Fight, Don’t Starve; Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression; Down With the System of Wage Slavery—that’s us!”

The May Day celebrations themselves reflected precisely the development of the class struggle that this auto worker was referring to. May Day represented far more than simply the sum total of the many struggles against individual employers or the coming together of workers and others battling on different fronts. Most importantly it reflected the fact that more and more workers are coming to see (in the words of the Programme of the RCP) the need of the working class to “develop its movement of today into a revolutionary workers movement that fights exploitation and all oppression in order to end the system of wage slavery.”

The workers who rallied and marched on May First came forward out of struggles that are truly involving workers in their millions—struggles which give rise to discussion and debate among the masses of workers about the nature of the capitalist system and the direction forward for the fight of the workers.

At the same time, the demonstrations reflected the objective fact that at this time the class conscious forces of the working class are still relatively small. But by continuing to build and broaden the struggles they are involved in and by raising the level of the masses who take part in them, these class conscious forces will grow and make great advances.

In city after city the May Day celebrations increased



May Day march—Oakland 1976: Thousands of workers rallied in over twenty cities, demonstrating the growing strength of the revolutionary workers movement.

the determination of the advanced workers and party members to build every fight the workers and oppressed masses are waging as part of the overall revolutionary struggle of the class. In Detroit, workers came away from the rally determined to build the fight around the auto contract as a part of the class struggle. This spirit came out particularly in the enthusiasm shown by workers throughout the country for going all out to build the July 4th demonstration in Philadelphia. Chants of “We’ve Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let’s Get Them Off Our Backs” rang out at many of the rallies.

## Direction for the Struggle

This year’s May Day came amidst the deepening crisis and growing struggle of the masses on many battlefronts. The slogans for May Day summed up the direction forward for the class struggle and spoke to the questions that are arising out of these battles. The leaflets and posters reached literally hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the country and sparked lively debate and controversy about the demonstration.

The slogan “Down With the System of Wage Slavery,” new to this year’s May Day celebrations, was the source of vigorous struggle, debate and enthusiasm in many of the planning meetings and among the workers in the shops. The slogan spoke to the perceptual knowledge of workers who see every day that they are forced to labor to enrich others. At the same time, the slogan lays bare the underlying nature of the capitalist system—that its existence, and all the oppression and misery that it breeds, rests on the foundation of the exploitation of the working class. Speeches by the Revolutionary Communist Party at many of the celebrations brought this point home sharply.

Especially when, in building for May Day, discussion around the slogan “Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression” was taken up deeply, advances were made in arming the advanced forces with the working class’ strategy for making revolution, the United Front Against Imperialism. It brought out how many allies can be won in the fight against the enemy and the historic mission of the workers in completely remaking society. In some cities when this slogan was discussed in planning meetings, workers spoke from their own experience of how only the working class can lead and help advance in a revolutionary direction the many struggles of the people against the abuses of capitalism.

In Hawaii, where for the last six months a struggle has been boiling against attempts to tear down housing and replace it with developments for the rich, Party members report that May Day was “an important step in understanding what it means for the working class to infuse its strength into every social movement.”

The slogan of “Fight, Don’t Starve” reflected the determination of workers not to allow the capitalists to push our class into the dirt. From plants and shops all over the country workers came to the celebrations with the same story: the bosses are stepping up their efforts to squeeze ever more out of the labor of the workers, cutting wages (openly and in disguised forms), laying off workers while those still on the job are sped up and forced to do the work of two, and the workers are stepping up the fight against this increased exploitation.

The struggle of the unemployed is also picking up around the country and in many cities workers active in the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee

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Rochester, NY 1976—For the first time in over a generation the working class led by its own communist party marched with common banners and slogans, celebrating this great holiday of the working class from coast to coast.

## May Day...

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participated in the events. As one UWOC member in Chicago put it, "we may have lost our jobs, but we haven't lost the will to fight."

In Portland and Seattle workers are beginning to take up a campaign to free Tom Bornson and Lonnie Davis, two workers who have been sentenced to long stretches in prison for seizing a food stamp office to feed their families who were literally facing starvation. Tom Bornson spoke in Portland, his son Tommy in Seattle. In Portland Tom Bornson pointed out, "Our strength lies in unity, in the ability to mass and say we will no longer go it alone against the system."

### The Question of Communism

This year's May Day events sharply focused the question of revolution and communism among large numbers of workers. In the past year communists have sunk deeper roots in many of the most important battles of the class, and this year May Day was jointly sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Party and the United May Day Committees, made up of a number of workers and workers' organizations.

This caused quite a stir in some places as workers who are just coming forward in struggle are confronted with the fact that what communists are doing and saying speaks to their real concerns and points the way forward in battle, yet, like the great majority in this country, they have been bombarded with anti-communist propaganda since childhood, and are not yet convinced of the necessity, and possibility, of working class revolution.

These questions are particularly sharp in those cities where the capitalists counter-attacked against May Day with a barrage of anti-communist hysteria in the media. In the recent past the capitalists have mainly tried to maintain an enforced silence and press blackout on May Day celebrations and the growing influence of communists in the working class. But with the deepening of the crisis, the formation of the Party and the developing power of the working class movement, the capitalists in several cities felt compelled to launch an attack on May Day and the Party.

In both Milwaukee and Los Angeles capitalist city authorities tried to block the use of public facilities for the May Day rally on the grounds that the event was "political." So-called "exposures" of the event were printed in the local papers. This did not stop the rallies.

In Los Angeles the United May Day Committee and the RCP waged a tit-for-tat struggle against this, filling up the halls of the city council chamber of Southgate (a working class suburb of L.A.) and demanding that permission be granted to use a public park. Petitions were circulated in local factories demanding the same. And when permission was still denied and the authorities threatened to come down on the rally, the workers went ahead with the demonstration in open defiance of the capitalists and their police who encircled the rally on motorcycles.

In Cleveland, the father of a young man who had been brutally murdered by the Cleveland police brought the crowd to its feet when he described how he had organized for May Day in his shop. "I even showed the boss my May Day badge and he hated it." He ended his speech by noting that people were starting to call him a revolutionary and a communist and said, "But that's what's needed to change this society... so let it be!"

All in all May Day celebrations represented a big step forward in building up the revolutionary strength of the working class and preparing for the battles that loom ahead. Workers left the celebrations in high spirits, determined to go all-out to build for the July 4th demonstrations, and to build every struggle as part of the revolutionary movement of our class. ■



New York, 1976—May Day march.

## To the Workers On May Day

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

Fellow workers:

Today these May Day celebrations are being held in twenty cities and more all over this country, involving several thousands of workers, just as May Day is being celebrated worldwide by millions of our class.

Today as we gather across this country in many cities, we are men and women of many nationalities and all ages. We work everywhere in many different places, and many of us spend long stretches unable to get work.

But for all these differences, what we have in common is far greater. We are members of one class above all else. In common we produce the great wealth of this country and make it run. In common we are exploited and oppressed. We face a common situation and have a common destiny. We share a determination not to be crushed, but to wipe out all oppression and bring down the system of wage slavery that gives rise to it.

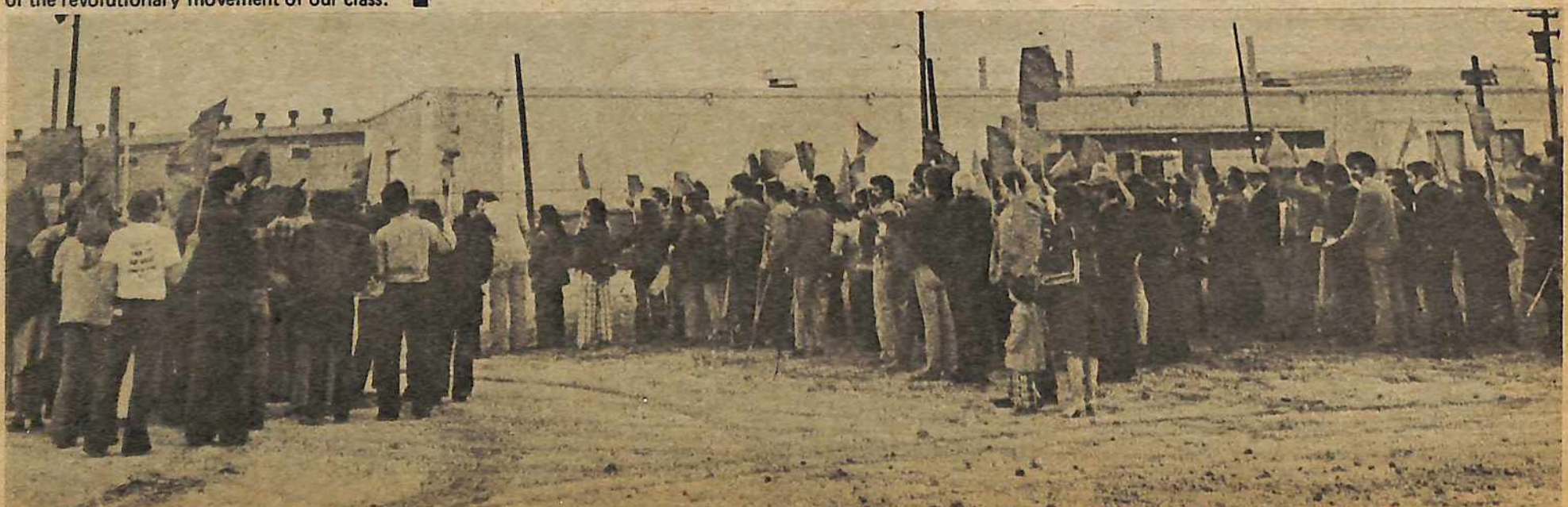
And this year, reflecting the advances in the struggle toward that goal, the working class for the first time in more than twenty years has its own party, the Revolutionary Communist Party dedicated to the task of uniting the battles of our class and leading them toward that aim.

May Day sums up our situation, sums up our desire to fight through, and projects our plan to move forward in that fight. And this year, each May Day event across the country is being held with common demands and slogans, and will be an important step in building more united and more conscious struggle of our class nationwide.

May Day is about building our working class movement. It reflects and helps to advance and unite each one of the battles we fight against the thousand outrages and abuses they heap upon us. This year, the ruling class of capitalists is bellowing out its lies on the occasion of its Bicentennial celebration. So this year, we will meet this, just as we meet all their attacks, head on and demonstrate July 4th in Philadelphia, in an action that will also proclaim and build the movement of our class.

May Day has historically been a day of struggle, when workers put down their tools, struck and demonstrated in defiance of the capitalists. For that reason, the capitalists hate it. They have tried to bury it, renaming May Day as Law Day. They have tried to replace it by offering the workers Labor Day, when their spokesmen, the so-called labor leaders, get a chance to give blow-hard speeches, pledging their allegiance to the capitalist system.

But May Day, like our struggle, cannot be stopped. It has been born again and expanded. And in the not too distant future, workers in this country will be joining others around the world in making the capitalists' profit factories stop on May Day and declaring our determination not just to be masters for one day, but masters of society and creators of a bright future where class exploitation and oppression will have been finally eliminated. ■



Chicago May Day 1976—Demonstrators drove in a 60 car caravan through the South Side to Republic Steel, site of the 1937 Memorial Day Massacre where 10 striking workers were murdered by the capitalists in cold blood. The assembled workers planted hundreds of red flags in the field where their comrades' blood had flowed 39 years earlier.

# Rubber...

Continued from Page 1

gainst Goodrich picketers the first night of the strike.

What is clear from these early skirmishes and from the determination with which both the companies and the rubber workers came into this strike is that sharp lines are drawn. Both sides have dug trenches for a hard fight.

For their part the companies have been hit by the general crisis of the economy, especially the overall lower auto sales. Now with their profits hurting they are taking a stubborn stand. They're holding out for a contract which will cut costs—allow more job eliminations and more speedup, hold wages down and hold retirees in poverty conditions.

Crying crocodile tears about how smaller companies are out-competing them in non-tire production, they are especially anxious to break wage parity between tire and non-tire plants. Summing up the general attitude of the companies going into this strike Peter Pestillo, Goodrich's vice-president of corporate employee relations said, "the URW must realize we can no longer live without rates comparable to those of our direct competitors who have more favorable labor agreements, or none at all."

But the companies' drive to increase their bottom line has only heightened the determination of the workers. Burning as a bitter memory in the minds of the strikers is the 1973 contract, which was a real sell-out, with only a miniscule wage increase and no Cost of Living Allowance. In 1970 wages for tire workers were on par with auto workers. Now they are \$1.20 an hour behind. So the top demand for the rubber workers is *A Big Wage Increase With an Unlimited Cost of Living Allowance*. This includes opposition to the company proposals to pay non-tire workers less than tire workers and to increase the differentials in different areas.

Pensions are also a big issue which was sold out last time. A petition demanding no sellout this time on pensions got 2,000 signatures in Akron alone. The demand is for *25 and Out With COLA*. This is the demand of young and old alike.

There are the rank and file demands to *Stop Attacks on the Piece Rates and Job Classifications* and for *Protection from Plant Closings, Runaways and Layoffs*. In particular the workers are demanding that the SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) fund must be full and that the companies, not the union, must pay.

## No Repeat of '73

This strike, like most struggles among unionized workers today, is not only up against the companies but against the international officers of the URW who have carried on an intense love affair with the companies over the years. In 1973, these officials pushed the idea among the workers that they must be "reasonable" and accept the government's wage controls. To them cooperation with the companies is the way to "protect jobs and curb inflation."

But what is significant about this strike is the very high enthusiasm for the strike and the determination of the workers not to have a repeat of the 1973 sellout. The universal demand this time was to strike all four companies at once, something which greatly increased the strength of the strike, and to organize a nationwide boycott.

One incident among many which opened the eyes of many workers and exposed the union leadership's lie that helping the company be more productive would save jobs and avoid plant shutdowns occurred at a Goodrich plant in Akron. The union and the company cooperated together on the "Hey Mac" program which gave the green light to job combinations, speedup based on work rule and piece rate changes, etc.

Then in 1974 the union officials okayed a Goodrich proposal to cut 15 cents off their contractual wage increase at the plant. "After all that," say Goodrich workers, "they moved the jobs out anyway." As a result of this bitter lesson, coming as it does on the heels of the 1973 sellout, company pleas about the mutual interest of rubber workers to keep profits up, pleas echoed by the International URW leaders, are falling on deaf ears. As one striker summed it up, "I don't know whether I'll have a job when I go back to work, but we refuse to be treated like animals."

This is not to say that the rank and file has yet developed strong organization to carry through the fight, or that the union leadership doesn't have some more tricks up their sleeves, but as it stands now this strike is marked by the clear battle lines that have been drawn and by the real determination of the workers.

This takes on an added significance in the context that it is taking place. In the first place the rubber industry is very important in relation to the auto industry. The contracts of these two industries have historically been on a par and struggles in one are followed very closely by the workers in the other. Already the effects of this strike are being felt in auto with overtime in many plants being cancelled and cars coming



1000 rubber workers rally in Akron, Ohio in a strong show of determination to win their strike. Workers from other industries came in solidarity. The rally was kicked off with a song by Revolutionary Student Brigade members from Kent State.

off the assembly line without spare tires. If the strike continues very much longer, auto production will be forced to shut down, despite all their well-publicized stockpiling of millions of tires. At this point the stakes in the strike will go way up.

But even more importantly this strike occurs just before major contracts covering millions of workers in electrical, garment, construction and auto expire. Even in a narrow sense this means that a high settlement in rubber, which even the government seems resigned to, will put added pressure on other union officials to hold out for higher settlements. But much more than this, the rubber strike can spark other struggles, develop class solidarity and organization, and bring out many important lessons.

Already this strike has spurred a good deal of discussion among the rubber workers as they grapple with the practical questions of how to wage the strongest fight possible against the companies. For example the question of what to do about the injunctions limiting picketing and allowing scabs to go in has stirred up quite a bit of controversy.

At first many workers were mad about the injunctions but felt it was not really possible to challenge them. But at various plants others argued that not only could the injunctions be challenged, but that they had to be if the strike was going to really be effective. It wasn't left at the talk stage either, as workers, first in small groups, then in larger numbers, put their line into practice, finding ways to stop trains, salaried personnel and others from entering or leaving the plants.

For example, at Goodyear's Akron rim plant the cops read the injunction one morning and then cleared the driveway to let traffic come in. But later the strikers carried four 50 gallon drums and set them up in the driveway, blocking traffic. "Those are our official pickets," they told the cops, while 20 "visitors" (unofficial pickets) stood off to the side to make sure their pickets stayed put.

This kind of action by some workers has inspired many others and bolstered their confidence. At the same time it brought forward the question of who to rely on to wage an effective strike. The union officials and some of the workers have argued that the strikers should act respectable, fight the injunctions only in court and let the union officials handle the strike. But already there are signs of where that would lead to, with the International union reducing the wage demands and hedging on the Cost of Living in the first year. There remains the distinct possibility that, if they can get away with it, they will sign separate agreements with the different companies and leave the workers stranded on their key demands.

## Initiative

By their very initiative the active workers have challenged this. And although they are not yet organized to systematically seize the initiative of the strike for any long period of time, they have been able to jam the union officials at union meetings and by their actions to either help build the strike or stand against it and expose themselves. For example, the actions of many workers on the picket lines forced the union officials in Akron to issue a call for a morning of organized mass picketing. Active rank and file workers then helped to organize for this and on the appointed day every plant was hit by mass picketing. At one gate at the Goodyear plant 2,200 pickets showed up ready to fight!

But because the union leaders still had the upper hand and the active workers weren't organized enough, the officials were able to contain the picketing and

wound up sending people home when the police arrived, court orders in hand.

A similar line struggle emerged over the question of the boycott. The boycott could be a very effective weapon in the hands of the strikers and it has already won international support with its endorsement by 180 unions in 70 foreign countries. The union officials started out just giving it lip service. But the rank and file demanded mass action, not just empty rhetoric, and the officials were jammed into calling boycott rallies in seven cities. Off of this call rank and file workers built for it.

In Akron, for example, at midnight the night before the rally, three pickets appeared at the gates of Seiberling, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Firestone that was not on strike. The workers honored the picket lines and attended the rally in large numbers the next day. They then turned around and stayed out on wildcat for two days to support the rubber strikers, despite the fact that there was no backing from their union officials and their contract doesn't run out for many months!

At the rally itself in Akron 1,000 workers demonstrated and were joined by a lot of workers from other URW locals and by workers from steel and auto. The rally was kicked off with a song sung by members of the Kent State Revolutionary Student Brigade. This militant song about the rubber strike drew enthusiastic applause, especially in response to a verse that says the bosses have stolen every dime of their wealth from the workers' labor and sweat.

Some of the pickets at Firestone stores afterwards went beyond the token "informational" pickets planned by the union officials and became spirited demonstrations of the workers' strength and unity.

In Pottstown, Pa., around 200 workers came to the rally, including some from local steel, auto and garment plants. The union officials had made plans for a silent march down a highway and through a cow pasture. They even had one guy dressed up like Abraham Lincoln to march at the head of the rally with an American flag.

But leadership began to come from the workers, including a number organized by forces building for the July 4th demonstration in Philadelphia. Instead of silence the marchers took up the chant of "Bosses think it's funny/We do all the work—They get all the money." Then the workers decided to march back to a Firestone store, chanting all the way. By the time they reached the Firestone place 200 workers were chanting "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!" Even "Abraham Lincoln" took up the chant!

## Working Class Unity

Afterwards there was a quick rally and a steelworker got up and talked about the need for all working people to stick together and why the rubber strike is a key battle for the whole working class. He also got an enthusiastic response from the crowd when he talked about the July 4th rally called by the July 4th Coalition. All those who came felt this march and rally was a big step forward and many shouted out as they left that they'd do it again, only with many more workers.

As these examples show, not only has this strike helped to advance the level of understanding and unity of the rubber workers around many key issues but where it has been taken out broadly to the rest of the working class it has gotten enthusiastic support.

Many *Worker* newspapers have carried articles on

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# Deadend...

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all it does is spread some sleeping powder about an impossible never-never land of "equality" between exploiter and exploited that the capitalists so often try to spread themselves.

## Castoffs From Struggle of '60s

Many of the figures and groups associated with this opportunist coalition were once prominent in the movement against the Vietnam war and other movements of the 1960s. Even then, most of them played a reactionary role in trying to lead these struggles into dead-ends. The Trotskyites and revisionists did their best to tie things to bourgeois politicians, bourgeois legal niceties and bourgeois thinking. The Weathermen, for their part, fought against U.S. aggression in Vietnam but blamed it on the workers as well as the capitalists and ended up (incredible as it may sound) putting out slogans like "Fight the People" and glorifying the Charlie Manson gang because they killed whites.

Today, with the revolutionary workers movement beginning to rise up and take the lead of the broad struggles of the American people, these careerists see their treasured positions and influence fading fast, and even the few puddles they've had to themselves for a while beginning to dry up. Increasingly, some of the forces that arose in the sixties but failed to move towards the revolutionary stand of the proletariat are now finding themselves drawn into the orbit of the CP. However much they may fight with the CP over particular politics and especially over who'll be in charge, the fact is that they can't resist the CP's organization, finance, and connections with top union hacks, politicians, local government officials, clergy, etc., and even with powerful sections of the bourgeoisie. It is the endorsement, cooperation and money of these forces that has made this planned demonstration "respectable" and helped build it.

All this goes hand in hand with their own reformism, their line and policies that leave the masses in the role of a pressure group on the system. And it stems from the class position of those who want to hang on in the comfortable niche of "enlightened" petty bureaucrats and reduce the masses to a passive source of lever-

# Rubber...

Continued from Page 14

the strike and in Akron and around Philadelphia the *Worker* has passed out leaflets calling for support. The Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) in Cleveland has taken the strike out to the unemployed and brought a contingent to the Akron rally. Several union locals and rank and file groups have passed resolutions in support of the strike and sent letters to Akron.

As the strike continues the importance of building these kinds of activities and taking this strike out broadly among the working class grows. The ruling class is already saying how the rubber contract will inflate the prices of tires and their attacks on the strike are sure to increase as the time approaches for auto plants to exhaust their tire supplies. It is important for active workers everywhere to answer this with a militant show of support for this struggle which is advancing the interests of all workers. Victory to the rubber workers! ■

age and pressure.

These people see the struggle and outrage against the system arising from nearly all section of the American people as potential capital, seeking to use their prominence from the past to corner the market on the many thousands of people from the petty bourgeoisie who've come to consciously oppose the system and its crimes, and sell them out by trying to lead them away from proletarian revolution. At the same time they throw in some crumbs they hope will appeal to the workers so that they can sell them out, too, and become even more powerful and bloated. They have no choice but to attack the conscious workers movement and especially the Party, because in fact they are deadly enemies whom the proletariat must deal with as the bourgeois agents they are.

## Opportunists Slander Philadelphia Demonstration

Their political and ideological line can't build a mass movement and can't hit at capitalism, despite the fact that some of this coalition's members call themselves revolutionaries. In fact it can't build much of anything at all, because despite the fact that these opportunists do have influence among the radicalized petty bourgeoisie and can mobilize people, they have little political basis on which to unite—their different interests can't be reconciled for that long. Like the People's Bicentennial, this will be mainly a one-shot deal hitting at nothing, and causing real harm by trying to drag down many people who want to fight against the system the Bicentennial is supposed to celebrate.

In fact, the leaders of this zoo have already shown their foul nature once again in deeds by telling the Philadelphia press and police that they should get a permit to demonstrate because they "have no plans to disrupt the Bicentennial," but that the coalition called by VVAW, which has so far been refused a permit, plans "another Chicago, 1968"—by which they mean a riot. We can expect worse from them in the months to come.

Everybody knows that something's wrong in this country, and even the ruling class is forced to admit it in its own way. After all, the presidential race is full of promises and schemes about how things will be set right. For the class conscious workers and their Party, the question is how can we unite with that sentiment and the thousand and one real battles people are waging in order to bring out the need to make the most radical break with the present system, to build up our unity and organization based on the revolutionary interests and outlook of the working class and finally overthrow the capitalists and their state. When it comes down to it, this is what the bourgeoisie and all its opportunist flunkies try hardest to prevent.

That's why we raise our slogans and demands around the Bicentennial as part of organizing the workers to take on these social questions as class questions—to infuse the strength and organization of the working class into these struggles, to fight them as part of the growing battle of the working class against the capitalists and to aim them squarely at the capitalist class. In doing so, the working class can not only advance its own struggle, consciousness and organized strength, but also bring forward and organize many other people who are pushed down and disgusted with this system. These advances would be impossible if we failed to put out and organize around a clear and correct class line.

We take the question of unity very seriously, because we have to unite all who can be united to defeat our deadly enemy. But we want to unite to go forward, not to go backwards into the arms of our oppressors. In order to make the greatest advances possible, we have to wage a ruthless and prolonged struggle for the political line and program that can lead this advance, and oppose schemes and gimmicks that give support to the very class we've carried on our backs so long. ■

# New Upsurge Among French Students

A wave of student struggle has swept across France this spring. In early April French students responded to an across the board attack on university education there. Coming down by government edict, a new plan was to force thousands of students out of school and force many of those remaining into programs tailor-made to meet the needs of the large capitalist corporations.

After large mass meetings in dozens of universities, on April 16 over 50,000 students shut down 30 campuses with strikes and sit-ins. In Paris tens of thousands of students took to the streets to demonstrate their opposition to the university "reform." The two mile long column of demonstrators wound its way through the Paris streets to the Education Ministry, where the march was finally broken up by police attacks. Similar marches took place in cities throughout the country. The demonstrations were followed by a full week of sit-ins.

The students' struggle was joined by the Lecturers' unions and many workers voiced their support. The student upsurge shook the French capitalists—shares on the stock market dropped after having a number of good weeks—and forced the government to go into some maneuvering to try to put over their "reform" in a new way.

The meat of the French university "reform" was to force tens of thousands of liberal arts students out of school, because the capitalists there no longer have much use for so many university graduates of this type. Many of the students remaining would be channeled into more technical courses—taking a year longer to complete—set up under the direct guidance of various capitalist groups to insure that the graduates will meet their specific requirements. Further, the tracking system, where working class children are often labeled slow learners and allowed to fall way behind other students, was going to be started for the grade schools. This move would even further wipe away what small gains workers have won for their children in capitalist society.

While the recent students' struggle centered in on fighting the proposed "reform," the anger and discontent of the students reflected a deeper revolt. Like all the capitalist countries, France is facing a severe crisis. Unemployment is very high and young people make up over half of the unemployed. The protesters were also angered at the fact that the capitalists are getting even more government subsidies in this period of crisis, while education is being cut and the corporations are being allowed to call the shots in setting up some courses and destroying others.

The capitalists have always controlled education, as they do everything else in capitalist society. But the recent moves in France show how the bourgeoisie is being forced to drop some of the charade of university "independence" and "impartiality" and step right in to oversee things directly. The French students stood up and gave this scheme a sharp blow and caused a big stir. This development worries the big capitalists.

And they were worried even more by the stand taken in the call issued by students in early April at the beginning of the struggle: "Let's shut down the whole system until we win. Workers and students have the same war to wage."

In May, 1968, students exploded into massive struggle, beginning around university reform but rapidly moving to question U.S. imperialism's war in Vietnam and the whole class basis of French—and all capitalist—society. In doing so, they sparked a massive upsurge among the working class, including large strikes and factory occupations. For two months the country rocked with demonstrations and revolutionary ideas swept through the whole of France. While a revolution did not occur, the De Gaulle government was toppled from office and even more important gains were made—in revolutionary organization and understanding among workers and students alike.

In France, as in this country, the bourgeoisie has seen first-hand the role students can play against them, both on their own and in sparking other forces into action. And these actions are making real contributions to the growth of the overall revolutionary struggle in France. ■

# Publications

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

- 200 Years is Long Enough. 50 cents.
- Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. 175 pages. \$1.00.
- Our Class Will Free Itself And All Mankind Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. 30 pages. 75 cents.
- CUBA: The Evaporation of a Myth. Reprinted from *Revolution*, February 15, 1976. In English and Spanish. Footnotes in English. 48 pages. 50 cents.
- How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle. 156 pages. \$2.50.
- The Chicano Struggle and the Struggle for Socialism. 59 pages. \$1.50.
- (The following reprints from *Revolution* are available in English and Spanish.)
- Revolution: Only Road to Women's Liberation. 25 cents.
- Classes and Class Struggle. 10 cents.
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# Proletarian Dictatorship Vs Bourgeois "Democracy"

What do communists mean when we talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat? How can we say that socialist society represents the interests of the great majority of the people, and at the same time say that it is a dictatorship? This article is written to answer these questions and to deal with the distortions of the bourgeois ruling class about "communist dictatorship."

Especially during their Bicentennial, they have turned up the volume about all of the freedom and democracy we are supposed to have. With this in mind we are printing this article, adapted from one which originally appeared in the July, 1973 issue of Revolution, then the organ of the Revolutionary Union—Ed.

The rulers of this country never stop preaching that their form of government is "the most democratic on earth," and that the "communist countries are cruel dictatorships where the people have no rights." Like other things these parasites put out, this stands things upside down and twists reality inside out.

The fact is that the very people who run this country are a small handful of bankers and businessmen, multimillionaires and billionaires like the Rockefellers, Duponts and Mellons. In this system which they call "the most democratic on earth," they own the vast productive forces—the factories, the mines, the mills, the transportation systems, machinery, etc.—and exploit the working class, the majority of the population, for their own private profit.

## Capitalist State

The state—the police, army, courts, bureaucracy and similar institutions—is set up and controlled by this capitalist class. These big businessmen—the bourgeoisie, or monopoly capitalists—consistently use the police, army, national guard, courts and bureaucracies to break workers' strikes and generally to put down the rebellions of the poor who own little or no means of production. The police, army and national guard are never called out against the class of bankers and corporation executives.

In short, this state is a *bourgeois dictatorship*. This does not mean there is a dictatorship in this country of one or several men. It does mean there is a *class dictatorship*, where a tiny handful of profit makers rules society and uses the state as their machine to suppress the working people.

Most people do not think of our country as a dictatorship because the relationship of different classes is usually concealed. The monopoly capitalists do not openly admit their rule. Instead they claim that this is a democracy where "everyone shares power and takes part in running the government."

The ruling class goes to great lengths to cover up their dictatorship under the mask of democracy, for it is extremely difficult for a minority of exploiters to rule by force alone. Only at the time of full-blown crisis, when it can stay in power in no other way, does the monopoly capitalist class rule by *open, terroristic dictatorship, or fascism*.

In fact, the bourgeoisie is no more willing to "share" power with the majority of people than it is to share the ownership of the means of production and the wealth that comes from this. For them to function as a capitalist class, they must exploit the working class; and to exploit the workers, who constantly resist this exploitation and oppression, they must use the state to suppress the workers.

Of course the ruling class has been forced to grant the workers some democratic rights such as the right to vote, free speech, free press, etc. But these freedoms, like everything else in capitalist society, have their class content: they mean one thing to the ruling class and quite another for the workers. For the capitalists, freedom of the press and free speech, as examples, mean the right to fill the air-waves and daily newspapers with their propaganda and lies and to use them freely to debate *with each other*. For the capitalists, elections are a way to settle differences among themselves, while making it look like everybody has equal say.

For the working class, democratic rights are the fruits of previous struggles, and we fight to preserve them for they make it easier to organize and mobilize for the day in which the capitalists will be overthrown. Nevertheless democratic rights for the masses are primarily a sham, a mask, to cover the real dictatorship of the capitalists. This becomes especially clear when democratic rights come into conflict with the most basic "freedom" of bourgeois society—the right of the capitalists to their "private property" and to exploit the labor of the workers. Consider, for example, how many workers have been fired or disciplined for posting a notice on a company bulletin board, or circulat-

ing a leaflet or petition, while the capitalist class freely makes use of their ownership and control of virtually all of the mass media.

In the final analysis all their talk about democracy boils down to one thing. The ruling class decides by struggle and compromise within its own ranks, and among its paid politicians, how it will maintain its system of exploitation over the people. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the first successful workers' revolution, said, "Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich—that is the democracy of capitalist society."

## The "Free World"

When the capitalist class talks about freedom, it does not mean that the people have, or should have, rights. It means that the capitalists are free to exploit the people to make profits. This is why, according to the U.S. ruling class, the "free world" includes countries like South Africa—where the African people, the great majority, are not even allowed to vote and are forced to live in concentration camps. "So what," reason the capitalists, "all the better, because we—the Rockefellers, General Motors, and the others—are free to set up our operations and make millions."

The "free world" is military dictatorships in Latin America and feudal kingdoms in the Middle East where the people live as serfs or slaves. It is anywhere the monopoly capitalists are free to invest their capital. That is why imperialist wars, like Vietnam, are fought in the name of "freedom," even though the U.S. set up and supported the Thieu regime which maintained an open and undisguised dictatorship over the masses of people of South Vietnam.

But there is one sense in which the capitalists want the workers to be "free." We must be "free" of ownership of the means of production, we must have no other way to make our living except to go to work to enrich the capitalists.

This is clearly shown by the historical development of capitalism. The capitalist class in every country has continually ruined the small farmers and property owners, driving them to the cities and factories in desperate search of employment. In this country this has gone hand in hand with the armed theft of the Mexican and Indian lands.

And, as our capitalist rulers have extended their investments and their system of exploitation throughout the world, they have ruined and impoverished the masses of people in other countries, robbing them in their own homelands, and forcing millions to come to this country, where the capitalists can employ for cheap wages these "masses yearning to be free."

## Constitution

What about the Bill of Rights, freedom of speech—doesn't this show that the people do have freedom in this country? Going back to the beginning, many of the "Founding Fathers" of this country had no intention of granting even these limited rights to the common people.

But they had to promise certain freedoms to get the working people to fight on their side. This, combined with the revolutionary upsurge of the people around these rights, forced them to be written into most state constitutions. It was only after wide opposition to the original Constitution and still further struggle that the Bill of Rights was added, as a series of amendments. The real attitude of many of the "Founding Fathers" was expressed by one delegate at the Constitutional Convention in 1787, who said, to his fellow delegates' approval, "The people immediately should have as little to do as may be about the government."

And the Constitutional Convention officially sanctioned slavery, declaring the slaves to be three-fifths human beings, to be counted as such for purposes of distributing votes and collecting taxes among the states. Washington, "the father of the country," and many of the others who piously declared that "all men are created equal," were themselves slaveowners, as well as big landowners.

In the struggle against the British and their supporters, the rising ruling class of this country did contribute to progress, to the development of capitalism—at that time an important step forward for society. And to carry out this struggle they had to involve the common people in politics to a limited degree, to motivate and mobilize them to fight under difficult conditions.

But as soon as the British had been defeated, the new ruling class feared that if the people had too much to do with politics, they would "get out of hand," they would not be content to work under wretched

conditions for their capitalist—and slaveowning—masters. So the people's rights remained really paper rights and their rebellions were crushed with brutal armed force.

This has been the case throughout the history of this country. At the time of the Civil War, for example, the industrialists and bankers of the North recognized that, for both political and military reasons, they had to declare the slaves emancipated in order to win the war. And for a short time after the war, during the period of Reconstruction in the South, the former slaves and poor whites fought for and won some rights.

But as their struggle for democratic rights, including the right to own land and property, conflicted more and more with the capitalists' drive for profits, a reign of terror was unleashed against Black people and their allies among poor white farmers and laborers.

Since that time capitalism in the U.S. has developed into monopoly capitalism—small-scale operations have been taken over and combined within giant corporations like Standard Oil, General Motors, GE, U.S. Steel, etc. With this, the basic contradiction of the capitalist system—between the highly socialized character of productive labor and the concentration of ownership of the means of production and appropriation of wealth in fewer and fewer hands, between the working class and the capitalist class—has grown more and more intense.

That capitalist class in the U.S. can no longer contribute to the development of society by overthrowing more reactionary forces like the British colonial rulers or the southern slaveowners. Today the monopoly capitalist class itself is the greatest obstacle to progress which must be overthrown.

Since it is completely reactionary, the monopoly capitalist ruling class resorts more and more to open violence to suppress the people of the U.S., as well as people throughout the world. As the judges, police, troops, officials all are used to attack the people's struggles, it becomes clearer and clearer that capitalist society means democracy and freedom only for the capitalist minority, and oppression and exploitation for the great majority of the people.

## Socialist Revolution

This situation can only be reversed by socialist revolution to overthrow capitalist rule. The first task of this revolution is to smash the power of the bourgeois state through the armed might of the workers and their allies. The bourgeoisie and its armed forces are disarmed. The political structure and the courts and bureaucracies of the bourgeois state—and all its rules and regulations aimed at enslaving the people—are abolished.

Once in power the working class moves to socialize the ownership of the means of production—making them the common property of society—to resolve the basic contradiction of capitalism, to break down the obstacles capitalism puts in the way of progress, and makes possible the rapid development of society. Socialism is a higher form of society than capitalism, and is bound to replace it all over the world, just as capitalism replaced the feudal system of landlords and serfs.

In the process of socialist revolution the working class and its allies builds up their own state machine, the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. Workers are armed and organized into people's militias and armed forces. The capitalists and their enforcers are punished for their crimes against the people. This dictatorship imposed by the working class on the former exploiters

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# FBI Exposed In Panther Killings

The capitalists are past masters of trying to turn a loss into a profit, a setback into an advance. This has been particularly clear throughout the whole Watergate and "post Watergate" period. Every exposure of the corruption and brutality of their rule is claimed as a victory for "reform." Every act of violence and repression forced into the light is cited as an example of the freedom of speech and criticism that flourishes under capitalist democracy.

The latest releases from the congressional investigative committees on the FBI's campaigns of sabotage and murder against the Black Panther Party is more of the same. FBI director Clarence Kelley blandly steps to the microphone to the praise and applause of the whole bourgeois press and "apologizes" for the excesses of the FBI "in the twilight years" of the Hoover reign. "We are truly sorry we were responsible for instances which now are subject to criticism. We need to make it clearly understood that we recognize errors and have learned from them...(But) many of the activities being condemned were, considering the time in which they occurred—the violence of the '60s—good faith efforts to prevent bloodshed and wanton destruction of property."

And after acknowledging that there is criticism and saying how sorry they are that this criticism has arisen, the whole bourgeoisie makes it obvious that as far as they are concerned, nothing is going to change. They might even set up a few "watchdog committees" to legitimize anew the job of the FBI and other police agencies to prevent "wanton destruction" of their property and especially their precious profit system.

## Scare Tactics

But there is also another aspect to these exposures about the FBI. The capitalists are trying to warn us that anyone who threatens their rule will meet the same fate as Fred Hampton and other members of the Panthers. Through their sneering lips they say "Oh we're so sorry!" While what they really are saying is "Look how powerful we are. We are everywhere, any effort to organize resistance to us will be infiltrated, sabotaged and met with violent repression. We are invincible! So give up. Submit!"

The Panther Party was destroyed as a revolutionary force. But it was more by the sugar coated bullets of bribery and bourgeois ideas that saturated their top leadership than the lead bullets that killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and many other heroic Panther Party members and sympathizers.

In fact it was at the time when the Panthers were under the greatest attack that they made the greatest contribution to the development of the revolutionary mass movement in this country. Their armed resistance to police repression was like an electric shock and caused their influence to be spread throughout the land. The more the capitalists attacked, the more the Panthers resisted, the greater and broader their support became among people all over the country.

In Los Angeles and New Orleans Panthers stood up to massive armed attack by the police and fought them to a standstill through their own actions and the actions of the masses. Many hundreds of people came out in the heat of the police attacks to give them whatever support possible, while many more showed support in other ways.

These attacks and the vileness of the FBI activities (an FBI informer made sure that Fred Hampton had taken several tranquilizers and would be sleeping when the cops launched their attack on the Panther apart-



"You can kill a revolutionary but you can't kill the revolution"—Fred Hampton, murdered by the capitalist class in 1969.

ment in Chicago) certainly demonstrate the viciousness of the capitalists' rule. But far from proving their invincibility, it shows their vulnerability.

The ruling class was threatened by the Black Panther Party, a relatively small group. And they were terrified by the revolutionary potential of the masses which the Panthers represented and organized, in at least a partial way. They feared that their actions might ignite massive and organized rebellion among Black people and others.

Despite all their arms and guards, their police, FBI, etc., they are vulnerable to the action of the broad masses of people united under revolutionary leadership. The exploitation and oppression which are the daily experience of millions of people are like dry tinder that can explode into a raging fire. That fire will consume the capitalists and their system if people are organized in struggle and learn in struggle the nature of their oppressor and how he can be overthrown.

The whole police apparatus of the United States and other capitalist countries is geared to prevent this development of organized, conscious, mass activity against the capitalist class. But they can't. Just as inevitably as the capitalist system is sinking into deeper crisis and decay, the struggle of the masses of people is intensifying. The enemy does have power. They can kill off, arrest, or even bribe and corrupt some of the leadership of this struggle at any given time, as they did with the Panthers, or with the old communist party.

But they cannot eliminate this struggle of the masses. And in the face of this, the vicious actions of the capitalists are ultimately weak. Repression does not breed submission. It breeds resistance. And new upsurges in the struggle of the masses, together with growing understanding, brings forth new leadership from out of these struggles. ■

# Dictatorship...

Continued from Page 16

is absolutely necessary in order to crush their resistance and prevent them from wrecking socialism and restoring their rule.

Although this country's capitalists like to point to the Soviet Union today and say, "This is what communism means," the dictatorship of the proletariat is *not* what exists in the Soviet Union today. The working class was once in power in the Soviet Union and was building a powerful socialist society which was the bright hope of workers around the world. But the capitalists were able to stage a comeback, regain control in the mid-'50s and turn the Soviet Union back from a socialist country to a capitalist country. Today the Soviet Union, as well as Cuba and most Eastern European countries under its thumb, are examples of bourgeois dictatorships. They disguise themselves as socialist countries where the working class rules, but in reality a new capitalist class rules and enforces its strict dictatorship over the working class.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is qualitatively different from the bourgeois state that exists in the U.S. and the Soviet Union and other capitalist countries. Its purpose is not to enforce exploitation and the rule of a tiny minority. The proletarian state for the first time in history means the rule of the majority, the working class, allied with all of the oppressed.

At the same time that there is a dictatorship over the former capitalist exploiters there is the unparalleled extension of real democracy for those oppressed by capitalism—the working people. The proletarian state is a million times more democratic than even the most democratic capitalist state. No longer do a handful of parasites run society for their own private profit and the working class sets out to transform all of society. To accomplish this the government is set up and run by workers, and the press, television stations, schools, etc., which the capitalists use to mold public opinion and shore up their rule, are stripped from them and become the common property of the working class and the masses of people.

Since the working class and the socialist society built under its leadership represent the interests of the great majority of society, the workers openly proclaim their rule and openly dictate to their former exploiters and tormentors. The rule of the working class cannot be exercised by deceiving the masses of people, but only by their active involvement in every part of the political life of society and raising their political consciousness.

## From Socialism to Communism

But socialism is not a utopia. It replaces capitalism, but cannot do away in one stroke with the inequalities, the old selfish ideas and the remnants of capitalism. Socialism itself is only the lower stage of and transition to a still higher form of society, communism, where there will no longer be any classes, and, therefore, there will no longer be any need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During this entire transition period, the working class must maintain and strengthen its rule over the former exploiting classes, prevent them from subverting the new society and restoring the old, and overcome the remaining influences of their dog-eat-dog, "look out for number one" philosophy.

When everyone in society can share equally in mental and manual work, in producing goods and services and managing the affairs of society; when the outlook of the working class, putting the common good above narrow, individual interests, has become "second nature" to members of society; when goods and services can be produced so abundantly that money is no longer needed to exchange them and they can be distributed to people solely according to their needs; then society will have reached the stage of communism.

Classes will have been completely eliminated, and the state as such will be replaced by the common administration of society by all its members. As this happens, throughout the world, mankind will have scaled a great mountain and will look out on a whole new horizon.

The more than one-fourth of humanity in various countries, including China, that has already achieved socialist society has shown that the working class can overthrow the exploiters and run society in the interests of the people. Communism will show that the people can do away completely and forever with the institutions and influences of capitalism and all other forms of class society.

Karl Marx, founder of communist philosophy and of the revolutionary workers movement, wrote, "The existence of classes is only bound up with particular phases in the development of production. . .the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. . .[and] this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of classes and to a classless society." ■

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