



# REVOLUTION

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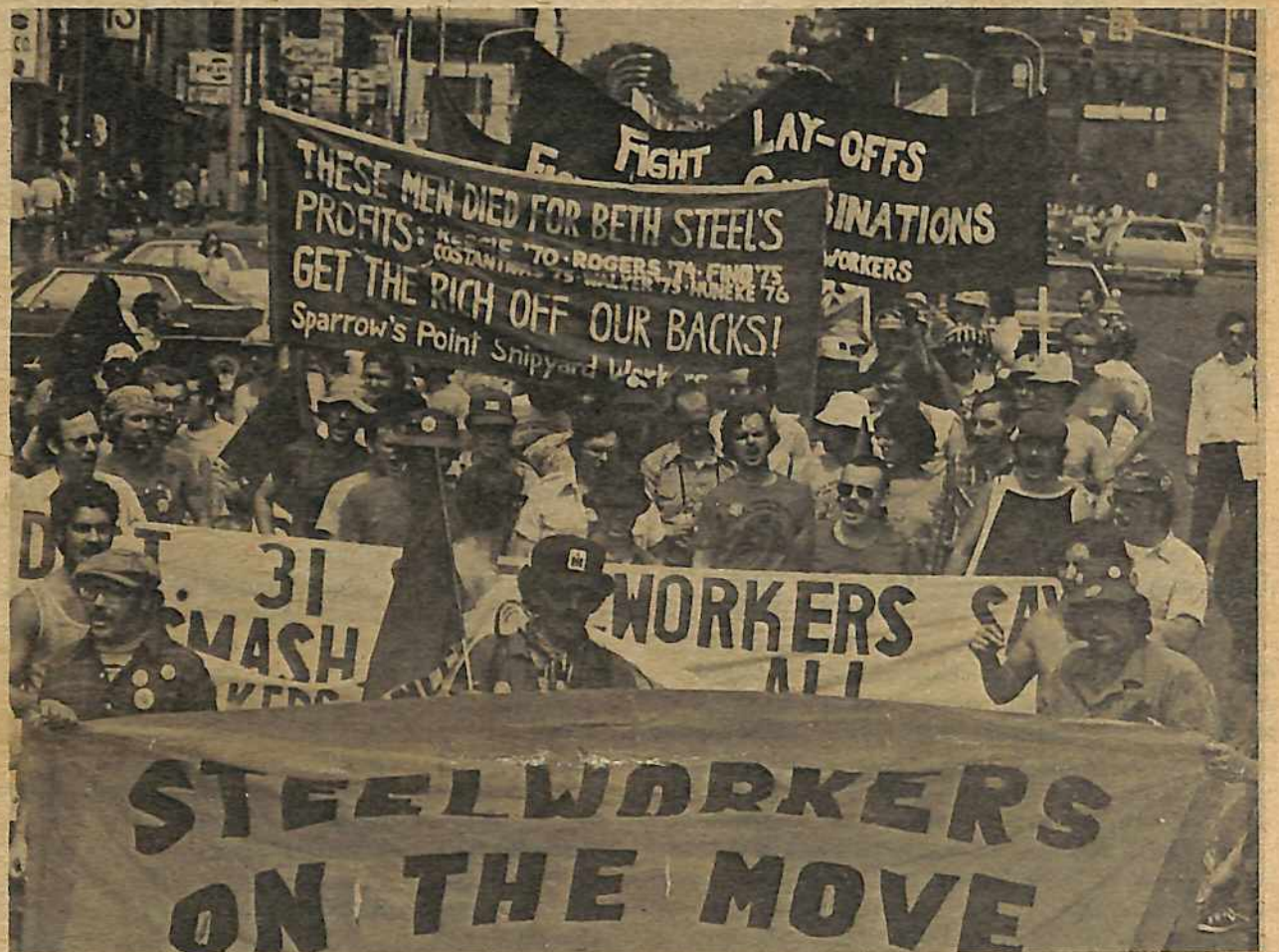
## Big Victory for Working Class

# Battle of the Bicentennial

*"We did it! On July 4th in Philadelphia thousands of working people marching shoulder to shoulder through the streets for miles. Where you couldn't see the front of the march and you couldn't see the back of the march, but you could feel the march. We did it! We did it in the organized, disciplined, serious, militant, angry way working people do things. In the proclamation of the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition, we said months ago, 'as we have always fought them we will fight them on the day they choose to celebrate their bloodsoaked rule.' And we have fought them on that day, and we have won!"*

These were the words of the first speaker as over three thousand marchers pouring into Norris Park on July 4th roared their agreement. It was a truly magnificent day.

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## Qualifications: New Face, Smooth Talk

# Carter Gets the Nod From Capitalists

*"But what is the main issue? The main issue is not economics. The main issue is the restoration of integrity and confidence in government. The main issue is trust, the restoration of trust."—Hubert H. Humphrey at the Democratic National Convention.*

And here was Jimmy Carter, the smiling peanut farmer, the man of the soil, the good ol' boy from Plains, Georgia, the disciplined nuclear submarine officer who went against all the odds. Here was a good family man, with dozens of the clan gathered round to prove it—almost as numerous and toothy as the Kennedys, but without the taint of sex scandal and manslaughter. Here was a spokesman for the common man, telling us that it's time for the people to run the government and not the other way around, but without the tin-horn image and taint of racism of George Wallace.

"Trust me," said Jimmy Carter. "Trust him," said the bourgeoisie.

Hubert Humphrey wanted badly to be the "man to be trusted." But in the end he was told to back out. "People have been watchin' your lips flappin' too long Hubert. You're too covered with the dirt of your many battles for the capitalists." "Trust me," Scoop Jackson had pleaded, and the bourgeoisie knew they could. "But you're just too dull Henry. Your moves have 'hack' written all over them. You stir as much excitement as a prune at the breakfast table." So they pulled the plug on his campaign. Frank Church investigated

the CIA "with restraint" to show that he knew how to get trusted, but he just came off a bit too limp-wristed. Jerry Brown, the mad monk from California was a fresh face, and certainly would be useful in the future. But a few years on the shelf might mellow out some of his weirdness and ego maniacal approach.

### Carter's the One

So finally it was Jimmy. The capitalists had found a new horse to ride, a candidate they hope can overcome their repeatedly admitted problem that "millions are disgusted, skeptical and suspicious" of the bourgeoisie's political system. Speaker after speaker at the convention proclaimed that "the difficulty lies not with our system of government, but with the leadership." And here was the new leader, the good man that Martin Luther King Sr. announced "was sent by the Lord to bring America back to where she belonged."

Issues were strictly second fiddle. It was the pledge of simple decency that people supposedly wanted. "I love you," said Jimmy. "Love me and all will be fine."

The image of Carter projected by the media and his ad men is that of the man who emerged from nowhere. He is pictured alone, determined, the unknown, visiting barbershops, union halls, laundermats, introducing himself to countless would-be voters before the New Hampshire elections. In the pack of candidates that

the bourgeoisie ran out in the early primaries Carter was comparatively unknown to people. In fact, that was perhaps his main advantage. The capitalists were definitely looking for someone who could be distinguished from the discredited and shopworn politicians that have been huffing and puffing around Washington doing their bidding so openly for years.

The ruling class is faced with a major political crisis. People are sick and tired of bearing the brunt of their economic crisis. Millions of working people know that the only thing they will get from the bosses and their politicians are more attacks and abuses. They are tired of listening to lies and rhetoric from politicians who serve the interests of the capitalists, telling workers to sacrifice, while many of them live their own pockets and live degenerate lives. The rulers are desperately looking for new faces, new pied-pipers. Carter didn't ride any wave of enthusiasm. He rode in on the fact that he was unknown and therefore untainted—and promoted to the tune of millions of dollars.

Jimmy Carter was not unknown to the ruling class. As the Christian Science Monitor admitted, despite the fact that "Mr. Carter's public image is dominated by Plains, Georgia and peanuts, he is just as comfortable, and as familiar a figure in the board rooms of New York, Tokyo and London."

As soon as he showed the capitalists that he could attract more votes than their other candidates and put himself over as an honest face, the political support and financing came rolling in.

People were subjected to millions of dollars worth of TV image making for Jimmy. His mother and daughter were paraded before the cameras *ad nauseam*, showing us how cute and quaint they were. The Carters got the biggest hype job since the Kennedys.

Like most of the Democratic politicians Carter made his pitch to the working man and woman. And Carter acted like he was a "common man" himself. But Jimmy Carter is no man of the soil. He is a big capitalist farmer. He is a man who pushes others into the dirt. Carter said "As an engineer, a planner and a businessman, I see clearly the value of a strong system of free enterprise based on increased productivity and adequate wages." Presumably the \$2.30 an hour he pays to workers on his peanut farm is an indication of what

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Rank and file demonstrate at '76 UAW Special Bargaining Convention. Organization of auto workers to take on the companies has grown steadily in the last year. Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 (AWUF) has spread to 13 chapters.

## Rank & File Plan August Demo

# Honeymoon Vibes At Auto Talks

The 1976 auto contract talks are underway and to listen to the companies and the UAW International big shots talk, everything is coming up roses. Their game of footsie has the capitalist press full of ecstatic articles with titles like "Moderate tone marks UAW talks" and "No strike on auto horizon." But there are angry rumblings among the rank and file auto workers who have been ground harder than ever in the wake of the 1973 sellout—devastating layoffs, then a massive productivity onslaught that has permanently eliminated 50,000 jobs as the companies claw to get their profits back up, and all the while the no-fight International just makes excuses for the bosses' attacks.

Slowdowns, walkouts, work stoppages and local strikes show that the workers are plenty mad. And now many are organizing to focus these struggles on the contract fight. The nationwide Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 (AWUF) has called an August contract demonstration and planning meeting in Detroit.

### Treachery at the Top

Leonard Woodcock boasts that this year's negotiations "appear to be the most peaceful ever" and he is working overtime to make this prediction come true.

"Flexibility," say the UAW hacks, is their bargaining byword. What this means, they explain, is that auto workers shouldn't get attached to any "emotional issues"—SUB pay, speed up, rotten conditions, pensions, overtime, stuff like that—that might force the International into "too hard" a stance and upset their delicate negotiations for "job security."

This "job security" business is a thin cover for the concern of Woodcock and Company that the contract not threaten the companies' fragile recovery. The main way that auto workers can keep their jobs secure, according to this "theory," is by accommodating themselves to the insatiable profit demands of Ford, G.M., Chrysler and American Motors.

Of course, the hacks have to place demands on the companies to show they are fighting for "job security" and their main bid is for shorter work time. Even bourgeois economists and the *Wall Street Journal* point out that this approach can't possibly protect jobs, let alone win back the ones lost in the last few years.

### "Short Work Week"

Their favorite short work time plan is an absentee control scheme already adopted in the agricultural implement industry, which gives a worker 30 minutes credit for every week of perfect attendance. After 16 weeks of perfect attendance the worker will then get a paid day off. Preliminary talks around this demand have led to a ridiculous situation where the International is claiming that this plan would mainly be beneficial to the companies, controlling their absenteeism and the companies claiming that it really won't help them out that much. This one example shows how much the International tries to tailor its contract demands to the interests of the companies.

Meanwhile the companies have made it clear that they're far from satisfied with their present profits

and want the union contract to attack auto workers further. They have especially kicked up a lot of dust about how much spiraling health insurance costs are hurting them. The UAW International agrees that "we certainly have a problem" with these high health costs, although they are still putting up verbal resistance to any efforts to force auto workers to foot health insurance costs directly from their paychecks.

As usual, it seems that the companies are going to push the International as far as they can and that the International is prepared to stoop as low as they can, provided they can get away with it among the rank and file. For example, their answer thus far to the inadequacies of the Supplemental Unemployment Benefit (SUB) fund have been to talk not about demanding more from the companies but merely of "restructuring" the fund so "higher seniority workers don't get cut off because the younger workers have already run the fund dry." In practice this means raising eligibility for SUB benefits from one to two years seniority, thereby cutting tens of thousands off from SUB protection.

Besides his usual solicitude for the well-being of the auto monopolies, whose interests he serves and shares, Woodcock has a special reason for being a milktoast this time around. He was one of the first of the big labor traitors to jump on the Jimmy Carter bandwagon and he is looking to cash in, bidding for either Secretary of Labor or of Health, Education and Welfare.

The UAW leaders want to devote the maximum possible attention to lining workers up to support the Democrats in the elections, through the eight union Labor Coalition Clearinghouse they set up to compete with the AFL-CIO's COPE in trying to sell the working class to the capitalists by way of the Democratic Party. A strike or even "inflationary and unreasonable" demands could interfere with their campaign effort, not to mention Woodcock's shot at a cabinet post if Carter wins.

The UAW bigwigs are out to play the shaky auto "recovery" two ways. Not only are they encouraging the workers to play dead so as not to disturb it, but they are banking on more regular work, partial callbacks, fatter paychecks from overtime to prove that things are getting better, not like they were in 1973, and therefore a fight isn't necessary. The problem is that to the extent that the auto industry has pulled precariously out of its 1974-5 disaster, it has been at the expense of the sweat and blood of the autoworkers and plenty of them know it.

### Rank and File Determined to Fight

For all their efforts, the auto bosses and their valets in the UAW do not have the 1976 contract sewed up by a long shot. Despite all the handcuffs International flunkies put on it, the struggle of the rank and file continues to hit at the companies. From slowdowns and walkouts to the recent strikes at Chrysler Trenton Engine and Vernor Tool and Die in Michigan and GM's Englewood, N.J. parts warehouse, the determination to fight cannot be mistaken.

Nowhere is this clearer than at Ford's Metuchen, N.J. assembly plant, where on June 30, 200 workers in trim and paint continued a struggle begun in February by punching out after 8 hours when the company had overtime scheduled. Their stand was firm—we don't care what the contract says, we don't care what the local hacks say, we don't care that it's only 18 minutes, we aren't working overtime while 450 of our brother and sister workers are on layoff. Period. The company was forced to drop its overtime plans, just as it had after a similar walkout in early March.

### Strike Votes

Scores of strike votes have been taken in locals around the country around issues of health and safety and speedup and, at Chrysler Sterling Stamping, the issue of forced overtime. In many cases the rank and file has forced these strike votes, in other cases the local officials have pushed them without any strong input from the rank and file, which points to the likelihood that the International, remembering all the spontaneous revolt during the summer before the '73 contract, is trying to stay one step ahead this time around (this is certainly their intent in calling and ending the Trenton Engine strike).

Even as they try to keep on top of rank and file unrest, the International is fretting about a couple of specific potential trouble spots. Skilled tradesmen have been getting organized around the contract, really ever since the disgraceful '73 sellout. Despite the opportunist leadership of much of this movement, including the reactionary dual-union International Society of Skilled Trades (ISST), the clear sentiment of the majority of tradesmen is directed against the companies and the International (especially focused around demands around outside contracting, wages and company attempts to attack even more job classifications).

Insurgency among the skilled trades is enough of a headache that G.M. vice-president George Morris, Jr. made a point of declaring his company does not acknowledge the right of skilled trades workers to vote down a contract if it is accepted by the assembly workers.

Retirees, although also under opportunist leadership (in this case mainly loyal opposition types including some local leaders like Frank Reynolds, president of Cadillac Local 22 and the top leadership of Flint Buick Local 599) have staged several demonstrations, with hundreds attending. They demanded a cost of living allowance on the pensions, a demand the International has publicly rejected, which is just dandy with G.M. whose stated position on more money for retirees is "no way."

Even more important than all this rank and file motion has been the growing understanding behind that motion. Behind these battles an increasing number of activists have stepped forward, more conscious of the need for a protracted struggle and rank and file organization to advance that struggle. The International stands more exposed all the time and very few workers feel they can rely on it for leadership. More and more the big time labor traitors have come to be seen as part of the enemy forces that the rank and file must break through.

### Auto Workers United to Fight in '76

In this setting, Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 has grown from being based on a handful of plants in the Detroit area into a nationwide organization with 13 established chapters. Over 70,000 copies of their program on the '76 contracts have been distributed to auto workers around the country. A second issue of the national newsletter has just been put out explaining AWUF's position on the main issues around the contract, spreading the news about the various struggles jumping off around the country and showing how they have to be focused to build the contract struggle, turning International sponsored "let off steam" strikes like Trenton Engine into their opposite, building steam for the contract expiration.

Plans are being made to make the various local contracts as well an important way to further try to break the stranglehold of the International at contract time. To build further momentum, to popularize more broadly the spirit of rank and file rebellion against the impending sellout, AWUF is building for a demonstration at Solidarity House, International union headquarters in Detroit, for August 13. The next day a weekend conference will kick off, bringing together AWUF chapters and other rank and file fighters from around the country to consolidate their ranks and determine a clear battle plan for the contract period ahead.

The media in Detroit is trying to convince auto workers that they are afraid to strike in '76, but the truth is that most auto workers know the score: "We can't afford not to fight." There will be plenty of struggle in the next two months as expiration draws closer and the UAW International-Auto Giants joint attempt to put the sellout on ice may have trouble standing the heat. Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 will play an important role in fanning the flames of the contract battle and, as it does so, build the understanding and organization auto workers will need to carry on the struggles yet to come. ■



## Lessons of Class Struggle Around July 4th

# Build On Advances Won in Battle

The July 4th demonstration called by the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition represented an important, an historic step in building the revolutionary struggle of the working class. The demonstration reflected the growing struggle of the working class at the same time as it pointed to the future of our struggle, of uniting our fight into an overall revolutionary class struggle which will take aim squarely at the source of the oppression and injustice in society—the capitalist system of wage slavery and the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The demonstration has given rise to important questions both among the workers and others who participated and the many who supported the actions but were unable to attend them. What was the nature of the struggle around the Bicentennial? What are the lessons to be drawn from the toe-to-toe struggle with the capitalists during the four days of activities? What is the relationship between the July 4th demonstration and the other struggles the working class and masses of people are engaged in? These are important questions to be answered in order to advance off the victory won in Philadelphia.

The Battle of the Bicentennial was a battle that took place in the political arena, that is, where the positions of different classes in society are concentrated in their political form and where the whole question of the rule, the direction of society, is raised. The stage for this struggle had been set by the capitalists themselves, by what they hoped to use the Bicentennial to accomplish.

The plans called for the Bicentennial to be a grand celebration of the virtues of the American system, of capitalism; at the same time, it was supposed to cover over the class content of that system, the exploitation of the working class by the capitalists, and hide the rule of the exploiters under the cover of "freedom and democracy for all." The rulers wanted to appear to the working class and the public generally as the natural leaders of the country standing above the "divisions" (class conflict) in society, leading the country forward on behalf of all the people, worker and capitalist alike.

### Ruling Class Attack

All of this was not simply because the capitalists wanted to have a large crowd at their birthday party. They use patriotism and try to promote "national unity" for very real political purposes: to call on the working class to sacrifice its struggle to the "common interests of the nation" (the profits of the monopolies); to try to create a climate more favorable for their military adventures and war preparations, especially with the experience of the Vietnam War still fresh in peoples' minds; to blunt the effects of the economic and political crisis which causes more and more workers to come into struggle against them and to question their system.

It is because these political goals are crucial to the bourgeoisie's efforts to prop up their rule that they went to such lengths to stop the plans of the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition to turn the Fourth of July into a day of struggle against them.

The cat started to come out of the bag when a Philadelphia newspaper reported that the Senate Internal Security Committee "fears that a well organized demonstration could steal the spotlight from President Ford and other national leaders." But even this was only half the truth. Not only did they fear that the July 4th demonstration would focus public attention (the "spotlight") on the growing struggle of the working class, they feared that the spotlight of class interests would shine on what they were up to with their Bicentennial. Above all, they wanted nothing to shine on the class content of their rule, their domination of society.

What the July 4th demonstration represented was the working class doing battle politically against the very things the capitalists set out to accomplish in their Bicentennial campaign.

When the capitalists first began planning their Bicentennial program back in the early '70s they hoped to make the Bicentennial the official end of the "divisive conflicts" which had rocked the country in the '60s. But the class struggle does not stand still no matter what anyone wishes. Even though the upsurge of the Black liberation struggle has declined since the high tide of the 1960s and the Vietnam War is over, the contradictions of capitalism have compelled millions of workers to struggle. Class consciousness has grown, new working class organization has begun to develop, and the political party of the working class, the Revolutionary Communist Party, has been formed.

The demands and slogans of the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition crystallized and concentrated the

growing struggle, needs and understanding of millions of workers—providing a pole of opposition to the capitalist class. The demand for Jobs or Income Now! concentrated the needs and growing struggle of millions of unemployed and points to the crisis in the system being trumpeted by the Bicentennial. The slogan "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" summed up the experience that many workers gained in the course of Vietnam—that for the U.S. it was an unjust war, a war for profit, a rich man's war—and declared the intention of the working class to fight the capitalists if they drag the people into another war.

The central slogan of the demonstration, "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs," hit hard at the capitalists' Bicentennial lies about the country being built by a partnership of labor and capital; it both exposed the rule of the rich and systematized the demands of the people to do something about it.

What the ruling class was hoping to accomplish with their Bicentennial, and the counter-attack by the working class and the forces grouped around it in the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition, were the political terms of the battle over the Bicentennial. These political purposes, and the nature of the class forces involved, governed the tactics of both the working class and the capitalists.

Mayor Rizzo had sworn that this demonstration would not take place in Philadelphia on that day, and he and other servants of the capitalists worked day and night for months to try to make this threat a reality. First they tried a stone wall of silence and defiance against the requests for permits. But when the Coalition took the demands out to the masses, the authorities switched to what became their main line of attack—to brand the Coalition as terrorists, to demand 15,000 federal troops to prevent the demonstration and to try to scare off workers from attending. Politically, the capitalists sought to portray the demonstration as something alien to the masses of people, as an action of malcontents determined to vent their personal frustrations against the system. They wanted the Coalition to appear as frustrated rebels in search of a cause, and hell-bent on provoking a violent confrontation on July 4th.

But try as they would, they could not change the fact that the slogans and demands of the Coalition did in fact speak to millions of people and struck a responsive cord. The capitalists were also caught in the contradictions of what they were trying to use the Bicentennial to accomplish. Here they were telling the American people of the 200th anniversary of "liberty and justice for all," of democracy, of the right of everyone to have their say and at the same time trying to prevent, to ban, a demonstration in the midst of this festival of deceit. Unless they were able to win the masses of people over to the lie about the Coalition seeking only a confrontation they would pay too

high a price by banning the demonstration.

They tried to trap the Coalition into responding to their outrageous denials of permits in a way they could characterize as a small foolish group of militants. But when the Coalition instead went deeper and deeper among the masses of people in Philadelphia and cities around the country exposing this as another abuse on top of countless abuses workers face, they were unable to pull off their charade. A federal judge was forced to issue a ruling which allowed a demonstration on the 4th although severely restricting other activities of the Coalition and refusing to allow the march to go to downtown Philadelphia, center of the Bicentennial hoopla.

This was the situation when the advance guard of five hundred arrived in Philadelphia after completing a highly successful demonstration for Jobs or Income on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, D.C. The authorities were unable to prevent the beginnings of the demonstrations, at the same time they were far from reconciled to their defeat and went all-out to try to manufacture an incident that would prevent the demonstration on the Fourth, to try to divide off the Coalition from the masses of people and to try to fan contradictions between working people of different nationalities in hopes of preventing a display of the unity of the working class on the Fourth.

### Toe-to-Toe struggle

Thus the first three days of demonstrations in Philly were of utmost importance. It was a complex situation that required the working class forces to be firm in principle, to keep a good handle on the main purpose of the July 4th demonstration, and based on this and a correct assessment of the tactics of the enemy, to know when to advance and when to retreat—when to block a punch and when to throw one.

This was not simply a slugfest between a small number of advanced fighters and the government. Their role was crucial, but would only be successful if it spoke to the feelings and needs of broad masses.

The essence of the toe-to-toe struggle in Philadelphia was pitting the strength of the forces of the working class—the tight unity around a demonstration that represented the struggle, demands, and growing understanding of millions—against the weakness of the capitalists—that they are a small handful of exploiters who must mask their rule as being the "will of the people" and that their own ranks are deeply divided.

For three days virtually all the actions that took place were done without permits (which the city authorities continually refused to issue). Yet because the targets of the actions were carefully chosen to bring out the demands and the class character of the demonstration, the capitalists were politically unable

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## West Coast & Hawaii

On July 4th in San Francisco and Honolulu, workers joined by veterans, youth and students marshalled their forces in marches held in solidarity with the Philadelphia demonstration.

In San Francisco the crowd of 400 included farm-workers who had come from Salinas and over a hundred people from Los Angeles. To the beat of a drum corps of youths they marched to Golden Gate Park where the ruling class was holding its local Bicentennial show.

For weeks before posters, mobile billboards (people holding banners over highway overpasses as motorists honked support), car caravans and a cultural event on the night of July 3 had spread the word. 2000 signed the Jobs or Income petition during mobilizations on each of three consecutive Saturdays. Thousands of dollars were pledged at a Prairie Fire concert to send delegates to Philly and more was raised in shops.

The march itself received enthusiastic support along the route and in the park, and cheers went up at the rally as reports came in about the Philly action.

Hawaii, too, sent representatives to Philly and organized a July 4th support action. About 120, including workers from Hawaii's major industries marched through Honolulu on the very route where the capitalists would be staging their parade one half hour later.

Earlier a tent city of the unemployed had been set up right in the plaza of the State Capitol. This and other actions were part of the tit-for-tat struggle necessary in Hawaii, as in Philly, to hold the demonstration.



## Build...

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to move to suppress them. For example, when the Coalition held a picket line at City Hall in support of Philadelphia city workers who have been fighting attempts to make them pick between a wage freeze and layoffs, an aide to Rizzo was heard to ask the Mayor "why don't you do something about them?" Rizzo replied, "there is nothing I can do."

While keeping the initiative in their own hands and waging a series of successful actions, the Coalition was careful to try to avoid fighting on unfavorable ground. An example of this was the decision by the Coalition to cancel an evening program in Norris Park, site of the rally on the 4th, when it was clear that the police were trying to provoke a confrontation, well away from the public spotlight, and use a small handful of self-styled community "leaders" to make it appear that the Coalition had no support from the Black and Puerto Rican people who lived in the vicinity.

The capitalists were banking on catching the Coalition "dizzy with success," feeling itself capable of taking any action it pleased and losing sight of the fact that the strength of the Coalition did not lie simply in the numbers of people gathered in Philadelphia, but in what it represented, and the support it had won from working people. They hoped that their outrageous attempts to block and stifle the demonstrations, particularly banning the July 4th march from the center of Philadelphia, would provoke an incident that would have enabled them to recoup the losses they had suffered in the first few days of actions and strengthen their attempts to characterize the demonstrators as crazies and malcontents.

One feature of the demonstration that struck everyone present was the tremendous degree of organization and discipline—in spite of the fact that the capitalists constantly provided obstacles to this. This, too, was a political question.

The militant and disciplined character of the demonstrations was possible only because people had united through discussion and struggle around a working class political line and because the heart and backbone of the demonstration were workers whose position in society, and whose experience in struggle, teaches the importance of organized, collective action. The discipline of the march was the opposite of the discipline the capitalists enforce in their factories and armies—a discipline based on compulsion both open and disguised. Nor was it the bravado of the lumpen proletariat or the romanticism of the petit-bourgeoisie that has often masqueraded as "discipline and organization" in the past. It was possible because the workers and others who were there were bound by a common, voluntary commitment around unified goals and could see that only collective and unified action would defeat the enemy in this battle. And the discipline grew together with the growth of everyone's understanding and sense of purpose.

On Sunday, July 4th, thousands of workers joined by veterans, students and youths, over three thousand in all, marched triumphantly through the streets of Philadelphia and held a rally in Norris Park, where the capitalists had tried to drive the Coalition out in the days before. The success of the march and rally represented the culmination of victory in the Bicentennial battle.

The working class had beaten back every attempt to stop the actions. Rizzo's attempts to portray himself as invincible and all-powerful, capable of suppressing the people's struggles at will, suffered a shattering blow in the eyes of the people of Philadelphia.

### High Hopes Deflated

The whole attempt to make Philadelphia the scene of millions of happy wage slaves joining in celebration with their masters flopped. The capitalists' attacks had not gone unanswered. They did not have a free and clear field to spread their poison. The millions of tourists scheduled to appear never showed, as the mood of the people had nothing to do with celebration, and as the capitalists' threats of federal troops made Philadelphia seem like an unsafe place to bring your children to watch a fireworks display.

In a last ditch effort to keep their Bicentennial from being a near total flop, the capitalists tried to pretend that Philadelphia wasn't even there, focusing attention on the pretty sight of a bunch of old ships sailing up New York's Hudson River, as if it had been scheduled as the center ring of the Bicentennial circus all along. In virtually blacking out what happened in Philadelphia the capitalists threw away years of planning and millions of dollars spent trying to make events in Philadelphia on the 4th a political weapon in their hands. They had met real obstacles in the general sense of disgust among the American people, in the organized action of an advanced section of workers, and in the dog-eat-dog infighting in their own ranks.

The thousands of workers who demonstrated in Philly on the Fourth came to the demonstration from

many different fronts of struggle; from the coal fields of Appalachia to the electronics plants of California; from the garment sweatshops of the East Coast to the auto plants of Michigan. The demonstration brought together workers from around the country. . .but it represented more than the sum total of the struggles they are involved in in their shops. As pointed out earlier, it was a concentration of the struggle of the working class into political demands representing the interests of the working class as a whole and aimed squarely at the source of all of the oppression and injustice in society—the political rule of the capitalist class.

As workers marched through the streets of Philadelphia, the enthusiasm and sense of purpose was like an electrical charge in the air. Men and women of all nationalities knew that they were united in a common struggle, not only in this particular battle but as members of the same class of wage slaves locked into an on-going war with the common enemy.

The response of the workers of Philadelphia to the actions of those four days also showed the potential for revolutionary struggle in the working class, and the fact that the huge numbers of workers have no stomach for the way things are going in this country. The slogan "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs" struck a responsive cord among the masses of workers. And it drew an even stronger response when the class content, the class antagonism behind it was brought out sharply.

### Way Forward

Still, the numbers of workers in the demonstration was small, relative to the millions of workers in this country. It was an advanced action, representing the beginning growth of a revolutionary workers movement in this country and pointing to the future the struggle of the class must and will take. The question remains, what is the relationship between this advanced action and the struggles in which millions are presently involved, that are aimed primarily at individual capitalists and employers associations and not yet consciously directed against the ruling class as a whole and their domination of society.

We must build on the advances won in the Philadelphia demonstration, on the determination shown by the workers who participated and the fact that the demonstration underlined the real and growing discontent of the masses of workers with the way things are.

In all of the struggles the working class is fighting lie the seeds of the revolutionary workers movement, the sprouts of which were felt so forcefully by everyone in the Philadelphia march. This is because all of the struggles of the people are the result of, and hit at, the abuses that spring from the capitalists system.

Our Party Programme sums up the path for the struggle against this when it says "Fighting blow for blow on all fronts, and led by its Party, the working class will develop its movement of today into a revolutionary workers movement that fights exploitation and all oppression in order to end wage-slavery."

Of course the leap from struggles containing the potential of developing into a class conscious revolu-

tionary movement, to the actual revolutionary movement itself requires protracted struggle and work by the Party and class conscious workers. The fact that this development must be organized and led also was shown in the July 4th demonstration. Had there been no previous struggles which were aimed at the capitalist class as a whole, had there been no beginnings of organizations of class conscious workers and, most importantly, had there been no vanguard political party of the working class, the July 4th demonstration could never have happened.

The task confronting the Party and other revolutionary workers in building off the victories of the July 4th action is to go back into the midst of the struggles being waged by the working class and the oppressed masses and to maximize what can be won in the course of every battle. The task is not only maximizing the immediate gains because as long as capitalism exists they will be small and constantly eroded. It is also maximizing the gains in class consciousness and organization for the battles ahead. This means showing how all the abuses and outrages in society stem from the system of wage slavery and the political rule of the bourgeoisie; using every struggle to unite and strengthen the ranks of the working class and deepen the understanding of the workers involved about the nature of capitalism and goals of the working class struggle.

Of key importance in accomplishing these tasks fully is making further advances in building more advanced forms of working class organization. As the *Programme of the RCP* says about these organizations, their "overall role is to apply the single spark method to take up the most important battles that workers are involved in, together with key battles of other sections of the people against the ruling class, mobilize the masses of workers in these struggles and develop them into campaigns of the working class."

The struggle around the Bicentennial was one example of a "campaign of the working class," but it was certainly not the only (or even most typical) type of battle that the working class will mobilize its forces around. In the Battle of the Bicentennial the political nature of the struggle stood out very clearly—because of the nature of the Bicentennial itself as the celebration of the political system in this country and because the fight pitted the forces of the working class directly against the political representatives of the capitalists (the police, Rizzo, the courts, the U.S. Senate, etc.).

But the campaign around the Bicentennial was not taken up as a gimmick to build our movement—it was an actual battle by the working class against a real political offensive by the bourgeoisie. In the future (as was the case in initiating the Bicentennial campaign) the main campaigns of the working class will be determined by the attacks by the ruling class on the masses of people and the struggle against them. The task must be to develop all of these battles into political battles which expose and attack bourgeois rule, building them as component parts of the revolutionary movement of the working class. In this way the victory gained in the Battle of the Bicentennial will be deepened and broadened as the revolutionary struggle of the working class grows. ■



## Toe to Toe in Milwaukee

As people in Milwaukee built for the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th demonstration, the capitalists dropped their veil of "democracy" and openly wielded the organized force their rule depends on.

Amid a festive atmosphere, 300-400 people were taking part in a Rich Off Our Backs block party on June 27 to raise money for Philly. Then, as a Coalition member spoke about the demonstration, the police appeared to say that the permit didn't cover political speeches, only music. With this pretext, they returned later in full force, firing tear gas and then charging into the street crowded with families, swinging their clubs. Even people standing on their porches were beaten and dragged off.

Coming just two days before the first buses were scheduled to leave Milwaukee for Philly, it was obvious that the cops were sent to try to stop the growing momentum of the Rich Off Our Backs campaign, to scare off some and tie up others in court. But in fact this attack outraged people even more. A petition went around the neighborhood demanding that charges be dropped against the 33 arrested. People picketed the courthouse and jammed the DA's office (see above photo). Despite the effect of the legal hassles and the intimidation, the Coalition's ties with the people in the neighborhood were deepened and more people took up the Coalition's demands and actively supported the Philly actions.



1886-1976

# Chu Teh, Revolutionary

Chu Teh died July 6 at the age of 90. He was an outstanding leader of the Communist Party and government of China, and co-founder, along with Mao Tsetung, of the Red Army which fought victoriously for the country's liberation.

He was born to a poor peasant family in Szechwan in 1886. As a military cadet, he fought in the nationalist revolution of 1911, led by Sun Yat-sen, which toppled the imperialist-backed Manchu dynasty. Though this bourgeois-democratic revolution was set back, Chu Teh came forward again with the next upsurge of struggle—this time a proletarian led revolution.

While studying in Europe, he became convinced that capitalism could not save China. He took up Marxism-Leninism, defeated an opium habit—a scourge with which the imperialists victimized China—and joined the Communist Party of China. Later, in the long struggle over the correct road for revolution in China, Chu emerged as a leader of the Party.

In 1927, while a secret Party member and a top level army officer, he helped lead an uprising in the city of Nanchang. After this, he led the troops under his command, mostly workers and peasants loyal to the revolution, into the countryside. Together with revolutionary forces under Mao's command, they formed the Red Army, a great advance in the Chinese revolution.

Chu served as the Red Army commander in chief throughout the Long March, the war against Japan and the civil war against Chang Kai-shek which ended in victory in 1949. From a force of a few thousand, the Red Army grew to an unconquerable force of millions

because, as Chu said, "our line embodied the people's will."

After liberation, Chu became a vice chairman of the People's Republic. In 1956, he was elected chairman of the standing committee (leading committee) of the National People's Congress. At the time of his death, he was a leading member of the Party's Central Committee.

Chu's life is a living example of a leader brought forward by the proletariat. He struggled in the dark until he found the way pointed out by the struggle, outlook and science of the working class. Taking these up as his own, he was able to make great contributions to the cause of the Chinese revolution, and in this way, to the revolutionary cause of the workers of the whole world.

The following is an excerpt from a poem written by Chu a few months before his death:

*The salvos of the Cultural Revolution*

*Appalled the imperialists and revisionists;*

*Now the spring wind brings crimson showers,*

*Fresh shoots in sturdy profusion.*

*United, the old, those in their prime and the young*

*March towards their goal, following the Chairman's*

*line.*

*Class struggle is the key link;*

*The key link grasped, all else falls into place.*

*By mastering dialectics,*

*Unifying our world outlook,*

*And acting as true Marxist-Leninists,*

*We shall turn the world upside down!* ■



Central Committee of the Communist Party of China:

The death of Comrade Chu Teh is a great loss to the people of China and to the international working class and revolutionary people everywhere.

From the very early stages of the revolutionary struggle until the victory and establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and in the continuing struggle against revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, Comrade Chu Teh fought boldly for the interests of the proletariat.

His long life is a strong rebuke of the bourgeoisie, which says that the proletariat cannot bring forth leaders who will remain loyal to its cause over many years and through the countless twists and turns of the struggle to build socialism and advance to communist society.

His life is a shining example to workers, young and old, of all countries.

Central Committee of the  
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

## Political Struggle In Olympic Arena

As the 21st Olympics approached the Canadian government refused to allow the team from Taiwan to enter the country and over 20 African and Arab countries pulled their teams out of the games in protest of New Zealand's show of support for South Africa. In the U.S., the sports pages have been filled with angry condemnation of all this, following the lead of President Ford. The barons of U.S. sports are wringing their hands because "politics" has intruded onto the clean green fields of Olympic competition.

But while the U.S. is really upset, a lot of the hulla-balloo is pure show. The "problem" with the Olympics is not that politics have intruded. The U.S. has played politics with the Olympics since day one. The problem with this Olympics is whose politics are involved—the sports policies of the U.S. imperialists or the policies of other countries who at this time are not jumping when the U.S. says jump.

The Taiwan regime gives itself the name the "Republic of China." This name represents the claim of these reactionaries to represent China, the mainland and the province of Taiwan, where the bureaucrat capitalists and big landlords fled when revolution successfully swept the mainland. Over the last five years especially, more and more countries have been rejecting this ridiculous claim and extending diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist People's Republic of China. The People's Republic has been admitted to the United Nations and many other international organizations as the sole legitimate representative of China, including its Taiwan province.

So on July 9 when the Taiwanese team attempted to enter Canada, carrying with its baggage its claim to represent all of China, the Canadians refused to let them

through. To Canada, which recognizes the People's Republic of China, the "Republic of China" tag was a political move around a political fiction.

This stand threw the International Olympic Committee (IOC) into an uproar. At first they tried to claim that Canada had no right to decide who would be let into Canada and who wouldn't, because the IOC was an "international" body. The Canadian government didn't swallow this so the IOC then threatened to close down the Montreal games. But this didn't sit well with the athletes of all countries and Canada called the IOC's bluff. Finally, after some negotiation, the Canadians and IOC agreed to let the Taiwan athletes compete, but not as the "Republic of China." The Taiwan team, in a huff because its politics hadn't been able to intrude, left the Olympics, hopefully not just for the 21st games but for the future Olympics as well.

The U.S. through President Ford threatened to pull out of the Olympics over this "intrusion of politics." This was a big threat. The U.S. is a superpower in the Summer Olympics, especially in swimming and track and field. U.S. athletes voted against being part of any boycott and the U.S. backed off.

Just where does this "holier than thou" attitude of the U.S. come from? For decades the U.S. ruling class had its man, Avery Brundage, heading up the IOC. Politics was the name of the game. In 1949 the Chinese workers and peasants came to power, except on the island stronghold of Chiang Kai-shek. For two decades the U.S. refused to allow People's China into the Olympics, keeping the Taiwan regime in as the official Olympic representatives of the Chinese people. This political backing of the Taiwan regime extended to every other international sports association the U.S. could influence.

In recent years the U.S. has been forced to go along with an Olympic invitation to the People's Republic of China. The Chinese have steadfastly refused to participate until the Taiwan reactionaries are kicked out, while offering a place on any Chinese team to Taiwan athletes.

This year's events ending in Taiwan's withdrawal are a big defeat for what's left of the U.S. strategy of isolating the People's Republic of China as an "outlaw" government and the Taiwan clique as the legitimate representatives of China, or a "One China, One Taiwan" policy aimed at legitimizing the Kuomintang rule in Taiwan.

### U.S. Aims

The U.S., in maintaining and defending the Taiwan regime, has had little else but profit in mind, both what's gained from the brutal exploitation of Taiwanese workers in electronics sweatshops and other U.S. plants and the political profit to be gained from isolating the People's Republic and maintaining Taiwan as a military

and political outpost of U.S. imperialism.

Another big worry of the U.S. imperialists is the fact that the 1980 Summer Olympics are scheduled for Moscow. This will be the Soviet social-imperialists first big chance to do what the U.S. has done in a big way for years—play superpower politics with the Olympics. The Soviets might try to score points with the Arab countries by kicking out Israel or any number of maneuvers designed to show how "progressive" the New Tsars are. If the U.S. has anything to be afraid of it can only be that the new capitalist ruling class in the Soviet Union has learned its lessons too well.

### African Countries

In another development around the Olympics, the African nations of Tanzania, Nigeria, Zambia, Uganda, and Mauritius withdrew from the games, protesting the participation of New Zealand. They were quickly followed by other African and some Arab countries, over 20 in all. On the heels of the Soweto uprising in South Africa, a New Zealand rugby team went on a tour of that country. The African countries exposed this as a show of support for South Africa's suppression of the black majority. New Zealand tried to squirm out of the charge by pointing out that the rugby team was privately owned and therefore the government couldn't do anything about it.

New Zealand's dodge doesn't hold any water. If the government had wanted to stop the team from traveling, it could have done something, private ownership or not. At the least, the government could have issued a strong condemnation of the team's trip. It didn't.

The U.S. government cried crocodile tears for all the athletes who wouldn't be able to participate in the games because their governments had—"for shame"—used the Olympics politically. Four years of training gone to waste, they moaned. A chance of a lifetime, they wailed. But if the U.S. failed to understand, many of the "unfortunate" athletes did. Where there is struggle

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## Revolution

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# Rubber Strikers Holding Firm

The strike of 68,000 rubber workers is in its fourth month. Strike benefits are exhausted, many strikers are going deep into the hole financially and all are suffering severe hardships.

But the rubber strikers went into this contract fighting mad and they are determined to win. As an Akron worker explained: "Look, we knew what we were getting into when we went out. If we'd thought they would settle early we would have lost already. But we know who we're fighting and what they want to do to us. And we're not going back—not after all this—with nothing to show for it."

From the very beginning sharp lines have been drawn in this battle. The companies want to break the backs of the workers' resistance. They have arrogantly refused to give ground on any of the workers' demands. Firestone made a "final offer" only 10 cents an hour higher than its original. And in June the Big Four rubber companies broke off negotiations all together.

The rest of the capitalist class, determined to hold the line against workers in all of this year's contracts, are doing their best to attack the strike with propaganda and government intervention. Secretary of Labor Urey has been running around saying that the strike has to be settled quickly (on company terms) or it will wreck the economy.

## No Choice but to Fight

Bitter experience has shown the rubber workers very concretely that they have no choice but to fight. As a striker put it in an interview in *The Worker* for the Cleveland-Northeast Ohio Area, "No matter how many times they say, 'Hey, if you don't do this for us we're going to shut this down and move out,' you could do everything they ask and even more, and if they are going to move out, they going to move if they can get away with it. . . In the last year Goodyear's gone from 10,000 to 6000 employees in the factory and we've bent down, we've done things they wanted us to do to keep jobs from moving out. . . We couldn't let them cut us down to \$3 an hour in order to 'save jobs'. . . I feel that this is one time that we're so solidified we're determined to stay out 'til hell freezes over. . . The only way they're going to get away without giving us a cost of living in '76 is if the strike doesn't end in 1976."

That spirit of determination has been shown from the beginning of the strike in the mass pickets, demonstrations and the Firestone boycott, which have all been built and supported by the rank and file. On several occasions strikers held mass pickets at the plants, despite company-court injunctions. On June 18, 1500 workers marched from the Goodyear local union hall to the huge Goodrich plant in Akron. The next night 250 strikers threw up a picket around the General Tire plant which the union has refused to close down, despite the fact that workers there are now without a contract. 1300 General Tire workers stayed out, honoring the picket line.

The strikers have also been encouraged by the support they have received from workers in other industries. In describing the turnout at a big rally called by the URW in Detroit at the end of June a worker said "It ain't just that we're getting more united, all these other unions are behind us too. That was quite a march we had up in Detroit. We had not only rubber workers but auto workers, farm workers, retail clerks and clothing workers. We had over 2000 people marching through the heart of Detroit and by the time we got to the rally site we had over 5000."

In Cleveland and Detroit, ad hoc committees to support the rubber workers have been formed by workers from many industries and unemployed workers. Buttons and T-shirts saying "Victory to the Rubber Workers" have been printed up and are seen more and more often. UWOC is circulating pledge cards at the unemployment offices saying "I stand with the rubber workers and the boycott." Workers in both cities are taking petitions of support into their plants. Resolutions backing the rubber workers are being pushed in other unions.

But despite the determination of the rubber workers and the growing support, the strikers are facing heavy difficulties. For one thing, the rubber companies are still managing to get out 40 to 50% of tire production from the non-union plants and from non-struck plants,



Determination to fight to win is shown on the faces of rubber workers at a mass rally in Akron. Despite four months of companies' refusal to budge on workers demands and the International's failure to mount aggressive strike action, workers stand firm.

like General Tire, which the union leadership has refused to shut down. And at the Big Four some production is still continuing with office personnel and other scabs.

The union leadership has been the main block to building the strike in a more powerful way. But the International and some of the local leadership have been a lot slicker than in the past and the sentiment among a lot of workers is still that President Bommarito and Co. are doing the best that they can.

For example, in this strike the union hacks aren't coming out and saying "don't mass picket." The rank and file has shown that they want to keep out the scabs but the hacks say, "hey, mass picketing is illegal, if you get arrested the union can't pay your fine." The union leadership has taken the determination of the workers and said, "It's a question of who can hold out the longest, and we've shown that this time we can hold out." But they're trying to make it just that, a holding action and are not really trying to aggressively build the strike.

## Two-Faced Bommarito

Before the strike International president Peter Bommarito was mostly seen by the workers as a total sellout. His performance in 1973 earned him the hatred and disgust of most workers. Rubber workers got no cost of living and have lost \$1.20 an hour over three years to inflation. But since the 1976 contract talks began, he has wrapped himself in a lot of militant garb and recovered some of his lost credibility by appearing not to back down in talking to the companies. Of


course, that's because of heat from the rank and file.

In fact Bommarito has already given in quite a bit on the wage increase and has hinted about giving up the cost of living in the first year. An example of the International's slick treachery was seen recently in Detroit at the big rally. An International official got up and made a militant speech in which he called for shutting down Uniroyal tight—keeping salaried people out—on Friday of that week. His words were treated with deadly seriousness by the crowd, which applauded him loudly. But when the time for the mass picket arrived, it was suddenly called off and the Uniroyal strikers were left in the lurch. It was a lot of bluster from the beginning.


There have been important advances in breaking the stranglehold of the union officials, both at the local and International level. Their grip, though, is still there and has severely weakened the strike. But this has led to a situation in Akron, for instance, where workers have begun to initiate various kinds of actions on their own.

There has been a step-up in pickets against salaried personnel and trucks entering the plants, particularly at Goodyear. And there have been more attempts, though mainly still small-scale, to shut down the non-struck plants.

Yet the need for rank and file organization to carry the strike forward is more strongly felt than ever among the rank and file. And in finding the ways to stand up to the rubber companies, the whole capitalist class and the union misleadership, the tough stand and determination of the rubber strikers is tremendous, and an inspiration to the rest of the working class. ■



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# Olympics...

Continued from Page 5

there is sacrifice. If the actions of the African and Arab teams help to further isolate the South African regime and brand it for the racist society it is, it will have been worth it.

The sports world, along with everything else, is changing. The countries whose politics have guided world sports for years are suffering some defeats—that, they whine, is an unsportsmanlike intrusion of politics. When their imperialist politics are on top it's "for the good of the game." Sports has always been political.

The U.S. has always used international sports as a tool to further their political goals. They use sports to promote national chauvinism. MacDonald's advertizes "when the U.S. wins, you win" in an Olympic hamburger give-away. The TV loves to show the spectators cheering as the American flags go up in awards ceremonies. And they have used international sports federations to bolster imperialist policies such as legitimizing the gangster Taiwan regime.

Other countries are now carrying out the political struggle in international sports with great effect. The People's Republic of China uses sports politically to build friendship between the peoples of different countries. There are some regimes—South Africa, Rhodesia, now Taiwan, and soon maybe Israel too—that the majority of countries cannot stomach. That's the way the world is going and the U.S. imperialists will have to learn to live with it. The sorry attempt to bluff the world with the threatened withdrawal of U.S. athletes shows they can no longer successfully oppose it. ■



## Milwaukee Meatcutters' Strike

# Grasp of Mass Line Deepens in Struggle

In April, after fifteen months of bitter struggle, Milwaukee meatcutters voted 219 to 76 to end their strike against an association of seven local packinghouses. From the beginning they had been up against an all-out union busting assault by the Meatpackers Association which was backed to the hilt by the police, courts, news media, and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Despite the fierce struggle of the rank and file packinghouse strikers, the Association was able to maintain scab production throughout the strike. Up against these odds and saddled with 15 months of reformist union misleadership, the meatcutters only choice was to end the strike without a contract and with no guarantee that all the workers would be called back. They knew it was time to take the fight back inside the plants.

The ruling class summed the strike up as a pure and simple defeat for the workers. But, though the strike lost, it gave rise to a real advance in the working class struggle. In making sense of their experience in this longest and hardest fought strike in Milwaukee's history, most meatcutters gained a sharper understanding of the antagonism between the workers and the capitalists. With the help of communists, a significant number of strikers gained a clearer picture of the revolutionary goal of the workers struggle. As Marx and Engels said in *The Communist Manifesto*, "The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers."

In this strike revolutionary communists were faced with the task of joining with the struggle in order to advance the overall class struggle toward revolution. At the strike's beginning, with no members or advanced contacts working in the industry, the Revolutionary Union (which dissolved after playing a key role in founding the RCP), was "doing work from the outside." During the strike communists learned concrete methods of doing this kind of work, but more importantly, they gained a firmer grasp of the basic principle that the correct application of mass line is key to any real advance.

### Correct Ideas Come From the Masses

As the meatcutters fought the all-out union busting attack, they saw firsthand the tactics of the bourgeoisie: their use of cops, courts, the NLRB, government officials, the press and others. Up against a constantly changing situation, the strikers tried out literally hundreds of forms of struggle.

They came in contact with different class forces and lines. On the picket line it was the scabs, Teamsters, union brothers who wanted to scab, foremen, farmers, cattle haulers, immigrant workers without papers and other workers employed and unemployed. Within the union were the reformist misleaders, the hacks in the International, aspiring bureaucrats, militant trade unionists, workers of several nationalities, revisionists, revolutionary workers and communists. On the boycott lines meatcutters argued with people who said the strike would drive up meat prices and with people who said the workers had brought the strike on themselves.

All the scattered and repeated experiences of the 15 month battle were the *basis* for gains in class consciousness. But only when the Party and advanced workers consciously applied the mass line could this experience be transformed into a higher level of class consciousness among the workers. This meant joining with the struggle, learning from it, systematizing the correct ideas of the strikers in light of the science of revolution, returning these ideas to the strikers in a plan of action to move the struggle ahead, winning the advanced to help mobilize the intermediate workers in carrying out the plan, and then making the ideas a material force as the strikers struck a blow back at the ruling class. Then, having created new conditions, new ideas arise, new situations to look at with the help of Marxism-Leninism, new actions, new summation on a higher level. In the course of this there is the task of training the advanced as revolutionary leaders and Marxist-Leninists.

When this method was used gains in the workers' struggle and consciousness were made. When it was not, the ruling class—through the media, the union misleaders, and the bourgeois ideology it constantly creates—promoted legalism, defeatism, inaction, upside-down sumups and gimmicks.

For the first five months of struggle, the only way communists related to the strike was through the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee. This has

been summed up as a mistake because it didn't recognize the importance of the strike itself and doing everything through UWOC obscured the role of communists and communist organization [see the November 15, 1975 *Revolution*—Ed.]. Nevertheless, at times the mass line was correctly applied and some significant gains were made in this period.

By learning from the meatcutters and summing up their level of struggle and consciousness, communists and advanced workers in UWOC played an important role in rebuilding militant picket lines after the union leaders had succeeded in quieting them down. The leaders of Amalgamated Meatcutters Local 248 pushed the line that any mass action would be ruled in contempt of the injunction and would hurt the strike. But the workers knew that stopping the scabs and scab production had to be the focus of their fight. Meatcutters had taken mass militant actions in the early days of the strike, forcing a high turnover of scabs and intimidating many more from even applying for jobs.

At this point, with only shallow roots in the strike, the communists and advanced workers in UWOC were unable to win the strikers to rebuild mass actions on the picket line. Many strikers were waiting to see if the union leaders could get the temporary injunction reversed in court as they were promising.

Understanding these conditions and taking account of the demands coming from the unemployed, communists led UWOC to put out the call for demonstrations against the state unemployment office demanding, "Get the Checks Out On Time" and "Stop Sending Unemployed to Scab." The fighting slogan was "We Won't Scab and We Won't Starve." The two actions built strong unity between the strikers and UWOC members and they put a lot of heat on the bourgeoisie for these two abuses.

The actions were successful because they struck real blows against the recruitment of scabs—and because they built class unity—especially between the strikers and unemployed. All these were key concerns of the workers.

By summing up these correct ideas of the masses, using the science of revolution to concentrate them into a program of action that advanced the struggle, and uniting workers to carry through that program, the idea had been transformed into a material force, an actual blow to the bourgeoisie. Also the action had become part of the experience of the strikers. As communists and advanced workers helped to sum this up correctly through picket line discussions, use of *The Worker*, etc., gains were made in the understanding of the strikers and the basis was laid for greater gains.

When the temporary injunction became permanent, and as more and more scabs crossed the lines unchallenged, the strikers' demand for direct action grew stronger. Still the union officials, who talked tough and did little, maintained a stranglehold on the struggle.

In this situation, the communists and some advanced workers had to play a leading role. They had to take actions that crystallized the sentiments of the broad numbers of strikers and brought them into motion. In the third month of the strike, when the union leaders were fighting to keep the picket lines meek and token, communists led advanced workers in UWOC to join the strikers in front of the plants.

The strikers had been told that any signs of militancy would be a violation of the injunction and would hurt the strike. But little by little, strikers began massing at the gates again when carloads of scabs rolled in and out. On a number of occasions, after a contingent of unemployed workers marched up with banners flying, the strikers picked up their spirit and militancy. Chants of "Scabs out! Workers in!" spoke to their feelings and called for action.

When it was clear the workers wanted to push things further, sometimes UWOC members would stand with their banner right across the entrance. Twice in April mass picket lines resulted in confrontations and arrests of meatcutters and supporters. Controversy stirred within the union as the leadership and some workers under their influence blamed the violence on UWOC. But as word of the militancy spread, particularly after a police brutality photo appeared on page one of the morning papers, more and more meatcutters began agitating for—and coming to—mass pickets. Around the city rank and file workers began to press their union leaders to take support actions.

The widespread activity and support jammed the conservative Milwaukee County Labor Council into calling for a mass rally. Meatcutters actively built the rally, handing out 90,000 leaflets at plants and in neighborhoods. The rally turned out almost 1000 people, the largest local workers rally in 30 years. As the workers saw their strength in numbers, they pushed against a line of a hundred straining cops toward the driveway where scab cars were leaving the plant. One windshield was broken, the scabs, cops and bosses got the scare of their lives, and workers three times prevented the police from making any arrests. The correct line of mass militant action had been transformed into a real material force.

### Union Hacks Keep Lid on Struggle

At this point the union leadership clamped a lid on the struggle. They consciously disorganized and dispersed the picket line activities. By imposing their upside-down sumup to the fight, crediting the Milwaukee County Labor Council for the success, they succeeded in demoralizing the workers at the very time when it was possible to advance.

This was in keeping with all their other lines which boiled down to showing the workers as a helpless group that needs friends in high places to protect them from the mean, greedy individuals who were behind the union busting attempt. They never blamed the capitalists or the capitalist system. It was "Nixon-appointed members of the NLRB," "Brigden [the spokesman for the Meatpackers Association] is a s. o. b.," "The owners are hardheaded," "The governor is afraid to step in," or "We have friends on the Common Council [Milwaukee's City Council] and they are drawing up an anti-scab bill."

The workers, whose jobs, savings, and livelihood were hanging in the balance, grasped for any explanation that sounded good. Often they were attracted to lines which projected a false hope of an early settlement or breakthrough.

The union leaders focused the activity of the strike throughout the summer on a petition campaign for an anti-scab law to be passed in the Common Council. The workers took it up partly because they wanted to take their fight broadly to the working class and partly because they misunderstood the role of the elected officials. The law was watered down, delayed by legal and parliamentary roadblocks, and killed. This ruse was one of a thousand bourgeois myths that was weakened as the relentless union busting attack continued for 15 months. The repetition of one dead end after another in the legal and governmental channels had the tendency to raise people's hopes and crush them. But it also provided a strong basis for the workers to see in their own experience the role of the state and

Continued on Page 18

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## Humphrey-Hawkins Bill

# Sky High Promises, Low-Life Attacks

Unemployment is so massive and long-term that the politicians can not avoid speaking about it in this Presidential election. The Democrats hope to turn the fact that there are ten million unemployed into a major campaign attack on the Republicans. To sharpen the issue they recently wrote into their platform the main points of the proposed Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976, known as the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. The provisions of the bill are the centerpiece of their so-called economic program for this year.

Pushing the bill and the demand for "full employment" is a broad array of opportunists, labor bureaucrats, "progressive" Democrats and others. This includes the AFL-CIO, the United Auto Workers, the Congressional Black Caucus, the NAACP, the National Catholic Conference and other church groups, Americans for Democratic Action and the Communist Party, USA. For some time now they have been trying to stir up grass roots support for this program. Originally they had hoped to get this bill passed in Congress this year, but with President Ford's recent veto of two public works jobs bills, it appears they will delay a final push for a vote until next year. The election of Carter as President would greatly increase the chances of the passage of at least a modified version of this bill.

As the name implies, the bill promises to bring about "full employment," by which the sponsors mean the unemployment rate would be brought down to 3% (meaning somehow 2,500,000 unemployed would not be counted!) over the next four years. If passed it would legally establish "the right of all adult Americans able, willing and seeking work to opportunities for useful paid employment." To accomplish this the bill would:

- (1) order the President, his Committee of Economic Advisors, Congress, the Federal Reserve Board and various advisory boards to come up with an annual "full employment and balanced growth plan."
- (2) Require the government, if these goals were not met in a given year, to act as "employer of last resort," using public service job programs.
- (3) Mandate that pay scales for jobs sponsored by the government reflect "prevailing wage rates."

### No Support for Humphrey-Hawkins

One question facing the working class is, should it support this bill and the efforts of the "full employment" coalition? Would this bill be a genuine step forward and should it be something that UWOOC, the Party, advanced workers and others should fight for?

The answer to this is an emphatic NO. This bill is not a concession wrung out of the capitalists by the mass struggle. Instead the bill is full of vague promises but says nothing concrete about what, if any, jobs would be created. And under the guise of creating jobs it actually is an unsigned check to the bourgeoisie to push through various wage cutting schemes.

The bill is both vague and comprehensive at the same time. This serves the bourgeoisie in two ways. First, it allows them to say they are doing something in a big way around unemployment in an attempt to divert the growing struggle of the working class for jobs into "safe and proper" channels. Second, it provides them with an overall framework which they will use to restructure many of the present unemployment and welfare laws and attempt to drive wages down and pit the unemployed against the employed.

Under the slogans of "full employment," guaranteeing the "right to a job for every adult American," and "planning the economy" the bill attempts to speak to the contradiction the masses of people see around unemployment and on this basis to diffuse their anger and disarm them with the belief that the bourgeoisie can and will dramatically cut unemployment if this bill is passed. Faced with the continuation of high, long-term unemployment and the necessity on their part for further intensifying the exploitation of the working class, the bourgeoisie recognizes that the workers' struggle is bound to grow and is attempting to de-tour it into a dead end.

The last thing the sponsors of this bill want is the masses of people out on picket lines and in demonstrations fighting for jobs. Along with this bill they lay out a blueprint for the working class on how to conduct its "struggle" for jobs: lobby Congress, pressure the "conservatives" who don't support the bill, and especially elect Jimmy Carter for President in November. The May 31 issue of *Business Week* declared straight out that "even liberal economists say the measure is an election year ploy." The capitalists consider

this very important. With voter turnout near an all-time low in the primaries they greatly fear losing their influence over the masses of people, so they have turned to this kind of cure-all scheme to appear like they are actually going to take care of unemployment.

### Full Employment Under Capitalism?

But despite all their hot air, the progressive sounding promises of the bill are nothing but empty nonsense. It promises to bring unemployment down to 3% over the next four years. Even on the surface of it this is ridiculous. There is the vague generality about the President coming up with an annual "plan" to reduce unemployment, thus guaranteeing a job to a flock of bourgeois economic "experts" if no one else. The government is to become the "employer of last resort" but not one penny is budgeted and funding is not even talked about.

The capitalists are not about to reduce unemployment to 3%. It is estimated that just to create this number of public jobs for even a short period of time would cost them \$50 billion. They have the freedom to finance some jobs programs but faced with a huge capital investment shortage and their general crisis, their overall direction will continue to be to cut back on these kinds of government programs, not massively fund them.

Unemployment has been increasing over the course of the previous five post-World War 2 recessions and recoveries, as stagnation and decay have taken deeper root. This is not to say that the unemployment rate might not go a little lower temporarily but even the rate in this much heralded "recovery" is higher than the highest rate in any of the previous post war recessions. Talk of bringing the rate down to 3%, outside of another major war, is both pure deception and a dream of returning to an earlier period of U.S. imperialism's heyday.

### The Right to a Job

The Humphrey-Hawkins Bill does not allocate any money to create any jobs but it makes a lofty promise, legalizing the "right to a job" for every adult American. What a joke! This, at a time when ten million unemployed workers are looking for jobs! There is no such democratic right under capitalism. The only right the capitalists guarantee is the right of workers to slave away for them as long as it increases their profits. Oh yes, sometimes the ruling class may find it useful or necessary to grant some of the unemployed the "right" to a job paying \$2.25 an hour. But any time the capitalists can't turn the labor of their workers into a profit this right disappears and even workers with 15 or 20 years on the job may find themselves on the street.

The fact is that the capitalists have already tried once to "outlaw" unemployment. The Employment Act of 1946 stated the same general goals as the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill in guaranteeing the right to a job. But the high-falutin' promises of this 1946 bill, made at a time when the U.S. ruling class was at the pinnacle of its worldwide power, have been buried beneath an avalanche of continuing unemployment and recessions since then. This fact points even more clearly to the farce of the capitalists making unemployment illegal.

In addition to these empty promises around jobs the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill proposes to "plan the economy" and establish "balanced growth." In this way the bill attempts to spread the illusion that the periodic crises of capitalism are the result of bad planning.

Can the capitalists plan the economy? The Communist Party, USA, would have the working class believe they can and supports the bill partly on this basis. But this is hogwash. Unemployment and anarchy are built into the capitalist system and can't be eliminated by economic planning. At the heart of capitalism are different groups of competing capitalists driven by one fundamental law—the need to maximize their profit. While each capitalist tries to plan production in his own tent, private ownership, the blind drive for profit and the cutthroat competition continually upset their best laid plans. Anarchy necessarily reigns in the economy as a whole.

The capitalists constantly pull their capital out of one area of investment and into another, along with bringing in new machines to speed up production. Some capitalists temporarily surge ahead and expand while others fall behind or are forced out of business altogether. With each of these developments, thousands of workers are thrown into the streets and for-

ced once again to search for a new master to exploit them. As long as capitalism exists unemployment and anarchy will fester like open sores.

### Camouflage and Real Attack

The Humphrey-Hawkins Bill is much more than empty promises designed to divert the struggle for jobs and diffuse the anger and militancy of the masses of workers. It is both camouflage and ammunition for some very real attacks. The bill mandates the government to "take care of unemployment." But as capitalism exists such a mandate is like giving the capitalist a blank check to proceed with various wage-cutting schemes and other attacks.

One example of this is the way the bourgeoisie is using the bill to arm the union bureaucrats in an attempt to tighten the chains on the rank and file. The union leadership, under the direct fire of their membership for not doing anything about massive unemployment, has jumped on Humphrey-Hawkins like it's salvation arrived. But behind their own boasts about "doing something for the membership about creating jobs" they are actually talking about agreeing to renewed wage controls. They are resorting to this scheme in an attempt to play the unemployed off against the employed, to trade off an empty promise for jobs for wage cuts.

A big criticism of the bill is that it will create a "renewed inflation spiral." So in order to get jobs, the bureaucrats say, we have to pay a price—holding inflation down through wage controls.

Asked if the unions would agree to some form of wage-price controls as the price of enactment of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, Leonard Woodcock said, "At this point the answer would be negative because there are too many things that are left in doubt." But he added, "If you had a consensus that 'all right, we accept full employment as a goal, and we accept that we've got to do this, this, and this,' that would be another thing." Andrew Biemiller, AFL-CIO legislative director is more frank, coming right out and saying "we don't object to an incomes policy."

Besides reimposing wage controls the bourgeoisie is intending to launch many other attacks under cover of the vague language in the bill. The scope of the bill is so broad that it provides them with ammunition to attack on many fronts, some of which will only become clear if the bill is actually passed and implemented. But there are many openings.

### Prevailing Wages

For example, Section 206 of the bill states what workers would be paid if jobs were created: "the prevailing wage, as determined by the Secretary of Labor, for that type of work in the labor market in which such job occurs." This would be an open invitation to the bourgeoisie to cut wages. As someone at the recent UWOOC conference in Philly put it, "The prevailing wage is a question of which class prevails"—that is—a question of class struggle.

In the construction industry, for example, there is already a big struggle against non-union contractors, with the federal government coming out against "overpaid" construction workers. If construction jobs were created it is clear what "prevailing wage" the Secretary of Labor would determine for that type of work.

In Section 207 it states, "Congress finds and declares that to achieve the goals of full employment and balanced growth it is essential that the employment policies prescribed by this Act and the Employment Act of 1946 give adequate attention to... substituting work for income maintenance to the maximum extent feasible."

Again, this provision, couched in vague language, gives the bourgeoisie extra leverage to step up attacks they have already launched in limited ways. For example this gives them a free hand to institute workfare, a code name for programs which force welfare people to work for almost nothing. It also would open the door to federal versions of programs like the Hoffman Bill in New Jersey, which forces unemployed workers to accept a job at a greatly reduced wage or lose unemployment insurance.

Also previous rounds of public service jobs gave an indication of what the bourgeoisie has in mind with many of these jobs in the future. Many of the jobs were part-time and short-term and in many cities where there was a hiring freeze, lower paid, nonunionized public service workers were hired to replace those jobs lost through attrition and layoff. This tended to hold down the wages of all city workers and undermine their unions.

The working class stands solidly behind the demand for jobs at union wages from government or industry and definitely is not opposed to government concessions in the face of mass struggle. But each government program and law must be analyzed concretely. The Humphrey-Hawkins Bill is not a concession to this demand of the unemployed and it does not provide a single job. It is a spoon offered to the working class with sugar on the top and poison on the bottom. It is only a thin cover for an attempt by the capitalists to increase the exploitation of the working class. For these reasons it must be opposed. ■





Hundreds of unemployed workers marched on Congress in Washington, lived in Tent City in Philly and demonstrated on the 4th. Many stayed to discuss strengthening UWOC as a fighting organization of the unemployed.

## Meeting Follows July 4th Demo

# UWOC Maps Plans At Conference

Following the victorious July 4th march, the establishment of Tent City of the unemployed in exile, and four days of actions and struggle in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia, unemployed workers took an important first step in organizing their ranks on a national level. Representatives of more than 30 chapters of UWOC met in a day long conference in Philly to discuss the key battlelines for the coming period and to make plans for strengthening organization among unemployed nationally. Representatives cheered as the roll was called and delegates stood up from places as far apart as Hawaii, Los Angeles and Lawrence, Mass.

With official unemployment hovering around 7.5% and an acknowledged 10 million American workers out of a job, the unemployed are organizing their ranks to fight the increasing attacks from the capitalists and their attempts to pit employed and unemployed against each other.

The capitalists have been floating several "different" schemes: so-called public service jobs that would force the unemployed to take low paying jobs in competition with the employed, and "creating jobs through stimulating private industry." And while they are trying to use the national elections to make these different approaches to attacking workers look so different, they both boil down to the same thing—let the unemployed starve, or use the threat of starvation to force them to take jobs that make them a scab force to drive down the wages of their employed class brothers and sisters.

Ford already has plans in the works to cut \$2.5 billion from unemployment benefits—forcing thousands to choose between low paying jobs and welfare—and at the same time to mobilize the unemployed as a force to lower the wage standard of the whole class. The Democrats, with smiling Jimmy Carter at the head and George Meany bringing up the AFL-CIO right behind, have meanwhile lined up behind the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, which opens the door to wage cutting and union busting under the cover of the Democratic platform "to put American back to work."

### Hoffman Bill

At the same time, in the areas hit hardest by runaways and shut downs, the capitalists are trying to offer up the workers in those states as cheap labor, to attract new industry and keep what's there from running away. The attack is spearheaded by the proposed Hoffman Bill in New Jersey, which would deny unemployment insurance to any worker who refuses a job at up to 35% less than what he was making before—offering thousands the choice between working at minimum wage or getting thrown off unemployment compensation. Governor Rhodes of Ohio has said publicly that "we have to make labor in Ohio more competitive," and meanwhile more than a dozen states have attempted to throw thousands off the unemployment rolls by raising the eligibility requirements—

placing more and more workers in a position of taking wage cutting jobs, while dangling the "offer" of outright scab jobs.

In the face of this, UWOC united on placing special emphasis on carrying the slogan "We Won't Scab and We Won't Starve" out among the unemployed and into every one of these battles, as part of the overall campaign for Jobs or Income. Already New Jersey UWOC chapters have been taking on the Hoffman Bill, on June 14 marching right in the chambers of the N.J. State Legislature chanting "The Hoffman Bill's a Scab Bill, We Won't Scab and We Won't Starve!"

This and other actions have helped publicize and organize opposition to this bill, which the ruling class had hoped to sneak by the working class without a struggle. Defeat of this bill, which Hoffman proclaimed to be "Just 10 yards of the mile we have to go," will be a key focus of UWOC's work, concentrating in the N.J. area.

At the same time, UWOC will be mobilizing the unemployed under the slogan "We Won't Scab and We Won't Starve" to build unity between employed and unemployed workers during strikes, not mainly by walking the picketlines, but by organizing against the recruitment of scabs from among the ranks of the unemployed and building around the slogan "Employed—Unemployed, Same Crisis, Same Fight!"

An example was set by the Milwaukee chapter, which had organized unemployed workers to demand (and win!) that the unemployment centers stop sending unemployed workers out to the packinghouses during the 15 month long meatcutters' strike.

All this will be in the context of building the overall campaign for Jobs or Income, focusing on the demand of the working class for jobs. While continuing to use the petition for Jobs or Income (over 250,000 signatures led the July 4th march), UWOC will be seizing on every spark of mass struggle for jobs. Where thousands are gathered at the factory gates for a handful of jobs—UWOC will be there organizing the anger and frustration of the masses into demonstrations for jobs. And UWOC will be uniting with employed workers in the fight against runaways and shutdowns, organizing picket lines and car caravans, raising funds and organizing defense of Tom Bornson and Lonnie Davis, two brothers without jobs or means of support, sentenced to nine and seven years in prison respectively, for taking over a food stamp office in Portland, Oregon, demanding assistance sooner than see their families starve.

Out of the soil of these isolated and sporadic struggles will grow the organized movement of the working class around unemployment and the system which constantly gives rise to it.

Through all this came through the necessity of building UWOC among more recently unemployed industrial workers as a base to go out among all the unemployed—to build it among those who most readily

grasp not just the necessity of hitting back at the capitalists, but the potential of the working class to change and remold all of society—those who most readily grasp the working class as a productive class and whose first demand is for jobs.

With this orientation, building off the strength of the unemployed pulling their forces together in the Philly-Washington, D.C. actions in the first national demonstration since the '30s, UWOC will be back out there among all sections of the unemployed—at the unemployment centers, the hiring halls, in the communities, wherever the unemployed are to be found.

### National Convention Planned

Out of the conference and four days of struggle, more unity was reached on the orientation and direction for struggle in the coming period. UWOC is beginning to pull together as a national organization and pull together the struggles of the unemployed on a national level. The conference called for the first national UWOC convention to be held sometime in the spring, building off all the struggles of the unemployed. UWOC will be in the thick of it. Recognizing the potential strength of a united nationwide organization of the unemployed, the delegates at the conference stood up and cheered when the proposal was made.

Bitter battles against the capitalists and their system are ahead. The unity and organization that workers are developing, and which was reflected in the victory of the July 1-4 demonstration in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia are a big step forward.

Delegates left the UWOC meeting determined to go back to their own cities and build on this victory and to work to make leaps in developing UWOC as a powerful weapon for the working class. ■

# 1,500 Erupt Against Cops In Ohio Walkout

All hell broke loose earlier this month in Sidney, Ohio, when hundreds of strikers and townspeople waged a pitched battle with police and sheriff's deputies, after the cops had attacked a picketline at the nearby striking Copeland Manufacturing plant, which makes electrical equipment.

Anger had been building up for a long time. Contract talks had gone on and on. The officials of the IUE had signed an early-bird contract, which the rank and file immediately rejected. When the contract expired, the workers had walked—only to be told by the International that it was an "unsanctioned strike." Thirteen workers were fired.

Ten days later, the 2600 Copeland workers walked out again, this time with union authorization, determined to win a substantial wage increase (the average pay is only \$4.00 an hour) and win back the jobs for the thirteen.

In the past the strikers said, when a contract expired, "we went out on a short strike, everybody went fishing and we came back with nothing." This time the company began hiring scabs and the workers decided it was time for action.

All day Thursday, July 15, mass picketing blocked the front gate. This continued on Friday and was clearly beginning to have some effect as trucks and scabs turned away.

On Friday evening, July 16, as it began to get dark, approximately sixty people were on the picket line outside the main gate. Spirits were high and Copeland was getting scared. To break the workers' spirit the company called the cops to enforce the injunction they'd obtained. Cops from every county and town within fifty miles responded to the company's call. They arrived in full riot gear with dogs, tear gas and shot guns at the ready. But the strikers stood their ground as the whole picket line took up the chant, "We Are United!"

The Sidney police chief stalked over to the picket line and tried to serve copies of the injunction on the strikers. But no one would accept these scraps of paper and they fluttered uselessly to the ground. Backing off, the cops turned water hoses on the picketers, but people just sat down and wouldn't budge.

The cops then viciously beat and arrested twenty-five people, including a woman who was nine months pregnant.

Pushed beyond endurance the brothers and sisters

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# Youth Meet After 4th, Discuss YCL Proposal

One of the advances made in the course of the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th demonstration was a youth contingent 200 strong which brought together sons and daughters of the working class from over a dozen cities. This contingent and a youth conference that followed on July 5 were the results of weeks of organizing that represented the first steps of the Party toward building a youth movement as an ally of the working class, and towards building its youth organization—a young communist league. In some cities this work was done by already existing youth organizations while in many others this was the first systematic organizing that Party members in this work, along with other youths had done.

In the months before the July 4th demonstration, teams of youths began taking the campaign out into working class communities and neighborhoods in cities around the country. Through mass leafleting, nighttime slide shows, at concerts in parks and on street corners, these teams agitated against the conditions that young people face and the future the ruling class has to offer them—unemployment, neighborhoods that are falling apart, dying in one of their wars and a life of wage-slavery.

## Activists Step Forward

Right from the start numbers of young activists stepped forward to take up the campaign as their own. Although only in their teens they'd already had a bellyful of what capitalism means for the working class and its children. They've grown up seeing their parents in a constant struggle to keep their families' heads above water and many have already been involved, themselves, in struggle in their neighborhoods or schools.

Now they were seeing the possibility of another choice—that they didn't have to accept things the way they were, that it's possible to take part in forging the future.

One youth in Tent City talked about what this meant: "This was the first time I saw a crowd on the corner and nobody was being beaten up. Instead something positive was happening. There were people talking about changing things we hated but never knew what to do about it." Sparked by the street corner and park activities along with seeing the overall work of the Coalition, the new young activists helped to go back and turn their blocks and hangouts into centers of activity—reaching out to more youths to bring them to the demonstration.

By July 1 most of the youth had come to Philly. For most, it was the first demonstration or organized political activity they'd ever taken part in. Over the four days of demonstrations, forums and meetings, they learned things they were never taught in school.

## Lessons Learned in July 4th Struggle

One of the things that stood out was the unity being built among Blacks, Latins and whites, both in the contingent and in the whole demonstration. This is often a very sharp question among youth, many of whom grow up in segregated neighborhoods and who often have their anger and rebelliousness steered by the bourgeoisie into fighting one another. The four days of action and political struggle were a big inspiration and proof that people could stand together against a common enemy.

Another important lesson that came out of the demonstration was the need for organization and discipline, based on conscious unity around a working class political line, to better fight against the capitalists. Youth are trained to see discipline as meaning knuckling under to the cops, teachers, etc. and so they often rebel against it. This, along with young people's inexperience with the discipline of everyday work and responsibility, can often lead to a group of youth being on the wild side.

All of this was discussed at the youth contingent meetings, along with the importance of everyone being

united and organized when we go up against the enemy so that we can accomplish our political tasks. This caused a good deal of struggle within the contingent, with the overwhelming majority agreeing that we need to be organized and united to fight against the capitalists. Aside from electing leadership for the demonstrations, activities and their meetings, the youth contingent asked the VVAW to teach them to march in step. As it turned out, the youth contingent, marching in a united and disciplined way, chanting and singing songs, was an inspiration to all who saw—helping to bring out the political seriousness and organization of the whole July 4th demonstration.

Another important advance during the four days was the growth of the youths' understanding of people like their parents—the working class. Most sons and daughters of workers have a lot of respect for their parents and how they've struggled to keep their families together, well-fed and clothed. But youth are also taught that they face problems of housing, unemployment, school, because their parents didn't "make it"—"they weren't good enough." In Philly the youth were learning who were the real source of their problems and how it was the working class which can lead the fight against the source of their problems. The youth speaker at the rally summed it up when he said "And there's one more thing we're saying. We're so proud. We're so proud of our mothers and fathers of the working class who are out here fighting right along our side trying to build a better future for us."

## Need for YCL

This kind of political discussion was a real eye opener for most of the youth. They were learning in the course of the struggle what the nature of the enemy is—what is the cause of the problems they face and how to fight it. This kind of struggle must go on to provide the understanding necessary to consolidate the active youth who step forward in the different battles and turn them into consistent organizers and communists. It also points directly to the need for a young communist league (YCL) to lead the struggles of youth.

The openness and enthusiasm which the youths showed in taking up these questions also points directly to the need for a YCL. Facing a future of unemployment, the army or a life of slaving for some boss, young people are searching for a way to live a decent and productive life. They will often bounce from one thing to another quickly in search of a way out—from trying to get into college or pick up some kind of skill, joining the army, getting a "hustle" or gimmick to get by, to dropping out and getting hooked on drugs.

The work around the 4th showed that if you go out and agitate around the conditions and struggles youth face, young activists will come forward to check it out and can be won to take up the struggle enthusiastically. But we can't leave it at that. We have to speak to youths' desire and search for a decent and productive life, offering to youth the working class "way out" of the problems around us and its historic mission, the overthrow of the capitalist class and moving on to build a new society free from exploitation and oppression. Offering this future of the working class to millions of youth will be a key task of a future young communist league.

A YCL will be the youth group of the Party open to all active fighters who are taking up the battles against the effects of the capitalist system and who see the need to learn and apply Marxism-Leninism to building these struggles as part of the overall struggle of the working class for revolution. While based mainly among working class youth from the neighborhoods and high schools, it will be open to all youth and

include the membership of the Party's student group the Revolutionary Student Brigade.

It will take up and lead the key issues facing youth: the fight for jobs, against imperialist war, etc. In the course of these battles and in addressing every aspect of the lives capitalism forces young people to lead, the YCL will have the task of bringing out to the millions of youth the future that the working class represents. The YCL will be a place where large numbers of youth will be trained to use and apply Marxism-Leninism to their daily lives and will serve as a training ground for new communists.

## Conference

The struggle that got started in Tent City and the spirit of victory of the demonstration got carried over into the conference called for July 5 and attended by over 100 of the young people from the contingent. The conference was called by the RCP to discuss how to keep going in the direction the Bicentennial campaign had set and the need for a YCL.

The conference dealt with going back into the neighborhoods and communities where people were from and organizing youth to fight around key issues. Unemployment is one of the sharpest problems youth face. The Department of Labor recently said that millions of youth who are now seventeen won't get jobs before 1980. The lack of decent jobs is also closely related to a lot of the other problems youth face, from police harassment for hanging out to getting involved in different rackets, crime, drugs, etc.

Unemployment brings out sharply to youth how their lives are wasted by the bosses' drive for profits. Other conditions that youth are forced to live with: garbage in the streets, housing and schools that are falling apart, also drive home this point. The conference talked about taking up these struggles and showing youth that we can take things into our own hands and not accept these conditions. Some of the groups from different cities laid out ideas like collecting garbage that is usually piled up in the streets and dumping it at administrative offices in unemployment centers and housing centers or the mayor's office.

In the course of taking up these struggles and in building the campaign for the 4th these different organizations have been formed to pull together all the youth that want to get involved in building the struggle. At this early stage of work among youth, these groups are necessary to give consistency to the struggle, to provide a regular place for summation and political discussion to involve new youth and get them to take up the organizing on their own. All this is playing a crucial role in building up understanding of conditions, experience and organization that will contribute greatly to forming a YCL. The conference summed up that these organizations—like Youth in Action in Philly and other forms of uniting youth in struggle, are good things and should be built everywhere possible.

The discussion around the young communist league was very lively with a good deal of participation and struggle. It was opened up by a speaker from the RCP who talked about the different futures offered to youth by the capitalists and the working class.

After pointing out the future the bourgeoisie offers youth—unemployment, war and slaving for some boss—the Party speaker went on to note "The working class and its party offers a whole different future to young people. A future, not of scrambling to find some way to get by—but standing together and fighting against the source of people's misery and problems. A future not of living from crisis to crisis and attack after attack but of standing with the work-

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Hundreds of working class youth of all nationalities marched shoulder to shoulder in an enthusiastic and spirited contingent on July 4th.



## Party's Speech at July 4th

# 'We Make Society Run, Why Can't We Run Society?'

Excerpts from the speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA at the July 4th demonstration in Philadelphia.

"The capitalists come around and talk about national unity—all together, make America more productive, get it back to be number one. Well you know, I like to put it this way: It's like you got a tapeworm in society—because that's what they are—a tapeworm down inside society and it says to us, 'Look here, boy. Shovel some more food on down, will you? After all, the more you put in there, the more there is for both of us.'

"But that ain't the way it works. Because if you got a tapeworm inside of you and you put more down, it grabs more and more, gets bigger and bigger, wants more and more, and you get sicker and sicker. And there's only one thing to do with a tapeworm—you got to get rid of it. You got to kill it. You got to take it out of that body. [applause]

"And that's the same thing—that tapeworm ain't nothing but their drive for profit. They come around and say, 'Give me a little more and I'll trickle a little down to you.' And we're not going for any of their trickles because they shut it off a long time ago. And we ain't satisfied with trickles anyway. We're cutting you out of society, buddy. We're taking over and your day is through. That's all. [applause]

"And they tell us, they say, 'You got to go to war to defend me.' But they can't say that. They don't say go to war to defend Standard Oil—all these other monopolies, U.S. Steel, GM, Chrysler, what have you. They say 'Defend the country. It's all of our country. After all, we might have differences. And I might be sucking your blood. But when it comes down to it, we got to fight to defend the country.'

"Like the brother from the Vietnam Veterans Against the War said: the capitalists always talk about how we got to defend them from the Russians.

"Well we got something to say about that: Yeah, we're going to defend the country, we're going to defend it when it belongs to us. That's when we're going to defend it. So the first thing we got to do is to put things straight. First of all we got to take over the country. Then we'll set about defending it—against you. [applause] And against any other slave drivers that might come over and try to take advantage of the situation.

"We'll deal with them too. Because once the working class is in power, nobody is going to take it away from us. We don't struggle and strive to get power just to hand it over to somebody else.

"What have we accomplished with this demonstration? We've stood up right in their face and we've smacked them right in the face. And we've done something more. Not only have we made a statement that we're not going along with the way they try to picture the past and we certainly are not going along with the way that they're handing down the present and more than that we're not going along with their version of the future. Also, we built our own organization. We began to get a sense of our own strength...

"You know there was a strike in Milwaukee a little while ago—went on for over a year. A strike of meatcutters. Those workers realized that they were trying to cut their wages and bust their union. And I'll tell you something. That struggle was not won in the short run...

"But something important happened there. We can learn in every battle we're involved in, whether we win or lose in the short run. The workers, like we're doing today, built their strength and built their organization. And one worker said: 'Some day, somebody's going to have to pay for what they've done to us.'

"And that's what we're standing up and saying here on July 4 in this bicentennial demonstration. Some day—and the day's not that far off and it's a day we're building for—you're going to have to pay for what you've done to us all these hundreds of years. [applause]

"We're partly here for revenge, but we're here for a lot more than just revenge. Because revenge by itself is not going to solve the problem...But if we just concern ourselves with that, then we could have a new exploiting group develop inside maybe even our own ranks. We could turn to fighting among ourselves if we weren't concerned with something more than revenge, and that's transforming this whole society.

"Because we don't want to have a situation where



**BOB AVAKIAN**  
Chairman of the Central Committee,  
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

a hundred years later the next generation of kids comes along and says: we're going to get those bloodsuckers off our backs! We want to do away with the situation where there's anymore bloodsuckers.

"We're going to do away with the situation where society is divided into classes. We're going to do away with a situation where a handful of people make everybody else work for them in order to make them rich. We're going to do away with that situation and they won't be able to come around and say anymore, 'It's look out for number one. If you don't make somebody else work for you, you're going to have to end up working for them.'

"We're tired of that. We're going to do away with the situation where anybody has to work for anybody else and everybody's going to work together for the common good. And everybody's going to do the different kinds of jobs that need to be done and we're going to plan it all out so society belongs to us.

"Now I'm going to tell you—what I'm describing is supposed to be a scary word. It's when the working class comes to power, keeps them down and moves to eliminate classes and achieves communism—and that's supposed to be a scary word...

"Communism. They try to make it scary. Communism doesn't mean anything but *in common*. And we're the working class, we work in common—why the hell shouldn't we run society in common for the common good of the common people. Ain't nothing scary about that. [applause] What the hell is scary about that?

"But it's scary to them. Because it means doing away with their whole system where the masses of people got to work to make them rich and we got to slave and suffer and have nothing to hand down to our kids but the same struggle that we went through no matter how much we try to strive to make it better—until we rise up and get rid of them...

"So we're talking about something big. We're talking about the need for revolution and that's no small task. But I got a question to ask. If we can begin to get ourselves organized like we have here. If we can march and rally in a disciplined way. If we can learn to battle toe-to-toe with them. If we can build up our own forces and begin to take care of each other and begin to reach out and build our movement broader. If we can do that, why can't we go on and do it? Not just a few thousand that are here today, but the millions that we represent. Why can't we carry it through? Why can't we get united? Why can't we run society?

"If we make society run—which we do and let me see anybody stand up and deny it—we make all of society run. Now if we make all of society run, why in the hell can't we run all of society [applause]...

"Why the hell can't we reshape society so that it conforms to the needs and interests of the great majority of people? What's the answer? Can we do it? [shouts of "Yeah!"] Can they stop us? ["No!"]

"All right, but let's talk about where things are at right now, because that's what we're aiming for. We know that we're a few thousand here...a small demonstration compared to the millions out there...

"But I'll tell you something else—this country and the rulers of this country and the working people of this country, more importantly, have not seen a demonstration like this in a long, long time if they've ever seen anything like it. So it's an important step. We're drawing the lines real clear. And we're saying we ain't got nothing in common with them.

"But on the other hand, we got to recognize where this real strength lies, where this real power lies, and where our potential lies to achieve this revolutionary goal...Where does that strength and that ability lie? Just with us here? No...

"And we've got a lot of work to do. We've got to be just the white cap on the top of that wave, that rising wave of working class struggle, we've got to go back, and not think only in terms of us who are here but think in terms of the millions who couldn't come, think of where the real strength and power lies in the great majority of working people.

"We can't get discouraged if the movement takes a long time. We can't get discouraged if it doesn't go on a straight line forward, if there are ups and downs in it because the future does belong to us and that's not just rhetoric. The future truly belongs to us but we've got to forge it. Just like work everyday is a struggle to forge these products, so forging the movement in which we can take matters, and we can take society, in our own hands and become masters of society—this too is going to be a long struggle.

"But they're going to make us struggle one way or the other. The question isn't are we going to struggle or aren't we going to struggle. The question is whether we're going to struggle and dig a hole in the ground, spinning our wheels in the same place, or whether we're going to go forward, shed our blood and sacrifice so that we can move forward, so we can sweep away this society that we live under now, this bloodsucking capitalist society and put it in a dustbin. Put it into a museum...

"We've got a long struggle. It's going to have ups and downs and there's going to be setbacks. The first country that the working class created with its own hands, the Soviet Union, was stolen back by a new class of capitalists who rose right from within the workers own ranks, and that's why I say we can't be content just with getting revenge with the present rulers. We have to do away with the conditions where we have slave-masters and slaves and we have exploiters and exploited. We have to do away with the conditions where anyone can force anybody else to work for them and make them rich in order for those other people to live.

"Despite that setback that the first workers' state was stolen from the working class, it can't last long, because when you restore capitalism, which has happened in the Soviet Union, you restore everything that we're fighting against. And you can bet that the workers in Russia are fighting back. We've seen it already in Poland where workers have risen up recently against rising prices and exploitation.

"The capitalists in this country point to Russia and say, 'You see, if you rise up against us it won't do any good. You'll just end up like the workers in Russia, you'll have new slavedrivers on your back and they're even worse than we are.'

"But we ain't going for that anymore because we see that while there's been a setback there, in China and in other countries throughout the world the working class meanwhile has taken power into its own hands. Think about this—about a billion people, one fourth of humanity, is already living in the conditions where the working class rules and is reshaping society. It's advancing towards a stage where we won't have any more classes, won't have any more exploiters, won't have any more oppressors, won't have a situation where the masses of people have to work to make a few people rich. And this is what we're advancing towards...

"If I stood up and told you that this was going to be easy, you'd know I was a liar, because nothing in this life is easy. Everything in life is a struggle. But, like I said, they don't give us a choice of whether we're going to struggle or not, and we're not going to give them any choice...

"So let me close by saying: Let's leave here, let's have a clear sense and a good head about the problems, the difficulties, the twists and turns that are going to lie ahead, that it's going to be a struggle. But more than that, let's build on what we've done here, that we've stood up on our own two feet, that we've begun to straighten our backs.

"Let's build on that and let's go forward from here with the confidence that the future belongs to us, and that nothing can stop us from creating that future and from emancipating all of mankind once and for all." ■



# Battle of the Bicentennial

The colorful banners held firmly in the air let on who was there. Steel workers from the major steel centers of the country like the mammoth mills of Chicago and Gary, Indiana. The men and women who make the country's automobiles were there, holding high a banner that declared their intention to put it to the companies when the auto contract expires in September. Textile workers from the sweat shops of the South were there, as were garment workers who turn the cloth those workers make into clothing. Unemployed workers from around the country carried with them the signatures of a quarter of a million workers lending their voices to the demand of the marchers for Jobs or Income Now!

From the coal fields of Appalachia came a contingent of miners wearing their hard hats, fresh from an on-going battle against the mine owners and their golfing partners who sit on top of their union and who are trying to take away the strike weapon from the rank and file. There were postal workers there from cities around the country, many from New York, the city whose massiveness is testimony to the ability of the working class to create wonders, and whose daily rotting is evidence of the decay of the capitalists' system. From every major industry, from every corner of the country, from every nationality, workers came like a crest on a mounting wave of working class struggle. The march was stamped with the character of the working class.

Joining together with the workers were many others. A contingent of veterans led off the march, those who had been sent off to fight and die for the profits of the corporations were chanting "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War, It's the Working Class We're Fighting For." Students, organized by the Revolutionary Student Brigade, took up their positions. Hundreds of young people joined in the march, many of whom only months before saw only unemployment staring them in the face, or a uniform, or a lifetime of wage-slavery in the factories that had squeezed their parents.

The marchers had come from the thick of the major struggles of the working class and oppressed masses in this country. But the march was more than the collection of their individual fights. In one voice the demonstrators chanted as they marched, "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!"



Along the line of the march were thousands of working people of Philadelphia, standing on the sidewalks and leaning out of windows. They were eagerly taking leaflets and purchasing literature, encouraging the marchers as they passed by. Many of the workers of Philadelphia were both amazed and inspired that the demonstration was taking place, that the hundreds of police waiting in buses and perched on the rooftops with rifles could only sit while the demonstration flowed by triumphantly. Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia had pledged to his masters, the capitalist class, that he would prevent this demonstration of the workers on the day the rulers were celebrating and propping up their rule. Yet this day he was forced to eat his words.

The march itself was the culmination of a sharp struggle that had been going on with the capitalist authorities in Philadelphia for many months, reaching a feverish peak a few days before as the first contingents began to arrive in town.

They had tried to brand the Rich Off Our Backs Coalition as terrorists, as fanatics interested only in spoiling the official Bicentennial events—with no rhyme or reason. They had threatened to bring out 15,000 federal troops against the demonstration. They had banned unemployed workers from setting up a Tent City to dramatize the needs and struggle of the ten million unemployed workers in this country. Ruse after ruse had been used to keep the Coalition from setting up a Workers History Pavilion, which would feature a beautiful and powerful photo display of the history of class struggle in the U.S.

On Wednesday, June 30, five hundred workers and others arrived in Philly after holding a successful action in Washington, D.C., demanding Jobs or Income Now!

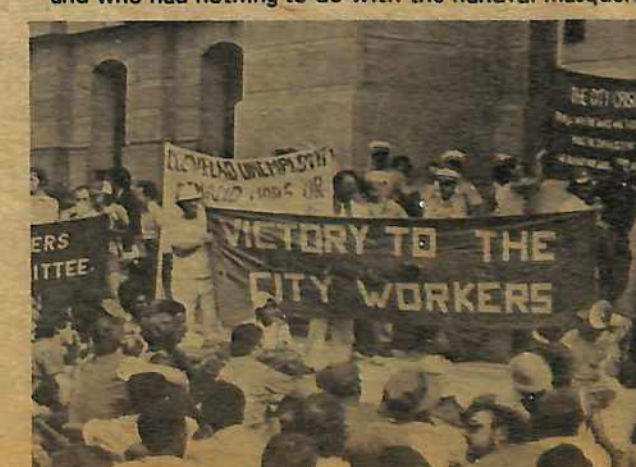
For four days the workers were engaged in a toe-to-toe battle to win and protect the right to demonstrate on the Fourth, against the lies about the demonstrations and their purposes, to inform the workers in Philadelphia about the demands of the Coalition.

On July 1 the first actions took place. People loaded flatbed trucks that were used to have "demonstrations" and made their way to a Philadelphia unemployment office to demand Jobs or Income. From there, workers, students, veterans and youths proceeded to City Hall and held a picket line in support of Philadelphia's city workers who were in the process of fighting wage cuts and layoffs by the authorities.

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# The Bicentennial



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On Wednesday, June 30, five hundred workers and others arrived in Philly after holding a successful action in Washington, D.C., demanding Jobs or Income Now!

For four days the workers were engaged in a toe-to-toe battle with the capitalists, to win and protect the right to demonstrate on the Fourth, to knock down the capitalists' lies about the demonstrations and their purposes, to speak directly to the workers in Philadelphia about the demands of the Coalition.

On July 1 the first actions took place. People loaded on board the flatbed trucks that were used to have "demonstrations on wheels" and made their way to a Philadelphia unemployment office to demand Jobs or Income. From there, workers, students, veterans and youths proceeded to City Hall and held a picket line in support of Philadelphia's city workers who were in the process of fighting wage cuts and layoffs by the authorities.

A speaker on the steps of City Hall said, "The fact

**The Evening Bulletin**  
 SATURDAY, MAY 29, 1976  
 Phila. May Seek U. S. Troops  
 To Keep Order on July 4th

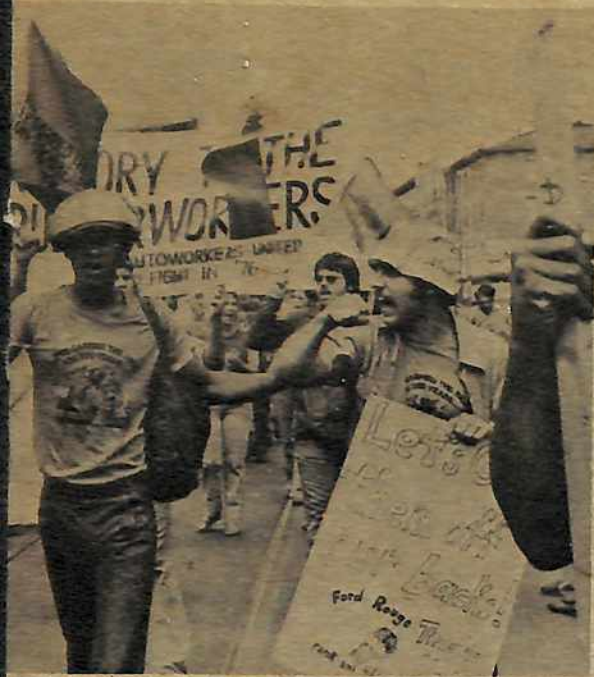
is that this City to us three or four months ago, you're never going to march in this city. And they told us that you'll never have a tent city. And the fact is that right now we have a tent city set up in three or four churches. And unemployed and employed workers are marching. Marching they were, right into the center of Philadelphia that had been declared off-limits to the organized forces of the working class!

That evening the capitalists tried to make up for the losses suffered by the successful demonstration earlier in the day. When the Coalition showed up at Norris Park for an evening event they were met by hundreds of police, uniformed and plainclothed poised for the attack. A small picket line of eight local political hacks—poverty pimps—and twenty children claiming to represent the community in the area was set up to demand that the Coalition stay out of the park.

The police were going to use this as an excuse for an attack. The Coalition leadership wisely chose to retreat, for then, moving the site of the rally to another location, leaving some people to explain what was going on to the hundreds of people from the community who were checking out what was happening, and who had nothing to do with the handful masquerading as their leaders.



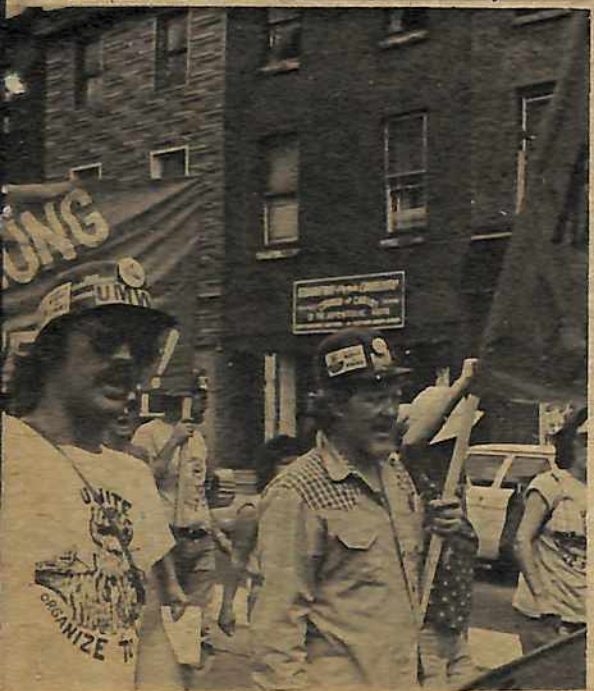




The next day, July 2, the Coalition continued to take the message of the demonstration to the people of Philadelphia. A demonstration was held in front of Philadelphia General Hospital, the city's only public hospital which is slated to be closed.

While workers were marching in the streets, the capitalists were working overtime behind the scenes to stop the demonstrations. A two-bit local judge in Philadelphia issued a ruling demanding a \$1 million "deposit" to hold the march on Sunday the 4th. But this was too much for them to get away with without blowing their Bicentennial "democracy and freedom" cover. Another judge reversed this ruling and granted a permit to use Norris Park that evening.

That night with clockwork precision truckloads rolled into Norris Park for a spirited rally and to display the Workers History Pavilion in exile, then left in an orderly and disciplined way when the permit expired, before the police had an excuse for an attack.



battle with the capitalists, to knock down the capitalist peak directly to the ground.

on board the "wheels" of the capitalist system.

**Bulletin**  
SATURDAY, MAY 29, 1976  
**U.S. Troops**  
**on July 4th**

is that this City told us three or four months ago, you're never going to march in this city. And they told us that you'll never have a tent city. And the fact is that right now we have a tent city set up in three or four churches. And unemployed and employed workers are marching." Marching they were, right into the center of Philadelphia that had been declared off-limits to the organized working class!

Evening the capitalists tried to make up for the losses they suffered in the demonstration earlier in the day. When they gathered in Norris Park for an evening event they were met by hundreds of plainclothesmen poised for the attack. A small picket line of poverty pimps—and twenty children claiming to represent the community—demanded that the Coalition stay out of the park. The Coalition leadership wisely chose another location, leaving some people to explain what was happening to the community who were checking out what was happening, as their leaders.



On the morning of the third, the day before the big demonstration, Vietnam Veterans Against the War led a demonstration at the site of Admiral Dewey's flagship, from which he commanded U.S. naval forces in the attack on the Philippines during the Spanish-American War. This was the first war in which the monopolists of this country dragged people off to fight and die for their profits, when in the name of fighting "for freedom and democracy" they replaced Spain as the overlords of the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico.

In the afternoon an exciting scene took place in a Philadelphia park, where truck after truck brought in workers from around the country to join in the demonstration the next day.

That evening over two thousand gathered in the Arena, a Philadelphia concert hall, for an evening of working class culture and speeches. When the MC opened the program with the words "Fellow workers!" the building rocked with thunderous applause at this simple statement of who we were, and that we were there, united as a class and prepared to make a powerful statement to the American working class and people on the next day, the Fourth of July.



The next day a tremendous victory was won as the over three thousand marchers took to the streets in the face of the ruling class which swore to stop it. Standing up on the 4th of July, the two hundredth anniversary of the most sacred day of the capitalist class, and declaring our intention to "Get the Rich Off Our Backs!"

From the speakers stand in Norris Park came voices from the thick of struggle. The speakers brought out the significance of the Battle of the Bicentennial for our class and pointed out the road our struggle must and will take.

"We united with the hopes and dreams and aspirations of the people, and that's why this demonstration took place and that's why it's been such a success. And even more, we pointed the way forward. We didn't just say the past 200 years and this is what they've been, and the present and this is what it is. We talked about the future and what it's going to be and what we're going to make it. Because that same hard work and organizing, that same strength we feel when we pull people together, that same thrill when you see the brothers and sisters, the steel workers from Houston, Texas marching together with garment workers from New York, employed and unemployed of all nationalities. What we see is the seeds of our future and we're going to keep building!"—from opening speech at July 4th rally.



## Call Flails At July 4 Demo

# Pathetic Attack Exposes Class Role

On the morning of July 4th in Philadelphia, as the marchers began to assemble in the street for the Rich Off Our Backs demonstration, it was truly impressive. The discipline and organization, the determination and the aims of the march—through all this the character of the working class stood out powerfully in the thousands who were gathering there.

At the same time, on the sidewalk, staying carefully under the watchful eyes of the police, a cluster of people stood around sporadically trying to sell their newspapers to those in the street. They claimed they were communists, and because of the leading role communists had played in the demonstration, this was enough to make some people interested in them. When they were asked, they pretended to be in favor of the march—although this fog of "support" proved self-dispelling for the few who bought their paper and read its hackneyed attack on the demonstration. This slimy behavior, in such sharp contrast to the march, had to raise some questions as to what these people represented and what they thought they were doing there.

They were members of the October League (OL), with their newspaper *The Call*. Some of us have had long experience with their counter-revolutionary bag of tricks dressed up in red, but for others they were something new.

Furthermore, the OL is—for the umpteenth time—trying to clean up its act, strutting around in new political plumage like some molting peacock, hoping no one notices the discredited old lines it is shedding as well as the rotten core that remains. Their actions around the July 4th demonstration provide a good opportunity to pin them down and learn about the true nature and role of these types and others like them who pop up in the course of the struggle.

Their nature is rooted in the characteristics of the petty bourgeoisie, a social grouping that suffers attacks under the monopoly capitalist system, but which is also frustrated by it in their own aspirations to become big shots. The working class must try to unite with people from these strata and in the process remold them. Those who take up the revolutionary stand and outlook of the working class it welcomes into its ranks. But it must also recognize that there will be some among the petty bourgeoisie who will insist on following out their bourgeois aspirations. One form this takes is consolidating into political trends that claim to be revolutionary in order to try to pimp off the working class struggle and sabotage it.

There is a passage in the *Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party* that analyzes where outfits like the OL come from: "petty bourgeois hustlers who refuse to take up the stand of the working class, but, recognizing its revolutionary role, proclaim themselves the leaders of the proletariat and try to ride the workers' backs to power. These forces pose as 'communists' or 'socialists' and in this way are able at times to attract some sincere revolutionaries, even a few from the working class. But the leaders of these groups are deadly enemies of the working class, acting as agents of the bourgeoisie in attempting to confuse and demoralize the proletariat, split its ranks and derail its revolutionary struggle. When the workers refuse to follow them into the swamp or into an ambush, they viciously attack the proletariat and its Party." (*Programme*, p. 91)

The working class and its Party have to expect attacks from the capitalists as long as classes exist, as well as from its agents and others who promote its interests and outlook. Our attitude towards all these attacks must include trying to learn from them, since the enemy is often very good at sniffing out our weaknesses in order to find the best place to stick the knife. The universally disappointing thing about the October League, though, is that all they come up with to attack us with is lies and slander, with little relation to the real world, and about the only thing we can learn from them is more about the nature of OL and similar reactionaries.

### New Low

Their article "reporting" on the July 4th demonstration, however, is a new low, even for them. The whole idea behind it is that, according to them, there wasn't any class struggle around the Bicentennial— which of course is exactly how the bourgeoisie would like to present it.

"July 4th Protests Safe and Harmless," their article is headlined. "It was in the spirit of reforming and perfecting the rule of capitalism rather than of overthrowing it," they begin. To "prove" their point, they quote the July 5 *Chicago Tribune* article which called

the Puerto Rican Socialist Party-led opportunist July 4th Coalition's actions "a tribute to the spirit of the Bicentennial" and turn reality upside down, lying and claiming that this quote was about the Rich Off Our Backs demonstration. In fact, the *Tribune* was nervously contrasting the two demonstrations, referring to the Rich Off Our Backs demonstration as "a portent of the confrontations that may await Americans [the ruling class—Ed.] in the country's third century."

The October League even tries to rob the Coalition of its name, dropping the word "rich" to call it simply the "Off Our Backs Coalition" all the way through the article. But there was a clear target for the demonstration, as everyone who was there or got its literature knows. And in Philly and in the work leading to it a clear class content was given to that target—the capitalist class and its antagonistic contradiction with the working class. But since the OL wants to treat the demonstration as if it has no class content, they not only change its name, they don't even dare to refer to even one of its slogans and demands in their article: "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs," "Jobs or Income Now" and "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War."

We certainly weren't treated as "safe and harmless" "reformists" by the political representatives of the bourgeoisie in city hall and the courts. Maybe the bourgeoisie didn't bother to let their flunkies in *The Call* office know what was up—or maybe the capitalists are using dual tactics, the strong arm of the Philadelphia cops beforehand to try to intimidate us and the limp wrist of *The Call* and others afterwards to re-write history and cover up their failure.

Which side the October League is on is pretty clear by the way they mimic the poverty pimps on the federal payroll who Mayor Rizzo dragged into court to testify that the Rich Off Our Backs Coalition was just a bunch of whites trying to get Blacks in trouble, and that therefore the courts should stop the demonstration. The OL repeats this lie, saying that the march was "made up mainly of white, middle-class youth, even marching through the heart of Philadelphia's Black community." In fact, a large part of the demonstration was made up of Blacks and other minority nationalities and one of the most inspiring things about it was workers of all nationalities uniting around a line representing the working class.

At bottom, the whole approach of the October

League's leaders is the same as that of the poverty pimps. They see in the struggle of the Black masses a chance to build their careers by peddling narrow nationalist ideas, by trying to keep the struggle of Black people separate from that of the whole working class, so they can pose as special saviors of Black people.

What other explanation is there for their sole article on the Bicentennial up until the week preceding July 4th—a piece of trash in the February *Call* entitled "A White Bicentennial!?" In the face of a broad political and ideological offensive against the whole working class and the masses of American people launched by the bourgeoisie on the occasion of their birthday, the article doesn't mention the working class once. Indeed, the OL's sole complaint is that "the role of Black and other minorities in history has been completely covered up"—an echo of one of the lines the capitalists ran around the Bicentennial: their "freedom," their revolution is just what everyone needs—what a shame, say their spokesmen, that a few people got shortchanged out of all the wonderful things the 1776 Revolution won for the majority.

With such shoddy wares to vend, it comes as no surprise that the OL, like the bourgeoisie, cannot abide the sight of people of different nationalities uniting on the basis of struggle against the capitalists, who are the source of oppression. Like those they serve, the OL could not bear to see not only the people who came to Philly to march, but neighborhood residents too, taking up the slogans and revolutionary line of the demonstration or applauding the UWOE speaker at the rally who said, "I came here partly out of revenge, remembering my grandparents. They had chains they could see. I have chains I can feel. I too am a slave—they were told that that was the only way—I am told that this is the only way. Just as they broke their chains, we will break the chains of wage-slavery!" Faced with this reality, the OL lapsed into the dream world of *apriorism*—trying to make the world conform to their preconceived notions. Since from their view such unity is neither possible nor desirable, why then it couldn't have happened and therefore there weren't any Black people at the march.

### War

Having thus wished away the class struggle over the Bicentennial and the strongly working class and multinational character of the demonstration, which even the bourgeois media nervously commented on, *The Call* article proceeds to expose even more clearly what the OL is up to with a third criticism. The Coalition in general and the RCP in particular, it seems, didn't "prepare people for the inevitable world war which lies ahead" and "failed to educate people about where the danger of a new world war is coming from—the two superpowers and especially the Soviet Union."

Now one of the two demands of the demonstration was "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" and speech after speech hammered at the bourgeoisie's war plans and the rulers of both superpowers, whose cutthroat rivalry for world domination is leading to war. The VVAW speaker, for example, said, "[The U.S. imperialists] point at the Soviet Union and say, 'look at those thieves. . . on the prowl sneaking in everybody's back door. We got to stop them. Look at the Soviet Union in Angola, look at Czechoslovakia, look at Eastern Europe, look at the lives of the workers in the Soviet Union. And what you've got to do is join us, join Rockefeller, join Dupont, join Ford, your American brothers, and let's defend this place, our place, and keep the Russians from getting what we have all worked for. . . .'"

"But what they don't tell you and what they try to hide is that. . . there's a small group of people that's running the Soviet Union which basically stole a country which belonged to the working people from them, is the same thing as the rich that are in this country. There ain't no difference. And what we're saying is we ain't going to trade one slave master for another. We ain't going to go off into a war. . . to shed our blood. . . to fight for them so that when we come home we still got them on our backs because that ain't what it's about. We say no way!"

It is true, however, that the demonstration did not focus "especially" on the Soviet Union, but rather on America's rulers, the ones who are trying to line the working class here up behind their war preparations and, when war does come, will send us to fight and die to preserve their profits.

Whining about this stand shows how utterly divorced the October League is from the working class. You have to be pretty out of it not to be aware that today American workers are much more likely to understand that the New Tsars are pushing towards war than that our own capitalists are—our rulers are doing plenty of "education" on this point. Communists must bring out to the masses what they—and the October League—won't: the fact that our ruling class and the USSR's have the same capitalist *class nature* and show how it is this class nature that not only drives them to rob us every day but likewise impels them to war over which will be number one plunderer of the world's people. And we must concentrate our main fire on the enemy we face directly—our own rulers.

Once again, too, the OL's warped view of the world

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The strength and unity of the gathering forces of the working class stamped clearly the character of the Rich Off Our Backs march—in sharp contrast to the antics of a little band of October Leaguers who crept alongside for a while, peddling their paper attacking the demonstration.

## Pathetic...

Continued from Page 14

mimics the bourgeoisie's. Lenin, the great leader of the world's working class, singled out for particular attack in the midst of the imperialist First World War the October Leaguers of his day, who, he said, "help their respective imperialist governments by concentrating attention principally on the insidiousness of their rival and enemy, while throwing a veil of vague, general phrases and sentimental wishes around the equally imperialist conduct of 'their own' bourgeoisie." (*Lenin On War And Peace*, Peking, p. 80)

In the end, they wind up their list of criticisms with what they consider their heaviest blow. In the speech at the rally by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, according to the OL, "Avakian rambled through half an hour of confusing metaphors without pointing to the need for socialism." We can see how OL might find the metaphors and the political line confusing—although the workers didn't—because in his speech Avakian was applying Marxism—the science of working class revolution—to the experience of the masses in a down-to-earth, militant and lively way which characterized the whole rally. All this is beyond the comprehension of any bourgeois, big or small [see p. 11 for excerpts from speech—Ed.]

But even making allowances for the fact this is the OL we are dealing with, their claim cannot be written off to mere ignorance, since a big part of his speech was how our movement of today relates to the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism and communism. They must spend a lot of time praying none of their readers were at the rally and that none of them have any source of information other than *The Call!* The very fact that they would stoop so low to try to slander the demonstration—and the fact that this was the best they could do—both reveal an awful

lot about the October League.

This article represents a concentration of their lines and methods, and shows how they represent and act like the bourgeoisie itself. Since these people really don't care to believe that the masses of workers and others oppressed by capitalism can be mobilized and united around a line and slogans like those of the Rich Off Our Backs demonstration, which represented the revolutionary interests of the proletariat, then they have to either give up their pretensions and admit their

## Dead-End Rally Spares Enemy

The best that can be said of the Philadelphia demonstration by the July 4th Coalition is that it came and went. Organized mainly by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (political supporters of the Weather Underground) and some others, including various Trotskyites, this "protest" turned out to be little more than just another Bicentennial event, leaving behind little unity, little understanding, little organization and more than a little confusion among some people who really wanted to take on some of the crimes of the capitalist system.

The march and rally in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park drew 12-15,000 people. There were few workers there and even more important, they played no organized role. Still, many people came to demand Free Puerto Rico—the only demand that gave the demonstration any unity or political character at all. Others, including a very large self-proclaimed "gay contingent," came to parade around whatever pleased them.

What it all came down to was one big mess, complaining at everything and hitting at nothing. "A Bicentennial without colonies. . . End forced Sterilization! Vote Socialist Workers. . . Down with Apartheid. . . Ho, ho, homosexual, sodomy laws are ineffectual. . ."—these were among the dozens of chants and banners that came bobbing into the picnic-like atmosphere of Fairmount Park. Instead of pointing the finger of blame at the capitalists and their system, the overall effect of this mixed bag was to provide ammunition for the capitalists' claims that anyone who protests against them must be a bunch of chronic malcontents and weirdos.

For the most part, groups and individuals saw the events as an opportunity to push whatever issues they were concerned about. This was the way the rally organizers planned it to be, because they themselves were there to push their particular demands, with no concern for how to develop a united movement of the masses in their millions against the capitalists. This is why they were so willing to have banners for sexual

nature or else try to claim that somehow the demonstration wasn't really revolutionary after all. They have to lie about every single aspect of the demonstration to make that point.

But no matter what they might want, the real world is shaped by class struggle. There is a working class, there is forward motion, and there is a political line and party that represent that forward motion. Things like the Philly demonstration show this unmistakably. If you stand against that forward motion, then, like the capitalists do every day, you have to lie and distort what's really going on. You have to fly in the face of reality, because the reality is that the working class and its struggle represent the future.

The desperation the OL displayed in printing this shabby tissue of distortions and outright lies reflects the problems they face in trying to buck the tide of history. To aid them as they scurry to catch hold of a piece of the class struggle to ride to glory before it evades their grasp forever, the leaders of the OL have proclaimed that soon they will set up their own warped version of a "communist" party to sabotage the struggle of the working class from within and to pit against the proletariat's Revolutionary Communist Party.

The service the OL currently performs for the ruling class is pretty small time, but as we point out in the *Programme of the RCP*, "These various agents of imperialism, in and of themselves, amount to nothing more than cockroaches which the working class could squash under its feet. But these types do pose a greater potential danger—they can act as the 'shock troops' for the development of a phoney 'socialist' or 'progressive' movement that would aim at diverting the working class from the revolutionary path and setting it up to be smashed by the bourgeoisie." (p. 94)

Perhaps the October League will never achieve even this limited significance, but it is important to understand what they represent because their antics provide an example of how the bourgeoisie will always try to kill the working class movement with sugar coated bullets, even while it tries and fails with real bullets. ■

degeneracy fly side by side with their own.

The political thrust of the event was to let the capitalists off the hook. Even the most "serious" demands called on the system to reform itself—as if the colonial oppression of Puerto Rico and the rest of what the imperialists do could be eliminated without getting the rich off our backs, since their very existence and rule depends on such things. This is the political meaning of the main slogan "For a Bicentennial Without Colonies."

Even as an attempt to build a reformist movement, the event had little success, because its smorgasboard approach brought no basis for any further organization or struggle. About all that was accomplished was that the rally's main groups got their names and their "causes" in the papers.

### Loyal Opposition

The basic weakness of the demonstration became clear in the sharp contrast between how the authorities accepted it as a "loyal opposition" to the Bicentennial and the attacks they launched on the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition from the beginning. While the city and federal courts did everything possible to prevent the Rich Off Our Backs march, the other was granted permits with little difficulty.

Both marches had a lot of cops around—along the Rich Off Our Backs route they lined the streets in riot formation, posted snipers on the rooftops and tailed the march with busloads of riot police to try to scare people away from the march. At the other rally in Fairmount Park, they rolled up police water trucks to make sure the crowd was comfortable, to prove their "reasonableness" to people willing to give the system a chance.

Afterwards, the July 4th Coalition's rally was cheerfully summed up in the ruling class media, like the *Chicago Tribune*, which reported, "The exuberant peaceful nature of the protest, however, appeared more as propaganda for America's free-enterprising, free-talking system, and in that sense was a tribute to the spirit of the Bicentennial." They had a different opinion of the spirit and aims of the Rich Off Our Backs demonstration, however. Noting the workers taking part, the discipline and determination and three major slogans aiming straight at the ruling class, the *Tribune* nervously concluded that it had been "a portent of the type of confrontations that may await Americans [meaning the ruling class] in the country's third century."

This is the essence of the difference between the two actions. One looked to the past and to itself, and while it brought out many who will surely take up the fight, this demonstration led people back, away from building what must be built. The other pointed to the source of our misery and towards the future. While the thousand and one abuses the capitalists heap on the people every day constantly breed anger and resistance, only the growing workers movement can bring together and focus these battles into a powerful storm of struggle that will one day get rid of this class of capitalist exploiters. ■

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# Strikes In Poland Rock Rock Regime

"The whole of Poland is on strike today." "We don't need to discuss. We go back when the prices are put back." These words were voiced by thousands and thousands of Polish workers who struck on June 25 to protest the government's food price increases.

Just like their brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union, Polish workers had their socialist state ripped from their hands, sabotaged by a new exploiting class of capitalists who window-dress themselves as communists. By the mid-1950s Poland was on its way to becoming a full-blown capitalist country.

Like other capitalist countries, Poland has been rocked by a severe economic recession and inflation. This has compounded a big mess in agricultural production. State subsidies on food, a remnant of the socialist economy to keep food prices low, have totalled \$5 billion a year. This money is now needed by the Polish state capitalists for investment.

Another root cause of the agricultural crisis is the Soviet Union's plunder of Poland. The New Tsars of the USSR have intensified the economic burden the Polish workers must carry. Over the past few years the Soviet Union has backed out of agreements with Poland to provide needed grain, yet has continued to put the screws to Poland to supply it with large quantities of meat.

After a five year freeze on food prices (the freeze grew out of similar demonstrations by the Polish workers against a threatened price increase in 1970), Prime Minister Jaroszewicz announced that the freeze was to be lifted; sugar was to go up 100%, meat up 69%, butter and cheese up 30% and seafood up 30-60%.

The price increases were announced ahead of time to show that the Polish ruling circles were confident that the Polish workers would accept it. A hell of a lot they knew.

## Strikes Sweep Country

15,000 workers at the Zeran automobile plant went on strike, workers at the shipyards on the coast went out and workers at the Ursus Tractor Factory outside Warsaw also put down their tools. Workers tore up rail lines and hurled wood and metal barriers across the tracks 20 miles outside of Warsaw. In the city of Radom, demonstrators set fire to the headquarters of the ruling Polish Workers Party.

The demonstrations, resulting from the sharpening contradictions between the Polish working class and ruling class, are a serious challenge to the Polish state capitalist government officials and fair warning by the Polish working class that any further attacks on the living standards of the class will meet the same kind of resistance. In fact, fearful of the workers' struggle surging forward beyond even this stage of demonstrations, the government has postponed the food price increases.

There have been violent protests against the government before, sparked by rising prices after the restoration of capitalism. On December 13, 1970, Gomulka—head of the government at that time, increased prices on common and necessary household items. But he also announced a lowering of the prices for durables, like cars, stereos, and TVs, which were almost exclusively sold to the privileged in the professional and managerial positions.

Throughout the next week, workers struck the Baltic Sea port cities. Struggle spread elsewhere with many strikes lasting for weeks. And on the 19th Gomulka ordered the army and police in to suppress the workers at gun point. The fierce struggle with the capitalists left at least 44 dead and probably many more. Gomulka and his coterie were forced to step down and the Polish state capitalists had to search for a new man to head things up.

Gierek was the man they found (he remains the head of the government). On the 25th of January, 1971, Gierek and the present Prime Minister went to "talk" to workers at the Adolf Warshi shipyard in the port of Szczecin. Hoping to use the carrot to bring the workers back to their "senses," Gierek and friends ran into the outrage of the workers who were quite conscious that they were meeting head on with their exploiters—bosses who claimed to be on the same side as the working class.

In a no-holds barred meeting the workers attacked Gierek and their shipyard bosses for overtime, lack of

health and safety conditions, low wages, lack of economic and political information about the country, autocratic rule in the trade unions, party and local areas. They demanded no reprisals for the strikers, strike pay, and that the security police stop harassing and arresting workers.

Gierek did some Watergate-like buckpassing and blamed Gomulka and other individuals for all the stink in the bilge and put forward that now that he was in command, the ship would become seaworthy again. But, of course, only if workers would bite the bullet. He was quoted as saying to the workers: "The only solution, believe me, is painful. . . It's hard to say. . . but it is that you work harder and harder. . . so that our economy produces its maximum." Also fearful that the uprisings would go beyond the challenge to the Polish state capitalist government and extend to the Soviet Union, which has placed incredible burdens on the Polish people since the Khrushchev clique came to power, Gierek added: "Also I promise you to grant your demands to the maximum, but I ask certain things of you; for example, to cease the attacks (I know they are circulating against the Soviet Union)."

The workers were not afraid and one by one they spoke out. A delegate from K-1 [a section in the shipyard—Ed.] . . . "but does Comrade Gierek know that we can no longer count the number of corpses here. . . And those bullets—how were they bought? With money earned by our sweat. That's really too hard to bear!"

And from another delegate: ". . . some people are living sumptuously while others haven't enough to buy

bread. In the present situation we can't tolerate such things."

The 1970-71 strikes continued until food and household price increases were rolled back.

The Polish ruling class has not forgotten this history—the upsurge of the masses against them—but in their economic crisis they were forced to risk another political crisis, to try to force the workers to tighten their belts even tighter. But again the struggle of the Polish workers meant another defeat for them and a significant victory for the workers when the current price increases were, at least temporarily, halted.

In recent weeks the Polish bourgeoisie has been trying to snatch back this victory. Using their courts they have brought workers to trial for their part in the uprisings. Six in the city of Radom were sentenced to four to ten years in jail. But while trying to make an example out of these workers, they've been forced to drop other charges against the Ursus Tractor Factory workers.

In the U.S., the capitalists and their newspapers have tried to score some political points off the rebellion of the Polish workers with their old anti-communist line: "It isn't any better under communism than it is here—in fact, it's worse. In Poland workers must fight for food itself." They would like us to believe that revolution is useless; that the world remains the same, a few on the top and the many on the bottom.

But the events in Poland prove exactly the opposite. They show that Poland is as capitalist as this country, and that as in this country, workers will rise up against exploitation and oppression until its end. ■

## European Revisionist Conference

# Disarray And Self-Exposure

After several years of abortive preparatory meetings and embarrassing postponements, the monopoly capitalist rulers of the Soviet Union were finally able to pull off a conference of the revisionist "communist" parties of Europe. The conference reflected the turmoil in the ranks of the revisionists—with the Soviet Union trying to get the parties of West Europe in line to aid them in their contention with the U.S., while the leaders of several of the largest and most influential parties of Europe have balked at this, preferring instead to pursue their goal of using their influence over the working class as "capital" to buy their way into the bourgeois state and a share in the exploitation of the workers.

The whole conference was laced with a heavy dose of irony. The Soviets were in the position of appearing as the upholders of Marxism-Leninism, of "proletarian internationalism" against the increasingly open revisionists of Western Europe. But it was the Soviets themselves who, years ago, played a critical role in destroying the revolutionary parties of the working class in Europe and pushing them down the road of "peaceful transition to socialism"—revisionism. But alas poor Soviets, the pupil has learned his lesson too well.

Brezhnev in his speech made clear the reason why Moscow needs these revisionists. They are potentially invaluable agents in a situation that's up for grabs. "Europe," he said, "has entered a basically new epoch, which differs radically from everything it had before." And he made it clear that the Soviets are already grabbing: "The house of Europe has become extremely small and can easily catch fire. There is and can be no fire brigade capable of extinguishing the fire if it really breaks out." In other words, "Nice joint ya got here. Be a shame if anything happened to it, if ya get my meaning."

## Fell Short

The New Tsars of the Soviet Union had originally hoped to get a formal agreement on a "common strategy" for the European revisionists to be implemented under the guidance of the "leading communist party"—themselves, of course. The end result was a defeat for the Kremlin, a declaration that upholds the principles the West European "independents" have been proclaiming all along: "equality and sovereign independence of each party, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for free choice of different roads in the struggle for social change of a progressive nature and for Socialism."

The nature of these "different roads" can be seen in the statements of some of the leading revisionists. Secretary George Marchais of the French party, declared at their recent Congress (devoted to denouncing the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat) that "Our Party is not the party of the clenched fist, but the party of the outstretched hand." Yes, the outstretched hand begging the French bourgeoisie for a

piece of the action in exploiting the workers.

Santiago Carillo, chieftain of the Spanish revisionists, declared in an interview with the *New York Times* while he was at the conference that there is "no basic difference" between parties like his and the social-democratic parties of Europe, which have loyally and openly served the bourgeoisie and tried to crush the working class struggle for over 50 years. When asked why his party continued to call itself "communist" he replied, "It's just a name. I know it's unpopular in America. It creates obstacles to seek reform in that name. But in Spain, in Italy, in France, it is a popular name. Why should we renounce it and leave it to the extremists, the irresponsible fringe groups? It would be a setback in our countries to give it up."

In Italy the leaders of the "Communist" Party (PCI) are especially interested in their own road to power. Despite the opposition of the U.S. imperialists, the bulk of the Italian bourgeoisie and the Pope, the PCI succeeded in scoring 12.6 million votes in the June elections there, almost 35% of the total and a close second to the ruling Christian Democratic Party. For years the PCI has been trying to persuade the Italian bourgeoisie that they represent no threat to them, promising not to pull Italy out of the NATO military alliance and showing their good faith by breaking strikes and criticizing the USSR to prove they are not puppets.

Although the Soviets didn't get their way at the conference, they took the attitude that "half a loaf is better than none." The joint statement, no matter how weak, does tighten their ties with the West European parties and formally commits them to support the Kremlin "detente" policy which they are using as a weapon and smokescreen in their contention with the U.S. imperialists for world domination.

The Soviets are sure not to let the pious words of the joint statement about "noninterference in internal affairs" get too deeply under their skin. None of their paper commitments to "independence" made much difference when they decided in 1968 to invade Czechoslovakia.

The common feature of the Soviet social-imperialists and the "independent" revisionists of West Europe is that neither has anything in common with working class revolution and communism. Their basic difference is that the Soviet leaders are a ruling imperialist bourgeoisie while the Western European revisionists have yet to make it into the ruling capitalist circles of their countries.

As it is for all capitalists and would-be capitalists, the fundamental principle is "look out for number one." Exactly what this means for any one revisionist party is likely to change, and change again, as the turmoil in the world increases. For now, the main revisionist parties of Western Europe find it most advantageous to keep the Soviets at arm's length. The Soviets hope that as the contention between them and the U.S. ruling class pushes the world closer to war, these revisionists will throw in their lot with Soviet tanks and missiles. ■



## Use Elections to Advance Struggle

# Steel Workers Shake Hacks Grip

A rising wind of resistance is sweeping through the steel industry. This April elections for local officials took place in 5700 United Steelworkers of America locals across the country. When they were over it was clear that things had begun to take a new tack in this 1.2 million member industry. Everywhere the companies and their agents in power in the union faced rough sailing and more than a few hacks went down to defeat.

Company agents like I.W. Abel (USWA President) and other hacks tried to use the elections to consolidate their positions in the union, and to push their pro-company lies. They stood on one side and tried to tell the steel workers, "We're all in this together, and there's nothing we can do to fight the companies." On the other side were tens of thousands of steel workers, many just back from lay off or still on the streets, thousands more faced with job combinations and eliminations, fighting the steel bosses everyday to live like human beings. Fresh in the memories of these angry workers were the countless times their struggles had been sabotaged by these same company flunkies.

Under these circumstances the elections offered a chance for steel workers to say loud and clear, "We're tired of getting ground into the dirt, we're looking for some changes, and we can stand up and do it!"

In scores of locals known traitors and company lovers were booted out. The trend was especially sharp in large basic steel locals. For example, in District 31, the Chicago-Gary area and the nation's largest district, Abel personally backed several incumbents, but almost every major candidate who backed the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), the no strike deal Abel struck with the steel bosses, was defeated.

### Important Advances

An important advance in many locals was that the elections were taken up as part of the ongoing fight against the companies and as a part of developing a class conscious workers movement. *The Steelworker*, a nationwide newsletter in the steel industry, ran an editorial in its March issue entitled, "No More Monty Halls—We Need Fighting Shop Stewards." This editorial called on workers in the steel industry to take up the elections as a part of building struggle in the mills themselves, and where possible to dump "Let's Make a Deal" company agents from their posts.

This was a way workers could take on the hacks' efforts to tighten the companies' chains around their necks and spread the struggle to other workers in the mills. *The Steelworker* itself was a big help in doing this. At the Fairless Works, people were constantly asking the candidates if they were going to be another Monty Hall. While at the Sparrows Point complex in Baltimore, Md. almost every candidate turned up at the polls with a copy of *The Steelworker* poking prominently out of their back pockets.

But it was the steel workers in hundreds of locals across the country who really carried through the fight. In Seattle at Bethlehem local 1208, Steelworkers On The Move (OTM, a rank and file organization which grew out of a fight against layoffs, including a three day walkout last August) took up the struggle.

Key to their campaign was a platform which included concrete demands in three general areas: Fight the Company to Defend Our Interests; Build a Strong Union; and Support All Workers Struggles. Running on the slogans "Defend Every Job!" and "Fight, Don't Apologize!" (referring to a letter the hacks had sent to the company begging its forgiveness for the fight against the layoffs) On The Move took the campaign out broadly to the people in the mills and involved them in the struggle.

They also went to the unemployment offices to draw laid off workers into the fight. At one point the company called in the cops to arrest workers for leafletting at the time clocks but hundreds of workers there forced the cops to leave. Another time the union executive board refused to let rank and filers use their own union hall, but again a petition campaign and angry workers turned things around. After the smoke had cleared in Seattle, OTM had 21% of the vote for the executive board, which they considered a solid turnout, especially considering they were a new and relatively untested force. Their candidates won three grievance positions, including one in the 22 inch mill where OTM had been known, and subjected to attack, for leading a walkout.

More than that a new feeling of strength and unity had begun to grow in Seattle, a deeper understanding of what the struggle was about was growing as well.

As one OTM leaflet put it, "Taking back the unions is more than winning a few offices, it's fighting for every bit of rank and file control. More importantly it's keeping the initiative in the hands of the workers as the battle goes on with the rich owning class and its agents and puppets in our union."

In Chicago another rank and file organization, Breakout, organized to take up the elections. Calling on workers at U.S. Steel's South Works to "Organize and Fight the Attacks!", "Kick the Company Out of Our Union!" and "Bust the Mirocha Machine!", Breakout also avoided the trap of narrow union politicking and took the struggle right into the mills.

Victory there was sweet as Mirocha and his clowns fought every step of the way. These bought-and-paid-for company men tried to portray the election as a contest between Evil Radicalism and Good Democratic Americanism. But this sort of stuff didn't get them very far and with a well-aimed kick, the workers at South Works toppled the Mirocha machine. Mirocha's tactics only served to expose his stuff further and people weren't having any of it. In fact in at least one case a Breakout candidate won by the greatest majority ever recorded for grievance man at that mill.

### Ed Sadlowski

In Chicago the struggle was particularly complicated. District 31 is Ed Sadlowski's home turf and he is being put forward by many as the "progressive" contender for the USWA International presidency, when Abel's last term in office expires later this year. Sadlowski has linked himself with the anger of the rank and file on numerous occasions, without committing himself firmly to anything clear cut. And in Chicago, at least, he is regarded with suspicion by many workers because of his failure to take any forthright public stand on the ENA or other critical issues. Nonetheless, he enjoys considerable support and won his position as District director in an election re-run against an old line Abel man.

A big question coming up is the International election next February. Abel may step down and push one of his flunkies or he may try and change the constitution so that he can run again. Whichever, it looks like Ed Sadlowski is gearing up to run against the Abel machine. Sadlowski is hoping to do a replay of Abel's own election years ago against MacDonald, running against "Tuxedo Unionism" and promising to restore the union to the rank and file. In those days Abel even promised never to sign a no-strike agreement. But the rank and file has come a ways since then and they're not giving out blank checks to anyone, Abel or Sadlowski.

Recognizing Sadlowski's limitations Breakout still supported some Sadlowski men for local office. The danger here, that the rank and file's anger and struggle would be sucked up by some opportunist out of office, was counterbalanced by the growing understanding among steelworkers that the elections were not an end in themselves, that there are no saviors. As Breakout put it, "The idea was that the workers could not just stand by and let Mirocha get elected again," that they had to "win what could be won and build our organization and unity to be stronger in the fights to come. The real accomplishments, the real fruits of



Steel workers have been stepping up their struggle against the companies, like last winter's Buffalo Forge strike, and as they do so are learning they have to break through the traitors who head their union, too.

these election victories is the growing unity and organization of the steelworkers starting to see what they have the potential to do. . ."

These are just a few examples of the struggle that took place around the country. The victories in hitting at the entrenched leadership machine were particularly important at this time in the steel industry, given the International's tight control, and the heavy defeatism they push among the workers. The rank and file stood up and slapped these traitors and the company in the face, and set good conditions to deal with further obstacles in the struggle, including opportunists who seek to ride its coattails to power themselves.

### Opportunists Come Out of the Woodwork

As the struggle builds in the steel industry, opportunists of every stripe are poking their noses out of their holes. The Communist Party (CPUSA), which long ago capitulated to the capitalists, took the opportunity of the recent elections to sniff around and see what gains they could make. For a long time you never really heard of the CPUSA in connection with any workers' struggles, except when they were cozying up to some union hack. But they've made a big push in steel now with the workers' anger building, and these phony communists smell a chance to build themselves up. So they scurry out and squeak a bit, hoping to snatch up a few union positions and divert the struggle into dead end reformism.

The CPUSA and other opportunists invariably see the elections as an end in themselves, a chance to further their own careers. They're forever trying to convince the working class that it will gain its freedom by electing some savior or another. But the truth is that only by taking its destiny into its own hands, and not by putting its trust in some superstar, will the working class ever gain its freedom.

Members of the Revolutionary Communist Party and other advanced workers took up the elections as a part of the struggle against the companies, and as part of the struggle to build a class conscious revolutionary workers movement. Through the course of the election struggles many workers came to see that it was possible to unite in the struggle and that more and more workers are stepping forward to battle the companies. This unity and understanding along with the organization built were the most valuable products of the struggle.

Based on the advances of the last year the rank and file in the steel industry is again preparing for a constitutional convention. Abel and the International think that by holding the convention in Las Vegas, far from the steel mills, they insured that it will be a quiet convention, one where they can tighten the companies' collar around the throats of the steelworkers without a single dissenting voice being raised. But rank and file steel workers are organizing to take their struggle right into the convention.

### Program for Struggle at Convention

A recent issue of *The Steelworker* lays out the main areas of struggle in the steel industry at this time:

- (1) Smash the ENA No Strike Deal—support locals that do go on strike.
- (2) Smash Consent Decree Divide and Rule Tactics—fight for plantwide seniority, make the company and not other workers pay for all workers bumped.
- (3) Fight Discrimination—no dead end units or discrimination in testing and job awards.
- (4) Fight the Productivity Drive! This section outlines what must be done to counter the companies' all-out speedup offensive: the fight against layoffs, elimination and combination of jobs, no forced overtime, and the abolition of the joint company-union productivity committees.
- (5) Fight Company Attacks on Working Conditions!
- (6) Turn the Union into a Weapon to Fight Against the Bosses!

Like unions all over the USWA is far from being the weapon against the bosses that it could be. Steps outlined under this point demand an end to eligibility requirements to run for union office, mandatory across-the-board strike benefits and other specifics. Very important at the upcoming convention is the demand that steel workers have the right to ratify their own contracts.

This six point program is a good beginning in building a united fight nationwide in the steel industry, as is the rebellion of the rank and file against the Abel machine in the recent elections. Building off these victories, the workers must be vigilant against attempts by opportunists to misdirect the workers struggle for their own ends.

The struggle to build a class conscious revolutionary workers movement does not end with the struggle within the unions or the struggle against one company or group of companies. The struggle must ultimately pit the whole working class and its allies against the whole parasitic class of capitalists. Keeping this understanding clear and taking it in the course of the struggle to the broadest masses of our fellow workers is a key to victory. ■



## Mass Line...

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the class antagonism between workers and capitalists.

### Uniting Politically with the Advanced

Around the time of the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party in the summer and fall, Party members began actively relating to the strike on a consistent basis. The experience of relating to the strike through UWOC helped the Party to deepen its understanding of the relationship between internal and external forces in the strike. The work of UWOC, by its nature as a fighting organization of the unemployed, could not be mainly directed toward building up rank and file organization among meatcutters. UWOC's activity had played an important role in creating favorable conditions for the decisive role of the meatcutters rank and file to advance.

But outside support activity cannot be a substitute for the development of the unity and struggle of the workers themselves, their consciousness and organization, and the arming of the advanced with the science of revolution. All of this requires that the Party of the working class enter into the struggle, apply the mass line and forge a core of advanced workers in the course of battle.

In this period, the Party began to understand that there is more to applying the mass line than listening to workers, coming up with good plans, and providing a political sum up in the pages of *The Worker*. In this struggle, it was of key importance to politically unite with and advance those workers who came forward as fighters and leaders. This was particularly important in this strike, where the Party members were not strikers. In the first few months many mistakes were made. Through summing up these errors in light of articles on the mass line in *Revolution*, breakthroughs were made in training the advanced in the science of revolution and in working with them as "levers" to advance the broad masses.

In September, communists united with several strikers to build two successful actions. One was against a day-labor agency that was recruiting scabs. The other was at the downtown office of the spokesman for the Meatpackers Association. These actions concentrated the feelings of the majority of the strikers, united them in action to advance the struggle, and because of all this they jammed the union leaders to support the two actions. (See *Revolution*, November 15, 1975.) In building for these, a group of rank and file strikers, the Meatcutters Solidarity Committee, began to meet regularly for the first time in the strike.

### Departure from Mass Line

Then, dizzy with success, Party members departed from a correct application of the mass line and substituted their own ideas about how the struggle should develop. On short notice and without much political discussion, they wrote up a list of proposals for mass picketing and other actions. When the strikers handed out this list of proposals outside a union meeting with no one even bringing the proposals up inside, the union leaders saw their chance to attack the group that was forming.

They charged that the group's meetings were divisive and that the communists were outsiders looking to take over. Because most of the strikers did not yet understand thoroughly the role of the union leaders and had not been armed to see the importance of the proposals, many were confused by the attack. Some could not explain the attack to fellow workers and stopped working with the group. Through this experience and other similar attacks on the group and its members, the Party began to understand the importance of winning strikers to the political reasons for each tactic along the way. In other words, helping the strikers gain a deeper class understanding of their fight.

Through discussion of the role the union leadership had played, a small number of the most advanced gained in their understanding of the struggle. But the momentum that was developing was set back by these errors in applying mass line.

Failure to go deeply into political line continued to be a weakness. Party members too often reduced practicing the mass line to "going among the workers to fish for tactics." They tended to confine discussions on the picket line and in rank and file meetings to "What should we do next?" Instead of developing ways to fulfill all three objectives: "to win as much as can be won in the immediate battle and weaken the enemy; to raise the general level of consciousness and sense of organization of the struggling masses and instill in them the revolutionary outlook of the proletariat, and to develop the most active and advanced in these struggles into communists, recruit them to the Party and train them as revolutionary leaders." (*Programme of the RCP, USA*) The objective often was limited to, "How can we win this strike?"

Good work had been done by communists during the strike, yet if these incorrect tendencies were allowed

to grow and flourish the end result would be that the communists would be playing the role of reformists, seeing the struggle for concessions as everything and the long-term goal of revolution as nothing. Party members were failing to grasp the truth firmly that in every struggle of the working class lies the seeds of the revolutionary potential of the class. That potential must be kindled and allowed to catch fire, not smothered by condescending good intentions and a bureaucratic style of work.

### Mass Picketing

An example of the error of mechanically applying the mass line as simply a tactical weapon—not using the mass line to draw out the revolutionary essence of the workers' own experience in struggle—came out around the question of mass picketing. A small core of active strikers, many of whom stood to lose anywhere from 15 to 30 years of seniority, pushed the group single-mindedly to call for mass pickets.

At this point, mass picketing did not move the struggle significantly forward. The scabs were well established, the police had shown through over 100 arrests that they would do anything to keep the lines open, many meatcutters were working other jobs, and the rest, seeing the limitations, did not mobilize broadly for the actions. Still for a period of time, Party members went out and gathered suggestions about how and

when to build mass picket lines, instead of practicing the mass line.

In this situation it was important to divide one into two on the question of mass picketing. Party members had to unite with the determination and militancy of the strikers. At the same time they had to explain politically the strengths and weaknesses of the bourgeoisie and the workers in this situation. In order to develop a correct mass line it was important to go more broadly among the workers, summing up from what they were saying and doing and using Marxism-Leninism to develop the correct line and policies to advance the struggle.

As the strike approached the one year mark, Party members and advanced workers went beyond the narrow "search for a good tactic" approach and began to work systematically to fulfill all three objectives. Broad numbers of workers had developed a deep hatred for the forces that had driven them into unemployment, poverty, and such a weak position in the strike. From the beginning, the strikers had an idea that the fight was key for the whole working class. They had gone broadly to the rest of the working class throughout the struggle, like the way they built the giant rallies or joined with the unemployed for "Jobs or Income, Victory to the Meatcutters" marches in March and September. One striker put it "Being a meatcutter is not a job, it's a battle cry."

Now as hope for victory was getting dimmer, they  
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## Ohio...

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of Local 725 and the people of Sidney refused to take this lying down. The word flashed through the town like lightning, so that by the time the cops arrived at the courthouse with the arrested strikers there was already a crowd of strikers, their families and friends there.

When these people witnessed their friends, parents and fellow workers dragged handcuffed and soaking wet from horse trailers and squad cars they could not contain their anger any longer. As the crowd swelled to over 1500 people surrounding the courthouse, they began to chant "United We Stand!" over and over again. To this the police replied with tear gas and rubber bullets. The fight was on. Volley after volley of rocks and bottles went up from the crowd as a tit-for-tat battle raged through downtown Sidney well into the night.

When it was over, eight deputies had been injured, one police dog killed and numerous windows broken in the courthouse. Sixty or so people were arrested during the fighting and for the remainder of the night shotgun wielding cops patrolled the streets breaking up groups of more than two and stopping cars to search them and their occupants. A state of civil disorder was declared to be in effect and the cops were out in a show of power.

But it was the workers and the people of Sidney who had really showed their power. Under fire, Judge Frank Marshall issued a special order releasing all but a few of the arrested strikers later that evening. This happened in spite of the fact that those arrested had been told that they would be held without bond over the entire weekend. Meanwhile, 1500 union members met at the union hall to plan their next move.

Despite continuing efforts by the company to break the strike with scabs and the complicity of the union leadership in limiting picketing, it is clear that the strikers won a victory. People were more united than ever before, they had stood their ground and they had moved forward. One young picket summed it up this way, "Hell, we should have done this right from the beginning."

The battle at Copeland was the biggest thing to happen in this Ohio industrial town in fifty years. Working people in this town were welded together in struggle. As car after car passed the Copeland picket line people beeped their horns, gave the fist, and flashed the V for victory sign. One man stopped and said, "It's about time somebody did something about Copeland!" An older worker from a different plant told picketers, "Look, we're all behind you, don't let anything turn you around."

On Monday, July 19, the 25 strikers went to court to face their charges. But they didn't go alone. Hundreds of other strikers, their families, friends and supporters, along with workers from other plants, gathered at the union hall and marched to the courthouse with them. Before the march, a brother from General Motors' Frigidare plant, who was active in the IUE-GM Workers United to Fight in '76 committee (part of the national Auto Workers United to Fight in '76), was introduced. "You are up against the bosses, their courts, and the police, but you are doing right," he

said. "The only strength we working people have is in our own numbers!" A loud cheer went up from the crowd.

All along the march from the union hall to the courthouse the workers in the line of march talked about the police and the courts and the role they play in the system. Some of the strikers wanted to minimize the relation of the "riot" to the strike, which the papers had characterized as the action of hoods and vandals not associated with the strike, but others felt the action was entirely justified, and everyone agreed that the cops were "the rich man's flunkies." So complete was the unity on this point that even the union leadership had to put out that "it was the cops' fault, they mistreated our people..."

As the march wound up to the courthouse people were feeling stronger than ever. Everyone talked about the spirit and unity of the march and how "we have to stick together like we are today!" When one of the strikers shouted from the top of the courthouse steps, "Are we united?" the crowd on the steps and street below roared, "YES!" and raised their clenched fists into the air. ■

## Youth...

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ing class and going ahead to build a new world free from all these problems."

There was a lot of discussion and controversy over these points. For most of the youth present it was all very new and represented a serious step which they wanted to learn more about. Almost everyone agreed that things would be a hell of a lot better if the working class ran society. At the same time there were still some questions around things like "freedom under socialism" which some youths had reservations about and struggled over.

One youth speaking at a workshop reflected the sentiments of many when he said, "the first time I knew I was with communists I started shaking. But they were talking about things that were important to me. Now, after hearing the speakers at the rally and seeing how communists work—it's starting to look like a good thing."

Everyone agreed that building a YCL was something that would have to be talked about in the course of going back and building struggle over the summer. The RCP, along with some members of different youth groups being formed, will soon start putting out a Young Communist newsletter covering the key struggles of youth, the working class and all the American people as well as taking up the discussion of the need for a YCL.

Since returning home from the conference a number of youth have gone back to their neighborhoods and cities and gone all-out to build struggle and organization among youth. In New York and northern New Jersey the youth group played an important role in building for a rally of 150 at the Democratic Convention demanding jobs. In Chicago and Boston, youth groups are also getting involved in struggles going on for jobs for youth.

In addition to this a number of young people who attended the rally and conference are starting to take up the study of Marxism-Leninism and apply it to the work they are doing. Through all this, the young activists who took part in the activities of July 1-5 are bringing together more youths to fight as allies of the working class and are forming the foundation on which a future YCL will be built. ■



# Wave Of Rebellions Against Apartheid

In recent weeks the black people of South Africa have been waging a truly heroic struggle against the barbaric system of white minority rule. Last month hundreds of thousands rose up and fought courageously despite being met with massive terror which left as many as 1000 Africans dead and countless thousands wounded. Despite this bloody repression, the government of Prime Minister Vorster has not been able to stamp out the flames of struggle. New flare-ups have taken place.

The spontaneous upsurge has underscored the hatred and anger of the black Africans for the apartheid system. The rebellions sharply jolted the South African ruling class, forcing them to make some concessions to the demands of the black majority, specifically, revoking the ruling that all African students must be instructed in Afrikaans, a Dutch based language spoken by the majority of South Africa's whites.

## Imperialism and Apartheid

The response of the U.S. ruling class has been to jump to the South African government's defense while making a few pious statements about supporting majority rule. The U.S. and the capitalists of Western Europe have a tremendous stake in South Africa—the U.S. alone has over one billion dollars invested and over 400 U.S. corporations operate there. The British imperialists are even more heavily invested, and a loss of these investments would be a severe blow to the already shaky British economy.

The South African apartheid system is the foundation upon which imperialist super-exploitation of South African blacks is based. Imperialism has adapted itself to—and reinforced—the political and social system dating back to the colonial rule of the early Dutch settlers. This vicious exploitation and oppression keeps 18 million blacks in bondage and degradation, laboring for next to nothing in the capitalists' factories and mines.

Auto workers in the Ford, Chrysler and GM plants make 53 cents an hour. In U.S. and British owned gold and diamond mines workers are forced to labor 60 to 72 hours a week for less than \$30 a month. It is no wonder that the head of International Harvester's South African subsidiary said a few years back: "I am sympathetic to what the South African government is trying to do. I don't want hundreds of Africans running around in front of my house." He wanted them in the IH plant, slaving away to make the company's profits.

To be sure the U.S. imperialists can no longer so blatantly proclaim their support for continued white rule. In fact Kissinger has recently been calling for the elimination of the most barbaric aspects of the system of minority rule. Some bourgeois newspapers and TV reports strongly criticized the South African government for "unnecessarily provoking" the uprising by their efforts to impose the hated Afrikaan language. Others pointed out that it is impossible to maintain the status quo much longer and that something has to change quickly if the South African ruling class and the U.S. imperialists don't want to lose everything.

Despite this talk, the main line of the U.S. imperialists has been to apologize and make excuses for the South African regime. For example, in the midst of the Olympic games, when virtually all the African countries were boycotting because of New Zealand's participation after sending a rugby team to South Africa right on the heels of the Soweto massacre, it was arrogantly announced that a U.S. gymnastic team would tour South Africa.

## South Africa—Important Tool of U.S. Imperialism

South Africa has more importance for the U.S. imperialists than just their investments. Its large and well-equipped army is used by the U.S. to blackmail African countries and is ready to fight (as in Angola) to protect the interests of South Africa's patrons. South Africa is the centerpiece for the U.S. plans to maintain its hold in the whole of southern Africa and it is an important pawn in their struggle for hegemony with the Soviet Union. The South African government has long made a big deal out of its role as an anti-Soviet bulwark for the U.S. in Africa. But the

people of South Africa are obviously not going to stop their struggle against the monster in the house because of the threat from another monster knocking on the back door.

The U.S. has been trying to picture South Africa as a stable ally, a place where progress is being made towards achieving equality for the black majority and where the masses of blacks are willing to "work within the system towards this progress." Kissinger stated recently that white South Africans "are not colonialists, historically they are an African people." And the press explained how whites have a right to control the country since "they have been there over 300 years, almost longer than British descendents have been in America."

The Soweto rebellion exploded all this nonsense right in their face and revealed the difficulty the U.S. imperialists confront in trying to prop up the South African ruling class. Nonetheless, Kissinger met with South African Prime Minister Vorster in West Germany as the rebellion was still going on and tried to bolster their position by one of his notorious "diplomatic compromises." He declared that if South Africa would back off its support for the white, settler regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and consider giving up its claim to control to Namibia (Southwest Africa) then "it will prove it is an African country and its evolution can proceed in a longer period and by different means."

These "different means" boil down to South Africa's plans for dealing with the black majority. According to these plans, all of South Africa's 18 million blacks are to be forced to become citizens of a dozen or so "homelands" or bantustans, which would then be recognized as independent states. These "homelands" consist of about 13% of South Africa's territory. The remaining 87%, including all the cities and industrial areas and fertile farmland, would remain the sole possession of the ruling circles among the four million whites.

This outrageous scheme is nothing more than a

pathetic dream to keep things just as they are. Under current South African law, black Africans are given permission to leave these homeland reservations for only one purpose: to work and produce profits for the South African ruling class and the foreign capitalists operating there. To leave an African must have permission stamped in his passbook, which the Pass Laws require him to carry at all times. Without this pass, an African can be arrested on the spot. To catch a train or move into a city requires a special stamp. If the passbook doesn't have an employer's signature, he is classified as an "idle Bantu" and can be imprisoned for up to two years.

Africans who are allowed to leave these homelands are forced to live in all-black urban concentration camps like Soweto, where over one million people are crowded into 102,000 shanties, three-fourths of which have no electricity and less than half have cold running water. Blacks may not own land and can be expelled immediately from these camps if their work and attitude no longer suit the authorities. Many live in barracks since African men cannot bring their families from the homelands until they have proved their "reliability" to their employer in many years of hard work.

The U.S. has been trying to convince the people of Africa and the U.S. that South Africa is different from the white settler regime in Rhodesia, although they continue to give support to them also, saying that it has the right and the ability to endure. But while the diplomatic maneuvers and the direct military aid of the U.S. and Western European imperialists may be able to prolong the life of the oppressive ruling class of South Africa for a while, they cannot preserve it. They have created a powder keg which is already beginning to blow up under them. The fury of the masses of black Africans shown in the Soweto rebellion last month is the fury of an oppressed people rising up to smash down their oppressor. It is a force that no amount of vicious repression can keep down for long. ■

# 1<sup>st</sup> Strike In 20 Years Hits Westinghouse

A nationwide strike of Westinghouse workers broke out in the middle of July. Although the strike was fairly quickly ended after a week by combined federal government and company pressure and the sabotage of the union officials, it was the first nationwide strike at Westinghouse since 1956. It was also marked by a powerful struggle of the rank and file to overcome the divisions created by several unions scabbing on each other. At the high point 37,110 members of IBEW, IUE, UE and other unions were on strike at 90 plants.

Only two weeks previous to this strike many of these same International unions had negotiated a sell-out contract at General Electric, without a strike taking place. In this contract the key demand for a substantial wage increase was compromised, with an increase of only 21% over three years. An inadequate cost of living formula was negotiated which doesn't add a penny for inflation between 7 and 9 percent. A decent pension plan was not won nor was the demand for a union shop clause.

The lack of rank and file organization and leadership and the fact that only 100 of GE's 160 plants are unionized with only two having union shops, meant the rank and file at GE was not strong enough at this time to stop a sellout. Still, two large plants continued on strike for several days after the settlement.

The union bureaucrats expected to rubber stamp this same GE contract at Westinghouse, where in previous years contracts have nearly followed GE's.

But this time Westinghouse wasn't even willing at first to sign a contract similar to the sellout one at GE. Over the years they have gone heavily in debt, feverishly expanding operations (especially overseas) and diversifying in an attempt to successfully compete against GE and other companies. But with the recession and energy crisis they almost went under, having to sell much of their appliance business to raise cash. Even though their profits are up for the first half of 1976, they remain in trouble. For example, a few years back Westinghouse contracted with 27 public utilities, agreeing to supply them with uranium until 1995. But with the energy crisis, uranium prices quadrupled and now Westinghouse is trying to reorganize its operations. Key to this is an effort to squeeze even more surplus value out of its workers! So even though the GE contract was a sellout Westinghouse at first refused to offer the same, trying to cut pay increases for skilled and salaried workers, cut pension coverage and change the grievance and arbitration procedures.

Caught with their pants down, especially since they had promised not to extend the contract past the expirations, the officials of the IBEW were forced to call

a strike on July 11 while the other three major unions tried to keep their members working. Although trying to look militant, the leaders of the IBEW, as well as the other hacks, were only asking for the same "up your nose with a rubber hose" contract they had signed at GE.

But even though there was a lot of confusion (all the unions had agreed to a blackout on negotiations) the Westinghouse workers had just about enough of their union leaders trying to bind them to the terms set by the capitalists, especially when some were being asked to scab while others struck. Many times in the past the union hacks had extended the contract without striking, in 1973 for six weeks, only to come up with a sellout. This time in many places across the country members of the IUE, UE and other non-striking unions wildcatted while their union leaders stood beside the company pleading with them to scab on fellow IBEW workers. The anger at the lack of a united stand against the company was very strong.

One example is at one of the key Westinghouse plants, organized by the 6000 member IUE local 601 in East Pittsburgh. When no contract was signed they walked out and set up a mass picket line blocking gates, despite an injunction. The rank and file on the picket lines voiced their own demands for higher wages, cost of living and a decent pension plan, refusing to accept the hacks' line that the reason for the strike was their inability to get the same as the sellout GE contract. Then as the union bureaucrats still refused to make the strike official, pleading with them to return to work, the rank and file marched on the local's headquarters and set up a picket line. This wildcat and the stand of the electrical workers for unity against the company and courts had a wide impact on many other workers in the Pittsburgh area.

By the first week of the strike, unable to control the spreading wildcats, the officials at IUE and UE were forced to strike officially. This unity in the strike and the fact that the rank and file had jammed the union officials into supporting it, even if only half-heartedly, forced Westinghouse to offer a contract similar to GE's. The union "leaders" quickly grabbed at the chance to end the strike and signed it.

In the face of Westinghouse's stepped-up attacks in complicity with the union bureaucrats and the fact that there are 13 different unions in this one company and many non-union and open shop plants, the workers took action. This strike is a clear statement by the rank and file that they've had enough and are out to forge the unity necessary to take on Westinghouse. ■



# Carter...

Continued from Page 1

he considers an "adequate" wage. And workers in any industry know that "increased productivity" is the capitalist term for speedup.

## Plan for the Unemployed

Although I.W. Abel said he didn't see it as any great problem for a "labor" endorsement, workers who have had to struggle against the Carter supported "right to work" (right to scab) laws in Georgia know first hand his so-called concern and compassion for the working man and woman.

Carter also emphasized his strong concern for the unemployed. "Why should we pay people \$80 a week for doing nothing when they can be put to work for \$100 a week rebuilding the railroads," he said at the national Governors' Conference. Put unemployed workers and welfare recipients to work on wage-cutting job programs. Such "workfare" plans have been floated in several states in the past few years, and have been fought by workers. The slogan "We won't scab and we won't starve" is to the point. But Carter promises to make this plan to drive down the wages of the working class a federal program. Meanwhile George Meany joined in the chorus, endorsing Carter with the comment, "He's a very warm, human being."

Carter, like all the Democrats, has made a lot of noise about the differences between himself and the Kissinger, Nixon, Ford foreign policy. But as numerous correspondents for the bourgeois media have been emphasizing over and over, these differences are purely rhetorical and cosmetic.

Kissinger himself has not just been tooting his own horn when he promises foreign capitalists a continuity of U.S. foreign policy if Carter gets elected. Carter, like Kissinger, received his basic training in fronting for the U.S. bourgeoisie internationally in one of Rockefeller's private foreign policy commissions.

## Carter's Flaunted Virtue

But Carter's most flaunted virtue at the Democratic convention was his ability to unite the Democratic Party and unite the "people." North and South, Catholic ethnics and Protestants, workers and farmers, all were said to be ready to rally around Jimmy. But the greatest symbol of this unity was Carter's claim to strong support from Black people at the same time he carried the Wallace vote.

Congressman Andrew Young, the former top aide to Martin Luther King Jr., testified that the reason for this support was that Carter had shown in Georgia that he was concerned for the interests of Black people, that when Carter was governor, Blacks had been brought into state government in significant numbers for the first time. But even this was a sham.

In fact it was old ax-wielding Lester Maddox, governor before Carter, who began to drop the old barriers to higher state jobs for Blacks. And this was not because Maddox was a secret progressive or because Carter was much different from Maddox. It was because the massive struggle of Black people in the South, including in Georgia, in the previous 20 years and particularly in the 1960s forced the capitalists and their officials to make some changes. To control things, they began to put some bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Blacks into state office. Under Carter conditions for the masses of Blacks remained as miserable as under Maddox.

Of course all this was not mentioned by the self-satisfied Congressman Andy Young as newsmen at the convention told him that Carter had indicated that he could have any job he wanted in return for his early support.

Carter proclaimed in his acceptance speech that there is a new mood in America. He and the capitalists hope fervently that the masses of people are in a mood to let themselves be shucked like a bunch of peanuts.

"We have been shaken by a tragic war abroad and by scandals and broken promises at home. Our people are seeking new voices, new ideas and new leaders." They would like us to believe that Jimmy Carter, who supported the War in Vietnam until the bitter end, who proposed a resolution to the Governors Conference in 1973 supporting Richard Nixon from his Watergate attackers, is just such a new voice.

## Memories of FDR

One theme of the Democratic convention was the harkening back to the "great days" of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Democratic Party big shots and the capitalists had Carter combine his "folksy" say-nothing approach with some of the finest New Deal rhetoric. Carter charged that "too many have had to suffer at the hands of a political and economic elite." When unemployment prevails, he berated, the powerful never have to stand in line looking for a job.

In attempting to wrap Carter in the mantle of FDR the Democrats were trying to appeal to a certain historical experience that many people in this country went through forty years ago. We are in a bad recession now, they say, but we were in a worse depression then, and we pulled out of it. But 1976 is not 1932 or 1946. It was not the New Deal of Roosevelt that created an economic upsurge in the post-World War 2 period. It was the fact that the U.S. imperialists emerged from the war as top dogs in the capitalist world, with no real challengers to their position as the number one exploiter of the people of the world.

Today, despite Carter's promise that "America's best days are ahead," U.S. imperialism has sunk ever deeper into decay and crisis and is being weakened by the struggles of the masses of people of the world against U.S. domination at the same time it is being challenged for its empire by the Soviet Union and other imperialist powers. The years ahead will not be good for the capitalists, no matter how many times they signal for all Americans to line up behind them for the march into what they hope will be a third century of capitalist rule.

Whoever the capitalists decide to run Carter against, they will be sure to make it appear that the American people have a great choice. But this year as usual the elections are boiling down to a choice over the face and image of the person who will rule over us on behalf of the capitalists.

capitalist rule.

The American people are looking for a way out of the misery capitalism breeds and the capitalists know they are going to have an increasingly difficult time controlling the struggle of the working class against the further attacks the rulers have in store. So they will certainly go all-out to convince the people that they really have the ability to change things by electing one of these jokers. But for the majority in this country the upcoming campaign, and certainly a Carter presidency, can only help sharpen up feelings that these elections are nothing but the same old shell game. ■

Whoever the capitalists decide to run Carter against, they will be sure to make it appear that the American people have a great choice. But this year as usual the elections are boiling down to a choice over the face and image of the person who will rule over us on behalf of the capitalists.



"Democrats, Republicans, We Don't Care, We Need Jobs, Not Hot Air!" With this and similar chants, 150 people picketed the Democratic Convention at New York's Madison Square Garden July 15. The action, sponsored by NY-NJ Youth in Action, joined by UWO and the NY-NJ United Workers Organization, started with a march through the nearby garment manufacturing district, where some workers joined right in. The action also brought together youth from all over New York City, from Newark and Jersey City, N.J. and some from Philadelphia. Speakers at the picket denounced the Democrats as a "party of wage cutters, not wage earners," just like the Republicans, and put forward the demand for jobs.

# Mass Line ...

Continued from Page 18

were fed up with tactics that narrowly focused on stopping a few scabs or cutting into sales with a boycott. They wanted to bring the lessons of their fight to the rest of the workers. The system was being called into question and many felt the same as the striker who said, "Someday, somebody's going to have to pay for what they've done to us."

Uniting with these sentiments proved to be the way forward not only in rebuilding the momentum of the struggle but also consolidating the core of advanced strikers.

## Consolidating Advances

A workers rally at a dinner meeting of the Wisconsin Industrial Relations Society, where Brigden, the spokesman for the packing association, was speaking proved to be a spark that gave voice to the feelings of the strikers. Fifteen meatcutters and thirty-five other workers, including strikers from another local plant, came out in sub-zero January winds to picket the after-dinner speech on strikebreaking. The workers did not look at this action narrowly as a way to win their strike. They knew things were beyond that point. They were expressing their hatred for the attacks the system had made on them. To all other workers, they were putting out the message, "Workers Unite! Fight Union Busting!"

Summing up the line and results of this action and drawing in the advanced workers who came forward at this time, the rejuvenated Meatcutters Solidarity Committee began to build for a citywide Solidarity Dinner. The dinner was to rally all the forces that supported this fight, build stronger class unity, sum up the key lessons of the struggle, and prepare for the fight ahead—to reorganize. Rank and file meatcutters, some of whom had been relatively inactive throughout the strike, built the dinner very broadly among their fellow workers and families. The fighting line of the Solidarity Committee came out strongly in the speeches. Standing, cheering applause answered speakers' calls to get rid of the system that caused the union busting attack. On the basis of this line, the dinner was a smashing success—and the rank and file forces were further strengthened and consolidated.

## Trading Punches in Retreat

With the NLRB ruling that a new union representation election had to be held and the strikers' votes certain to be disqualified, the immediate battle was head-

ed toward defeat. It was important for the strikers to consolidate their unity and consciousness in the course of retreat. The dinner had played this role. Even though the strikers were certain to lose the vote, the Meatcutters Solidarity Committee took up a campaign around the decertification election.

Posters saying "Packinghouse Workers Unite! Vote for Local 248" went up throughout the packing district. Strikers expressed their hatred of the union busting bosses by plastering these right on the doors of the packinghouses. Also leaflets at the plant gates dealt with the questions of unity between the employed and unemployed and of workers without immigration papers (an important question since the hacks were trying to blame "illegal" Mexican workers for the loss of the strike).

Seeing that developing the struggle, consciousness, and unity of the working class, not the success or failure of one struggle, is most important, the Solidarity Committee members traded punches with the ruling class even in retreat.

The strike was a very important experience for the meatcutters, for workers who learned and were inspired from it, and for the Party. The Party understood better that the struggle for reforms is a by-product of the struggle for revolution, not the other way around.

Because the Party learned, in the course of struggle, to better apply the mass line, significant advances in the class struggle were made. Because the working class is the revolutionary class in society, because only revolution can resolve the antagonism between the workers and the capitalist exploiters, the Party can and must apply the mass line to advance the struggle of the workers forward along the path of revolutionary struggle, to draw the political lessons out of the actual experience in battle of the workers.

In the Milwaukee meatcutters' strike this meant raising the consciousness of the strikers of the nature of the battle with the capitalists, releasing the initiative of the workers, and arming the advanced with the science of revolution. Thus the working class struggle was able to advance, even while losing this particular battle. This was only possible because communists applied the mass line—the revolutionary line—and did not limit their activities to "strike support work."

In the Milwaukee area the strike became a real social movement and, coupled with other struggles and campaigns of the working class, has helped build the basis for the formation of a permanent citywide workers organization.

The tasks of the meatcutters now must be to consolidate and expand on the gains made during the strike, to continue to sum up the reasons for the setback in order to continue the fight from the inside of the packinghouses and to reorganize their ranks. The meatcutters who put up such a bitter and heroic fight will surely continue to take their place in the front ranks of the overall working class struggle. ■