



REVOLUTION

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Miners' Struggle Confronts Capitalist State

Down with Taft-Hartley! Down with Federal Seizure!



Charleston, West Virginia, February 18, 1978. Miners Right to Strike Committee and other miners demonstrate on steps of the Capitol building to denounce Miller's contract sellout, state their demands and make it clear that they will not work under a Taft-Hartley injunction.

"On your knees!" shouted the haughty, arrogant coal bosses.

"Tell 'em! That's the way," chorused the rest of the capitalists.

"It's not so bad. It's not so bad," chirped top union hacks. "Take it! There's no alternative! You'll destroy the union!"

"Catastrophy!" screeched the ever loyal media as they loaded the airwaves and flung tons of ink in their papers, issuing dire warnings of layoffs, power shortages, general misery and suffering. All in an effort to turn the wrath of the public against the coal miners.

"It can't be tolerated!" bleated the politicians.

"Now listen here," said the stern, no longer grinning president. "Do what we tell you. It's your patriotic duty! If you don't we'll step in." And he rushed off to his bible class to pray for ratification.

"Go to hell!" roared 160,000 coal miners. And in resounding unison they told the capitalists, the government, and the limp wristed traitors at the top of the UMWA just exactly what they could do with their lousy, sell out contract.

Monday morning, March 6. The president was no longer praying. The contract had been rejected by a 2 to 1 majority. The capitalists and their government had tried browbeating, slander, and cutting off pensions and medical benefits. Now they were resorting to the courts and military power of their state. Carter announced he was invoking the Taft-Hartley Act to force the miners back to work.

But the array of power in the hands of the capitalists somehow didn't seem quite so powerful in the face of the coal miners' refusal to cave in—men and women enduring sacrifice and increasing hardship to stand their ground.

"If Carter thinks he's going to force us back to work with the Taft-Hartley, he's got another think coming," said one coal miner, echoing the mood and sentiments of tens of thousands more. And everybody, including the coal owners, the rest of the capitalists, and the government knew there was little chance that this strong arm tactic would succeed in getting miners back to work.

Government Seizure of Mines

But they had more in mind than just the Taft-Hartley, the effectiveness of which was dubious at best. Their plan was a one-two punch combining force with deception. A whole phalanx of so-called "pro-labor" types, from union officials to politicians, lined up to proclaim that Taft-Hartley is no good. If the government has to wield a sword to cut the knot of contract negotiations, let it be a two-edged sword: one that cuts miners and coal owners with the same blow. Let the government intervene directly to seize and run the mines. George Meany, always to be found in the front ranks of reaction, had been advocating this for weeks.

The media began pushing the "seizure alternative" as soon as it became clear that the miners would not buckle under. In the fine tradition of "all the news that's fit to print," with heavy emphasis on what fit the interests of the bourgeoisie, reporters roamed the coalfields asking miners would you go back to work under the Taft-Hartley, or would you rather go back under federal seizure? Of course they didn't air the comments of many miners who said, "We aren't going back under either, we're going to keep fighting for what we need." What came across the tube were the reports that "miners were inclined to go back to work if the government steps in and takes over the mines." This was not only a way of filtering opinion, it was a means of trying to create opinion against the miners.

Federal seizure is supposedly more even handed because it hits both owners and miners. Miners are

U.S. Scurries for Comeback

Horn of Africa: Soviet Forces Roll

Only four short months ago, U.S. policy makers were congratulating themselves on developments in the Horn of Africa. The Soviet social-imperialists, in siding with Ethiopia instead of their old ally Somalia in the Ogaden conflict, had been expelled from their strategic naval base at the Somali port of Berbera. The Derg, the fascist military junta in Ethiopia led by Col. Mengistu, was reeling from military setbacks in the Ogaden Desert. In addition, the Derg's army was holed up in a handful of cities in Eritrea as the revolutionary forces there surged forward, and was facing mounting struggle inside Ethiopia itself.

The U.S. imperialists obviously were relishing at the thought that their Soviet counterparts had backed a loser in the shaky Mengistu regime, while the U.S. could be content to sit back and watch the Soviets lose both military facilities and political influence in the Horn. But the sweet dreams of U.S. imperialism have turned into a long, rough night as the Soviets and their Cuban mercenaries have provided the muscle for a big turnabout, and have clearly gone on the offensive.

Since late November, the Soviets have airlifted nearly \$1 billion in modern arms to Ethiopia, including 50 MiG jets, 400 tanks, heavy artillery, and large quantities of munitions. 1000 Soviet advisors and nearly 10,000 Cuban officers and troops—organ-

ized into two infantry and one armored brigade—are spearheading the Ethiopian army's push into the Ogaden. So many Cuban combat pilots are in Ethiopia that the Soviets are taking up the slack by flying air defense patrols over Cuba. As a U.S. State Department official lamented recently, "We took a position which everyone thought was great. The only trouble was, the Russians and Cubans went full speed ahead."

Fierce contention between the two superpowers, especially the recent massive Soviet intervention, has steadily aggravated the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia in the Ogaden—a largely desert region populated by ethnic Somali nomads, which was ceded to Ethiopia in the 1890's by European colonial powers. In July 1977, regular Somali troops joined with guerrillas of the Western Somali Liberation Front in quickly driving back 50,000 demoralized Ethiopian soldiers and capturing over 80% of the region. But since the Mengistu regime broke off all relations with the U.S. in April, the New Czars stepped up assistance to the Ethiopian military junta, which it flattered as "revolutionary" and "Marxist-Leninist." The U.S., eager to pull Somalia out of the Soviet orbit, announced late in July that it was prepared "in principle" to sell arms to Somalia.

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Wrong Line On "Carter" Offensive

Reject Revisionism in Unemployed Work

Editors Note: This article was written by some comrades active in the Party's work among the unemployed and in the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee. It examines the influence of the line of the revisionist headquarters formerly existing in the RCP regarding the struggle of the unemployed.

As the Programme of the RCP states, "A crucial question for the working class in both its immediate battles and long term struggles is the question of unemployment and uniting the employed and unemployed workers. Unemployment is built into the capitalist system and is an open sore revealing the fundamental sickness of the system. . . The RCP builds the struggle around unemployment as a major battle of the whole working class, a decisive part of the struggle not only to keep from being crushed under capitalism, but to finally overthrow it and in doing so end the cause of unemployment." This line has in the main guided the work of the Party and that of the Revolutionary Union before it around the question of unemployment—in fact, since the founding of the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee in the Bay Area in 1971. Since then hundreds of battles have been fought, big and small, nationwide and locally, in the streets and in the unemployment offices and plants, guided by this overall line of mobilizing the workers against the misery and special conditions arising from unemployment and at the same time taking every opportunity to expose the "criminal absurdity of the capitalist system. . . [that] the very class that produces the profit on which the system is based finds millions of its members out of work because they cannot be employed profitably."

This line has not won out spontaneously, but has been developed and deepened only in the course of sharp struggle within the ranks of the Party and the RU before it. How important is the struggle of the unemployed? Is there struggle only against being pressed down, or is there a revolutionary potential in the struggle around unemployment? What is the target of the struggle: the government, industry, the capitalist system itself? These and other questions have had to be struggled out to make the advances possible. Over the past nine months, the revisionist headquarters that had existed in the Party built up its influence to the point of dominating the work of the Party among the unemployed on the national level and in some local areas, creating the grave danger of turning UWOC into nothing more than another bourgeois "pressure" group on the government, useless and actually harmful to the working class struggle for emancipation.

Struggling to uncover and sum up this line is necessary to ensure that UWOC continues to be an organization dedicated to fighting the capitalists around unemployment, and to make sure that the Party's work overall around unemployment sticks to the revolutionary road.

Emergency UWOC Meeting

On February 4 the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee held an emergency national meeting, focusing on summing up UWOC's work in the campaign to "Fight Carter's Unemployment Offensive" leading up to the demonstrations planned for January 21. (The main one, scheduled for Washington D.C., was cancelled by the blizzard.) This meeting summed up that UWOC had been led in the direction of becoming just another reform organization or pressure group misleading the unemployed and the working class as a whole.

The campaign UWOC summed up at this meeting had been adopted at the national UWOC conference last June. It was put forward in the Party, under the influence of this headquarters, as a campaign "against the government's policy of cutting back unemployment benefits and forcing workers into slave labor jobs." UWOC put forward the demands: "Stop the Attacks on Our Unemployment Benefits;" "Union Jobs at Union Wages;" and "Smash Carter's Workfare." In October, the slogan "Fight Carter's Unemployment Offensive" was concocted as the overall slogan of the campaign. It was supposed to be the biggest slogan (literally—in the largest type on the leaflets) in UWOC's work leading up to the January 21 demonstration.

The meeting summed up that the line developed over the course of the campaign, as crystallized in

this main slogan, was a lie. Instead of bringing out the "invisible hand," the laws of capitalism operating behind people's backs (its drive for profit and the crisis and the anarchistic dislocations it produces) that force the capitalists to lay workers off, cut off unemployment benefits and try to lower wages, it was a line that more and more attributed these attacks *principally* to the will of the government and the politicians. And as the campaign developed they tended to even narrow this down to a line that said that the main cause of attacks on the unemployed was the evil genius of Jimmy Carter.

When the RCP was founded many of us studied and tried to take to heart Lenin's statement that, "The Party's task is *not to concoct some fashionable means of helping the workers*, but to join up with the workers movement, to bring light into it, to assist the workers in the struggle they themselves have already begun to wage. The Party's task is to *uphold the interests of the workers and to represent those of the entire working class movement.*" (CW, Vol. 2, p. 112, emphasis added.)

But to these revisionists the campaign to "Fight Carter's Unemployment Offensive" was exactly such a "fashionable means," a gimmick. They concocted the idea of a "big" campaign against the government, focused on Carter, culminating in a big demonstration in Washington on January 21.

To them what made the campaign "fashionable", i.e. something that might "spin," as UWOC members at the February 4 meeting summed up, was the success of the demonstration called by UWOC in Washington, D.C., on March 5 of last year. The March 5 demonstration was called as part of fighting the cutoff of 26 weeks of federal unemployment benefits which was then going through Congress as a bill. It was correctly aimed at the government that was carrying out this attack, and drew its strength from the real need of unemployed workers for jobs and the money they must have to live. The attacks were brought out as a result of the crisis of capitalism. The demonstration and the whole fight against the cuts forced the government to concede 13 weeks of unemployment benefits for six months longer than the original proposed cutoff date. Unity of employed and unemployed workers was advanced through this fight. The march of 1000 employed and unemployed workers through Washington D.C. demanding Jobs or Income, No Cuts in Benefits was a real advance and an inspiration to everyone who was part of it, or followed it in the unemployment lines across the country.

But what the revisionists got out of all this was that big demonstrations in Washington really "spin." Although in the course of building the fight against

the "Carter Offensive" they said many times, "This campaign won't be a repeat of March 5," their underlying outlook was, "it worked once, let's do it again." The fact that specific attacks confronting the workers had changed since then mattered little to these people whose outlook led them to try to twist the world to fit their idea of "how to do a campaign."

This outlook and the whole concocting of the "Carter Offensive" campaign was all the more criminal because the unemployed and the working class were and are facing real attacks. Within the last year unemployment benefits have been slashed from 65 to 26 weeks in most states. Millions of workers are without work, and more and more of those who are pounding the pavements looking are finding only part-time, temporary, or minimum-wage jobs available.

Hand in hand with cutting the number of weeks unemployed can receive benefits have been state and federal laws placing new restrictions on eligibility for benefits. Many of these reactionary rules and regulations require unemployed workers to accept any job offered to them barely above minimum wage.

And at the same time these attacks on the unemployment system have been coming down, Carter announced his "workfare" proposal which would force welfare recipients to work in private or government jobs just to receive their meagre welfare checks.

Laws of Capitalism or Carter's Will?

But within the Party and within UWOC, the revisionist headquarters pushed a reformist line that sidestepped these questions and instead came up with a simple solution. They packaged all the attacks on the unemployed into *one single policy*, variously called "the government policy," "a one-two punch," "Carter's Offensive," or "Carter's Unemployment Offensive." As the Oct.-Nov. issue of the *Unemployed Organizer* put it, "These are not random attacks [referring to the cuts in federal unemployment benefits, state by state cuts in benefits, drop in the bucket job programs, two-bit jobs and workfare], but reflect a systematic national policy pursued by the government in the interests of big money and big business."

And just so there are no doubts as to who is the source of this "systematic national policy" the article continues without missing a beat, "and the government, with Jimmy Carter at the helm, is hell-bent on this policy, a one-two punch of ripping away our unemployment insurance and driving us into slave-wage jobs."

UWOC was called upon to wage a campaign against a fantasy, this "systematic government policy." Since this one big policy was the problem, the solution was to end it: "Think of the strength and power of workers, organized and united, not only demanding jobs, but an end to this government policy of setting us up for the kill," we're told in the Oct.-Nov. issue of UWOC's newsletter. (And the way they portray the fight for jobs here, as something to slide over, and not nearly as exciting as trying to end this government policy, is revealing too—to them "demanding jobs" didn't seem nearly as "fashionable," as catchy, and certainly not as easy as fighting this imaginary master scheme by the federal government, but more on that later.)

This "systematic national policy" was the constant refrain in UWOC—in leaflets, articles, and discussions. The source of the attacks the unemployed face is por-

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Bakke Actions Take Shape for April



A U.S. Supreme Court decision on the Bakke case is expected in the month of April. The Bakke Decision is one of the sharpest attacks on minorities in years, aimed at ripping away important gains made in the mass struggles of the past decades, like affirmative action programs. In response the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade is mobilizing on college campuses and in neighborhoods all around the country for an Armband Day, April 12. The slogans the RCYB is raising are: Smash the Bakke decision! and Fight All Attacks on Oppressed Nationalities! Other actions and educational are also being planned throughout the country by various other groups.

The Paris Commune: First Proletarian Dictatorship

March 18 marks the anniversary of the Paris Commune. On that day in 1871, the workers of Paris "stormed heaven," as Karl Marx described it, rising up in armed rebellion and holding the city for 72 days until France's rulers finally were able to wreak their bloody vengeance on the slaves who'd dared to raise the flag of revolution. It was certainly not the first revolt of the oppressed, nor even the first rebellion by the young working class. But it was the first time that the working class seized power, and the lessons learned in that first successful (if only short-lived) revolution have established basic principles for working class revolution ever since.

The workers of Paris, who had twice revolted and twice failed in the few years before 1871, had been armed for the defense of their city in the course of a war the French bourgeoisie had launched against Prussia. The workers were both physically and politically isolated from the rest of the country and vastly outnumbered by the armed forces of the French and Prussian ruling classes. But the French bourgeoisie surrendered to Prussia and tried to turn Paris over to the Prussian army so as to put an end to the workers struggle there. French army units moved into Paris to disarm the workers who had organized themselves into a National Guard. The workers had little choice. They decided to use their weapons—to risk everything trying to free themselves once and for all instead of meekly marching to the slaughterhouse.

Dawn of Great Social Revolution

Although Marx, at that time following the events in France from England where he was exiled, thought the time wasn't ripe for the Parisian workers to rise up and win, he quickly summed up the historic nature of events, declaring March 18, 1871 "the dawn of the great social revolution which will liberate mankind from the regime of classes forever," and supported the Commune.

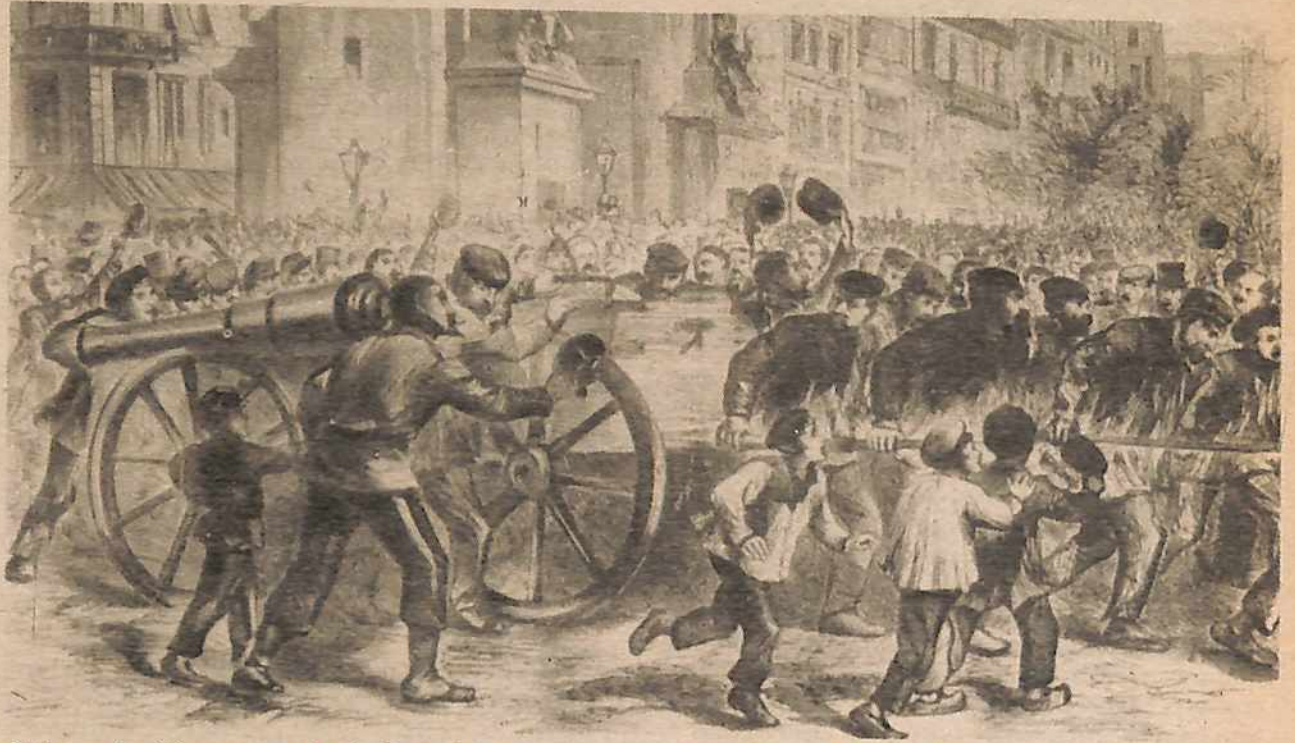
On that day, the Central Committee of the workers' National Guard proclaimed that "The proletarians of Paris, amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs." The government troops sent in to disarm the workers were beaten back. Within days, the idle rich, the capitalists, courtesans and common criminals fled Paris to Versailles, where the French ruling class declared war against Paris.

The Commune itself—the government formed by the workers—was made up of representatives of the various wards of Paris, elected by the citizens and recallable from office at any time. The majority of its members were workers or acknowledged representatives of the working class. Rather than a parliamentary body (such as the Congress in the U.S.), the Commune both made decisions and carried them out. And from the top to the bottom all its members and all who worked under its leadership received the same wages as the ordinary worker.

The army and the police were abolished. All citizens capable of bearing arms were enrolled in the National Guard, the only armed force. "The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the Apostles." (Marx, *The Civil War in France*)

The schools were opened to all, on every level. All rent for housing was cancelled and all the pawnshops closed down. Night shifts were outlawed. The factories of the capitalists who had fled were seized, to be run by the workers themselves. The Victory Column, a monument to France's chauvinist wars of aggression, was torn down. "The flag of the Commune," the workers declared, "is the flag of the World Republic."

The bourgeoisie likes to paint Marxism as no more than an idea, a hopeless dream or shuddering nightmare. Marxism is the scientific summation of all the history of the struggles of the oppressed, and of all the knowledge won through the struggles of mankind. It arose with the development and the growth of the struggles of the working class, whose stand and point of view is expressed in Marxism. As Lenin wrote in *State and Revolution*, "There is no trace of utopianism in Marx, in the sense that he made up or invented a 'new' society. No, he studied the birth of the new society out of the old, and the forms of transition from the latter to the former, as a natural-historical process. He examined the actual experience of a mass proletarian movement, and tried to draw practical lessons from it. He 'learned' from the Commune, just as all the great revolutionary



Police and soldiers retreat in the face of the popular insurrection, March 18, 1871. This was the opening shot of the Paris Commune.

thinkers learned unhesitatingly from the experience of great movements of the oppressed classes . . ."

The most important lesson of the Paris Commune, what the workers of Paris taught first with their guns and then with their heroic sacrifice, is the central point of Marxism: the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"It is often said and written," Lenin explains in *State and Revolution*, "that the main point in Marx's theory is the class struggle. But this is wrong. And this wrong notion very often results in an opportunist distortion of Marxism and its falsification in a spirit acceptable to the bourgeoisie . . . Those who recognize *only* the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the bounds of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics . . . Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." As Marx himself put it in his Letter to Weydemeyer, written in 1852, "no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists, the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular, historical phases in the development of production*, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*."

In other words, the class struggle would inevitably lead the working class to establish the rule of the laboring majority over the exploiting minority, for the first time in history, and this would be the first step towards eliminating all classes and class rule. This is what the Paris Commune represented. The working men and women of Paris established the world's first dictatorship of the proletariat. Through the experience of their struggle, they gave life and form to that which Marx and the class-conscious workers in general had only conceived in a general way.

Nature of the State

Starting more than 20 years before the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels had analyzed the origin of the state and its nature. In the earliest days of human history there was no state. As the productive forces developed and society split into two basic antagonistic classes—those who worked and those who took for themselves the wealth created by others—the state emerged as the instrument by which the exploiting minority maintained its rule. From the first slave times through today, the heart of the state is "special bodies of armed men," the armed force upon which the dictatorship of the exploiters depends. Even in the democratic republic of capitalist society, "This democracy is always hemmed in by the narrow limits set by capitalist exploitation, and consequently remains, in effect, a democracy for the minority, only for the propertied classes, only

for the rich. Freedom in capitalist society always remains about the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics: freedom for the slave owners . . . Marx grasped this *essence* of capitalist democracy splendidly when, in analyzing the experience of the Commune, he said that the oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representative of the oppressing classes shall represent and repress them in parliament!" (Lenin, *State and Revolution*)

The workers of Paris had participated in several revolutions in the past only to see the bourgeoisie snatch up the fruits of these revolutions and further consolidate their capitalist rule. In establishing the Commune, they could not and did not simply grab the old state machine out of the hands of the bourgeoisie. They overthrew and smashed the government of their oppressors, dismantling not only the fraudulent parliament and the bourgeoisie's basic instrument of rule, the army and police, but also the judicial system and all the government bureaucracy which had been created to keep the workers down. In its place they created something entirely new. By their dictatorship over the exploiting classes—who were overthrown and kept down by what Engels, replying to the anarchists, called the "highly authoritarian" means of guns and cannon—the vast majority of people, the working class, could enjoy real democracy for the first time.

This was not just a quantitative change—simply a matter of "more democracy." It was a qualitative change in the nature of the state. In the Paris Commune the workers took things into their own hands. The workers themselves—the majority—took up the running of society. Whereas the capitalist state was an instrument of the minority, as all previous states had been back to the time when the state first emerged as a negation of classless ancient society, the dictatorship of the proletariat which places the state in the hands of the producing class, the majority, is the first step of the working class towards the elimination of classes, the conditions which give rise to classes, and all class rule. When this is accomplished—under communism—the state will wither away.

As Marx summarized it, "This socialism is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*,

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Revolution

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March 8-International Women's Day

Why The Proletariat Celebrates IWD

On March 8, communists, other class conscious workers and many others will be celebrating International Women's Day throughout the world. In the U.S., where International Women's Day began, this occasion has been revived over the last ten years as a day when the struggles of women and their participation in the overall revolutionary struggle are celebrated and the class conscious workers reaffirm their commitment to shatter the chains that keep women oppressed.

This year's International Women's Day should be seen in the context of the current situation—a situation which has some different features from a few years back.

In the 1960s a powerful movement developed for women's liberation. This movement, while different class outlooks contended within it, hammered at many of the ways in which women are kept in an unequal position in society. It succeeded in raising the oppression of women as a sharp social question. Together with continued, even increased, attacks—especially on working women—this has led to a situation where today the consciousness of masses of people in this country around the oppression of women is higher than ever before, and many from this movement have become revolutionary fighters for working class revolution.

But, in contrast to this, it is also true that today the remnants of this movement have reduced themselves to bourgeois liberal reformism. The recent Houston Women's Conference, while attended by some who genuinely wished to fight women's oppression, was a clear example of this state of affairs. Lady Bird Johnson, Betty Ford and Rosalyn Carter were unabashedly paraded as the champions of women's rights. Also present at this conference—and highly advertised by the capitalist media—were a small number of people who combine this reformism with lesbianism, Trotskyism and other forms of degeneracy.

Revolutionary View

The development of a communist movement in the U.S. during the late '60s and early '70s (which led to the formation of the RCP in 1975) required a decisive break with this kind of reformism. Communists correctly hold that the woman question must be examined from the point of view of the working class and its revolutionary struggle to transform the world and no other. But should the degeneration of the existing organized "women's liberation movement" lead the class conscious forces of the proletariat to turn their backs on the struggle for the emancipation of women? This would be a great crime indeed. Equally as great, in fact, as the twin error of mimicking the bourgeois feminist view in a revolutionary disguise—reducing communist work around the woman question to reformism—to appealing to a given "constituency" (women concerned about the woman question) while divorcing the question of the liberation of women from the overall class struggle and its final goal. These tendencies which have been championed by those masquerading as part of the revolutionary movement have had some influence among the revolutionary forces as well, including our own Party. They should be combatted.

The oppression of women, like every other injustice and inequality in bourgeois society, is fundamentally determined by the workings of the capitalist system of exploitation of the working class and can only be eliminated through the proletarian revolution and the eventual abolition of classes, with whose development the oppression of women first arose. At the same time, a successful revolutionary struggle is impossible without a determined fight against this oppression, and a conscious effort to mobilize the masses of women—above all working class women—in every aspect of the struggle.

The contradiction that the masses of women face with the bourgeoisie has its particular features. Fundamentally, the oppression of women is based upon the division of labor in class society which leaves women with the overwhelming responsibility for domestic work and the rearing of children and in a subservient position to men. This division—and the reactionary ideas that justify it—arose and grew in slave and feudal society.

With the rise of capitalism, the oppression of women was inherited and further developed and became an integral part of the system of wage slavery. Millions of

women are forced into the factories to work, a great many at near starvation wage—sometimes to supplement their husband's inadequate paycheck, often because they are the sole support of their families. Today in the U.S., with almost half of all women working, there are even more favorable conditions for mobilizing women from many classes and strata.

The bourgeoisie tries to turn women into a reserve force for reaction. Over half of all adult women do not work, and being excluded from production they are kept from the lessons of wage slavery and the collective struggle that the bosses administer to the workers every day. The chains that tie both working and non-working women to the burden of housework and raising a family leave them with much less time or energy for doing other things. The ideology of male supremacy—including the male chauvinist ideas promoted by capitalist education and culture and the notion of "inferiority" which it tries to drum into women's heads—constitute a real barrier to women's active participation in struggle and politics.

But the proletariat cannot and does not take the same attitude toward these enforced conditions of backwardness that the trade union hacks and others hemmed in by the narrow horizons of capitalism. To them, the masses of women are a dead weight on the struggle of male workers for higher wages and other reforms and, when not ignored completely, are dealt out slander and contempt. For the class conscious workers, the oppression of women is a serious obstacle to its revolutionary advance but, more importantly, it is a contradiction that can and must be turned against the capitalists, bringing into the forefront of struggle whole new legions of the proletarian army.

Take an example from the coalfields. In attacking wildcats, the bosses try to organize miners' wives against the strikes. During the '74 gas protest strike, they tried to get wives to tell their husbands to "get your buckets (lunchpail) and go to work or get your suitcase and get out." This move was countered by miners' wives. In subsequent strikes The Women's Committee of the Miners Right to Strike Committee has organized women not only to support their husbands, but also to take up this fight on their own.

During last summer's wildcat against the benefit cuts, the women were the first to set up picket lines. They have also organized strike centers, strike health care clinics with volunteer doc-

tors, food collections, and so on. While this is just one example, and women must be involved in every aspect of the fight against capitalist oppression, it points out the road forward.

The working class needs its women fighters. Not only to help shatter the old world but also to construct the new. The goal of the working class, communism, is absolutely inconceivable without completely and thoroughly eliminating inequality and oppression of women, not only in word but in deed, in every detail. This is why the first measures of all socialist revolutions have included wiping out all formal and legal inequality and, more importantly, included drawing women into socialist construction on an equal basis, providing adequate arrangements for working mothers and the establishment of child care centers, dining halls and other means of socializing domestic chores. And most of all, under socialism it is both possible and absolutely necessary for women to participate fully in the political tasks of running and transforming society, of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and carrying the revolutionary struggle forward.

Just as it is criminal for the conscious forces of the working class to abandon the woman question to the bourgeois reformists, so too must the related error of mimicking the bourgeois reformists, taking the question up only in the most narrow way—of just appealing to women around "women's issues" and failing to mobilize the masses of women in the struggle against every form of oppression—also be avoided. The road to women's liberation lies through proletarian revolution—this is the uncompromising stand of the working class. It is with this understanding that the Party and the class conscious workers must arm the oppressed masses of working women and the whole working class. ■



Women must be brought forward in all struggles.

African Liberation Day Demo Set for Detroit

At a recent meeting of the steering committee of the Organizing Committee for a New African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), the decision was made to hold the main African Liberation Day (ALD) action in Detroit on Saturday, May 27, and to hold a support action on the same day in Oakland, California. These actions will be held in support of the liberation movements in Africa, focusing particularly on those of southern Africa and the Horn of Africa, and also to draw the links between the struggles against imperialism and national oppression waged by the peoples of Africa and the U.S. Every victory for the people of Africa is a victory for the people of the U.S., and it is in this spirit that the slogan was raised last year and again this year: "Fight imperialism and national oppression from the USA (Union of South Africa) to the USA (United States of America)!"

ALD takes on even greater significance this year as Africa continues to be a focal point of two of the major contradictions in the world: the rivalry between the two superpowers for world domination and the intensifying struggle for national liberation and against imperialism, white minority rule, and neo-colonialism in various parts of Africa. In the last few years the liberation struggles have made important advances against the white minority regimes in southern Africa.

Southern Africa also remains a key area of superpower contention for world domination; the struggle between the U.S. and other Western powers allied with it to protect their long-time investments and militarily strategic positions against the increasing encroachment by the USSR with its "socialist" mask. To support these liberation movements and in opposition to superpower contention, ALSC raises the slogan "U.S. out of southern Africa! Superpowers hands off!" The Horn of Africa, in particular, has developed over the last year into a hotbed of contention between the U.S. and the USSR, as well as mounting liberation struggles by the peoples of the area. (see articles on pages 1 and 5)

From USA to USA

U.S. corporate giants and the whole U.S. monopoly capitalist class have billions of dollars invested in Africa and have a vested interest in propping up reactionary regimes like racist South Africa and Rhodesia. In their struggle for national liberation, Black people in Africa are up against the same big capitalists who run this country, oppress and exploit working people, and are responsible for the vicious national oppression of Blacks and other minorities in the U.S. today.

This year's main ALD will be held in Detroit, the center of the U.S. auto industry, where great numbers

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Smith, Black Collaborators Connive

Sham 'Majority Rule' for Zimbabwe

On March 3, Ian Smith, chief bwana of the Rhodesian white settler regime, and three "moderate" black politicians reached final agreement on a transitional government leading to "black majority rule" by the end of 1978. However, this naked betrayal of the Zimbabwean people will preserve the white settlers' economic power and their tight grip on the regime's armed forces for at least 10 years and probably longer.

Appropriately signed under a portrait of Cecil Rhodes (the "father" of the racist Rhodesian regime), this scheme calls for an "independent Zimbabwe" that will be formally under majority rule, but in which the masses of the African people are still robbed and oppressed by a handful of capitalists (with a few black politicians helping to front for the white exploiters), and which will still be dominated by U.S. and British imperialism.

The fact that the white settler regime and its loyal black "opposition" were so desperate to reach a settlement is clear evidence of the strength of the armed struggle of the Zimbabwean people being led by the Patriotic Front, a steadily worsening internal economy, and the increasing international isolation of the racist Rhodesian government.

In January 1977, negotiations in Geneva, which included the Patriotic Front (composed of ZANU and ZAPU), broke down due to Smith's obstinate demands for an immediate end to the armed struggle and for insisting on an interim government which would keep the ministries of police and internal security—the armed forces of the state—firmly in the hands of the white settler regime. This whole plan was immediately rejected by the liberation forces and the front line African states.

This has led to an increasingly difficult position for U.S. and British imperialism, both of which have billions invested in Zimbabwe and southern Africa as a whole. As the armed struggle inside Zimbabwe

has stepped up in the last year—together with the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in southern Africa, the great upsurges of struggle inside South Africa and the growing inroads of the Soviet social-imperialists in Africa—the imperialist rulers of the U.S. and Britain have launched a desperate search for some sort of settlement short of complete liberation for the Zimbabwean people.

Regime Battered

While Smith and his eager black collaborators negotiated in a white-pillared mansion in Salisbury's wealthiest suburb, the liberation forces demonstrat-

ed their growing strength and ability to operate throughout Zimbabwe by staging a raid in the previously "secure" Salisbury area in January, killing two white mine officials. Though the government is reporting a "kill ratio" of 5-1, reminiscent of U.S. imperialism's bloated claims in Vietnam, most major roads in the country are now considered unsafe and the regime is desperately trying to isolate the people from the guerrillas. Three quarters of the black population in the northeast has been forced into "protected villages" surrounded by fences and housing about 2000 people apiece.

In the eastern border region near Mozambique, the Smith regime has recently issued new regulations imposing a curfew on adults between nightfall and noon, barring the use of bicycles and any other vehicles, and threatening execution by hanging for any villagers suspected of aiding the guerrillas.

Another important reason for the Smith regime's haste to work something out at the bargaining table is the steadily worsening Rhodesian economy. The regime's military spending rose last year to nearly \$1 million a day, and one third of the country's "skilled white labor" is tied up in the fighting. In agriculture, thousands of farmers have abandoned their estates because of guerrilla activity. Nearly

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Ian Smith and his Black collaborators Muzorewa, Chirau and Sithole scribble their names to Smith's "internal agreement" for so-called majority rule. Very appropriately, they were sitting under a picture of Cecil Rhodes.

ALD...

Continued from page 4

of workers of all nationalities and particularly Blacks are concentrated in some of the largest plants in the country. In Detroit, the working class and Black people have a history of very sharp struggle, including numerous walkouts and wildcats in the auto plants in recent years and the fierce rebellion in Detroit's Black ghettos in the summer of 1967.

Henry Ford himself is a good example of how the same capitalists who exploit U.S. workers also leech off the labor of black workers in Africa. Ford Motor Co. has had investments in South Africa longer than any other U.S. monopoly—since 1923. Presently it has \$70 million invested there. At a recent meeting with Prime Minister Vorster, Ford declared: "We are not going to move!"—speaking for the rest of U.S. big capitalists as well as for himself. In South Africa because of the repressiveness of the government which he backs up, he can pay black auto workers \$1.00 an hour. No wonder he cannot afford to move! But as the daily mounting struggle shows, the Azanian people have no intention of allowing bloodsuckers like him to make billions off of their oppression, and they are sure to topple the racist Vorster regime.

ALSC Grows

Last year's ALD, along with the work carried on since by the ALSC, have given a great impetus to the growth of this organization. ALSC has established itself more and more as a center of African liberation support work in the U.S. under its main slogan "Fight imperialism and national oppression from the USA to the USA!", pointing out the common enemy and common links between the struggle in Africa and the fight of workers and Black people and other minorities in this country.

During the past year, ALSC has led campaigns around the country in support of African liberation, linking these closely to the struggle in the U.S. against national oppression. ALSC took the lead in taking on the blood-soaked Krugerrand (the South African regime's gold coin it sells worldwide), a battle which has grown in scope, attracted many forces, and won

some significant victories.

It has linked up on the campuses with the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB, the youth and student organization of the Revolutionary Communist Party) to mobilize students in demanding an end to university investments in South Africa.

All of this, together with developments in Africa, creates an excellent situation for this year's ALD, and plans are already underway to involve as many people as possible in building for and participating in ALD.

Building for ALD

ALSC has called for a series of regional conferences to mobilize forces for this year's African Liberation Day. On March 11, ALSC is sponsoring a regional conference in Oakland, California which will be built for broadly and will deal primarily with four topics: The U.S. in southern Africa; the USSR in Africa; national liberation struggles in Africa; the situation in the Horn of Africa. Other regional conferences are being planned for the Midwest and the East. There will be no regional conference in the South, as ALSC will be concentrating there on building for a demonstration on May 18 in Nashville, Tennessee against the Davis Cup in which South Africa is scheduled to play.

On March 18, the Detroit ALSC will hold a program to commemorate the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, when 5000 Blacks gathered outside the police station at Sharpeville, South Africa as part of nationwide demonstrations against the regime's racist pass laws, and were fired on by police, killing 69 and wounding 200. This day has been commemorated ever since as a day of solidarity with the just struggle of the people in South Africa, and will be a step in building for this year's ALD in Detroit.

ALSC takes a clear stand in opposition to the contention for world domination by the two superpowers in Africa; it supports the struggle for liberation of the African people and it unites with the common struggle of minorities and other working people in this country to fight imperialism and national oppression.

Opportunists

In taking out this line, ALSC and others uniting to build African Liberation Day will have to contend with several opportunist forces in the field. The CP (ML), which has previously done little or nothing to build support for African liberation, has decided to

throw its hat in the ring in hopes of capitalizing on the growing support for the struggles in Africa. As usual, the CP(ML) will be promoting their social chauvinist line that, in supporting African liberation, the "main blow" must be aimed at the USSR. By doing this, they minimize the struggle to be waged against the U.S. imperialists in Africa and the special role of the working class and masses in the U.S., to oppose "our own" ruling class. Here in the U.S. the CP(ML) has made numerous overtures to various opportunists (including Ron Karenga, best known for his attack on the Black Panthers in the '60s) to join them in forming an African Liberation Support Group in a crass attempt to build themselves at the expense of the struggle.

Meanwhile, Stokely Carmichael, with his All African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) supports the USSR and Cuba as "socialist" countries, thereby disarming peoples' understanding of their real nature and of their sham "support" for liberation movements in Africa, and directing the struggle only against the U.S. Both of these outfits represent flip sides of the same coin and don't get down to a materialist assessment of the international situation. A further example of Carmichael's line can be found here in the U.S. Carmichael has worked actively for years to steer Black peoples' militant struggle against oppression and for revolution away from attacking the big capitalists and their system and away from uniting with the multinational working class of the U.S.; he has advocated instead pipe dreams about all Blacks belonging and returning to Africa and that the only real liberation for U.S. Blacks is through a socialist Africa!

And finally, the NAACP with its well known record of trying to co-opt and misdirect genuine peoples struggle, is now talking about building against the Davis Cup in hopes of keeping the whole thing under their control and as non-revolutionary, reformist and impotent as possible.

These various forces and lines will undoubtedly cause some confusion around the political significance of support for African liberation, and around ALD in particular. However, the overall situation is excellent for ALSC to unite a great many forces around the correct line of building a powerful African Liberation Day action, which will strike a real blow against the U.S. bourgeoisie, stand with the struggle in Africa against white minority rule, the superpowers and all reaction, and play a significant role in advancing the struggle of the masses in this country. ■



Social-imperialist division of labor: Russian "advisors" in their business suits and Cuban soldiers in their fatigues, at a ceremony in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Horn...

Continued from page 1

Soviet Arms and Cuban Troops

However, massive Soviet armaments and thousands of mercenary Cuban troops have arrived in Ethiopia (along with considerable aid from Israel—training Ethiopian troops, supplying spare parts for U.S. jets and tanks, as well as Soviet weapons captured from Arab countries during the 1973 Mideast War), whereas Somalia has received relatively small arms shipments from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and other countries tied to U.S. imperialism. Since the Ethiopian counter-offensive in the Ogaden, planned and led by Soviet "advisors" and Cuban troops, began on January 23, the Somalis have been losing ground steadily in the face of heavy artillery, large numbers of Soviet tanks, and day and night aerial strafing and bombardment by Soviet MiG's flown by Cuban pilots.

In strategic Eritrea, bordering the Red Sea, an estimated 1000 Cuban troops have been landed to bail out the beleaguered Ethiopian occupation forces, who are holed up in Asmara, Massawa, and a few other cities. At the end of February, Cuban troops were observed manning heavy artillery and Soviet-made rocket launchers as Ethiopian troops made an unsuccessful attempt to fight out of the capital city of Asmara. According to the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, Soviet warships have participated in the naval bombardment and near total destruction of the port city of Massawa, three quarters of which has been liberated by the EPLF.

With full Soviet-Cuban backup, the Mengistu regime has started daily bombing of the populated liberated areas in Eritrea using napalm and cluster bombs, and defoliation gas has been dropped on the main agricultural producing regions—reminiscent of the savage tactics employed by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. The Soviets' previous sham "support" for the Eritrean national liberation struggle has been thrown to the winds, since a landlocked Ethiopia would be of much less value to the social-imperialists.

This large-scale Soviet-Cuban military intervention is also aimed at tightening the fascist Mengistu regime's grip on the Ethiopian people. In February 1973 the Derg rode to power during the massive popular upsurge that toppled Emperor Haile Selassie. While taking on an anti-U.S. imperialist stance, claiming to be "socialist," the military regime, of course, has not changed the semi-feudal and semi-colonial class relations in the country. To keep itself in power, the Derg has unleashed wave upon wave of bloody repression on the people. Since 1974, 30,000 workers, peasants and youths—including thousands suspected of ties to the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party—have been massacred in cold blood.

The U.S. imperialists have been left in a weak position as the Soviets have used their ace in the hole, massive arms shipments and Cuban mercenaries. Their U.S. rivals have had to remain uneasily "neutral," contending that they are not supplying Somalia with arms directly or indirectly. U.S. policymakers have decided at least for now, that backing the Somalis in a big way would run the risk of alienating the vast majority of black African states (which is especially important to U.S. imperialism as the liberation struggles in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe move forward and the vultures in the Kremlin maneuver to advance their own imperialist interests at the expense of the African peoples.)

The Organization of African Unity has a long established policy that the old boundaries drawn by the imperialists in Africa, which cut across the tribal or ethnic makeup of many areas, cannot be changed by force. Since Somalia is clearly the territorial "aggressor," the OAU has taken Ethiopia's side in calling for the removal of Somali troops from Ethiopian territory.

The fact that U.S. imperialism's options are limited can be seen in the statement by Secretary of State Vance

on February 10, "We believe there should be a negotiated settlement. We believe that there should be a ceasefire, a withdrawal of Somali forces from the Ogaden and a withdrawal of Soviet and Cuban forces from Ethiopia. The U.S. even dispatched a high level delegation to Ethiopia to try to keep its future options open, just in case Derg decides to follow Egypt, Sudan, and Somalia in kicking out its Soviet and Cuban "friends." But at the same time top government spokesmen have told the Ethiopians that the U.S. would have to reconsider its position if Ethiopian-Soviet-Cuban forces cross the border into Somalia in "hot pursuit" or under any other pretext. Iran and Egypt, undoubtedly with full U.S. backing, have promised to send troops into the conflict if Somalia is invaded.

USSR Offensive on the Horn of Africa

This massive commitment of Soviet arms and puppet troops is a clear indication of the sharpening contention of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists in Africa and the Middle East. The Soviet Union, the newer and rising imperialist power, is today forced to aggressively challenge U.S. imperialism to obtain a more favorable division of the world in order to satisfy its growing appetite. The Horn of Africa, strategically located on the flanks of the Middle East, overlooks the Gulf of Aden and the vital Red Sea shipping lanes which carry most of Western Europe's oil from the Persian Gulf.

Over the last year, the U.S. imperialists have strengthened their position in the Middle East, especially in Egypt, Sudan, and somewhat in Syria, at the expense of their Soviet rivals—as shown by the ability of the U.S. to get a phoney "peace initiative" under way without having to cut the Soviets in on the action. Thus the New Czars are desperately hoping to use Ethiopia as a launching pad for their operations in the Middle East and in other parts of Africa.

The Soviet social-imperialists have been able to pull off this rapid turnaround because of the relative strengths and weaknesses of the two superpowers in the Horn at this time. A key strength of the New Czars is their highly centralized, fascist state apparatus, which allows them to commit their armed forces quickly and on a large scale in a region of sharp contention like the Horn of Africa with a minimum of organized resistance at home. The ability of the Soviets to pose as helping Ethiopia fight off "foreign aggression" has given them a tactical cover for their imperialist moves. In addition, Cuba's "revolutionary" image is far from being exposed in many parts of the Third World, and this makes it more possible politically for reactionary regimes masquerading as "revolutionary" (like the Derg) to call for Soviet-Cuban "fraternal aid."

The Soviets and their Cuban front men are clearly willing to risk ripping their "socialist" cover somewhat by throwing enough muscle into Ethiopia to keep the Derg in power, hoping this will be persuasive advertising for similarly beleaguered reactionary regimes elsewhere in Africa and the Third World. But the political price the New Czars are already paying for their \$1 billion investment in Ethiopia is growing exposure of the USSR's imperialist nature, as they enthusiastically applaud Mengistu's vicious attacks on the Eritrean national liberation movement and on the masses of the Ethiopian people.

The ability of the U.S. to counter these Soviet moves has been limited substantially by the history of U.S. imperialism on the Horn, just as the U.S.' long history of support for Portuguese colonialism in Africa gave the Soviets a big opening in Angola. Up until 1973, Ethiopia's comprador bourgeois government headed by Emperor Haile Selassie was U.S. imperialism's most reliable ally in non-Arab Africa, except for the white settler regimes in southern Africa. Ethiopia was the largest recipient of U.S. military aid on the continent and the U.S. built important military and CIA facilities there. This albatross hanging around U.S. imperialism's neck has favored Soviet penetration into the Horn, first in Somalia, and now in Ethiopia.

In addition, U.S. imperialism faces much greater difficulties than the USSR in drumming up support at home for new imperialist adventures in Africa, in large part due to the widespread exposure of U.S. imperialism's hideous features during the Vietnam War.

"Aggression" Not the Point

Because the Soviet Union has taken the offensive in the Horn it has provided a good opportunity for the U.S. imperialists to brand them as the "aggressors," while trying to cover over their own imperialist maneuvers in the area. This same cry has been picked up and echoed by the U.S. imperialists' faithful parrots on international affairs, the CP(ML), who continue to expose the aggressive moves of the USSR with not a word about the U.S. imperialists (Feb. 13, 1978 *Call*).

Contrary to the social-chauvinists like the CP(ML), U.S. imperialism is not weakly caving in to the appetite of the New Czars in the Horn of Africa, but is caught in a number of contradictions which restrict its options at present. For now, the U.S. is particularly working through Saudi Arabia and Egypt, who are trying to unite under their leadership a "moderate" pro-U.S. Arab bloc, and who have a hand in Somalia, Eritrea, and newly independent Djibouti, as well as firm ties with Sudan. The Soviet imperialists are moving aggressively on the Horn and have made some significant advances at the expense of U.S. imperialism, but this could change there rapidly in the future, just as the introduction of Castro's legions and Soviet weapons led to dramatic changes in the balance of forces.

What the events on the Horn make clear is the absolute impermissibility of communists basing their analysis of the superpowers on which one is playing the more "aggressive" role in a given situation. This bourgeois view of war is promoted by both the superpowers to obscure the real truth—that military adventures and wars spring from the imperialist system. Only by training the masses in this understanding will it be possible for the working class in the U.S. to correctly target "our own" bourgeoisie as it gets further entangled in skirmishes with the Soviets and prepares for world war. To hinge things on who starts a war is a sure recipe for capitulation, especially in the U.S., where under foreseeable conditions it is more likely the ruling class will be reacting in "defense" of its global empire.

The possibility of wider war and still further intervention by the superpowers in the Horn of Africa is increasing rapidly. On the other side, the struggle of the masses of people for liberation and revolution is on the rise, especially in Ethiopia and Eritrea. This situation requires close attention from proletarian forces throughout the world, to expose and oppose the aggressive moves of both the USSR and the U.S., and to wholeheartedly support the peoples' struggle. ■

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ISA Fights New U.S.-Savak Attacks

Mighty Upsurge of Struggle in Iran

In recent weeks, members of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) on campuses and in communities around the country have come under attack by local police, FBI and immigration agents, and Iranian secret police agents (SAVAK) posing as "pro-Shah students." These attacks are being launched chapter by chapter, city by city so they won't make national news.

Though the U.S. bourgeoisie and the Shah of Iran have been trying to put a stop to the ISA's political work for years, their recent attacks have stepped up in viciousness as well as desperation. This is a direct result of the new upsurges of mass struggle against the reactionary regime in Iran itself, and to the great advances made by the ISA and the Iranian student movement in exposing the regime during the November 15-16 demonstrations in Washington, D.C. against the Shah's visit to his imperialist masters in the U.S. By the time the two days of massive and militant demonstrations were over, the words "Shah" and "dictator" were synonymous for an enormous number of Americans who had known practically nothing about Iran before.

On the same days, thousands of students and workers in Tehran and other cities in Iran battled police and army troops in street demonstrations against the hated regime. Since November the Iranian people's revolutionary struggle has continued to surge forward to new heights. During January and February, a series of mass uprisings—by far the largest and most significant in recent years—have rocked Tabriz, Quom, Isfahan, Tehran, and many other cities with the common demands of "Down with the Shah," "Freedom for all Political Prisoners" (including many imprisoned and exiled progressive religious leaders), and "Down with the Fascist Regime!"

Uprising in Tabriz

Tabriz, the second largest city in Iran, located along the Turkish border, whose people are members of the oppressed Azerbaijan national minority, was the scene of the largest and most powerful popular uprising on the weekend of February 18-19. A few days earlier, tens of thousands of leaflets had been passed out in working class neighborhoods by students and revolutionary groups, wearing masks in order to hide their identities. "Saturday is the general uprising in commemoration of the martyrs of Quom" was painted all over the walls of Tabriz and many other cities in Iran.

On Saturday morning, thousands of people gathered to listen to speeches and commemorations of the regime's cold-blooded massacre of 200 of their brothers and sisters during a mass demonstration in the city of Quom 40 days earlier, on January 9. By 11 AM, the wrath of the people reached a boiling point. Between 150,000 and 200,000 marched through the streets of Tabriz, smashing upwards of 100 bank branches belonging to the Shah's ruling clique and to imperialist interests such as the Chase Manhattan Bank. Two of the most hated army officers in Tabriz were killed, and 82 of the SAVAK's cars were totally destroyed. Eight movie theaters specializing in imperialist culture and propaganda went up in flames. Particularly significant, the people of Tabriz completely destroyed the headquarters of the Shah's fascist Rastakhiz Party (or "Resurrection Party"), the only legal political party in Iran.

As the street battles in Tabriz spread and continued into Sunday, the Shah sent in thousands of armed troops, police, and SAVAK agents from all over Iran. The people fought back with captured guns, as well as wood, stones and uprooted parking meters. It is now estimated that over 500 people were killed, 700 severely wounded and thousands more picked up by the SAVAK and imprisoned.

The last year has seen the U.S. government launch a big public relations campaign to clean up the Shah's image, reporting that "human rights violations appear to be less frequent" and so forth, in order to justify continued U.S. political and military support for the fascist regime. Confronted with a massive popular upheaval in Iran that is being savagely attacked by the Shah's regime, the bourgeoisie imposed an almost total blackout on news from Iran.

To break through this concerted news blackout, the ISA held dozens of marches and demonstrations all across the U.S. and Europe from March 2-6. In one particularly militant action, the Iranian consulate in East Germany was occupied for a full day by Iranian students protesting the Shah's fascist rule.

The scattered stories about "riots" in Tabriz and Quom that have appeared in the U.S. newspapers all echoed "official" Iranian press reports that "reactionary religious leaders" were stirring the people up against land reform, the emancipation of women, and other "progressive measures" taken by the Shah. These were the same barefaced lies employed by the Shah's regime during the massive rebellions in June 1963, in the course of which 15,000 Iranian patriots were gunned down for supposedly opposing the Shah's "White Revolution."

While the uprising raged in Tabriz, there were reports that several units of the U.S. Army were placed on "ready alert" for three days running. This is the kind of thing Jimmy Carter was referring to when he told the Shah during his visit to Washington, that the U.S. would use military force to "defend" the Shah's regime and U.S. interests—not only against the rival imperialist USSR, but against the people of Iran.

As the masses of Iranian people continue to rise up—more organized, politically conscious, and determined to overthrow the Shah's regime than ever—the U.S. government will be forced to accelerate its aid to the Shah through an increase in arms, military advisors (and perhaps even U.S. combat soldiers). For this reason, opposing U.S. military aid to the Shah is particularly important to the just struggles of the people of Iran.

Stepped-Up Attacks on the ISA

Linked closely with the mass upheavals and the growth of revolutionary forces inside Iran, the bourgeoisie and the Shah's fascist regime have clearly targeted the ISA and the Iranian student movement for stepped up harassment and attack. In colleges where large numbers of Iranians are enrolled, administrations have been reporting progressive students to immigration as being "out of status" (thus being subject to arrest by U.S. immigration officials) under the slightest pretext, such as a missed class or a low number of units.

SAVAK agents have been allowed on campuses to set up phoney front organizations for the fascist regime, with names like "International Patriotic Iranian Organization," and have been trying desperately, and unsuccessfully, to bribe and threaten students into joining. School officials and local newspapers are claiming that now there are two "factions" among Iranian students, one "pro-Shah" and the other "anti-Shah," and that they should both have an equal right to "free speech."

But these SAVAK agents are not just public relations men for the Shah. For example, known SAVAK agents, backed up by the Chicago police at every turn, have repeatedly brought armed goons onto the Chicago YMCA

Community College campus since last October to provoke and attack ISA members and other progressive Iranian students. On January 18, two students were brutally attacked by known SAVAK agents armed with clubs and knives, and several Chicago cops who were close by arrested the SAVAK men. Immediately another group of Chicago police, who were obviously filled in better, emerged from a school building, took the first squad of cops aside, and proceeded to arrest the students and let the paid goons go free, congratulating them for "doing a good job."

During another earlier such incident at the Chicago YMCA campus, eight squad cars of Chicago cops arrived on signal, beating the Iranian students and arresting six. After this set-up, the school administration declared the ISA illegal in blatant violation of its own rules.

In the face of these desperate attacks, the ISA took the lead in forming a broadly based Committee in Support of Iranian Student Organizations, including faculty, staff, students, and other progressive groups on campus, which put the heat back on the school administration. At the end of February, school officials were forced to agree to reinstate the ISA, readmit a number of unjustly suspended Iranian students, and ban two known SAVAK agents from campus. However, the administration went back on its word several days later, and the struggle at the Chicago YMCA campus is certain to sharpen in the weeks ahead.

Repression in Oklahoma City

These low-life attacks have recently reached a new depth in Oklahoma City, where police have launched an open campaign of harassment against progressive Iranian students, stopping them on the streets, checking IDs and arresting those who aren't carrying their passports. In the month of February alone, the Oklahoma City police arrested 25 Iranian students on trumped-up charges, holding them on a total of \$150,000 bail.

The arrests developed out of an attempt by the administration at South West Oklahoma City College to deny the ISA the right to distribute literature on campus. When more than 100 Iranian students protested, the college president called in the police, who needed 25 fully loaded squad cars, helicopters and police dogs to carry out the arrests. In addition to charges of "trespassing" and "instigating a riot," the local D.A. slapped on another charge left over from the anti-Vietnam War protests—"refusal to leave a sit-in," which carries a \$1500 per person bail.

The ISA immediately hit back against these calculated attacks and organized a conference in Oklahoma City, attended by over 700 Iranian and American students. The conference was an overwhelming success and was followed several days later by a demonstration of 250 in Norman, Oklahoma demanding the dropping of all charges against the Iranian students.

The Iranian Students Association is determined to oppose and smash these attacks, just as they are determined to carry on the revolutionary struggle to do away with the Shah's bloody regime. All revolutionary and progressive forces in this country must join in the defense of the ISA and the Iranian student movement, and particularly must oppose the U.S. government's continued support for the reactionary regime of the Shah. ■

People Rise Up Against Somoza

In the face of the recent upsurge by the people in Nicaragua, the bloody dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, backed by the U.S. imperialists, is beginning to crumble. On January 10, Somoza ordered the murder of Pedro Juaquin Chamorro, editor of the only opposition newspaper in Nicaragua. The murder of Chamorro brought much of the hatred the people have against Somoza to a head. During the funeral march of 40,000 through the capital city of Managua, demonstrations were held. A general strike began. The National Guard was called in to try and put an end to the demonstration which set many buildings on fire, among them the New York Citibank and the Bank of Central America.

Shouting slogans like "Death to Somoza," "Down with U.S. Imperialism," the demonstrators set on fire

a building occupied by Plasmaferis, a blood plasma manufacturing firm specializing in buying blood from the poor and selling it to Western European countries and, especially, to the U.S. Somoza himself had begun this business along with some Cuban businessmen in exile. The operation had been exposed by Chamorro in his newspaper as "an inhuman trade in blood of Nicaraguans." Meanwhile the people have no medical services to speak of, with 6.8 doctors and 18.2 hospital beds for every 10,000 people.

The upsurge continued for several days. Workers along with broad forces including students and professionals took part, demanding that Somoza step down and calling for elections. On January 23 the general strike had grown to 300,000 workers and the economy was brought to a standstill. Later, on February 27, Somoza announced he would step down—but not until 1981! This announcement touched off a new series of demonstrations and armed clashes in Managua and other cities between the National Guard and broad sections of the people.

The Somoza dictatorship that has governed for four decades has been mainly the rule of one family aided and protected by the monopoly capitalists in the U.S., who have never hesitated to send their troops whenever their interests were in danger.

The current struggle is a continuation of the struggle that has been going on for more than a century. The roots of the struggle for liberation go as far back as the 1850s when the U.S. challenged British hegemony there. In 1910 the government signed an agreement that basically turned Nicaragua into a political and financial ward of the U.S. The 1920s was a time of large-scale influx of U.S. monopolies. U.S. Marines were present almost constantly from 1912-1933 to protect this in-

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CP(ML) Tells Masses "Let's Go Backwards"

Two Lines in Hawaii Eviction Fight

Since the Kalama Valley occupation of 1971, in which farmers, youth and workers took a determined stand against capitalist landowners and developers, eviction struggles have become a very important battle-front in Hawaii in the struggle against capital. From that first militant stand in Kalama to the Waiahole-Waikane Occupation (see *Revolution*, Feb. 1977) last year, these battles have grown from isolated struggles mainly fought by the affected residents into class-wide battles: on one side thousands of working people taking a stand against years of being driven down; on the other side, the capitalists whose profits and power are made with their foot hard on the masses' backs. Ever since the Kalama Valley struggle, revolutionaries and communists have united with these struggles playing a key role in determining the revolutionary direction. Many activists from these struggles united to join the Party at its inception.

Further, with the founding of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) in 1975, the Party actively united with these struggles, mobilizing the masses to fight in the class interests of the working class, and in each struggle striving to fulfill the three objectives (winning all that can be won, raising the level of consciousness of the masses, and developing and training communists), making every possible preparation for revolution, when conditions are ripe. Through militant mass struggle, through setbacks and advances and with sharp line struggle among communists as well as the masses, this hard and high road has been fought for in these eviction struggles.

Low Roaders Crawl on Stage

It is against this background that much can be learned by the activities of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) who have recently crawled onto the stage of the eviction struggle. The CP(ML) in attempting to increase their minimal influence in Hawaii, is dishing up a new serving of the outright reformism, revisionism and tailism that its predecessor, the October League, grew infamous for in their days of openly and unabashedly trailing every reformist or bourgeois current in society. Further, the CP(ML)'s pitiful attempts to undo the advances made in the Hawaii eviction struggles over the past years shows that the only thing consistent about the CP(ML)'s political line is their opposition to the working class and its Party, and it is their underlying reformism which, emerging once again to the surface in Hawaii, is the real basis on which the CP(ML) seeks to attract "other Marxist-Leninists" into their opportunist swamp.

With this in mind, it is worth examining the CP(ML)'s performance at a recent mass meeting on the island of Kauai. This meeting was held to get down on some communications problems among the various communities fighting evictions as well as to begin to sum up some major lessons that would help move the eviction struggles ahead.

The CP(ML) came to the meeting under the guise of helping to advance the common interests of the struggle. But their maneuvers proved that they had no common interests with the struggles of these working class people. Instead, in order to serve their own careers and interests, they tried to turn the meeting into a head-on attack against the RCP, hoping to discredit the role that the Party had played in these struggles in the eyes of people from the various communities.

The meeting opened with two letters and a statement being presented, signed by four people in or close to the CP(ML). The letters accused certain workers and revolutionaries close to the RCP of publicly taking a stand at a forum two years ago criticizing the leadership and line of the Ota Camp struggle (a working class community which had fought evictions several years back.)

We plead guilty. The stand of Party members in Hawaii has been that the Ota Camp struggle was an advance for eviction struggles in Hawaii in that it was one of the first large mass battles, that the residents of Ota Camp did take a fighting stand against their evictions, and that to an extent at the time this did serve to inspire others also to stand up and fight evictions in their communities. However, what we did criticize at the forum (held some months before the RCP was founded) and will hold to today is the *leadership* given to that struggle by a so-called Marxist lawyer, now a hack lawyer for the ILWU.

Now the CP(ML) is very acquainted with our line and practice around these eviction struggles. They have

seen our practice and in the past we have even engaged directly in line struggles against the reformism of some of the people who are their members and supporters today. So in attacking the Party they were clear what they were hitting at. But out of all of our recent practice why did they choose a struggle which took place *some four years ago*, two years before the Party was formed, to deal such a "hard blow"?

Precisely because they unite with this lawyer's revisionist and reformist line. What is this line? In those days, this "Marxist" lawyer had a lot of influence among revolutionaries and he had worked out a complete economist and revisionist line which he actively spread around. His line was to build community associations to take up these battles comprised only of tenants (he didn't want any revolutionaries or communists around) who would act as a pressure group in his "high-powered" finagling among the politicians. Much reliance was placed on the ILWU legislative lobbyists. Instead of mobilizing the masses as the real motive force, he would call on them periodically to demonstrate as his "power base" at key points in his maneuvers with the politicians and courts. A handful of "advanced" would be taken under his wing and become privileged to take part in all of this wheeling and dealing.

The rest of the people were to be mobilized, using the "carrot and stick" method, as this lawyer would boast. After all, he would argue, these people are only interested in their own selfish interests, they don't care about politics or broader issues. At times, with this line he was able to get some concessions for some of these communities. And these concessions he used as his personal capital to refute revolutionary line and practice being developed by genuine revolutionaries and communists.

In fact he tried to push his line as a model for all eviction struggles and at one time organized an organization known as the "Grassroots Coalition." The main activity of this group was to register people to vote so that they could become a pressure group in elections for governor.

This is the line and practice that the CP(ML) would take us to task for daring to criticize. Well, we did fight to kill that line, and at that forum, held as a way to clarify the lines of different groups calling for the formation of a new communist party, that line was soundly thrashed. And it was also at that time that those who went forward and united with the formation of the RCP took a decisive step away from this opportunist line and those who now unite with the CP(ML). This step led to a whole new stage in the anti-eviction struggles.

Party's Role

After the formation of the RCP, the Party continued to fight to develop a revolutionary line for these struggles. In opposition to the Grassroots Coalition, the Party, summing up experience of Kalama Valley and Waiahole-Waikane, fought to expose the line that said the only hope of workers was to rely on politicians and courts and to tread lightly while asking (if not begging) for concessions. The Party fought for the line that these struggles could only be waged successfully by uniting all who had common cause against our common class enemy—the capitalist class.

As this line developed, the Party played a key role in building the "Stop All Evictions Coalition" which led a massive demonstration of 1500 workers, youth, farmers, students and professionals. (See *Revolution*, March 15, 1976) And while this demonstration dealt a powerful blow against the capitalists, it was also significant that in the months leading to the demonstration, there was active struggle among all who participated around the role of the state, how do we deal with the courts, who do we rely on to wage these battles, is it right to fight back when attacked by the police, etc. By struggling over these questions and reaching unity, the Coalition was able to unite thousands across the islands, dealing a strong blow against the enemy and gaining a deeper understanding of the system we are fighting, capitalism.

CP(ML) Proposes—"Let's Go Backwards"

At the Kauai meeting it was clear that CP(ML) had chosen the line of the Ota Camp Struggle to defend because it is the same backwards line that they hope to



Residents of Waiahole-Waikane Valley burn eviction notices during struggle to keep their land and homes.

"revise" under a new "communist" guise. To put this line to practice they proposed some concrete steps backwards.

Their proposal was that an organization be formed made up of strictly those residents directly being affected by evictions. This meant no other workers, communists, youth or students. Of course, since it was their idea, they made an exception of themselves! Their reasoning was that right now workers' concerns were only around their immediate economic interests and that workers not involved in these struggles could not be rallied to play an active role and unite behind these struggles. Along with this they said that in order for the residents to learn from their own experiences, residents should exclude "outsiders" from their organization. A couple of community leaders did support this proposal, citing their own experiences and how hard it was for them to organize the people in their communities. One of the so-called communists from the CP (ML) united with this, talking about his own problem organizing on the job site, again holding that workers were interested in only bread and butter issues.

This proposal was a complete reversal of correct verdicts—a negation of the advances in organization and understanding made over the past several years. This proposal was directly opposed to the line that the RCP, together with others, has fought for in these struggles, and uniting with it would call for taking the big strides backwards from real advances that had been gained in building these eviction battles.

What have been these advances that the CP(ML) wants to reverse? While the CP(ML) may think that workers can't be united except around the "carrot and stick" approach, the experience gained around the Waiahole-Waikane struggle has proved the opposite.

In stark opposition to this revisionist garbage, in uniting with these eviction struggles, the RCP has applied its basic line of building the united front against imperialism under the leadership of the proletariat. That is, "to unite with those engaging in every such battle; to make clear through the course of these struggles the common enemy and the common cause of the masses of people; to develop fighters on one front against the enemy into fighters on all fronts; and to show how all these contradictions arise from and relate to the basic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and can only be finally resolved through the revolutionary resolution of this basic contradiction—the seizure of power by the proletariat and the continuation of the revolution to the elimination of classes and class conflict." And, "To do this the working class must take up and infuse its strength, discipline and revolutionary outlook into every major social movement." (RCP Programme, pp. 98-99, 102-3)

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D.C. Jobs Gathering

Reformism—Key Link in CP(ML) Campaign

If one were to merge CPUSA revisionism with Keynesian bourgeois economics and apply it to the question of unemployment the result would be something like this: *Most of the misery and economic hardship of the masses is the result of unemployment. It is therefore necessary to do away with unemployment. War, which is the capitalists' traditional solution to the problem, is unacceptable to the masses. What is necessary is for people to get organized in large numbers and pressure the government to create enough jobs to eliminate unemployment and all the misery it causes.*

For those who may wonder why we would concoct such a merger and report its results, we assure you it is no mere diversion to pass the time. Believe it or not, in the real world there exists an organization which for the last five months has carried out conscientiously and in a determined manner the very line summarized above.

We are referring, of course, to the CP(ML), whose recent campaign for Jobs or Income Now (JOIN) proved once again that ideological acrobatics can occasionally draw a crowd. (Though apparently not as big a crowd as they had hoped, since they found it necessary to embellish reality somewhat by reporting in the *Call* that their February 18 demonstration drew 2200 people, when in fact about a thousand were there. Given their long history of distortions and outright lies, this latest example reveals nothing new except, perhaps, the limits of CP(ML)'s imagination. They could just as easily have reported 5000.)

Throughout the entire campaign the CP(ML) assured all who were interested that it was "targeting the system" in its fight for jobs. But close scrutiny of the *Call* from the beginning of the campaign to the end reveals that their disjointed organ gives "the system" kid glove treatment.

Take, for example, the quote from a CP(ML) representative in Washington, DC: "All the problems that people face relate in one way or another to the lack of jobs and to attacks on people's living standards." And this from his fellow JOIN organizer: "We'll be fighting every day, every week in every city we can to get the people some jobs." (*Call*, Jan. 30, p. 3) Feel U.S. Imperialism reeling from the blow of this devas-

tating thunderbolt! These opportunists have rendered both revisionism and Keynesianism less profound!

Actually, all this has a familiar ring to it. The CP(ML)—and the OL before it—has always presented whatever campaign they happened to be taking up at the time to be "the main source of all the problems people face." Many remember the OL's notorious "Dump Nixon—Stem The Fascist Tide" campaign of a few years back. All areas of mass work were channeled into this reformist move to "unparalyze Congress" and force some imaginary progressive section of the bourgeoisie to put a leash on the "fascist section." While the "fascist tide" never reached the shore, it is safe to say that the OL had nothing to do with its failure to arrive.

Now unemployment is the new "main source of all the problems" and once again the CP(ML) musters every force it can, gearing all its mass work toward pressuring the government, this time to "get the people some jobs."

Through all of OL-CP(ML)'s ping pong development back and forth between open rightism and "left" dogmatism, the fundamental and pervasive rightist essence shines through for all to see.

CP(ML)'s "United Front"

These Browderites may cry "foul!" but the only thing foul about it is the very line itself. Their whole campaign, and the JOIN Coalition they formed to carry it out, supposedly represents the ultimate in "united front work." But what does "united front" mean? Does it mean, as we say in our Party's *Programme*, "... that at each stage of the struggle the proletariat isolates the main enemy [the U.S. monopoly capitalists] to the greatest degree possible, by concentrating its attack on that enemy, and unites all who can be united against the enemy"? No, indeed. According to the CP(ML) it means "bringing together people from a wide spectrum of political beliefs" (*Call*, Feb. 27, 1978) to fight for a particular demand, in this case the demand for jobs.

It is true that in building the united front under the leadership of the working class and its Party, people of varying political persuasions will become actively involved. But to make this a principle and the primary method of your mass work as CP(ML) does is a common feature of revisionists of all stripes. And the idea that proletarian ideology and politics can actually influence and lead such a hodge-podge is totally out of the question.

In fact the roots of this perversion of the concept of "united front against imperialism" go back a long way. In the days of RYM 2 and the formation of the October League, Klonsky criticized the RU for recognizing the united front against imperialism under the leadership of the proletariat as the strategy for revolution in the U.S. Instead, Klonsky held that the united front could only be a tactic to bring together different forces around a particular issue. Ironically enough, they criticized the RU line as a cover for the Anti-Monopoly Coalition of the CP, which is based on uniting diverse groups and individuals, not for the purpose of advancing the revolutionary struggle, but for reforms.

While they long ago changed their formulation, the CP(ML) never altered the essence of their line on the united front. Instead of a strategy through which "the proletariat and its Party is able to win over the great majority of society to fight for revolution, as the conditions for revolution ripen, and the masses recognize that revolution is the only road forward" (*RCP Programme*), the CP(ML) sees it only as a tactic for winning reforms. It is this essence which makes the CP(ML)'s "united front" a genuine replica of the CP's "Anti-Monopoly Coalition."

But while the CP(ML) is most akin to the CPUSA politically, their organizational approach borrows at least as heavily from the long-discredited methods of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party during the anti-Vietnam war movement. The SWP always sought to have as many endorsements as possible for their activities, regarding this as the key link in mobilizing the masses. In particular, they went after those with big names and "heavy" reputations, regardless of what role they play in the struggle. Of course, the SWP carried this to the criminal extreme of inviting big time imperialist spokesmen—however the CP(ML) is not enough of a force to attract these types.

For the CP(ML), the compilation of lists becomes a substitute for their "united front." This is no mere assertion, for the CP(ML)'s practice over the past few months provides living proof. They flaunt a list of "over 200 groups and individuals" who agree that unemployment is a problem and people should have jobs. (Of course, there is nothing wrong with this sentiment. In fact nearly 200 million people in this country and untold thousands of organizations would wholeheartedly agree.) But rather than risk scaring them away by providing revolutionary leadership to these people (not that they ever could) the CP(ML) takes a random sampling of them and publishes their statements in various editions of the *Call*, as positive examples, one must assume, for the masses to learn from. As a result, we get such gems as the idea that we can "keep on marching 'till we get socialism" or that "when we get all the poor together, we will have a revolution." (One wonders what type of "revolution" the CP(ML) is trying to promote, since this last quote is attributed to a member of Stokeley Carmichael's bourgeois-nationalist All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party, that openly holds that the future for Black people in the U.S. will be decided in Africa! It seems that the Browderites will accommodate with any ragged line.)

CP(ML)'s Reformism

And if the CP(ML) tries to argue that this tripe represents only the views of the people quoted, then why don't they put forward their own *substantially different* and *scientifically revolutionary* views? Their line comes out alright, but if anything it is worse than the idiocy quoted above. For example, this helpful hint to the bourgeoisie from a "JOIN activist": "... break the work week down to fewer hours a week. That way more people could work. And if we don't take any pay cuts, then those of us with jobs don't have to suffer." (From the article "Tell The People We Can Fight And Win Jobs!", *Call*, Jan. 30, p. 3) Or this from our D.C. representative of CP(ML): "... it's not enough to say that you yourself have a job today ... you may not have a job tomorrow and then you'll be out in the streets." Could there be any clearer denial than this of the *class basis* for the unity of employed and unemployed? Must you appeal to the most narrow self-interest of employed workers in order to drag them reluctantly into the struggle?

If the CP(ML) wants to wave the February 20th edition of the *Call* in front of us and claim that nothing previous to it counts we will gladly take them up on it. Here, for the first time, we are treated to not one, but two articles designed to throw a thin "Marxist" veneer over the utterly reformist line they had been pushing for months. Now that they have assembled their crowd on the streets of D.C., now that they no longer have to worry about scaring anyone away (after all, no one will read the new *Call* until after the demonstration—if at all), only now does CP(ML) cough up some quotes from Marx's *Capital* and make a lame attempt to apply them to today's conditions. This is their idea of giving proletarian leadership to the United Front!

But it just won't wash. For in their rousing finale (entitled "Fight For Jobs—A Communist View") we are treated to nothing more than a tired rehashing of the same reformist trash, with a few statements aimed at covering up what the CP(ML) had been doing: "We must resist the efforts of the imperialists and their agents to sow illusions about 'reforming' capitalism, and instead build our movement with the perspective of overthrowing it." But most of the article is undisguised rightism. It even resurrects the tattered reformist slogan "Jobs Not War!", which they claim poses the only alternative to "the imperialists' solution to unemployment—another war ...". Apparently an example of how the CP(ML) is combatting "illusions about reforming capitalism!"

The CP(ML) Jobs campaign exemplifies graphically the fact that these reformists are working to reconstitute the old CPUSA as it was before it went thoroughly revisionist, while keeping (and raising to a principle) all the rightism which eventually led to its total degeneration. They even presented as the CP(ML) speaker Odis Hyde, that Browderite relic from the past, who promised to arise from his grave and shout "hallelujah!" once "social justice" is established in this country. A fitting ending to CP(ML)'s reformist road show.

As a final note, it is interesting (and predictable) that a small handful of phonies posing as the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) and the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) attended this reformist parade. We assume these were some former members or followers of the RCP who left the revolutionary struggle to dabble in Menshevism. Both UWOC and the NUWO have made it clear that they did not endorse or participate in the CP(ML) charade, and both are justifiably angry that these imposters would try so crudely to deceive the masses and slander the two organizations. For any honest revolutionaries who may have been under the influence of these charlatans for any length of time, this should serve to further expose the nature and depth of their political depravity. ■

Hawaii...

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Under the guidance of this revolutionary line Party members in Hawaii have united with and helped give leadership to the eviction struggles. In late 1976, the Party united with workers to build Workers United to Defend Waiahole-Waikane. Formed to help build broad support among workers behind the Waiahole-Waikane struggle. It was an organizational form which, together with the Party's work with the Waiahole-Waikane Community Association and independently, made it possible to fight to bring the strength, discipline and revolutionary outlook of the working class to this mass struggle. (See *Revolution*, February 1977)

Along with carrying the struggle to their fellow workers, Workers United to Defend Waiahole-Waikane united with the Waiahole-Waikane Community Association to call a mass meeting to unite the broadest sections of people, including youth, students, lawyers, doctors, Hawaiian organizations and others. Rather than "appealing" to these other forces on narrow self-interest terms or begging for their mercy, the political work amounted to targeting the capitalist enemy and boldly dealing head on with the questions and doubts that many of the masses did have about the struggle and how it was being fought. Doesn't the landlord have the right to evict people, isn't the law on the landlord's side, don't we have to obey court orders, how can we defend the valleys, doesn't a capitalist have the right to invest any way he wants? These were some of the questions that were struggled out in meetings, at work, on street corners and on radio and TV.

The broad support the struggle was receiving along with the revolutionary political work carried out even forced the bourgeois press to carry big articles and editorials in which they both tried to apologize for and defend the "system of private property." When concessions were won, no politician could easily say he

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Terms of Rotten Proposal

Carter said it was a good contract. West Virginia Governor John D. Rockefeller IV said it provided for the "human needs" of the miners. Arnold Miller said it was the best offer the miners were going to get. And the coal operators grumbled that it was more than they wanted to give. But rank and file miners knew as soon as they saw it that the contract proposal agreed to by Miller, the union's bargaining council and the coal operators in the White House was a piece of trash.

The media gave big play to the 37% wage and benefit increase the contract offered over three years—31% in wages and 6% in benefits. But that's a typical trick of the capitalists: offer what sounds like a big wage increase to get workers to sell their key demands, in this case the right to strike in particular.

First of all, miners had made it clear long before the contract negotiations started that, although they were demanding a healthy wage increase, this wasn't and isn't the main thing they are fighting for. It's the ability to maintain their strength and their main weapon, the strike, in the ongoing battles with the coal companies. Secondly, even the wage increase doesn't live up to advance billing.

According to the *Wall Street Journal* a miner with two kids working an average of 1800 hours a year—and most miners work far less hours—would earn a gross income of \$18,360 by 1980 up from \$14,040 last year. But after adjusting for taxes and possible inflation rates, the *Journal* concludes, "There is no small chance that they will end up going backward." Thank you Mr. Capitalist for the clarity of your confession.

The rejected contract not only provided no right to strike, a central demand of the rank and file, it went

a long way to give the coal operators the weapons they demanded to choke off the miners' ability to strike. The hated "stability" clause was somewhat toned down from the original proposal, but still provided that a miner "who has picketed or otherwise been actively involved in causing an unauthorized work stoppage or sympathy strike . . . shall be subjected to discipline, including discharge." Any miner the company could charge with instigating a strike could be fired.

Another key demand of the rank and file was for complete restoration of medical and pension benefits and for a guarantee and increase of the union's Health and Welfare Funds. The rejected contract would have abolished the funds altogether, substituting for them private company plans and would have eliminated the free medical care that miners have had for 30 years, forcing them to pay a deductible of up to \$700 a year. The union's medical clinics would be phased out. As for the private health plans proposed, the contract did not even contain specific language as to what these would be.

The rejected contract would cut medical benefits for the widows of miners down to one month after their spouses' death.

One of the most important demands in the eyes of most rank and file miners was for equalization of pensions for miners who retired before 1974 and those who retired after that year. The former get only \$250 a month, less than starvation levels, and the latter get about \$550 a month, more but not enough. The proposed contract provided for no equalization.

The list of outrages goes on and on. As one miner put it, "This contract would have set us back 30 years. There was no way in hell we were going to swallow it!"

paid no more attention to mine safety than did the coal owners, or than the federal mine safety inspectors do today.

At about the same time as the strike after the Centralia disaster, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, with its anti-strike injunctions and strike-breaking 80 day "cooling off" clause. During the summer of 1947 a new contract was finally signed between the miners and coal operators, who were back in control of the mines. But in March 1948 miners struck again because of company violations of the contract, especially their refusal to pay pensions to retired miners.

This time the companies and the government tried to use their new weapon, Taft-Hartley. Miners ignored and defied the court injunction for several weeks until Lewis finally ordered them back to work. Since then miners have established a fine, proud tradition of spitting on that reactionary piece of anti-working class legislation.

Two points stand out from previous mine seizures and the use of the Taft-Hartley. First, the government was forced to agree to terms in the contract that were bitterly opposed by most coal operators, but only because the miners fought and struck just as hard under federal control as they did against the companies. Second, the government ignored and violated the terms of the contracts with as much abandon as the coal companies did. When the companies took control of the

mines again, they rejected all the terms the government had agreed to, and miners had to strike again to keep what they had won in the previous battles. Nothing but the resistance of the miners themselves and the support they received from the rest of the working class and other sections of the people was responsible for the workers' gains.

But equally important to understand is that 1978 is not 1946. Today the U.S. capitalist class as a whole is in a far worse economic position than they were at that time, when they had just emerged victorious from World War 2 and were entering what they called the "American Century." In 1946 when the government intervened on behalf of the capitalist class as a whole, they were in a material position to grant the miners some concessions. These few concessions, made in the face of militant struggle, have ever since been used to paint the government—particularly government seizure—as a neutral or more "reasonable" force. Today, with the troubled position of U.S. capitalism, they are not in the same material position and are overwhelmingly interested in "bringing labor stability to the coalfields"—that is, smashing the miners struggle.

Government Not Neutral

The idea that federal seizure of the mines will be in the interests of the miners in this situation is a pure and simple lie. First and foremost, government seizure is a desperate attempt to break the miners strike by tricking them back to work with promises of "fairer treatment." The government is no neutral force. It is a weapon in the hands of the capitalist class, providing the muscle and authority for keeping the working class enslaved. Why else have they thrown so much in this strike and throughout the wildcat struggles behind the coal operators' efforts to smash the miners struggle?

Government seizure is an attempt by the capitalists to accomplish by deception what they feel they cannot now accomplish by open force without paying too high a political price. They aim to stick it to the miners and they are united, coal operators and government alike, in their determination to stop the miners militant struggles. Without government intervention in some form, the coal operators would be up against the wall. Within this basic unity, it may be that some in the capitalist class do not give much of a damn for some of the particular demands of the coal owners, particularly if getting them means a more prolonged strike and the use of massive force to enforce the Taft-Hartley. So by the time the government is done, they may have to grant a few token concessions to the miners struggle, perhaps in the areas of wages, health or pensions. But it is extremely unlikely that these will be major concessions. It is even more unlikely that there will be any substantial concessions around the right to strike or penalties for wildcats—and if there are some, they will be set up in such a way as to turn them around immediately.

It is a victory, a testament to the strength of the miners struggle that the capitalists feel they cannot rely mainly on the Taft-Hartley and open force. The miners have refused to bow their heads in the face of such threats throughout this strike and have gone beyond all the capitalists' "proper and sacred bounds" of legality. This is an inspiration and an example to all workers. But government seizure is an attempt to turn this around. Ironically, the state—the key weapon of the

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Miners...

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forced back to work without a contract, but the government also takes the companies' profits. It takes them all right—and puts them in trust or escrow, to be returned to the bosses when an agreement is reached, probably with interest.

The whole thing was a slick maneuver to get the miners back to work without a contract as soon as possible. Run out the Taft-Hartley and then hit them with a federal takeover as a "better alternative." In essence what they are trying to do is force the struggle out of the arena of rank and file action and put it on the bourgeoisie's terms: You've got to give in to some form of federal intervention. Which one do you prefer?

Government seizure is about as much a two edged sword as a guillotine. This is by no means the first time that government intervention in the coal fields has occurred. The government has seized the mines on numerous occasions and the only way the miners won their demands was through continued striking. Roosevelt took over the mines three times during World War 2, including in 1943 when miners struck for increased wages and portal to portal pay (pay from the time they entered the mine shaft until they emerged at the end of the shift). Up until then miners were paid only for the time they worked at the mine face, even though they spent considerable time going through the tunnels to arrive at the place where the coal was being dug. But even with government control in 1943, miners struck three times until their demands were won.

In 1946, Truman seized the mines for over a year after the coal miners struck, principally for medical benefits and pensions. The government was forced to negotiate a settlement with the UMWA setting up a system of medical benefits for the first time in the history of the coalfields—benefits which are once again under attack by the coal operators.

But the government soon began to play fast and loose with the agreement as it prepared to turn the mines back over to the coal owners and the owners made it clear that they were not about to abide by the terms of the agreement between the Truman Administration and the UMWA. On November 20, 1946 the miners struck again. The government was eventually forced to back down, but only after Truman decided to try to slap the miners around, to teach them a lesson. He got a court injunction against the strike and the union was fined \$3.5 million. UMWA president John L. Lewis was hit with a \$10,000 personal fine. For all his gruff talk and sometime militancy during the war and the immediate post-war years, Lewis called off the strike and sent the miners back to work.

In March 1947 while the mines were still controlled by the government, a mine explosion in Centralia, Illinois killed 111 men. Mines shut down all over the country as outraged miners walked out. The government



Rank and file miner at the ratification vote in Bulpit, Illinois shows his disgust and anger at the sellout contract engineered by Miller and the coal operators.

Support Grows Nationwide

Rank & File Actions In Coalfield Battle

Coal miners are in the front lines of the workers' battle against the capitalists' efforts to drive down the conditions of the working class and break its fighting spirit and organization. Throughout the country workers, students and other progressive forces are mobilizing to build a solid front of support for workers in the coalfields.

As a national leaflet put out by the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) put it: "The current coal strike now shaking this country is a tremendous battle for the cause of working people. The defiance and proud determination of the miners against the combined forces of the coal companies and the rest of the capitalists has inspired working people everywhere. Fellow workers, we need to solidify our ranks behind our brothers and sisters in the coalfields."

The miners have for three months beaten back the efforts of the capitalists to bludgeon them into accepting contract proposals that would take away many of the gains they have won in the past and wrap chains on their ability to fight back in the future.

In the first months of the strike the miners focused their rank and file action against the scab coal producers the capitalists were counting heavily on to keep coal production flowing. As the traitor Arnold Miller and the coal operators started to churn out their sell-out proposals, miners moved to throw them back in their faces.

Miners Right to Strike Committee

The Miners Right To Strike Committee, affiliated with the NUWO, has played an increasingly important role in influencing the strike. Through strike bulletins and leaflets they have pointed the road forward and they have worked to unite miners around a fighting program of the rank and file's key demands.

On March 10, miners from Districts 17 and 21, including the Miners Right To Strike Committee, rallied in Charleston, denounced the Taft-Hartley injunction and restated their demands, the only terms on which they would go back to work. 200 miners stormed the office of Governor Rockefeller.

After Miller and the bargaining council presented the latest proposal, members of the Committee along with 500 other miners stormed a meeting in Madison, West Virginia called by UMWA hacks to convince lower level officials that they should get behind the Miller-BCOA contract proposals.

In late February, the Committee and other rank and file forces held a rally of 300 people in Charleston. Speakers stressed that the rank and file had to move from just being against Miller's sellouts to unite around positive demands. After the rally miners formed a car caravan to the headquarters of the Kanawha Coal Operators Association. Miners took over the building and plastered the walls with their demands. They trapped Quinn Martin III, head of the operators' association in his office. Following this, a group of miners moved to demonstrate at the federal court where four UMWA brothers are up before a Grand Jury charged with a bombing during last summer's wildcat.

Car caravans, meetings and rallies are being held throughout the coalfields to mobilize and harden the ranks for the next stages in this battle.

NUWO Builds Support

The Organizer, the internal newsletter of the NUWO emphasized recently that support work needs to be built on two fronts. "It is important to build this campaign broadly among our fellow workers, especially in the plants," and also to do general public opinion work "to create the broadest public support for the strike."

On February 25, workers from the Chicago-Gary NUWO formed a car caravan to Indianapolis, Indiana where they met with NUWO members who had come from Cincinnati, Dayton, Louisville and St. Louis to denounce the use of National Guard troops by the Governor of Indiana to move scab coal. A member of the Miners Right to Strike Committee in West Virginia addressed the rally and workers stepped forward from numerous plants to give messages of solidarity and turn over money that had been collected in their shops for support of the strike effort.

In San Francisco, 70 people demonstrated at the Federal Building in support of the miners, and in Hawaii 40 supporters of the miners glued a proclamation of support on the front of the Federal Build-

ing at a rally called by the NUWO.

As we go to press NUWO chapters in Boston, New Jersey and Reading, Pa. are planning rallies and a car caravan to take money and food collected from fellow workers to the coalfields. In New York NUWO members united with the call put out by the NUWO Executive Committee in Chicago to build broad support. Collections are being taken up in the auto plants and steel shops. They set up tables in the garment district, passed out leaflets, playing the record "Bloody Ludlow", and collected donations for the miners.

In Detroit Auto Workers United to Fight, part of the NUWO, concentrated on three auto plants, putting out support leaflets and collecting money and canned goods. An AWUF member took the money and food to West Virginia where the Miners Right to Strike Committee arranged a press conference, pointing to the AWUF action as an example of the solidarity between miners and workers all over the country. AWUF followed up with another leaflet to the same plants, telling what had happened in West Virginia.

In Pittsburgh on February 2, the NUWO organized a contingent of miners, electrical and steel workers in a march of 400-500 called by some top officials of the UMWA and some political opportunists. The NUWO members were able to influence the march with chants and banners, focusing on the miners demand for the right to strike and denouncing the use of Taft-Hartley. On Feb. 16 the NUWO helped take over a Public Utilities Commission hearing in Pittsburgh called to consider a request by Duquesne Light to cut power and raise rates because of the strike. Two NUWO speakers were shown on TV reports talking about the cutback in power and layoffs as schemes of the capitalists to divide workers and turn them against the miners.

In Cleveland in mid-February, 15 NUWO members took over a meeting called by the White House to gather politicians from eight states and the utility companies to figure out how to keep coal stockpiles up. They marched in, took over the microphone for 35 minutes and denounced the strike breaking character of the meeting.

The support that exists among working people was

vividly demonstrated in Los Angeles. At one unemployment office in an extremely impoverished section of the Black ghetto, UWOC has been forced by the cops to set up its table about 80 yards from the office across a field that the recent rains made a quagmire of mud. UWOC leafleters stood their ground at the door of the office and directed people to the table. Scores of people walked all the way across the field to the table to sign support statements and contribute to the strike out of the little money they had.

Caravan to West Virginia

These are but a few of the examples of the support work that the NUWO is building. As we go to press plans are being finalized for a NUWO caravan from throughout the Midwest and East Coast to Charleston, West Virginia on Saturday March 11 to join in an action called by the Miners Right To Strike Committee against the Taft-Hartley injunction and federal intervention in the coal strike.

The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade has also taken up support work for the miners. At Purdue University in Indiana, the school administration cancelled all night classes and prohibited any night meetings on campus, so that the light on campus could be turned off early and energy conserved. The RCYB chapter at Purdue took this on, exposing the fact that the administration was doing this to generate sentiment against the coal strikers. They held a very successful *night* program on campus, telling the administration to try to stop them. The school officials backed down. In California, Brigade chapters have gathered hundreds of signatures on support statements. At Kent State in Ohio and the University of Massachusetts in Amherst members of the Miners Right to Strike Committee came on the invitation of the students to talk and explain the issues in the strike at programs organized by the RCYB.

In the course of the support work of the NUWO and the RCYB as well, it has been necessary to expose the role of various opportunists who are trying to cash in on the miners struggle and confuse the key issues in the strike.

The revisionists who formerly were in the RCP have played a particularly disgusting role. They first tried to split the Miners Committee and pawn off a lonely supporter of theirs in the coalfields as the legitimate "committee." When this shuck failed, they turned around and started slandering the Committee as an "insignificant force!" (for more, see article below)

But the pitiful efforts of the revisionists to sabotage support for the miners struggle will not be successful. The miners have stood up to the coal operators and the entire capitalist class and workers around the country will continue to stand with this fight as a key battle against the capitalist enemy. ■

Stage Set for New Advances

NUWO Defeats Wreckers

The formation of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) last September in Chicago marked an important advance for workers in this country as a class, forging a nationwide organization to take up and fight the key battles of the class and of the masses of people against capitalist oppression. The RCP has been actively involved in building the NUWO, and, overall, significant advances have been made. But just as the NUWO developed out of many important struggles of the working class across the country, so the work of the Party in helping build and give leadership to it has taken place amid sharp internal class struggle.

It is only natural that the recent struggle to expose and defeat a small but arrogant bourgeois headquarters within the Party would have repercussions in the Party's mass work. It is also not at all surprising that people who call themselves "communists" but take an anti-communist, anti-working class stand in a struggle within the Party would take the same rotten stand consistently and everywhere, including in mass organizations. This has clearly been the case within the NUWO.

The struggle in the NUWO has been particularly important in the recent period because of the fierce battle raging in the coalfields. At its Founding Convention the NUWO adopted a resolution calling for a major, nationwide campaign around the miners' contract fight, which was then nearly four months away. The impending strike was correctly seen by most of the convention delegates as a front-line battle whose outcome would be of critical importance to the entire working class. But from the time of the convention, until just recently, this important campaign was sabotaged by the wrecking activity of a handful

of opportunists who held responsible positions on the Executive Committee of the NUWO.

Mensheviks Opposed NUWO Formation

The foreman of this wrecking crew was also one of the leading Mensheviks, formerly within the RCP, whose factionalism and splitting tactics have resulted in humiliating defeat for them, and an important victory for the Party and the whole working class. This hack had opposed the formation of the NUWO from the very beginning, on the grounds that it was "premature" at that time, denying the fact that the class struggle had advanced to the point where many workers could be won to see the need for and help build such an organization. While this line failed to recognize the objective need for such an organization and the fact that the time was ripe for its formation, it also clearly reflected the Mensheviks' long-held view of intermediate workers organizations as economist federations of trade union caucuses, and not as "one important organizational form in which communists can unite with advanced workers to build the united front against imperialism under proletarian leadership and develop into communists the advanced workers who continually come forward in struggle." (RCP *Programme*, p. 109)

When it became clear to the Mensheviks that the NUWO would be built in spite of their opposition, they changed tactics mid-stream and worked hard to "get in on the ground floor" so as to build their own careers and use their positions in the NUWO as weapons in their factional attempt to seize control of the Party.

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Important Advances Made

How to View Results of I-Hotel Struggle

Editors note: This article was written by Party members in the San Francisco Bay Area who have played a leading role in the struggle for the International Hotel and in other battles in the Chinatown community. It speaks to the question of how politically to view the victories and setbacks, especially the eviction, in the course of the I-Hotel fight.

The International Hotel eviction came as a shock to many people. The struggle had become such a symbol, dealing blows to the capitalists time and time again, that people began to believe that perhaps the tenants could never be evicted. The massive military operation launched against the I-Hotel outraged thousands of people, but there was also a lot of demoralization. People spontaneously tended to sum up the I-Hotel struggle as a defeat and a failure. This spontaneous tendency was fed and promoted by some who tried to claim leadership of the I-Hotel battle, including the top leadership of the International Hotel Tenants Association (IHTA). People like this, some of whom called themselves "revolutionaries" and "communists," who saw and tried to direct the struggle in the most narrow, reformist way, could hardly be expected to sum up this struggle in any other way.

How should we evaluate the results of this battle? Like everything else the answer to this question is part of the class struggle and depends on just what your outlook and aims in the struggle have been. If it is merely a question of *immediate results*, you can only see this battle as a defeat, become demoralized and lead the masses no farther. Of course the eviction was a tremendous blow, and in the sense that the tenants were evicted from their homes, a defeat. But from a revolutionary point of view, the real question of results is far broader. Throughout this battle, Party members struggled to grasp and apply the words of Karl Marx in the *Communist Manifesto*: "Now and then the workers are victorious [under capitalism], but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers."

The masses of people and the Party fought hard to win, to beat back the eviction. But the fact of the matter is this wouldn't be capitalism if it didn't produce crises and attacks on the masses. And until the capitalists are overthrown, they are going to organize their forces, and use all the weapons in their arsenal, including the power of their state, to hit back. What the reformists are blind to is that this *is* capitalism and you can't reform it. You can force them to back off and you can win some important victories—as the working class and the oppressed nationalities have done countless times in the past. But as Marx points out, until capitalism is overthrown, even such victories will come under attack and setbacks will be common. This is the first thing to remember in evaluating the "results" of this or any battle waged against the capitalists.

Secondly, because no struggle that is waged can escape these basic facts, results have to be gauged by to what extent the three main objectives were achieved that Party members strive to fulfill in every struggle of the masses: 1) to win as much as can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy; 2) 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 3) to develop the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists, recruit them into the Party and train them as revolutionary leaders. (See the *Programme* of the RCP, p. 102)

Broad Fight

Does a revolutionary approach like this undermine or lead to a retreat from the immediate struggle? Just the opposite.

Party members were certainly out for the goal of fighting off the eviction and keeping the hotel for low cost housing and community centers. But because links were made to other struggles and other social questions, the effects went far beyond the I-Hotel. Because the I-Hotel struggle was built broadly and deeply in the Chinatown community and especially to the degree it was built as part of a larger struggle, it became such a force in Chinatown that it not only sparked other battles, it inspired and encouraged people to carry them through to victory. Tenants of the San Fran Hotel, for example, recently victoriously ended a year long strike against the Chinese Six Companies—

big shot businessmen who control most of the wealth of Chinatown and head the reactionary, anti-communist Kuomintang. As one of the San Fran tenants said, "The great International Hotel fight gave us the courage to win." Since then, rent strikes have won all over Chinatown—at 666 Sacramento, at 833 Kearny, and now at the San Fran Hotel.

Struggles continue in the I-Hotel aftermath. Because they have been to a considerable degree armed politically with the line of the Party and have developed a deeper understanding of the nature of this system and the revolutionary interests of the working class and the masses of people, the core of the Workers Committee to Defend the I-Hotel and Victory Building and the activists from the Asian Community Center have come out of this struggle more organized and determined to continue the fight on different fronts: the ongoing struggle to prevent the demolition of the I-Hotel, the campaign for decent low cost housing and the many battles of other Chinatown residents against evictions and rent hikes, and took up other battles as well, like the unemployment campaign of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) and the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC).

Again what the opportunists and reformists are blind to and what Party members struggled to grasp is that unless the immediate struggle is linked with their long-term revolutionary class interests, the workers will not learn to fight with their heads up, come to see the nature of the enemy and of the struggles they face, strengthening and arming themselves through each battle for their historic task of liberating themselves and all mankind by overthrowing the capitalist system. It is not possible to do economist and reformist work and develop a deeper revolutionary outlook among the masses of people or to consolidate new revolutionary forces. In fact, it is not even possible to win as much as can be won in these daily battles with the forces of capital on such a basis.

How To Mobilize the Masses?

This two line struggle, between a reformist and revolutionary outlook, between opportunism and a proletarian stand, came up sharply around a number of questions including how to mobilize the masses of people, particularly the working class, in support of the I-Hotel.

When the Party decided to take up the I-Hotel as a campaign in the working class, it united with the Bay Area United Workers Organization (now part of the NUWO) to wage this fight—in addition to building the day-to-day struggles in the shops. Party agitation and concrete exposure around the I-Hotel, together with that done by the NUWO, was seen as an opportunity to strengthen the workers understanding of the nature and relationship of the different class forces in society and as Lenin said, to train workers "to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected, and to respond from a social-democratic [communist] point of view and no other."

The question was how to go out to mobilize people? How to make the links between the I-Hotel and the workers we were trying to mobilize in support. Was it to be done, as the leaders of the IHTA tried to do (to the extent that they tried at all to mobilize working people in support of the I-Hotel) by eliciting sympathy for the "poor old men" of the hotel who were being kicked out of their home (and who—far from being "poor old men"—had fought heroically and been the basis of the whole struggle!)? Was it to be done by trying to find some "palpable" concrete common issue shared by the tenants and other workers, like housing? Certainly housing was and is an important issue for the working class, and it was correct to raise it broadly. But the real link between the workers as a whole and the I-Hotel battle was not sympathy. Neither was it fundamentally the housing question—or some kind of phony promise that a victory at the I-Hotel would bring other victories for workers around their housing problems. The real link, the real basis for mobilizing support was the fact that the I-Hotel tenants, like all workers are oppressed and exploited by the same dark forces, that they bear the common burden of the contradictions of the capitalist system, increasingly in crisis. There was a wealth of ways to bring this out very concretely, and through them to bring out that the I-Hotel was an opportunity for workers to strike a powerful blow against the capitalists, uniting with others who were doing so.

In fact, it was very clear that large numbers of workers united in support of the I-Hotel tenants precisely because they respected and supported the fact that they were standing up to the hotel owners, the courts and the whole range of political schemes aimed at getting them out. The broad support that came forward from the rank and file workers, one small example of which being the hundreds of steel workers in Pittsburg, California who stood in line to sign a banner proclaiming their class solidarity with the I-Hotel tenants across the Bay, was a refutation of the revisionist line that workers will only act when their immediate interests are threatened.

On the other side, the active participation of workers outside of Chinatown was a tremendous inspiration to workers in the Workers Committee and Chinatown generally and it was a force propelling other class strata as well. The Party and UWO members rallied rank and file support, forcing officials in some of the Bay Area's largest unions, including the San Francisco Labor Council, to take a position against the evictions.

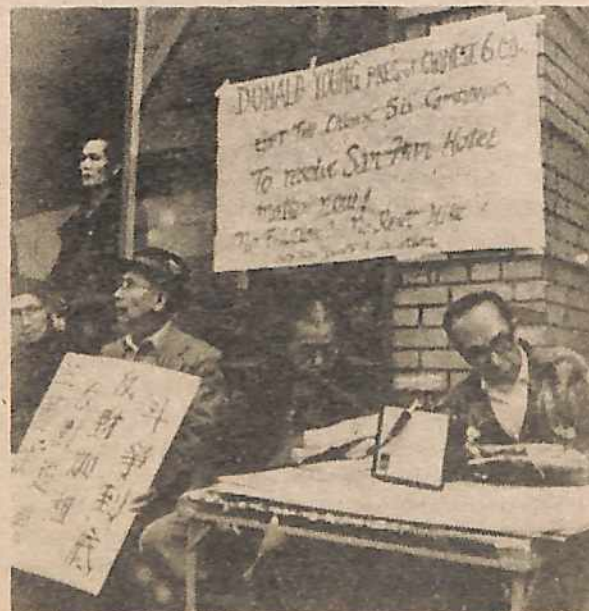
Exposures of "Palpable Results"

Throughout this long struggle the opportunists who paraded themselves as "leaders" of the I-Hotel, ran away from consistently bringing out the opposing class interests behind it, as a battle of the working class and the oppressed nationalities against the capitalists. And they consistently attacked the RCP, the Workers Committee and others for doing so. They tried in every way to confine the battle for the I-Hotel to a struggle to reform the system and to obscure and cover over the role played by the politicians as chief agents of the capitalists. They charged that if the politicians were put forward as representing the interests of the capitalists, that this was a fight against national oppression and of the working class against the capitalists, it would alienate people and cut off support for the I-Hotel.

As Lenin pointed out in *What Is To Be Done?*, "it is not enough to explain to workers that they are politically oppressed . . . Agitation must be conducted around concrete examples of this oppression." The struggle for the I-Hotel has certainly been a rich source of concrete exposure of the capitalist class and their agents and lackeys, particularly exposure around the nature and role of the state. But it was from this concrete political exposure that these opportunists fled. In essence they argued that what we are after here are "palpable results"—keeping the hotel. Therefore everything has to be subordinated to that—especially exposure of the capitalists and their rotten system.

Even as the hotel became a mass social question the opportunists continued to balk at exposing the role of the government and politicians, saying that the majority of people don't understand their role at this stage (although they claimed they themselves did). Their line was "no exposure of the politicians until they actually sabotaged the struggle," then, supposedly, these opportunists could sum up that the politicians were no good and in this way the masses would learn that the politicians were sabotaging the struggle all along. They did nothing but sow confusion about what role the government and politicians were playing. This line not only went against broader political tasks, it undermined the immediate struggle.

Party members, both through the mass organizations like the Workers Committee and independently, fought against this stagist view and tried to take out the line of exposing the politicians as broadly as possible. When the opportunists argued that people should give San Francisco Mayor Moscone and his so-called plan to "save" the I-Hotel a chance, the Workers Committee raised the slogan, "The Mayor's plan is an eviction plan," which it was. Boldly taking out this line on the politicians definitely helped to expose the nature of



Sparked by the I-Hotel struggle, San Fran Hotel tenants take their battle against rent hikes to the masses of people. After a year of struggle the landlord, the president of the reactionary Chinese Six Companies, was forced to back down.

the state and prepare people to deal with the further treachery of the politicians.

The question of the role of the politicians was particularly sharp around Sheriff Hongisto. Hongisto had the backing of the area's liberal petty bourgeois forces—from homosexuals to the left wing of the Democratic Party. He had run for office on a platform of being for the poor and oppressed and against racism and discrimination. He was in the news often for being under fire from "conservative" politicians for being too radical. He was seen as a "good guy" who had put his job on the line for the I-Hotel tenants, even going to jail for failing to carry out an earlier court order to evict. His image was definitely not tarnished.

"Why Attack the Good Guy?"

When we focused in on him as a key target at various times in the struggle, demanding that he not carry out the eviction, demonstrating at his office and his home, some, including people from among the masses, criticized us for taking these actions. "Why attack the good guy?" Some conscious opportunist forces put forward that we should "use" Hongisto—pressure him—to take advantage of his contradictions with other politicians. This boiled down to promoting him against the "conservatives" and feeding the image he was trying to cultivate as the great defender of the I-Hotel. This covered up for the bourgeoisie, and made clear the answer to the question "who's using whom?"

The more fundamental question was whether the active forces should concentrate on pressuring politicians into doing "something" favorable to the hotel battle by playing on contradictions between "liberals" and "conservatives" or if they should expose the state as part of the capitalist class. This was not just a question of *general* education for the masses, but of arming them and preparing them to fight with their heads up, with the enemy locked firmly in sight.

What happens to the opportunists is that they get so bound up in their reformist views of "immediate results" and brilliant tactical maneuvering to pressure—even militantly pressure—the politicians into action or to make them endorse certain policies, that they hide the class nature of the government. The opportunists maneuver around Hongisto amounted to little more than a way to fool the masses in the name of the masses.

The position we took of persisting in exposing Hongisto and his role as a mercenary in the pay of the capitalists helped people to see clearer what the capitalists were up to—including their good cop, bad cop tactics. It enabled us to point out that no matter what image he projected, his job was to carry out the eviction, that he was above all an agent and servant of the capitalists. This exposure and the mobilization of the masses against Hongisto and the other politicians did in fact sharpen contradictions among them and forced them to slow down or back off their plans at various points. But when the demands of the capitalists finally forced Hongisto to completely throw off his mantle of "sweet benevolence" and ruthlessly carry out the eviction, the fact that we had been exposing him all along helped many people to understand much more thoroughly the nature and role of the state and its various agencies, and get prepared for the military assault he led on eviction night.

1976 Elections

Another example of work done to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the masses was during the election campaign of 1976. In October 1976 it looked as if the eviction might take place immediately after the presidential elections. Carter was campaigning in the Bay Area, and San Francisco Mayor Moscone and Sheriff Hongisto were championing him as the candidate of the working man. Party members struggled for clarity among themselves, as well as with tenants and supporters, including some of the more advanced forces on the Workers Committee to see the importance of not just hitting these birds around the I-Hotel and whether or not they supported the rights of the tenants and the demand to save the hotel, but to take up the issue more broadly around the slogan of the campaign being waged around the elections: "Politicians Fight for Moneyed Interests, We Must Fight For Our Own!" In another form, this involved once again the question of whether "palpable results" were the center of the struggle.

The election campaign was significant partly because in the course of it we were able to advance the I-Hotel struggle directly. But on the whole, the main advance in this campaign was the development of the class consciousness of many of the people involved in the struggle. People saw much more clearly that it was not just the local politicians working daily to sabotage and defeat the I-Hotel who were the loyal servants of the capitalists, but the whole bunch of them—from Ford and Carter on down.

Broad political exposure of this was a key part of the I-Hotel struggle. Doing this required struggle with the line of various opportunists, but also struggle among Party members, as well as with other activists,



Thousands of people blocked the cops as they moved in massive force to evict the I-Hotel Tenants.

to get clear on every such major question and the need to take it out. Where our work fell short it was often because of a failure to do this. An example is weakness in the work done after the correct decision was made to take up the Proposition U campaign.

Proposition U was the measure local politicians put on the ballot in November of 1977, supposedly to get the "opinion" of the people of San Francisco whether or not the city should buy, renovate and keep the I-Hotel for low cost housing and community centers. We tended to too one-sidedly view this as an opportunity. Here was the situation. The eviction had come down. Then some local politicians, because of mass outrage and ongoing organization around the hotel, put it on the ballot. We saw it as an opportunity to keep the issue alive and to take it out even more to people in the area. What we failed to focus on enough was a correct analysis of what this move represented—an analysis that needed to be grasped in order to carry out the campaign in a correct and effective way, as well as not limiting our work to this campaign.

Yes, it was an opportunity and in fact it was to a degree a concession to the mass struggle. They couldn't just throw the tenants into the street and then ignore it. But even so, and principally, it was an effort to smash the struggle once and for all—to put the seal of "public approval" on the I-Hotel eviction. It was an attempt to drag the battle for the hotel out of the arena of mass struggle onto a terrain favorable to the capitalists—where a lot of active and advanced people don't participate, a lot more backward petty bourgeois people do, and where they could pose the question on their terms: to keep and renovate the hotel for low cost housing, they said, would mean a big tax boost.

Of course we knew that they were using the election in a big way and they hoped by winning to put an end to the I-Hotel. And we did unite with others to mount a big campaign aimed at winning the campaign—in spite of the fact that opportunists tried to isolate the Party and the Workers Committee from a citywide coalition against Proposition U. But instead of exposing what they were up to and how they use the electoral process to prop up and legitimize their rule—and in this case their rule by military force to evict the hotel tenants—we fell into focusing overwhelmingly on exposing the charges made by the capitalists and their press about the increased tax burden. We dealt extensively, and correctly, with the question of property rights and explaining to people where their tax dollar actually went and the big rip-offs engineered by the capitalists for their own benefit.

In the context of the election these things did need to be done, but because we didn't grasp the essence of what was going on with these elections and take it out to people, we missed opportunities to widely arm people with an understanding of what was behind the election and the need to take militant action outside the election arena. This made it harder to continue once Proposition U was defeated. In summing up, Party members saw concretely how an incorrect line disarms the advanced and the masses and how, concretely, the correctness or incorrectness of line is key, that it determines and influences the orientation and practice and how much can be won in any particular struggle.

Training the Advanced

The third objective described in the Party *Programme* is one that comrades often fail to grasp and struggle to implement. One of the obvious results of this is that after a major struggle has been waged, where Party members have played a good and active role, led many battles and raised the general political level and sense of organization of the masses, these gains are not consolidated in terms of bringing forward new revolutionary leaders and uniting them more firmly with the Party. Building the Party is crucial to building for the future, the revolutionary struggle, in every battle of today.

The opportunists, for their part, extend their stag-

ist theory to work with the advanced—and also their real contempt for the masses. They saw themselves as the only ones who knew anything, the advanced tenants and workers knew nothing. The role of the masses was reduced to being their showcase and political capital.

In this struggle Party members did, on the whole, try to unite with and develop the advanced. As the article "Mass Line Is Key To Lead Masses in Making Revolution" (*Revolution*, Dec. 15, 1975) directed, they "paid special attention to uniting with and raising the level of advanced workers not yet Party members who continually come forward in these struggles as leaders. These workers are potentially a key link, a lever to join the Party with the life and struggles of the class as a whole. In order for the Party to learn and grow, and in order for the movement of the masses to advance, the Party must train the advanced workers in the science of revolution, including the application of the mass line, and it must train them not apart from but in the course of actually leading the struggles of the broad masses."

Party members certainly struggled to carry out this task in the Workers Committee, which was formed in the spring of 1976 to mobilize tenants from the I-Hotel and the battle for low cost housing. Meetings of the Workers Committee were not just where tactics got discussed. There was real discussion and struggle over why particular actions were needed, involving an overall assessment of the general situation, summing up the mood of the masses and how the class forces lined up at any particular time. From there tactics were decided on. In these discussions, comrades learned a great deal from the workers. And Party members, together with the advanced, tried to apply Marxism to the concrete conditions of the struggle.

Actions that were mounted around the I-Hotel struggle were taken to win as much as could be won by hitting hard at the capitalists. And the discussion and summation around them helped to develop the advanced and raise the level of struggle and consciousness of much broader numbers of people. But fully carrying out the three objectives described in the Party *Programme* could not be done solely around this one struggle. While the advanced workers took up the I-Hotel struggle as their own, through the work of the Party they also actively participated in nationwide campaigns that the Party was involved in such as the July 4th "Rich Off Our Backs" campaign, May Day and the '76 election campaign. In addition discussions and study of the fundamentals of Marxism were held with the advanced as well as study of the *Programme* and other publications of the Party.

Although there were weaknesses and shortcomings in the overall struggle for the I-Hotel and in the Party's work which need to be further summed up and learned from, it is correct to emphasize the advances that were made in the course of this struggle.

Victories were won, in the San Fran and other hotel battles sparked by the I-Hotel and there is a continuing struggle around housing in Chinatown in which the Asian Community Center has become a focal point of organization. People from among the masses came forward as leaders and became more revolutionary minded. The I-Hotel, which was principally a struggle of the oppressed national minorities of the Chinatown-Manilatown area, was embraced by thousands of people in the Bay Area and throughout the country and a higher level of unity of people of different nationalities was forged in struggle against a common enemy—a unity that can be built on in the future.

The eviction was a setback, but in the course of the fight the forces of the working class together with the oppressed nationalities gained new strength and new understanding for the battles ahead. The real fruits of this battle were, as Marx said, not in the immediate result of stopping the eviction, but in the "ever expanding union of the workers," and in the higher level of organization and understanding of the revolutionary goal. ■

Miners...

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capitalist class—is stepping into this strike to *hide* the antagonistic interests in the strike behind a veil of “neutrality.”

And while the capitalist class as a whole is promoting government intervention as the “solution” to the strike, they are also holding their trump card—the naked force upon which their rule ultimately rests. Of course the capitalists will think long and hard before giving the masses of people in this country a graphic lesson in the truth that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.” But the possibility of a ruthless enforcement of Taft-Hartley or even sending troops into the coalfields cannot be ruled out, especially if miners refuse to fall for “government seizure” as a strike-breaking tactic.

Spreading Confusion

In addition the capitalists are trying to use diversions to confuse the issues and turn miners away from building militant rank and file struggle against the companies. This is what they are trying to do by their complaints and grumbling about UMWA president Arnold Miller and his ineffectual leadership. They are surely displeased with Miller's inability to whip the miners into line. But at least as much they would like to see miners focus their anger and militancy away from the companies into an anti-Miller campaign. As we go to press it's even been reported that the operators said they would re-open negotiations if Miller wasn't in charge. That's why the “Dump Miller” campaign, that's been initiated by a group of opportunist union hacks and which has won the support of some rank and file miners because Miller has been so completely exposed, is such a diversion at this point. Objectively, these guys are serving the interests of the coal owners and the capitalists by confusing the issues. They are certainly to the right of the Miners For Democracy organization on which Miller rode to power, in that they pretty openly say that it's not the companies attacks that are responsible for the wildcats, but Miller's inability to keep the rank and file in line. At the same time they've jumped on the bandwagon for the moment, organizing against the current contract proposals,

opportunistically using this to promote their “Dump Miller” campaign hot and heavy.

Meanwhile the capitalists are keeping up their relentless propaganda barrage to isolate the miners from other working people and to make them the object of the anger and impatience of the masses. “If the miners refuse to go back to work, there is little chance the country can avoid calamity” is the constant message of news reports on the TV and radio. Endless stories predict the imminent layoff of hundreds of thousands, even millions, of workers across the country. The coal strikers are blamed for the continuing slide of the value of the dollar. Energy Secretary James Schlesinger predicted blackouts in major cities of the Midwest and East, and tried to stir up further emotion by warning that this would result in looting and burning similar to what occurred during the New York power failure last summer. Administration economists wail that the coal strike is damaging their “projected” economic recovery.

Well, they may believe that there is economic recovery ahead and the effectiveness of the coal strike may be causing them to panic over these lost illusions of recovery, but to try to pin the blame for the capitalists' economic crisis on the coal miners is an ugly sham. The crisis was there before the strike and it will be there after it is over. The running sores of unemployment, inflation and the energy crisis were there before the miners walked out and they will only worsen, no matter when the miners go back. More to the point, they are attempting to use the coal strike to cover for the effects of their crisis. As an auto worker in Detroit put it, “They were planning more layoffs in the auto industry before the strike, now they are just using it as an excuse to cover themselves.” In fact, the auto industry has a huge inventory of unsold cars and was planning layoffs.

What the capitalists are trying to do in the coalfields is what they are trying to do in the working class throughout the country. They are trying to beat workers into submission so that they will meekly shoulder the burden of the capitalists' crisis. “Don't rock the boat! Don't rock the boat of recovery!” is one of their big slogans.

Great Step for U.S. Class Struggle

But miners are more than rocking the capitalists' boat. They are shaking the hell out of it. And they are making some important breakthroughs not only for themselves and their own struggle, but for the rest of the

working class as well. It's humorous to see these same parasites who were telling the miners before the strike that they had no chance of winning because they could not deplete the huge stockpiles or stop non-union coal, now yelling and screaming about the end of the coal supply. Of course, there are direct effects from the strike, both on the capitalists' crisis ridden economy and on the masses of people. But the central fact here is that there are two classes involved in this battle—the working class and the capitalists—and the working class must side with its class brothers and sisters in the coalfields and not allow the capitalists to drag workers to their side of the line in opposition to the miners.

It's a fact, support for this strike will mean sacrifices from other workers. But these are the kind of sacrifices that workers have in the past and will now make to support their brothers and sisters who are doing battle with the capitalists.

The miners wildcat strike movement and now this militant strike going into its fourth month have broken whole new ground in the struggle of the working class against the capitalists. Miners' fierce defiance has ripped into the sanctimony of the capitalists holy laws which are designed to keep workers with their heads bowed silently in production. They have certainly upped the ante in the class struggle in the U.S. today. Of course the miners movement is not without its problems and difficulties. There is still much unclarity and confusion about the goals of the struggle, the need for conscious rank and file organization, and so on. But this merely points to the need to build on the tremendous force of the rank and file movement and the class conscious organization that has already developed.

The miners struggle has been a big advance for the working class. And workers can't stand by and allow it to be derailed or smashed.

**No Federal Intervention! Defend The Miners!
Support the Struggle in the Coalfields! ■**

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Nicaragua...

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flux and to allow for the possibility of a canal through Nicaragua which was under consideration. In fact, a canal through Nicaragua was still considered a possibility as late as 1972 until a major earthquake made such an undertaking a more distant prospect.

Imperialist penetration brought with it “modernization.” The appropriation of the land from the peasants through laws and violence turned many into agrarian workers on large plantations and others into a modern proletariat working in the new factories and mines. Some of the first large strikes were against these U.S. companies in wood, banana, coffee and mining. Even the presence of the Marines could not stop at least ten armed uprisings and many strikes.

Armed Struggle in the '20s

In 1925 civil war again broke out to challenge the U.S. supervised elections of 1924. All but one of the leaders of this struggle gave up and permitted the U.S. to once again stay and “supervise” the elections of 1928. Augusto Cesar Sandino was the only one who refused to take part in what was called “the betrayal of the Fatherland.” Sandino's program of struggle, which was for self-determination, national sovereignty, the restoration of the constitution and land reform, and against U.S. imperialism, allowed for many patriots to join the struggle. But it was the active participation of workers and peasants that turned the 1926 constitutional war into a war of national liberation. Most of those who joined were peasants with land grievances and the workers who suffered brutal exploitation in the foreign-owned plants and mines.

Seeing this as a real threat to their investments, the U.S. government under the pretext of protecting lives and property and fighting a small band of Nicaraguan “bandits” sent in 4600 troops utilizing modern weapons, including aerial bombings. Despite attempts to rally support, they were met with more resistance and opposition to intervention from all over the country.

The Communist International gave material and

moral support to Sandino's forces. U.S. Marines fighting in China in 1928 encountered the “Sandino Division” of the Chinese Anti-Imperialist Army. In the U.S., the All-American Anti-Imperialist League held marches and rallies featuring Sandino's brother Socrates as a speaker to popularize the struggle and to send medical aid to the people. The American Federation of Labor also went on record as opposing the intervention. Faced with not being able to win or rally support for the war and the deeper economic and political crisis brought on by the Great Depression, the U.S. was forced to withdraw. However this did not mean they were “abandoning” Nicaragua.

Since 1927 U.S. imperialism had begun implementing “Nicaraguanization,” a tactic later implemented with disastrous results in Vietnam. This included the formation of the National Guard, and a hand-picked puppet to run it—the first Somoza, Anastacio Somoza Garcia, who was educated at West Point Military Academy and even held a job with the Rockefeller Foundation in the U.S. The U.S. plan also included the supervision of the 1932 elections, “electing” Juan B. Sacasas. With the withdrawal of U.S. forces, Sandino began peace negotiations with the government. Sandino agreed to partially disarm his troops, a move which led to a serious setback for the people's struggle. Not recognizing that the real masters behind Somoza were the U.S. imperialists and that they weren't about to just turn over their source of wealth to the masses of Nicaraguans, Sandino fell into the trap and was assassinated along with his brother and other aides, on February 21, 1934. This was followed with mass repression and the slaughter of whole villages. Three hundred families were killed on one occasion alone.

Two years later Somoza overthrew Sacasas and, once he consolidated his rule, became a loyal servant of the U.S. imperialists. The words of FDR were never so true when he said, “Somoza may be an SOB, but he's our SOB.” In 1956 Somoza was assassinated, an act Nicaraguans called *ajusticiamiento* (“bringing to justice”). Again U.S. intervention and lack of organized opposition prevented any real change. By then, Somoza's two sons had already been prepared to take power—they too had been educated in the same manner of their father, in the U.S. military academy.

In 1957 Luis Somoza had himself elected but had to step down in order to meet pressure for a democratic facade, however his brother Anastacio Jr. really held power as head of the Guardia Nacional. He became president in 1967 and made the necessary arrangements to be reelected in 1974.

The Somoza family owes its wealth to the aid and support of the U.S. imperialists. The family wealth in 1975 was estimated at \$500 million, much of this appropriated through government agencies, the “aid” of the Alliance for Progress and the Central American Common Market. Anastacio Jr. appropriated most of the earthquake relief that was sent from all over the world, estimated at \$500 million. To this day Managua remains as the *Wall St. Journal* described, a “bombed out city, with half-naked urchins and livestock roaming through the abandoned shells of pre-earthquake buildings.” Recent visitors confirmed this and the fact that all that had been reconstructed were plush hotels and modern shopping centers that only the rich could afford. These are the gifts his government has received for protecting U.S. interests, which amount to 75% of the \$125 million of the total foreign investment, and \$350 million in bank loans.

False Friends on Anti-Somoza Bandwagon

The present resistance to the Somoza dictatorship has encompassed a broad section of the population, including those Nicaraguans here in the U.S. who have held demonstrations in support of the general strike and demanding that Somoza step down. Recently there were demonstrations in Washington, D.C., San Francisco and Los Angeles. Many forces from among the bourgeoisie, and even some from Somoza's ranks are joining in the actions against the government as they sense a real possibility to ride the workers' backs, to fill the vacuum once Somoza is gone when his presidential term is up in 1981 (as he has promised) or may be even sooner.

For the masses of people the ousting of Somoza can be a real advance in their struggle to get rid of a tyrant who has only brought misery and exploitation to the country and the U.S. imperialists who put him there. To accomplish this the people must also beware of those who falsely claim to represent their interests. The Carter administration, hiding behind the mask of “human rights,” may well support the overthrow of Somoza so as to maintain a grip on the people and U.S. imperialist interests if they are convinced Somoza's days are through.

By relying on their own strength, and distinguishing real friends from those who want to take advantage of the turmoil, the people of Nicaragua can make great advances in their fight for national liberation and be prepared to fight any other oppressors who might step forward to fill Somoza's shoes. ■

Commune ...

Continued from page 3

to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations." (*The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*) The historical mission of the working class is not just to seize power from the old exploiters, but to use its power—the dictatorship of the proletariat—to transform all of society and completely do away with classes, class rule and all the evils that have arisen from class society. "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*." (Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*)

As Marx pointed out, the workers of Paris, surrounded on all sides and faced with famine due to economic blockade, could no more than begin their work during the 72 days of the Commune. They made certain political mistakes, as was inevitable in this first of all proletarian revolutions. Marx and Engels summed up that the Commune had failed to carry out the dictatorship of the workers over the exploiters ruthlessly and swiftly enough—the workers left the Bank of France, the country's main financial pillar, untouched, and instead of disposing of the captured bourgeoisie in Paris and marching on Versailles immediately while the French bourgeoisie was still weakened from its defeat at the hands of Prussia, the workers of the Commune allowed them to escape and regather their forces. Then the French bourgeoisie with the aid of the reactionary Prussian rulers carried out "a slaveholders' revolt" against the victorious slaves, turning Paris into a sea of blood as Communards by the thousands were killed in house-to-house fighting or shot down as prisoners.

But as Marx declared even while the battle was still raging in Paris, "If the Commune should be destroyed, the struggle would only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are eternal and indestructible; they will present themselves again and again until the working class is liberated." (Marx, "The Record of a Speech on the Paris Commune")

Growth of Revisionism

After the Paris Commune the influence of Marxism grew tremendously, in large part due to what the experience of the Commune had proved for all to see about the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat. The other political trends which claimed to speak for the workers, such as anarchism, were greatly exposed. But the very fact that nearly all of those who claimed to speak for the workers were calling themselves Marxists—while many were cutting the revolutionary heart out of Marx's teaching, the dictatorship of the proletariat—led to the necessity for the working class to learn to distinguish real Marxism from sham Marxism.

"What is now happening to Marx's theory has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the theories of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes fighting for emancipation," wrote V.I. Lenin at the beginning of *State and Revolution*. While the oppressors hound such men during their lifetime, slandering them and ridiculing their theories, after their death the oppressors make their names holy—to a certain extent—"for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping" them, "while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its *substance*"—they keep what's acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

During the latter part of the 1800s and the early 1900s, a trend emerged which *revised* Marxism so as to reduce it to the idea of class struggle and nothing more, to the idea of the workers struggle against the capitalists for their immediate demands, and to rob the working class of its historic and revolutionary mission of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and transforming the world to achieve communism. Although Marx and later Engels had criticized this revisionism in its early stages, it was only with World War 1 that this revisionism emerged openly in its fully mature rotten form. On the eve of the proletarian revolution in Russia, in August and September of 1917 (the proletarian revolution took place a month later), Lenin found it absolutely necessary to revive the original teachings of Marx and Engels on the subject of revolution and to sum up the further experience of the working class in order to lay the theoretical foundations for the actual seizure of power that was about to occur. Without this revolutionary theory, the working class could not hope to really bring about a revolution.

What the revisionists had done was to substitute eclectics for dialectics: "In falsifying Marxism in opportunist fashion," Lenin pointed out, "the substitution of eclecticism for dialectics is the easiest way of deceiving

the people" (*State and Revolution*) and a lot of people were deceived. (Eclectics means mechanically combining things without regard to their real, dialectical relationship—in this case, raising a secondary aspect to defeat a primary aspect.) The revisionists had taken Marx' and Engels' teachings that the state would one day wither away, and brought this aspect to the forefront, in such a way as to hide the fact that Marx and Engels had taught that this could happen only *after* the violent overthrow of the bourgeois state and the suppression of the exploiting classes until the basis for such exploiters to arise was eliminated. According to the revisionists, it was the bourgeois state that would wither away—the exploiters would peacefully give up their power as a natural result of the evolution of society without the violent revolution and revolutionary dictatorship of the working class.

To the revisionists of Lenin's time—as the CPUSA today—the struggle of the working class was simply a fight to take over the government, without changing the relations between the exploiter and exploited that the government reflects and protects and without really changing society. Even those revisionists who, as Lenin said, "flippantly admit" the necessity of the dictatorship "in general" refused to "draw the appropriate practical conclusions." These revisionists were all for building the struggle of the workers for their immediate needs and demands, especially in the trade unions, but they refused to build the workers struggle in such a way as to prepare the working class politically and ideologically (or organizationally and militarily) to seize political power and set out to transform the world.

Lenin on Proletarian Dictatorship

Against this revisionist line whose chieftains had turned the workers' parties of the Second International in most countries into a loyal opposition to the bourgeois government, Lenin stressed again the class character of the state, the question of who really holds power. He pinpointed "the essence of the question—*have the oppressed arms?*" He quoted Marx and Engels on the Paris Commune extensively, bringing out the teachings that the revisionists had tried to keep buried. "Opportunism," he declared, "does not extend recognition of the class struggle to the cardinal point, to the period of *transition* from capitalism to communism, of the *overthrow* and complete *abolition* of the bourgeoisie." (*State and Revolution*)

In defending and developing the lessons of the Commune, which were of the greatest practical importance, Lenin affirmed that: 1) the workers had to put themselves at the head of all the oppressed in defeating the old exploiters in battle, and 2) having overthrown the old exploiters, the working class had to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat "for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from classless society, from communism." (*State and Revolution*)

Later, in a speech given two years after the October Revolution, Lenin put it like this: "The revolution which we have begun and have already been making for two years, and which we are firmly determined to carry to its conclusion (*applause*), is possible and feasible only provided we achieve the transfer of power to the new class, provided that the bourgeoisie, the capi-

talist slave-owners, the bourgeois intellectuals, the representatives of all the owners and property-holders are replaced by the new class in all spheres of government, in all government affairs, in the entire business of directing the new life from top to bottom." (*Report at the Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress*) This transfer of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, "is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against all the forces and traditions of the old society." (*Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*)

Through its dictatorship of the proletariat—through its control of the state and ceaseless struggle against the forces of the old society on every front, from the economic and political organization of society to the realm of ideas and habits—the working class must transform all of society by carrying out its antagonistic struggle with the bourgeoisie to the end.

It is impossible to speak of a struggle against the "forces and traditions of the old society" unless it is linked, as Lenin does, with the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, because this contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remains the decisive question throughout the entire period of socialism, that is, of the transition to communism. Correctly handling the contradictions among the people and developing the productive forces are important tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, but the key link is class struggle against the bourgeoisie and maintaining the rule of the working class over it.

Lenin's defense and development of Marxism on the central question of the dictatorship of the proletariat was of crucial importance in politically and theoretically preparing the advanced section of the Russian working class to lead the masses in seizing power when the conditions for revolution ripened. Lenin's theoretical understanding, based on summing up the developments of the class struggle with the science of Marxism, made it possible for him to give practical leadership to the revolution as well.

During Lenin's lifetime, the crucial question was *establishing* the dictatorship of the proletariat. The work of drawing "*the whole of the poor* into the practical work of administration" (*The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Government*) and the clearing out of the bourgeoisie and its ways from all spheres of society had only just begun. Although Lenin did refer to the long-term necessity and tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat (such as in the quotes above), the development of the class struggle after his death made it possible and necessary to deepen and develop that understanding, and the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat, not only from the point of view of the overthrow of the old bourgeoisie but also from the point of view of transition to classless society, to communism. Mao Tsetung's development of the theory of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat which arose out of the scientific summary of the experience of the class struggle in the USSR and China is the most important of Mao's many contributions to Marxism. It was a theoretical breakthrough which enabled the working class and masses of China to make new practical breakthroughs in social-

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Commune...

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ism and strengthen Marxism as a weapon in the hands of the working class of the whole world.

Experience of USSR

Joseph Stalin, Lenin's successor, had made certain errors regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat. The problem was not, as the bourgeoisie tries to tell us, that Stalin was "a dictator" who carried out "a reign of terror." The problem was that Stalin had thought that once the working class seized the means of production from the hands of the bourgeoisie and the peasant agriculture in the countryside was collectivized, there were no longer antagonistic classes and antagonistic contradictions in the Soviet Union.

This was the decisive thing that led to a certain misunderstanding and mishandling by Stalin of non-antagonistic contradictions, contradictions among the people, in the sense that, for instance, some people who held a wrong line but were basically loyal to the proletariat's cause were labeled "enemy agents" and dealt with accordingly. Stalin didn't see the existence of conditions giving rise to the bourgeoisie or fully recognize the influence of the bourgeoisie and its ideology among the people. Most importantly, his denial of the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat under socialism led him to neglect the possibility of capitalist restoration and a failure to arm the masses sufficiently against the forces of restoration.

Despite his errors, Stalin still upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the developing bourgeois stratum in the USSR was still subject to attack. However with Stalin's death, Khrushchev and other capitalist roaders at the top of the Soviet Party were able to seize control of the Party and state, and lead the bourgeois forces, new and old, in overthrowing socialism and restoring capitalism.

Khrushchev, upon taking control of the Soviet Party in the mid-'50s, took up the cry of the imperialists that Stalin was a "dictator." He declared that since all antagonistic classes had been eradicated in the USSR, the dictatorship of the proletariat was no longer necessary. From now on, Khrushchev proclaimed, the Soviet Union would be a "state of the whole people." But all this talk about ending dictatorship and how everyone in the USSR was one big happy family was a trick to disarm the workers politically and ideologically so that Khrushchev and the new ruling class could consolidate their power. In fact, while they were loudly proclaiming the end of antagonistic classes and class contradictions, the Soviet revisionists were reestablishing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, arresting, killing and purging revolutionaries, and reducing the working class to the position of wage slaves once again.

The new Soviet rulers tried to force their revisionist line on the working class and revolutionary-minded people of the whole world, including the various Communist Parties, both in and out of power. Communists in the capitalist countries were told to abandon the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of the "peaceful transition to socialism." This was closely linked with the Soviet revisionist perversion of the concept of "peaceful coexistence" internationally, and pushing "peaceful competition." In the socialist countries Khrushchev's line and support spurred on the capitalist roaders. In China, Liu Shao-chi, a leader second only to Mao in authority, preached the "dying out of class struggle" and declared that "In China, the question of who wins out, socialism or capitalism, has already been solved."

Thus the rise of modern revisionism once again brought to the fore the question of whether the working class had to continue on the path charted by the Paris Commune and the October Revolution—fighting to establish the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and continue, on the basis of this dictatorship, to criticize, attack and transform the vestiges of the old society and advance toward communism.

In 1957, just after Khrushchev and Liu Shao-chi had jumped out, Mao wrote in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, "The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled."

Mao made a major contribution in pointing out, for the first time explicitly, that this was true after socialist ownership had been established in the main. China, Mao pointed out, had established a socialist economic

Mao Tsetung during the Cultural Revolution. Mao's greatest contribution was developing the theory of continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship after socialist ownership is established in the main, focusing on and giving further life and meaning to Marx's famous statement that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the "necessary transit point to the abolition of classes generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations."



base (socialist ownership in state and collective form) "although still far from perfect," and a socialist superstructure (the government and its institutions and laws, the line of the Party and the masses, education, culture, etc.) In general, this superstructure was in harmony with the economic base, "facilitating the victory of socialist transformation and the establishment of the socialist organization of labor; it is suited to the socialist economic base, that is, to socialist relations of production. But the survivals of bourgeois ideology, certain bureaucratic ways of doing things in our state organs and defects in certain links in our state institutions are in contradiction with the socialist economic base." (*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*)

All the contradictions left over from class society contain the seeds of the regeneration of antagonistic class contradictions even after the old bourgeoisie is defeated and weak—no longer the main source of capitalist reversion. This is true of the contradiction between manual and mental labor, between town and country, and between the workers and peasants. This is partly expressed in distribution: under socialism people are still paid according to their work (and not according to their needs). Unless all this is restricted, the potential exists for the development of greater and greater economic inequality and for money to once again become capital. It is the existence of these contradictions and the fact that some people still enjoy privileges from them that means that those who push a revisionist line in the Communist Party, who use their influence to protect these survivals of class society rather than to move against them, can always gain some kind of audience and can mobilize a social base for the restoration of capitalism. This is why the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, between the line of going forward to transform society against the line of turning back, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle that is concentrated *within* the Party, is key to whether the working class can hold on to its dictatorship or will find itself once again dictated to. This is what Mao meant by saying that the question of "who will win out" is not "really settled."

In order to develop the productive forces and socialist relations of production—in fact, to beat back the attacks of the bourgeoisie within the Party such as Liu Shao-chi, the working class had to move the contradiction forward, to deal with the backwardness of the superstructure in relation to the economic base. As Mao said later, summarizing further experience, "The proletariat must exercise all-around dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture." While the economic base sets the foundation for the superstructure, it was in turn only by making breakthroughs in the superstructure that the working class would make further major advances in developing the economic base, with each reacting dialectically on the other in a series of qualitative developments leading towards the abolition of classes and the elimination of all the scars left behind by class society.

Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, personally initiated and led by Mao, was a great example of the working class defending and developing the proletarian dictatorship and exercising "all-around dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure." This mass uprising of hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and other masses against those who Mao called "Party persons in power taking the capitalist road" was,

as explained in *How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle*, not "simply a movement to criticize bourgeois ideology and bourgeois representatives in the field of culture, education, etc., but a revolutionary struggle directed at overthrowing people in high places in the Party and state who had actually entrenched themselves in power in many spheres of society—although they had not yet seized control of the whole state apparatus and actually begun restoring capitalism."

In his analysis of the Paris Commune, Marx had pointed out how the dictatorship of the proletariat represented the beginning of a process that would gradually involve the great majority of the people (that is, the formerly exploited masses, led by the proletariat) and eventually all the people (after the elimination of classes) in the administration of society. In the Paris Commune, "simple workmen" (as Marx put it to blast the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie) took on the administration of *everything*, of all the functions of government (which the workers greatly simplified) and of all spheres of society, either by their direct participation or by "hiring" experts to work for the workers and under the guidance and direction of the workers. In the Cultural Revolution, socialist society took a qualitative leap toward the direction of the ideals of the Commune, advancing far higher than in socialist society before.

Under the leadership and guidance of Mao, nearly all the cadre (people with positions of authority and responsibility) in the Party and the state came under the intense scrutiny and criticism of the masses. Every aspect of society was criticized and struggled over. From Liu Shao-chi (and later Lin Biao and others like them) at the top to cadre at every level, those who stubbornly used positions of authority to serve themselves and hold back the revolutionization of society were criticized and overthrown. The workers and peasants cleared out the various institutions the way a good broom clears out dirt. Education was revolutionized, so that instead of educating the sons and daughters of the old exploiters and educating people to become new exploiters, the schools would be run by the workers and peasants for the needs and interests of the workers and peasants in transforming society and nature to advance toward communism. The bourgeoisie had held the dominant position in culture (books, movies, plays, art, etc.). They were swept away and the image of the workers and peasants and the outlook of the working class began to hold sway in these fields. By establishing revolutionary committees (three-in-one combinations of rank and file workers, Party members and administrators and/or technicians), the masses were able to actually seize back power in the factories, communes, schools, and so on, formerly run by capitalist roaders.

In addition to the People's Liberation Army under the leadership of the working class through its Party, the masses of people themselves were organized in their factories and places of work into militias under Party leadership, thus making the state rest more securely than ever on the armed power of the working class and its allies. In January 1967, revolutionaries in Shanghai built an alliance of revolutionary mass organizations, the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary Party cadres, which successfully seized power from the old capitalist-roader administration in Shanghai. Mao summed up and popularized this experience throughout China. People's consciousness was greatly advanced.

Early in the course of the Cultural Revolution Mao wrote, "In the past, we waged struggle in rural areas, in the factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form,

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Commune ...

Continued from page 16

a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-around way and from below." The Cultural Revolution was that form and method. The masses of people had risen up, guided by the political and ideological line of the working class, to topple the bourgeoisie in every area where it had gotten the upper hand, taking huge, qualitative leaps in the development of society towards the great goal of communism.

Although the working class had its guns, the vast majority of the struggles of the Cultural Revolution did not involve force. Nevertheless, the Cultural Revolution was a practice of the proletarian dictatorship—"the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism," as Mao said. It was an expression of the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in a contradiction which centered on the question of what road the Communist Party would follow, which in essence, under socialism, is the decisive question in determining which class holds state power. It involved the broad masses in the struggle to continue to resolve this question in a revolutionary direction.

The Cultural Revolution did not bring class struggle in China to an end. Almost a decade after the Cultural Revolution began, Mao made this clear with his important instruction: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation."

Not just to a few people, not just to Party members, not just to a few million, but to the whole nation! With this Mao was explicitly saying that to fight revisionists and to prevent the revisionist overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship, broader and broader numbers of the working class and the masses needed to greatly deepen their understanding of Marxism and the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

By focusing on "why," Mao focused on the fact that despite all the advances, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is still the question of a

transition from capitalism to communism. Although Marx's writings clearly make this point, it was only the further experience of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR and China that made it possible to sum up as explicitly as Mao did the long, sharp and complex nature of the struggle against the forces of capitalist restoration.

As the article "Bourgeois Right, Economism and the Goal of the Working class Struggle" in *The Communist*, Vol. 1, Number 1 puts it, "This is why the class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie not only necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, but why this proletarian dictatorship must be exercised, in every sphere of society, until the bourgeoisie and classes are finally eliminated altogether. The working class must seize and wield state power to remove from society the basis for the existence of all class distinctions, by abolishing all the relations of production on which they rest, all the social relations that correspond to them and by revolutionizing all the ideas that result from these social relations. Thus, although it is a tremendous advance, *the dictatorship of the proletariat is not an end in itself*, but it is a necessary step, a transition to a higher form of society where all classes and all exploitation are abolished."

This understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the point of view of the goal of communism, and not as an end in itself, is essential to Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Like all processes, there is no such thing as standing still on the socialist road—there is only motion forward or backward. Any half-stepping, hesitation or vacillation along the socialist road definitely leads to the overthrow of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism.

Furthermore, as both the experience of the USSR and China have shown, the advances of the revolution force the bourgeoisie to jump out to oppose it, and in this way battles to put an end to the "slaveholders' rebellion" are forced on the proletariat, just as the working class was forced to fight to defend the Paris Commune, the first workers' state, whether or not the working class "wants" any particular battle.

Principles of Commune Are Eternal

Mao Tsetung is reported to have said, "Marx at first opposed the Paris Commune . . . When the Paris Commune rose up he supported it, although he reckoned that it would fail. When he realized that it was the first proletarian dictatorship, he thought it would be a good thing even if it only lasted three months. If we assess it from an economic point of view, it was not worthwhile."

("Speech at the Lushan Conference," *Mao Tsetung Unrehearsed*, edited by Stuart Schram)

Of course neither Marx nor Mao looked at the Paris Commune from "an economic point of view"—from the standpoint of narrow immediate results. Even though the Commune failed, it had established basic principles for all proletarian revolutions to come. The heroic example of the Communards and the scientific sum-up of their heroic efforts provided the basis for a higher theoretical grasp of the tasks and the direction of proletarian revolution, which in turn made it possible for future efforts to succeed. It was knowing that this would be so that Marx wrote, "Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will forever be celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class."

Just as some so-called Marxists refused to recognize the lessons paid for in blood in the Paris Commune, so, too, when revisionism triumphed in the Soviet Union and capitalism was restored, some people refused to recognize this fact. Some people who had been revolutionaries felt that if the USSR had been lost to the working class, then everything they had fought for was for nothing, and sticking their heads in the sand, they tailed behind the new Soviet revisionists and allowed themselves to be dragged down, and everything they had done really was for nothing after all. This did great harm to the revolutionary cause.

In its time, the Paris Commune showed that proletarian revolution was not only necessary but possible. Its defeat only showed that the transition from capitalism to communism will be a very long process, with many twists and turns in its development, with setbacks for sure, but with a spiral development so that each advance of the working class stands on the shoulders of those who have fought and died in the proletariat's cause before. This is only natural, since the development from capitalism to communism requires a complete break—a "radical rupture," as Marx called it, with all previous forms of society and all traditional ideas and the greatest changes that the world has ever known.

In our time, the Cultural Revolution shows that the restoration of capitalism is not inevitable, that the working class and the masses can develop ways—whole new ways of doing things in the history of society—to defend their gains and beat back the enemy's ceaseless attacks. Just as the Paris Commune provided the basis for the development of Marxism when Marxism was just emerging over a hundred years ago, so today through the Cultural Revolution, Marxism has developed and advanced and the working class of the whole world stands higher than ever before in its struggle to overturn the reactionaries of every country one by one and bring about the victory of communism all across the world. ■

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Hawaii ...

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had been the people's savior. When the governor was forced to buy the land and to hold off evictions, he was accused by other capitalists and politicians of giving in to the threat of revolutionary violence.

The five day occupation in which hundreds actively, illegally occupied and defied the bourgeoisie's efforts to evict the residents was a result of revolutionary political work. The hundreds in the occupation and the thousands who supported it were not united because they were all out to get some housing out of the struggle. This iron unity which enabled people to militantly face down the bourgeoisie and its state was based on the developing understanding that the masses of people had "a common enemy and a common cause."

This line and practice of the RCP in these eviction struggles, in opposition to the sniveling reformism in which the revisionist CP(ML) proposes to sink the struggle, is in fact the only line that can lead the anti-eviction struggles forward as part of the overall revolutionary struggle, something which more and more active fighters have come to recognize in the course of struggle.

Struggle Strengthens Understanding

It was against this experience that the low roaders tried to spread their poison and weaken the unity of these fighters at the mass meeting. Appropriately enough, these people never once identified themselves as "communists." This was probably the only honest thing they did the whole night. They used the honest questions and doubts of some of the people there to put revolution in contradiction to the interests of the masses. When one tenant voiced the wrong idea that "the outsiders weren't interested in the fact that his people were in desperate need of housing," the CP(ML) united with this as another reason why "outsiders" shouldn't be allowed into the organization they wanted to build.

And with what success did they meet? They ended up fooling very few people. In fact this attack on the Party and the advances the working class had made in

these struggles has served to strengthen rather than weaken the understanding of active fighters in these communities. For now it has become more clear that different lines lead to different roads. Discussions are being held and struggle over these lines is bringing out differences among the different communities as to the road ahead and how to fight. All of this is a good thing and is serving to deepen people's understanding of the nature of the struggle and the enemy and is also further exposing the backwardness not of the masses but of the line and stand of the CP(ML) and other common reformers.

One tenant under the influence of the CP(ML) made an honest but telling comment. He stated that "all I want to do is get something for our people so that we can go back to leading normal lives [after four years of hard struggle]. Is that so wrong?" But as one comrade later responded: Is it so wrong? Well, it's impossible. And people then went on to discuss that the capitalist system will be around whether housing is won in a particular struggle or not, that it is in the capitalists' interests to steal that back and more. Comrades struggled that there is no peace for the working class under capitalism, and that while fighting for housing and other concessions, we must fight to end the system that forces us to fight in the first place.

The line of the CP(ML) is becoming more exposed with each struggle they "intervene in" (as the Trotskyites call it when they deign to enter the mass struggle). It is clear that they unite for their own interests and bring with them a defeatist line which appeals to the narrowest interests of the masses and at the same time preaches to the masses about how backwards they are. It is a coward's line that will keep the working class chained to the system of wage slavery. It is the low road.

The high, hard road to revolution stands opposed to this low road. The road of each struggle fighting for the overall interests of the working class and more importantly, in everything we do striving to fulfill all three objectives, carrying out all work in the present non-revolutionary situation with the goal of preparing the ranks of the advanced and the broader masses to make revolution when conditions ripen.

The two roads are clear and despite the confusion the CP(ML) and other opportunists stir up, the working class will move forward, leaving them cowering in the dust. ■

Unemployed...

Continued from page 2

trayed in Kautskyite fashion—that is as a “policy,” i.e. the will of individuals or groups of individuals (the government, Carter, capitalists) rather than the workings of the system and its fundamental laws. This was the seed of their whole revisionist line.

So for them it wasn't enough to continue the fight against the unemployment benefit cuts and against the various ways workers were increasingly being forced into slave-labor jobs, and in the course of these fights showing the *real* links of these attacks to the profit-driving system they reflected. The actual government policy of cutting back unemployment benefits kind of got lost in the shuffle. While “Stop the Attacks on our Unemployment Insurance System” was one of the demands of the campaign, it was as they said a matter of exposure, and UWOC was not led to put forward the general demand for “unemployment insurance to cover our costs of living for all periods of unemployment.” No leadership was given to building and summing up the fight for “Union Jobs at Union Wages” under the different conditions workers face around the country. Instead, the key was to show the “links” to a “systematic national policy” and then fight to end this policy.

Carrying out this line, as people summed up at the February 4 UWOC meeting, led to ignoring some real attacks and questions facing the unemployed, (such as fighting to make CETA jobs union jobs at union wages) because they didn't come under the “Carter Offensive” campaign. And on the other hand people summed up that they had found themselves in the unemployment offices trying to run down a whole grocery list of attacks to unemployed workers and explain how these were all part of this “Carter Offensive” we had to fight.

There *are* real links between the cuts in unemployment benefits and unemployed workers being forced into minimum wage jobs—but not the “links” the revisionists claimed to have discovered to a master plan of Carter. Fundamentally, the two are linked to the fundamental laws of the capitalist system which exist independently of the will of the capitalists or their politicians.

The growth of non-union, starvation pay jobs and the general worsening of the standard of living of the working class results from the general deepening of the crisis of capitalism, including the growth of unemployment, the reserve army of labor, which increases competition for jobs. This situation does not result primarily from government programs like “workfare” or CETA jobs. Yes, the cut in benefits and the regulations requiring workers to accept any job does accelerate this tendency. But so do many other factors, especially the intensified competition among the capitalists themselves forcing them to attack the living standards of the workers ever more viciously.

Similarly, the cuts in benefits themselves are not fundamentally a conscious attempt by the capitalists to increase the desperation of the reserve army of labor—though they do have that effect. The falling rate of profit, the need of the capitalists for massive amounts of capital to retool whole industries, inflation and monetary troubles and so on are all forcing the monopoly capitalist class to cut back on social services and many other expenditures which they don't profit from—veterans' benefits and social security, for example, as well as unemployment benefits. (Many of the restrictions on benefits, including the “take any job” provision, are partly simple attempts to drive people off the unemployment roles—a fact rather obvious to the unemployed, but which seems to have escaped the revisionists.)

Naturally, the capitalists and their representatives are able, in a very restricted and upside down way, to perceive some of the laws of their system in operation and on this basis come up with certain policies they believe will serve their interests. The rantings of Arthur Burns (former head of the Federal Reserve System) calling for cutting back drastically on the unemployment system and forcing the unemployed into lower paid jobs is certainly a reflection of this. But these types of conscious plans pale in comparison to the basic workings of capitalism itself, its anarchy, dislocations and crises. And furthermore, the plans and policies of the capitalists are but reflections of the underlying laws of capitalism at work.

A correct understanding of the relationship of the various attacks coming down on the unemployed and employed workers and their roots in the crisis of capitalism is an important basis for the Party to carry out its work among the unemployed in a revolutionary way and clarify that the enemy is the whole capitalist class and their profit system. But the vulgar, narrow approach of the revisionists led away from doing this.

The revisionists accuse others of being “idealists,” but they are the real idealists, throwing out the win-

dow any attempt to analyze the actual objective laws and coming up with simple, easy, and concocted explanations for the conditions workers face. In the course of the campaign there was much discussion, in UWOC and in the Party, of why the campaign didn't catch on among the unemployed. But instead of reevaluating and trying to make a Marxist analysis, the revisionists went on more and more twisting the world to try and fit the campaign they had come up with—focusing in on Carter, for example, in the hopes that workers' disillusionment with him would make the campaign “spin” and result in a big demonstration in Washington on the 21st.

This whole line of coming up with a gimmick to try and lead the struggle led more and more to a reformist outlook and approach. Since, according to them, Carter and the politicians were the source of this systematic national policy, since they were the ones doing it, “hell-bent on this policy,” then obviously the way to change it, especially if you want quick results, is to put “pressure” on the politicians, just like they teach us in high school. Of course it is absolutely correct to expose the government as the agent of the capitalist class and lead struggles directed against it. But this must be done on the basis of analyzing the real nature of the attacks coming down and the laws of capitalism behind them, and certainly not presenting the politicians as the source of everything evil, and by implication, capable of setting everything straight if only the “will of the people” is heard.

Headed Toward Lobbying Group

People at the February 4 meeting summed up that if this conclusion hadn't been put so clearly in words, this is exactly where UWOC had been headed. The line leading UWOC “boiled down to seeing ourselves in UWOC as nothing more than a lobbying group for the unemployed, restricting our activities to pressuring Congressmen and Presidents to change their policies.” At the meeting, UWOC members brought out example after example to show this. People said they had found themselves telling workers, “If you want to fight this then you've got to go to Washington.” One city reported that earlier in the fall they had been confused and unable to figure out a way to fight the Carter Offensive because all the local politicians were away in Washington. People said that they had found themselves spending more and more time investigating the political views of different politicians and the details of bills, than on investigating the actual situation and the thinking of their fellow unemployed workers. “We knew the details of every bill that was coming down,” one worker summed up at the meeting, “but we weren't out there in the neighborhoods and the unemployment offices organizing our fellow workers in the same way we used to.”

The spirit of the February 4 UWOC meeting was one of militant repudiation of this line that would have led UWOC to just reinforce the lies workers hear every day already. Don't people hear every day that whether things get better or worse, it's Carter's fault? And if things don't get better we can get a new batch of politicians in the next election.

The revisionist line went against the whole spirit of the statement in the RCP *Programme* which reads, “The working class has no interest in helping the capitalists figure out how to make an unworkable system ‘work’ for its every working is based on the misery and exploitation of the working class.” These revisionists are but a step away from the CPUSA's long time approach of drawing up a “model bill” and making agitation around it the key to their work.

No doubt our revisionists would protest that they haven't (yet) sunk this far. But more, they would remind us that this is what the masses think, not they themselves, oh no! They understand about the role of the state. But since the masses have faith in these politicians and don't see clearly what class they serve, it is our duty as communists to unite with the masses and “lead” them in confronting these politicians, so the workers can learn in whose interests these guys serve. But how can they learn this when everything we do “teaches” them the opposite? This is one of the reasons, for example, why they said the “Proclamation to President Carter” (that blamed everything on him but did say that he worked for the “rich owners”) was such a key tool for uniting with the masses and leading the struggle.

Unfortunately for their version of “uniting with the masses,” workers in UWOC and the masses at the unemployment offices were not generally clamoring to go see their politicians. Our experience as communists in UWOC has shown that it is only by discussing and struggling with people over what's really going on, and trying to bring light, that we have been able to lead things forward. For example, last year Detroit UWOC was building a fight against a bill cutting benefits for those who quit or are fired from a job and called a demonstration at the state capitol building in Lansing. Before the demonstration lively discussion and debate went on at a UWOC meeting around what we should expect in Lansing, what the line of the politicians would be, how we could break through their lies and

excuses for the bill with the truth about why these moves were going down. Armed with a stronger line about why we were demonstrating and confronting the politicians, not just leaving it at “let's go to Lansing because that's how you change things,” or “Let's go to Lansing because the politicians there are attacking us and serving the rich,” UWOC carried out a sharp and clear demonstration that generated controversy and deeper discussion among the masses and laid the basis for strong mass participation in UWOC in building the campaign against the cuts in the federal extended benefits.

Plan Ahead Line

But wait, our revisionists would yell, didn't we talk about the economy, about the rich owners backing the politicians? Yes, somewhat and in passing you did. But, to the extent that these revisionists put out any analysis of the *class* relations involved in the campaign, it was wrong—they put out the same Kautskyite view of the bourgeoisie and the workings of capitalism as they did on the relationship between the capitalists and the state. The capitalists were behind the government's one-two punch policy, they said, because they are consciously preparing now for the next, worse recession they see coming. The *Unemployed Organizer*, put out under their leadership, explained that “They [the corporate giants] expect it to be worse, and it's this they are preparing for, trying to make sure that this time the unemployed will be sufficiently desperate to scab, to take a job at any wage, to go for anything that keeps body and soul together.” (Oct.-Nov. '77 and Dec.-Jan. front page stories).

Of course as the capitalists cut unemployment benefits they will make the most of it, to take advantage of the increased competition for jobs and the general desperation of the unemployed. But its not as if the “corporate giants” are doing fine today, with no worries except how to plan attacks to weaken the working class when the crisis comes.

This “plan ahead” line on the capitalists, as the UWOC national meeting summed up, is “a view that sees the politicians, the government, the rich class as all powerful and sees the masses of people as helpless before all this power. According to this kind of thinking, the powers-that-be have complete control of everything, plan the economy or at least plan out how to control the people. They don't just cut the federal extensions, they develop an overall plan, a “Carter Offensive” on how to handle unemployment. They sit down and conspire against us and plan it all out. In looking back over the last few newsletters, (the *Unemployed Organizer*), especially the articles about this last campaign, people said that this is the picture that came across.

Jobs or Income Main Demand -

Their lack of understanding of the laws of the system, coupled with their whole get rich quick mentality, led them to a line that it was wrong for the working class to raise and fight for the demand for Jobs or Income.

It is wrong, these revisionists said, because this plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie. As they put it in a Party document, the essence of their line was, “The bourgeoisie is exactly using the masses' demand for jobs to promote their overall policy [i.e. benefit cuts and slave labor jobs] and attack the masses.”

In the internal newsletters of UWOC and the NUWO they put the line out straight up in criticizing the CP (ML) demonstration (See article, p. 9) because it “only demands ‘Jobs or Income’.” In this way it does not create a dividing line between the working class and the employing class. It was correct to criticize the CP(ML) for *only* raising Jobs or Income. This is because Carter is mouthing this phrase to cover and promote his workfare plan, and the capitalists do try to get over the line that if people want jobs they should take any job at any wage.

But does this mean, as these revisionists made it mean, that in making sure not to lead people into an “ambush,” we should just throw out and forget the demand that, as the RCP *Programme* says, is the *main demand* of the working class around unemployment? (Which is exactly the reason why the bourgeoisie and the opportunists are mouthing this demand.) The content of this has been made clear in the slogan raised time and again in UWOC's earlier work: “Jobs or Income! —union jobs at union wages or enough unemployment insurance to cover the cost of living for all periods of unemployment.” Doesn't this bring out a “dividing line” between the needs of the working class and the attacks of the capitalists?

Role of Party

In addition to their dropping the demand for Jobs or Income, another one of the hallmarks of the revisionists in UWOC was their negation of an independent role for the Party. Usually when these “leaders” ever raised the necessity for an independent role for the Party, it was as an excuse for their attempts to gut

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Unemployed...

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UWOC of any political analysis. They would say that UWOC couldn't really expose capitalism as the source of the problem, that was for the Party to do. But when it came time to *actually* figure out how the Party should carry out its independent role—that discussion was always left for another day. Even at major demonstrations like March 5th, there wasn't anyone who spoke in the name of the Party to present a broader view of the situation.

Fortunately, in keeping with the overall line of the Party and central guidance based on this, independent communist work was actually done by many comrades. *Worker* newspaper forums and a *Worker* reprint pamphlet on unemployment were developed and helped to give many workers around the country a deeper view of what they were really up against in the unemployment struggle. In Detroit, to cite only one example, the *Worker* forum on unemployment presented a scientific, Marxist view that put the lie to the capitalists' line that "What's good for the companies is good for the workers" (especially meaning more jobs) and then related that to the current battles around unemployment. It was very well received by the workers who attended.

economy of this country depends on them"

Superpower Contention

While this "internal settlement" was being cooked up, the U.S. and Britain were frantically trying to bring the Patriotic Front into the negotiations. The U.S. and British imperialists are especially worried about leaving a bigger opening for the Soviet social-imperialists and their Cuban mercenaries to exploit in Zimbabwe—as well as in the rest of southern Africa, where U.S. imperialism's deception of "peaceful transition to majority rule" has found few takers. This is what is behind Andy Young's recent statements about the danger of a "black on black civil war" in which "there would be a massive commitment of Soviet weapons." In addition, the U.S. imperialists are carefully trying not to further alienate the front-line African states, who are still supporting the Patriotic Front.

For months, the British and U.S. imperialists have been pushing for a "peace proposal" that would include all black organizations and would call for a transition to majority rule under the supervision of a British administrator and a UN peacekeeping force. But with the Patriotic Front demanding a dominant role in any transitional government, the British in particular have started to express interest in the new agreement. In the House of Commons, British Foreign Secretary Owen called it "a significant step toward majority rule."

After initial criticism of the settlement voiced by UN delegate Young, the U.S. shifted towards a "wait-and-see" attitude in a State Department statement issued on March 3, "We are not rushing to embrace or reject this agreement." While the U.S. imperialists are still sceptical about whether the plan will develop the necessary support from the Zimbabwean people and significantly undermine the Patriotic Front's position, and are still hoping to persuade the guerilla leaders (particularly Nkomo) to join in a negotiated settlement, they will be overjoyed if it succeeds, thereby protecting Western interests in Zimbabwe and southern Africa.

The Soviet Union, for its part, has been trying to advance its own imperialist interests at the expense of the Zimbabwean people. Though they opposed the initial stages of the armed struggle against the racist regime as "adventurist," the Soviet imperialists are now talking like they supported the liberation struggle all along. They have recently given some aid to the guerilla forces, especially to ZAPU led by Joshua Nkomo. In recent months, at least 75 Cuban advisors have been transferred from Angola to ZAPU camps on the Zambian border, foreshadowing a bigger play by the Soviets and their Cuban mercenaries to try to substitute their phoney brand of "liberation" (Angola and Ethiopia style), while the old-line Western imperialists are being exposed and kicked out.

The "internal settlement" is widely recognized inside Zimbabwe and in Africa as a whole, as naked treachery to the interests of the people. Now more than ever, the road forward for the Zimbabwean people lies in persevering in the armed struggle, remaining firm in principle and flexible in tactics, and relying on their own revolutionary struggle and not on either imperialist superpower. As they have done in the face of many past attempts to sellout their struggle, the Zimbabwean people will break through this scheme of the reactionaries and fight on for national liberation. ■

Pragmatism and Eclecticism

Behind the reformist line lay the same philosophical outlook of pragmatism and eclecticism that generally characterized the revisionist headquarters that existed in the Party.

Pragmatism is the reactionary bourgeois philosophy which separates theory from practice, leaving it groping in the dark. For pragmatists decisions about what to do from day to day need not be guided by an overall analysis, instead their guide for action becomes "if it works, do it; if it doesn't work, try something else." And, of course, the measuring stick for determining what works is nothing but the most narrow and immediate results.

We have shown how this whole approach of judging everything by whether it would "spin" led the revisionist headquarters to misdirect UWOC especially after the March 5th demonstration, frantically grasping for straws to justify another big demonstration in D.C.

To them what made the demonstration a success was that "we led a lot of people," and that Carter and the government had been forced to really take note of UWOC—"they admitted so to a reporter." But while it was certainly an accomplishment for UWOC to organize such an impressive outpouring of the unemployed, this is not the only or even the primary reason why the March 5th demonstration was indeed a step forward for UWOC and the Party's work among the unemployed.

Closely linked with their pragmatism, and often used as an excuse for it, was their constant narrowing of the scope of things. The sharpest way this came out was in the revisionists' distortion of the truth that the "general resides in the particular," which they tried to make into a big slogan and a campaign within the Party, especially to sabotage the process of taking up and understanding the real meaning of the 1976 Central Committee Report on Revolutionary Work in a Non-Revolutionary Situation (see *Revolution*, July and August 1976). They used this "general resides in the particular" campaign to the point of throwing the whole "general"—the laws of capitalism and the larger picture of class society—out the window and just focusing attention on the particular attacks, bills or government moves in front of our noses.

Speeches that tried to show why the capitalist system causes unemployment would be criticized as "too general." They made a big deal of "drawing out the living contradiction," meaning the most immediate, specific contradiction existing at the moment. What was "living" for them was the live politicians in front of our faces!

Their one-sided emphasis on "exposing Carter" flows from this outlook. In the view of these muddleheads, we suppose, they were exposing the state "in general" by running at the mouth about Carter in particular.

The narrow tactical outlook of seeing and fighting each particular attack in isolation from the real laws of capitalism "robs the workers of our potential strength, makes us short sighted and narrow minded. It leads us to get bogged down in what the government is doing in every detail, to hand the initiative over to them, and pin all our activities on their maneuverings." (from the internal UWOC newsletter summing up the Feb. 4 meeting)

If one relies on this pragmatic and empiricist method of "analysis," instead of analyzing differing phenomena, such as the capitalists' attacks, and their relationship to each other based on Marxism, one will inevitably fall back on eclecticism. As Lenin put it, "on the one hand, and on the other...that is eclecticism. Dialectics requires an all-round consideration of relationships in their concrete development, but not a patchwork of bits and pieces." ("Once Again on the Trade Unions" in *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 91)

But eclectic maneuvering is exactly what happened at the UWOC national conference in June of last year, where the line of fighting the government policy, the "one-two punch," was put forward. The bits and pieces of analysis of what the government was doing—cutting back benefits and developing programs that would drive the unemployed into slave labor jobs—were expressed in different resolutions that chapters brought to the conference. Instead of struggling over what was the real relationship between the two attacks, the proposals were combined to define one government policy that UWOC should fight. And further, the very real questions that arose at the conference on how to fight the attacks, whether it should be mainly on a local and state by state basis (which was how these particular attacks were mainly coming down), or mainly by hitting at the federal government and Carter, was not struggled out to determine what should be principal. Although some struggle broke out over this, under the influence of the revisionist line the problem was neatly "solved" by saying, we've got to fight it *both* locally and nationally. This was typical of the revisionists' concept of a "third line" that "broke through the middle."

By the second day of the conference all this was combined into one resolution packaging all this together.

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Zimbabwe...

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1000 whites are leaving Rhodesia each month, many seeking South African citizenship.

The government is now paying 10% of its gross domestic product in transport subsidies to circumvent the UN embargo, and Rhodesian borrowers in the European capital markets are paying usurious interest rates, which are climbing even higher as the lending becomes more and more risky. As a result, capital investment has dropped by 19% in the last year. In response to these strains, Smith and the Rhodesian bourgeoisie have been forced to seek the best possible guarantees for their interests and privileges within a "majority ruled" Zimbabwe.

"Internal Settlement" Sells Out Zimbabwean People

Last November, talks started in Salisbury between Smith and "moderate leaders" Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev. N. Sithole, and Chief Jeremiah Chirau, all of whom have been living inside the country for years with the government's permission. After months of petty squabbles, they agreed to a 100 member Parliament, with 28 seats (enough to block any constitutional changes) reserved for whites for at least 10 years. The 4% white minority—which owns all the country's factories and mines (together with Western imperialist interests) and prosperous agricultural estates taking up over half of the land—will be guaranteed the ability to block land reform, nationalizations, and any significant changes in the white-controlled government bureaucracy.

A key section concerns the future makeup of the armed forces. The negotiators agreed to "political independence" for the white-led Rhodesian police and army, coupled with a phony "amnesty" for guerilla fighters who will become eligible for "retraining" and service in the reactionary armed forces.

Smith (who will retain the post of Prime Minister) and the three black politicians will make up an executive council, the controlling body in a transitional government leading up to an election at the end of 1978. All decisions are to be reached by "consensus," giving Smith and the white settlers veto power. The day-to-day running of the country is to be handled by a council of ministers, evenly divided between blacks and whites.

Smith and his black collaborators still have tactical disagreements on how to set up this so-called "black majority rule." Smith has to sell the package to Rhodesia's whites, while the three black "leaders" need some concessions from Smith or they will risk losing their already limited support among the Zimbabwean people and make it that much harder for them to sell the "settlement" to other black African states.

However, all parties agree on the necessity of slowing down the steady stream of recruits into the guerilla camps and lessening the international isolation of the Rhodesian regime. There can be little doubt about the basic identity of interests between Smith and the aspiring black puppet rulers—according to Smith, "Without whites, Rhodesia would degenerate into one of those third-rate countries!" Sithole echoes, "The role of whites is very important, I would say even vital. The

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As time went on the "light" these revisionists shed on was the reformist lie of the "Carter offensive." After the conference when some members of UWOC expressed confusion about this campaign, they were admonished to "study the resolution some more" as if going over this eclectic hodgepodge would shed some light on the matter.

UWOC: Weapon for Working Class

In the course of discussion at the February national UWOC meeting, many people brought out the principles UWOC was founded and built on. People spoke of what they had learned from Comrade Gert Alexander, a member of the RCP and a veteran fighter who led UWOC from its beginning until her death in April 1976. As the internal UWOC newsletter summing up this meeting said, "UWOC was built on the understanding that Gert always fought for, that we working people are not some helpless pawns but the backbone of the whole set-up, and the only ones who can change things.

NUWO...

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With this type of an outlook, it is no surprise that these hacks would do nothing to build the NUWO into the kind of organization it can and must develop into—an organized center uniting active fighters among the workers who see the need to take up the battle against the capitalists on all the major questions in society. Quite the contrary, their line led away from building the NUWO in such a way and would have led to a shell organization with the purpose of turning out workers on occasion for whatever political gimmick the Mensheviks were into at the time, while, at the same time, the in-plant organizations would be trade union caucuses.

This wrong line came out at the founding convention, which despite being an important advance, was seriously marred by the tendency promoted and led by this handful to substitute "hype" for substance. They not only did not further, but actually obstructed, serious discussion of key issues by the convention. This line and the whole way these people tried to lead the convention resulted in the incident described in the October, '77 *Revolution* when one worker who raised a wrong viewpoint on the question of illegal immigrants was booed for doing so and little effort was made to politically answer him.

In fact, during the whole campaign leading up to the convention the Mensheviks acted as though they were building a demonstration and not an organization. When real difficulties did emerge they claimed it was because there were not enough "good organizers" (in fact, according to one of them—who later declared himself "President" of the NUWO—there were only five such "good organizers" in the whole country, an elite few which included himself and his cronies.) Such an approach leads directly away from the NUWO involving increasingly large numbers of active fighters and developing a politically vigorous life of its own. This is the kind of life that the NUWO must have, where workers battle out what are the key questions facing the working class throughout society as well as on the job and how to mobilize masses of workers in struggle against the capitalists on all these fronts.

Sabotaging Miners Struggle

While conditions were such that they could not defeat (or even openly oppose) the miners resolution at the Founding Convention, they were able to capture two of the four positions on the Executive Committee (EC) and a handful of seats on the much larger National Steering Committee. Shortly after the convention one of their EC members declared himself "President" of the NUWO (a position which never did, and still does not, exist) and began actively to sabotage the NUWO's efforts to build a campaign in support of the miners.

At the first National Steering Committee meeting, last November, this illicit "President" actively sabotaged taking up the campaign. Failing to understand the class-wide implications of the miners' struggle (and acting in the disgusting manner of a hot-shot "power broker"), he arrogantly demanded a "guarantee" from representatives of the Miners Right To Strike Committee (MRTSC—affiliated with the NUWO) that the miners

"People said that UWOC has always brought out that working people create all the wealth of this country, that our labor has made it rich, that our brains and muscle make it run. UWOC's stand has always been that we won't compromise an inch with the capitalists and their profit system that throws us out of work and leads to crisis after crisis—as the Jobs or Income petition said from the start, 'This is a rich country and our labor made it that. We demand jobs—we will not be without!' The strength of UWOC has been that our words and actions have brought out the real needs, the strength, and the potential power of the workers, and called out every lie, every phony promise, every contradiction that the bosses are caught in—it's *their* crisis and *our* fight."

At the UWOC meeting people resolved to reaffirm the basic principles of UWOC, and everyone felt confident that on this basis UWOC can be built on an even stronger basis as a real weapon in the hands of the workers. People from one area, who had already begun to criticize the line of the campaign before the meeting, said that throwing the line and slogan of Fight Carter's Unemployment Offensive overboard had been a liberating experience, like dumping a load of heavy baggage off their backs. When the unemployment benefits were cut from 39 to 26 weeks in many states at the end of January, due to a so-called "drop" in unemployment, instead of agonizing for days over a long ponderous leaflet trying to prove how this latest cut was part of

would strike, and that it would be a long, militant battle! He warned against the "idealistic" view that the impending strike would "automatically" be a major battle of the working class. A certain amount of confusion and demoralization developed throughout the NUWO as a result of all this, and for the next two months almost no miners' support work was built, although there were a few notable exceptions where local chapters took the initiative.

At the same time, this hack "President" and his rotten line met with growing opposition from rank and file NUWO members and the majority of its leadership. When two of the four EC members finally initiated a Steering Committee vote to determine the fate of the "President," the result was a 44 to 17 vote to remove him from the EC. This vote was a clear response to the bureaucratic, hack mentality of the "President" which had been reflected in his arrogant, "top down" method of "leadership" from the start. It also reflected the NUWO's righteous outrage over the criminal sabotage of the miners campaign by the "President." The vote represented the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the NUWO membership.

Clearly this Menshevik hack had seen the handwriting on the wall well before the vote was taken. As it turns out, he had stolen the organization's membership list from the safe in the National Office less than a month after the November NSC meeting, and as soon as he was informed of his removal from the EC, he and his fellow opportunist on the EC moved to set up a rival National Office and a rival EC in his home-town "private kingdom."

Chicago Meeting

While the vast majority of chapters stood firm in the face of this challenge, refusing to recognize his bogus "National Office," there were a few areas in which his faction had some influence. One of these was Chicago, and the tarnished "President" soon made an all-out effort to seize the Chicago Area chapter. The attempt failed when he and his opportunist cohorts were dealt a severe blow at a February 19 meeting of the Chicago chapter. Obviously hoping to stack the meeting, he brought with him a small band of followers, but his efforts were to no avail.

In a 29 to 19 vote the meeting affirmed the NSC decision to remove the "President." Debate was intense, with the honest forces having time and again to sort through the jumble of irrelevancies, petty whining and vicious red-baiting tossed around by the opportunists in an effort to confuse the real issues at hand. It was finally brought out that, along with his attempt to split the NUWO and constitute his "own" National Office, the "President" and his cohorts had tried to do the same thing with the Miners Right To Strike Committee! In a blatant attempt to undermine the MRTSC at the height of the miners' strike, he had sent letters to many NUWO members calling for money and food for the miners to be sent to a phony address where two of his friends could collect it and do with it as they pleased! This prompted a unanimous vote of support at the Chicago NUWO meeting for the legitimate MRTSC in Beckley, West Virginia. (The opportunists formally abstained in order not to be totally isolated.)

In a last-ditch effort to legitimize their bogus National Office, the hucksters asked the Chicago meeting to endorse and participate in a factional demonstration, ostensibly in support of the miners, scheduled by the "President" to take place in Gary only two days later. Included in a leaflet for the Gary demonstration that they passed around the meeting was the

the Carter Offensive, they were able to write a short and clear leaflet linking these cuts to the overall crisis and get out to the unemployment office pretty quickly.

"The bosses say it's getting better," the leaflet said, "but in fact they are driving us down." It brought out the police shooting of a worker in their city, summing up that the capitalists are saying that working people have only two choices: "live like slaves—or die like dogs."

But, the leaflet said, we have another choice, to organize and fight for what we need to live on and against the system that can't provide us with a decent life. They called for a demonstration at the unemployment office against the cuts. Workers read through this leaflet carefully, they said, instead of looking at the first paragraph and putting it down like people used to do with the Carter Offensive leaflets. People supported the idea of the demonstration and came up to talk to UWOC about the cuts and the whole situation.

The spirit of what UWOC was trying to say and do struck a chord in the hearts of the workers, spoke to the truth of their own lives and experience and drew people forward. This wasn't a magical gimmick that brought hundreds of unemployed workers into motion—the demonstration at the unemployment office was small. But UWOC members thought that a TV reporter who covered the action summed it up correctly when she said on TV that night, "It is only a small handful today—but its potential is millions." ■

following quote: "We in the NUWO think it is of the utmost importance that all workers get together with the miners in this fight. It is not just a question of helping the brothers who need our help. We all have a big stake in this strike. We have seen that when one section of the working class wins a good contract or a particular fight around safety or work rules, we are all better able to win these demands when our turn to fight comes up. . . We want the miners to go back to work. But only after the owners grant enough of their demands that the miners' vote to go back with a victory in their hands." This "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" line reduces the miners' struggle to a "routine" contract fight rather than the front-line battle of the working class against the capitalists that the NUWO correctly saw it as. It totally negates the significance of the long history of militant struggle of the miners, and reduces the class struggle to the fight for better terms of sale for the workers' labor. This whole approach would lead the NUWO away from seizing upon the miners strike as a "single spark" of struggle for the whole working class.

Besides suiting these hucksters' opportunist factional purposes, their rush to "support the miners" and the line guiding it was perfectly consistent politically with their earlier open sabotage of building support. At both points their view failed to be based on the *political* significance of the miners' struggle as an advanced battle in the overall struggle of the working class against the capitalists. Their narrowness was rejected at the Chicago NUWO meeting.

The NUWO had scheduled a regional car caravan to Indianapolis in support of the strike for February 25. (See article on page 11.) The meeting voted unanimously in favor of the caravan and defeated the Gary proposal 30 to 19. The splitters left the meeting defeated and exposed, and the situation became much more favorable for clearing up the confusion they had spread.

Since that meeting, the EC has correctly determined that "continued membership in the NUWO will be based on (1) recognizing the official Executive Committee in Chicago. . . and (2) recognizing the MRTSC with its mailing address in Beckley, W. Va. . . ." (from a letter to all NUWO chapters.) NUWO chapters across the country are uniting in opposition to the bankruptcy of the careerist has-been "President," and the situation is excellent for making a big advance off of this struggle.

From the very beginning, the Menshevik clique has shown that its line leads away from developing the struggle, class consciousness, and revolutionary unity of the working class and its leadership of the fight against all forms of capitalist oppression. And it exposes their view of mass organizations, not as vehicles for moving the masses forward toward the revolutionary goal, but as private kingdoms for the development of their own careers.

In their unsuccessful bid to split the RCP the Mensheviks have tried to use their positions in mass organizations, and in the Party's youth organization, as weapons in their puny arsenal. In each case this tactic has backfired on them and served to expose them all the more thoroughly. Their recent effort to destroy the NUWO by turning it into a do-nothing, paper organization for the promotion of their own careers is only the culmination of their consistent drive to relegate the working class to the reformist role of "pressure group." This dead-end road has been repudiated by the NUWO, and in doing so it will enable the organization to better recognize and root out errors that were promoted by some of its erstwhile "leaders." ■