

Victory Through Our Struggle, Not Through The Elections!



THE ELECTIONS: BIGGEST CON GAME IN TOWN

We're into it again! Every four years, the biggest con game in the world sweeps through our cities and towns, fleecing all unsuspecting citizens and using strong-arm methods on those who try to expose the con men and send them to their just reward.

When they come marching into town, these hustlers get "total media coverage," with the TV, radio and newspapers reporting their every action, hanging on their every word. And before you know it they're gone—leaving behind a pile of dirt and false promises that it will take an army of workers to sweep away.

The only question is how much longer are we honest people going to put up with this gangsterism? Apparently not much longer. Every day it grows more and more clear that most of us have had enough, that we're not going to let ourselves be fleeced anymore, and that you can't fleece a naked sheep anyway.

This con game is the presidential election. The names may change from one election to the next—this time it's Nixon and McGovern—but the game itself really remains the same.

Here's how the thing supposedly goes: voting once every four years for President—the highest and most important political office in the land—is our democratic right. If the Presidency is the most important political office in the land, and if we have the right to select who

that President will be, then, the story goes, it is clear that the will of the majority, the will of the common people, truly prevails. According to this tale, nothing so strongly reflects the democratic nature of our society as our right to select the President.

Standing behind the Presidential candidates are the two major political parties, the Republicans and Democrats, who appear to differ strongly with each other on all sorts of questions that directly affect our lives and the lives of millions of people all over the world. The two Presidential candidates supposedly reflect these party differences, which can be seen in the platforms and promises they put before us. We are expected to examine them so we can make an "intelligent choice" on election day.

So their story goes. But the real story is quite different.

The real story is that both parties, and all candidates for high office and all positions of real power are controlled by a small circle of super-rich. Everybody knows that in our society money talks. Well, at election time it screams. The men who come to \$1000-a-plate dinners, who pay for the candidates' plane trips all over the country, who put up the dough for millions of dollars of TV ads—these are the real powers behind the throne, whoever gets elected. That's why the candidates call each other all kinds of names during the campaign and then join hands as soon as it's over to carry on

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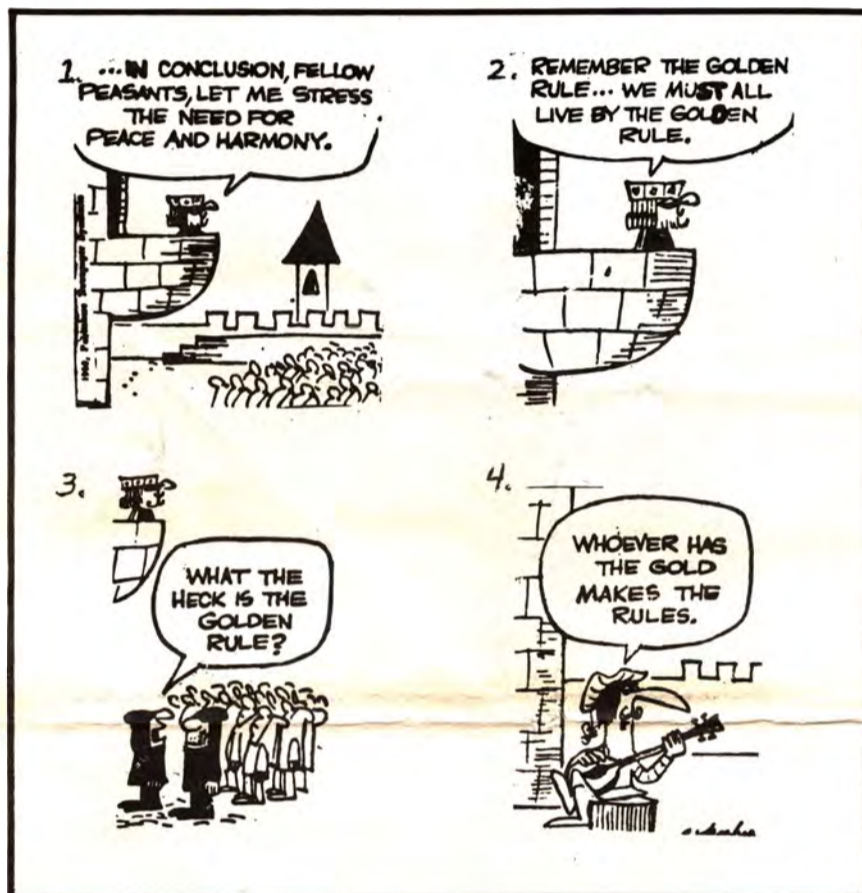
By the Revolutionary Union

their crooked business. The winners get public offices and a chance for bribes and high-living. The losers get some other high-paying positions, usually for the government or for the big corporations that put them up and bankrolled them in the first place.

Elections are a kind of "family feud" among the exclusive club of multi-millionaires who buy and sell candidates like used cars. A family quarrel to see who holds which seats of power to rule over the people. This year, for example, we see Nelson Rockefeller nominating Nixon at the Republican convention at Miami. Next month, Jay Rockefeller stumps West Virginia, campaigning with George McGovern.

But more than a family feud, the elections are the biggest sales campaign of these Big Businessmen. The candidates are trotted out to promise us the moon, each one trying to outdo the other with false promises, while, except on "special occasions," the men at the top who really control all the operations stay tucked away in their fancy mansions, wrapping themselves in a cloak of respectability and legitimacy.

More than anything, they want us to believe that we have a stake in their system, that we have the "freedom to choose" our rulers. If we have "freedom of choice" then no matter how bad



things get, we don't have to rebel, because we can always make things right at the next election.

FREEDOM VS. SLAVERY

But every day our own experience exposes this "freedom of choice" as a lie. They tell us we're free to choose where we want to work and live. But we all know that the land, the factories, mines, the machinery and the means of transportation and communication are all monopolized by huge trusts and giant companies like Standard Oil, U.S. Steel, ITT, IBM, G.E., RCA, GM, International Harvester, etc., etc. The owners of these companies, who have piled up their wealth on the backs of laboring people, may have freedom to pick up their plants and move them anywhere in the country, or to the four corners of the earth. But we are forced to follow them, like pieces of metal drawn to a magnet, looking for any kind of job so we can feed our families.

At most, if we're lucky, we can choose to work for one boss rather than another. But that only means we can bargain—from a weak position by ourselves—over how much we get for selling our labor to these monopoly capitalists. And they expect us to slave quietly for them once they've bought our labor. Recently, for example, the President of GM angrily ordered auto workers at Lords-town, Ohio back to work, after they walked out to fight against a body-killing speed-up—the line was up to 100 cars an hour! The workers had no right to rebel, the GM boss declared, because, "we own our workers."

Workers today may not have to stand on auction blocks, like the slaves before the Civil War and suffer the indignity of having our bodies checked over and even having our teeth examined like a horse. But we still are forced to sell ourselves to the highest bidder.

Wage-slavery—this is what the so-called "freedom of choice" means to the majority of American people in our everyday lives.

And the elections are just another way to keep us enslaved.

As Helen Keller said 60 years ago:

"Are not the dominant parties managed by the ruling classes, that is, the propertied classes, solely for the profit and privilege of the few? They use us millions to help them into power. They tell us, like children, that our safety lies in voting for them. They toss us crumbs of concession to make us believe that they are working in our interest. Then they exploit the resources of the nation not for us, but for the interests which they uphold and represent. We, the people, are not free. Our democracy is but a name. We vote? What does that mean? It means we choose between two bodies of real, though not avowed, autocrats. We choose between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. We elect expensive masters to do our work for us, and then blame them because they work for themselves and for their class."

(In their flowery eulogies to Miss Keller and her courageous fight against deafness and blindness, the ruling circles always neglect to mention that she was also a courageous fighter against them!)

REBELLION..CRISIS..REBELLION

But today, despite all their wealth and power, the monopoly capitalist rulers are in big trouble. Like the old saying, the bigger they are the harder they fall.

For a short period after World War II, our rulers had everything their way. Using the dollar and the bomb as weapons they beat down people and countries all over the world. They went even farther in making the countries of Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East their private plantations and sweatshops. To breathe life into their rotten system of wage-slavery they must maintain and expand this world-wide empire. This has earned them the name "imperialists," and it has earned them the hatred of people all over the world.

All over the world people are rebelling against them, refusing to be slaves any longer. And their empire is tottering. On the front lines of this rebellion the Vietnamese people—fighting with fierce determination for their independence—are dealing blow after blow to the imperialists and their puppets like the dope-dealing dictator, General Thieu. Drawing inspiration from this struggle, the people of many other nations are also rising up to throw out the imperialists and their corrupt cronies and to oppose the domination of the almighty dollar.

Here in the U.S. the burden of trying to maintain this empire has led to an economic crisis which is rapidly approaching a depression. And the people of the U.S. are fighting back, too. Our mighty rulers are shivering and shaking on their thrones.

So this year in the elections, though the game is the same, they have added a few new faces and new twists, along with the old stand-bys.

NIXON: NAKED ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

Nixon—old faithful of the capitalist class—is trying desperately to dig his "benefactors" out of the hole they've gotten themselves into. Nixon has deeply impressed many of the biggest capitalists with his "New Economic Policy" and the wage-freeze which has shifted more of the burden of the crisis onto the backs of American workers.

But the faster Nixon digs the deeper the hole gets. The more he tries to hold down our wages and push us further toward starvation, the more we strike back.

The response of the ruling class to our rebellion is the same it has always been. They bring the entire governmental apparatus at their control—the army, the police, the courts, as well as the politicians—into play. Legislatively, Nixon and the government are working overtime in an effort to get various anti-labor laws passed, most notably a law (cryptically called the "Crippling Strikes Prevention Act") that would make strikes in the transportation industries (rail, longshore, trucking, etc.) illegal. A law clearly designed as a first big step toward outlawing strikes altogether. Nixon gave us a taste of the "significance" of this law when he tried to get it rammed through Congress during last year's west coast longshore strike.

Another example: in many states right now, state and federal authorities are working hand-in-glove with the big farm growers in an effort to outlaw strikes by farmworkers during harvest time (the only time farmworker strikes can really be effective.) This is another step toward outlawing all strikes and robbing us of any rights.

Meanwhile the courts—which have the audacity to call themselves "neutral"—are doing everything they can to cripple the growing workers' movement, issuing injunctions faster than the capitalists and government officials can ask for them—forcing striking workers to return to work, limiting the number of pickets, enabling scabs to enter

struck plants, etc.

And the police continue to do what is expected of them. When they aren't shooting down Black and Latin people in their communities, they are busy helping scabs get into struck plants, beating up and arresting workers at the picket lines, checking to make sure there aren't "too many" pickets on the line and busily inventing new weapons to "more efficiently control demonstrations and criminals"—which mainly means working people and other people without money and power.

One example of how this works. Recently there was a Pay Board hearing in San Francisco. Some workers managed to get wind of it (they weren't supposed to know about it: the only thing the newspapers carried about it was a little announcement on the obituary page!) The hearing was supposed to be public, but when the workers got there they discovered the hearing room was filled with businessmen and officials. The workers, naturally, tried to get in to make their feelings known to the Pay Board. The Pay Board panicked and called out the police to beat and arrest several workers, charging them with "assault on a peace officer!"

As for the army, soldiers continue to be forced into the role of strikebreakers, just as they have been for at least one hundred years. Observe what happened during the nationwide strike of 300,000 postal workers in 1970. Nixon, claiming that he was determined to meet his "obligation to see to it that the mails go through," called in national guard and reserve units to New York City (the heart of militant postal worker activity at the time) and forced the soldiers to sort and handle the mail. That same year, while some National Guard units in Ohio were gunning down unarmed students at Kent State, other units were firing on striking Teamsters in another part of the state. And last year, during the west coast longshoremen's strike, Nixon threatened to send in troops to work on the docks unless the strike was ended.

The rulers of the country have never hesitated to use the most vicious violence against any of the "lowly commoners" who dared to stand up and fight back. Last year, Governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered state police into Attica prison in New York. Over 40 guards and prisoners were murdered in cold blood. Why? Because, Rockefeller said, the rulers of the country must show that they will not give in and negotiate with "criminals."

Nelson was carrying forward the tradition of his father, John D. Rockefeller, who ordered a machine gun attack on the tent

colony of miners striking his company in Ludlow, Colorado, in 1914 (the workers were forced to live in tents because Rockefeller threw them out of their company-owned homes). In that Easter Sunday massacre 33 people, about half of them women and children, were cut down by the soldiers' bullets or were burned to death in the chaos that followed this unprovoked attack.

But all the laws, brutality, and intimidation of the legislatures, courts, police and army have never stopped the people's righteous



IN THIS 1933 STRIKE, AS TODAY, WOMEN HAVE PLAYED A FIGHTING ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE.

rebellion and they cannot stop it today. Our backs up against the wall—ourselves and our children faced with the prospect of things getting worse, fed up with discrimination, wars of plunder and the daily insults of the high and mighty—we continue to fight back, and with greater and greater fury. The harder they try to put us down, the harder we fight, and it becomes clearer and clearer that we will not be put down!

ENTER MC GOVERN

But what about McGovern? He appears to have fundamental differences with Nixon on every important question—Vietnam, the economy, etc. Some people are hoping against hope that if we elect McGovern, things will get better. But whose friend is McGovern?

First off, we notice that McGovern's "radical image" doesn't seem to be throwing fear into the hearts of the big capitalists, some of whom are McGovern's major financial backers. For example, along with Jay Rockefeller, there's Houston oil millionaire Jubal Parten; Stewart Mott, heir to General Motors; newspaper magnate Ralph Ingersoll; the president of Avis; and John Kerr, president of AVCO, a big defense contractor. All in McGovern's camp.

With this kind of backing, you might expect that McGovern's labor record is nothing to write home about. And it isn't. Despite his so-called "94 per cent rating" from the union bosses, he has voted consistently for anti-labor, anti-strike legislation. His record shows that he has always supported Taft-Hartley injunctions against the right to strike and that he has voted for the reactionary "right to work" section of the Taft-Hartley act. His voting record also exposes the fact that, despite his recent vows of sympathy for the family farmer, he has consistently favored large corporate farming interests at the expense of small farmers, sharecroppers and farm workers. As for Nixon's freeze on wages, McGovern's comment was that it was "too little, too late," and that at any rate, he was the first candidate to "call for a wage freeze." Let's give credit where credit is due.

As for some of McGovern's more ambitious economic proposals, there is some truth in the Republicans' charges that they are highly inflationary and would mean a rise in taxes. Of course, Nixon and his pals have done nothing to stop the sky-rocketing cost of liv-

4 ing, especially for such basics as meat and other foods. And Nixon is lying through his teeth when he claims that he will not raise taxes. Even US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, a favorite ruling class mouthpiece, is forced to admit that the only way the government can even try to deal with inflation and the deficit is to raise taxes. They report that Nixon already has a fancy tax plan sitting on his desk which he hopes to shove down our throats if he is re-elected.

On the question of the defense budget, we should remember that almost every Presidential candidate claims he will control it, "cut the fat out of it." Nixon did, and now McGovern. And yet, despite these promises and no matter who has been elected, the defense budget continues to skyrocket—with the excuse always being the need to "contain communism" and the real reason being that it is extremely profitable for big defense contractors.

The reason the defense budget grows like a cancer and cannot be "controlled" by any President is simply that it is not up to this or that President to decide individually what the defense budget is going to be. It is up to the entire ruling class, which decides such matters not through elections, but behind closed doors. And with profit and the profit-system at stake, the defense budget will just have to go up—and along with it, taxes. McGovern knows that as well as any politician, and also agrees with it. That's why he said in a speech in September, 1971, "My friends, this is a dangerous world and we need a strong armed service with strong morale."

Despite his talk about cutting defense spending and scaling down, in places like the Middle East, McGovern is scrambling to outdo Nixon in his support for the illegal state of Israel, which was created by terrorist raids that forcibly drove over one million Palestinian Arabs from their homeland and made them refugees after World War II. Neither Nixon nor McGovern cares anything about the Jewish people in Palestine—and, of course, they care less about the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. What they care about is the vast oil re-



—Peterson in "Houston Chronicle"

"It's the flip side of my peace medallion."

sources of the Middle East and Persian Gulf areas. Over half of the oil supplies of the big U.S. companies—and almost all of the oil for the Vietnam war—comes from these areas.

The U.S. Government, with both Republicans and Democrats in the White House, has carried out a deal with the Zionist rulers of Israel (wealthy Jewish colonizers who turned their own people over to the Nazi's during World War II). The deal is simple: the U.S. will give arms to Israel, and Israel will act as the enforcer of imperial financial interests in the Middle East. To protect the "right" of the big oil companies to rape the riches, to rob the Arab peoples of their wealth and resources and turn them into "coolies" in their own oil fields—this is why Nixon and McGovern want to increase support for Israel. One of the most disgusting spectacles of this election campaign is the sight of McGovern and Nixon competing to prettify and even glorify these crimes against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

All of this is very true, some people may say, and it certainly shows that there are no significant differences between Nixon and McGovern on all the issues mentioned. But what about Vietnam? Can anyone deny that on the crucial issue of the Vietnam war, there is a fundamental difference between the two candidates? Well, let's examine this a little closer.

First off, no matter what he says now, McGovern is a Johnny-come-lately to all these anti-war sentiments he's expressing. He claims he has had "reservations" about the war since 1963. But these "reservations" did not prevent him from voting for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1964, which opened the door to massive U.S. involvement in the war. In October, 1965, McGovern explained his



SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

support for the Tonkin Gulf resolution with the following statement:

We crossed the bridge a long time ago in Vietnam. It's too late to turn back now. Our nation has decided that we must stay and fight to stop the Communists from taking over. We have



PREPARES FOR BATTLE AGAINST INVADING U.S. FORCES

one hundred years, and especially in the last 70 years, since capitalism expanded into monopoly capitalism (imperialism). But the U.S. has become the "big power" in the Pacific region since World War II and the military defeat of Japan. The economic potential of this region is enormous. It rightfully belongs to the peoples of this area to develop their countries and have a decent life. But instead, the people are held in miserable poverty because the "strategic" raw materials such as oil, rubber, copper, tin, nickel, bauxite, tin and some of the most fertile agricultural land anywhere have all been grabbed up by U.S. monopolies.

To protect their control of this region, the U.S. imperialists have developed a "Pacific Rim Strategy" for this entire area—a strategy that takes in not only Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, but also Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines, and even the west coast of South and Central America. Listen to Rudolph Peterson, former President of Bank of America, tell it:

"When I speak of the Pacific Rim, I am putting the broadest possible construction on the term—the western coasts of South America, Central America, and our own continent, and extending beyond Australia and the Far East to India. There is no more vast or rich area for resource development or trade growth in the world today than this immense region, and it is virtually our own front yard...I emphasize that this is a largely underdeveloped area, yet an area rich in an immense variety of resources and potential capabilities. Were we California businessmen to play a more dynamic role in helping trade development in the Pacific Rim, we would have giant, hungry new markets for our products and vast new profit potentials for our firms." (California Business Magazine, Sept-Oct., 1968, emphasis added).

Nixon himself said, just a year before being elected: "With its 100 million people and its 3,000-mile arc of islands containing the region's richest hoard of natural resources, Indonesia constitutes the greatest prize in the Southeast Asian area." (Foreign Affairs, October, 1967). All these "rich hoards" and "great prizes," of course, must be protected, which means, simply put, that wherever U.S. business goes, so goes the U.S. military.

The peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Indonesia, etc., are naturally infuriated by being treated as "rich hoards" which the imperialist thieves can loot to their heart's content—just as we are infuriated when the same thieves reduce us to wage-slavery and reap all the profits from our labor. So these people are fighting back—most fiercely in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—in an effort to kick out the thieves and build their own countries for their own benefit and welfare.

In Vietnam itself, the U.S. imperialists have made relatively few investments—primarily because the country is "too unstable." Nevertheless, the imperialists have turned Vietnam into an inferno

—refusing to give up even though the Vietnamese people have badly beaten them militarily—because there is truth to their "domino theory." The imperialists know that if they are kicked out of Vietnam, this undoubtedly will inspire other nations, such as Thailand and Indonesia, to try even harder to kick them out of there, too. Nixon understood this as early as 1953:

"If Indochina falls, Thailand is put in an almost impossible position. The same is true of Malaya with its rubber and tin. The same is true of Indonesia..."

And as the Economic Research Division of the Chase Manhattan Bank put it in April, 1969, **"Thailand promises to be an excellent investment and sales area for Americans if the rebel insurgency can be contained."**

NIXON VS. MCGOVERN: A FALLING OUT OF THIEVES

Confronted with the need to continue their exploitation and domination of the entire Pacific region, and confronted at the same time with a crushing military defeat in Vietnam and the spreading and deepening of similar national liberation struggles throughout the region, the imperialists are in a fix. This situation has apparently caused some differences among the imperialists, like a quarrel among lovers—and cut-throats. One section, including Nixon's principal backers, is trying to ignore reality a while longer by continuing to advocate "military victory"—under the cover of "peace overtures"—which leads to the present policy of mining Haiphong harbor, bombing the dikes and the barbaric bombings of civilian targets in Hanoi and elsewhere in north, and south, Vietnam.

The other section of imperialists, including McGovern's main supporters, seeing the handwriting on the wall, feels that it's time to make a tactical retreat in Vietnam as soon as possible—which leads to McGovern's pledge that, if elected, he will withdraw all troops immediately, etc.

But the imperialists and their faithful servants in government, as arrogant as ever, have no differences among themselves at all about their need—and their "right"!—to continue their exploitation and domination of all of Indochina and the entire Pacific region. Nixon certainly believes it, and McGovern—in all the years he's been a politician—has never said anything to the contrary. If the imperialists can't dig their talons into Vietnam one way, then they'll have to try another. This is their logic.

And given their mounting military defeat, the imperialists will be forced, before long, to change course in Vietnam, whoever is President. Their most likely tactic will be to put on a big song



"See? I promised more of you would be out of Vietnam by July."

and dance about pulling out the military forces—Nixon has already started this maneuver. As this happens, they break down the big units and have them operate as CIA units, undercover special forces, and in other covert ways—the old Kennedy strategy of the early 1960's. And the imperialists have no intention of really abandoning important military bases, such as the "permanent facility" at Cam Ranh Bay. To the contrary, the imperialists have admitted that permanent bases like Cam Ranh Bay are part of the "defense perimeter" they are setting up throughout southeast Asia to protect their economic interests.

What they will do, then, is try to control these bases through CIA agents and other James Bond thugs who will bribe and work closely with certain "neutralist" elements that the U.S. will insist

on including in the three-part coalition government of national accord which the liberation forces in Vietnam have put forward as a step in settling the conflict in south Vietnam. McGovern has already floated the proposal that General Duong Van Minh, a left-over puppet and "peace-maker" from the early 1960's, could be the head of such a coalition government.

In other words, whoever is President, the imperialists will probably settle soon for the policy of relying, temporarily, on subversion to try to maneuver, re-group their forces and break up the coalition government in their frantic attempt to maintain their control of Vietnam and Indochina. They have no intention of removing their military forces from the general area—which is already clear as Nixon shuffles the deck, "withdrawing" troops from Vietnam into Thailand, while he sends scores of additional bombers and warships to the area surrounding Indochina. Again, McGovern is in complete agreement with this tactic, which is the real reason he has publicly stated that, if elected, he will keep U.S. forces and the large air bases in Thailand and the naval forces off the coast of Vietnam.

The tactic of operating through a coalition government while using subversion and covert action to destroy that government has already been used by the U.S. imperialists in Laos. In 1962 several parties, including the U.S., signed an agreement on Laos. The U.S. government agreed not to have military forces in Laos and to go along with the three-part coalition government, which included representatives of the liberation forces, some right-wing generals and a "neutralist element," headed by Souvanna Phouma, who was made Prime Minister.

But from the very beginning, as has now become clear, the U.S. government violated this agreement. U.S. forces—CIA, Special Forces, etc., but not large, overt military forces—continued—and continue to this day!—to operate in Laos, while the U.S. government used both the right-wing generals and the "neutral" Souvanna Phouma to break up the coalition government. During the period when U.S. military forces were not operating openly in Laos, the large units were pulled back to both Vietnam and Thailand. Exactly this same tactic is what the imperialists will probably try once again, this time in Vietnam, whether Nixon or McGovern is elected.

The imperialists, of course, will not succeed in the last analysis, despite all their desperate maneuvering. They will be defeated by the people of Vietnam and Indochina just as surely as we will defeat them in their attempts to keep us enslaved. But to defeat them we must understand them. We must be able to deal with them, blow for blow and maneuver for maneuver.

WHAT MAKES MC GOVERN RUN?

Right now, we must answer the question: what is behind McGovern's campaign? Why is he pretending to be something that he isn't? Because McGovern has an important job to do for the monopoly capitalist class he serves. The mass movement of the American people is reaching a high tide. To the monopoly capitalist rulers the people's struggle must appear like an epidemic which they must wipe out.

McGovern is one of the leaders of the "elimination squad." In its efforts to crush the growing mass movement, the ruling class employs "dual tactics"; the carrot and the stick—sweet talk and brutal violence. McGovern represents the carrot approach. The ruling class tries to make it look as though McGovern is the creator and



UNION MEMBERS, UNEMPLOYED WORKERS RALLY AGAINST PAY BOARD, SAN FRANCISCO, AUGUST, 1972.

leader of the mass movement, when actually it is the mass movement which has "created" McGovern. Created him in the sense that the ruling class has been forced to put him forward in an effort to lull the people's movement into a false sense of security, so the ruling class will be in a better position to smash it with the club.

"Calm down and disperse your ranks," McGovern says. "Yes, it's true we've been making a mess of things up here, that we have put the full burden of our crisis on your backs. But there's no reason to get uppity. We'll get everything straightened out, if you just put



your faith in me; wait and see." McGovern is not running in order to end the war; he's running to end the mass movement. Whatever arguments they have in their own ranks over Vietnam, the ruling circles, as they have always done, will decide among themselves, and not through our vote, how best to make their tactical retreat in Vietnam and try to marshal their forces for another assault.

And just as McGovern holds out the carrot, Nixon brandishes the club. During the last four years, Nixon has demonstrated over and over again his willingness to turn loose the goons in trying to deal with striking workers, Black and Latin people and other national minorities (third world people) struggling for their rights, anti-war students, etc.

Wallace, too, has played his special role for the monopoly capitalists during this last primary campaign especially. Wallace made it very clear while he was still in the Presidential campaign that he would be delighted to outdo Attila the Hun in trying to crush the people's movement. Especially, of course, the Black liberation struggle, which is playing a leading role in the overall movement. Even today, Wallace continues to put forward his racist, fascist line.

He does so, of course, as yet another "friend of the working people." But look at some of his "accomplishments" as Governor of Alabama. Alabama ranks 48th of the 50 states in total income per person. Production workers in Alabama averaged \$2.86 an hour, 50 cents below the national average of \$3.36 (1970 figures). Nearly 25% of Alabama's citizens live in poverty, according to federal standards. That's twice the national rate. Only 20% of Alabama's agricultural workers are organized. The national average is 25%. And Alabama is a "right to work" state: the union shop is outlawed. As the old saying goes, with friends like Wallace, who needs enemies?

We don't need Wallace. But the ruling class—the Rockefellers & Co.—they need him desperately. True, they are not ready yet for open fascist rule—a complete system of naked terroristic dictatorship. They still want to keep the veil of "democracy" over their dictatorship, for a while longer. So they aren't about to let a man like Wallace become head of state—not yet. But they need Wallace out there now, to deflect people's anger away from the real enemy, the monopoly capitalists, to play on people's frustrations, divide the people's ranks—especially white against Black—and help prepare "public opinion" for fascist rule in the future. They need Wallace to appeal especially to the "middle classes"—small businessmen, lower level professionals, etc.—who are being trampled under by the monopolies. Wallace's job is to keep these people from joining with the workers to fight back against the monopolies and to turn them around, instead, to attack the workers, and especially the Black people.

Nixon, McGovern, Wallace—they are all pimps and shills for

the criminal element at the top, the monopoly capitalist ruling class, which pays them well for their services. Not a single one of them represents us and they never will. Our power lies not in voting for them but in building our own mass movement against them and the ruling class they represent. The ruling class understands this very well, and so must we. The important question before the people now is not who will the people vote for, but how to unite the greatest numbers of people, regardless of votes and elections, to fight for our common needs and goals against our common enemy.

The working class and other oppressed sections of the American people have never got a single concession from the capitalist ruling class except by organizing and struggling for it. And this struggle has often been bitter and bloody. The history of class struggle in the U.S.—the struggle between workers and capitalists, between slaves and slavemasters—is filled with pages of the determination and heroism of the laboring people, and also with our sweat and blood.

It has always been the same—no matter who was President we have had to fight every inch of the way. Take the "Roosevelt era," for instance. Roosevelt has always been pictured as a great friend of the working people, just as McGovern tries to paint himself today. That's a bunch of hogwash. Roosevelt openly proclaimed, as McGovern does today, that he was the faithful servant of the capitalists, that he was out to save the system of "free enterprise" wage-slavery. It is true that workers got certain concessions during the Roosevelt years, but only because they organized and fought like hell, wringing these reforms out of Roosevelt's and the ruling class' hides.

Even with one-quarter of the work force out of work during the 30's Depression, Roosevelt gave no relief. Not until it was won through fierce struggle. In the fight to win unemployment insurance to organize the industrial workers into the CIO, to oppose lynch-mob terror and win civil rights for Black people—all during the 30's, millions of working people marched, demonstrated, and went out on



CARTOON FROM 1936-37 FLINT SIT-DOWN VS. GM
DRAMATIZING POWER OF WORKERS TOWERING OVER
BOSSES, ROOSEVELT, POLICE GOONS AND SCABS.

strike. Thousands were jailed, shot, fired and hounded. And to win they had to overcome the opposition of the Roosevelt Administration that had cooperated with employers, Mayors and Governors to use police, national guard and federal troops against labor and the people's struggle.

The same was true during the Presidency of John Kennedy. For all his talk about "helping the Black and the poor," Kennedy didn't even put through a Civil Rights Bill. That was done under
(concluded on page 8)

WHAT IS THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION ?

The REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU) is a national communist organization. We are mainly workers and students who have joined the ranks of the working class in the struggle against the capitalist system of wage-slavery. We are white, Black, Latin, Asian and Native American. In all our work we base ourselves on the principles first proclaimed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels:

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement...they never cease for a single instant to instill in the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie (capitalists) and proletariat (workers).
"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

The REVOLUTIONARY UNION fights to build the day to day struggles of the American workers to defend our living standards; and we work to unite this movement with all other struggles of the American people—against the war in Indochina; for the rights and freedom of third world people in the U.S. (the Black and Latin people and other national minorities); for full equality for women; and to defend the people's democratic rights against government repression and the government's moves toward rule by naked terror (fascism).

All these struggles are directed against one enemy—the ruling class of big capitalists who monopolize the land, mines, factories and control the government, especially the police, army and courts, as a tool to oppress the people. These monopoly capitalist rulers extend their rule throughout a world-wide empire: they are modern-day imperialists.

The struggles of the workers and the broad ranks of the American people, joining forces against our common oppressor, form a mighty United Front Against Imperialism, in alliance with oppressed people throughout the world who are fighting the same enemy: U.S. Monopoly capitalism (imperialism).

To win complete victory, the struggle against the monopoly capitalist (imperialist) ruling class must have the leadership of a communist party to represent the revolutionary interests of the working class, the most powerful and progressive class in society. Today, in the U.S., since the so-called "Communist Party, USA" has betrayed the working class and made its peace with imperialism (has turned revisionist), the U.S. working class has no communist party. The

R.U. is working to unite with all other genuine communist organizations to build toward a real communist party that can unite the revolutionary forces and establish the leading role of the working class in the United Front Against Imperialism.

This United Front Against Imperialism, led by the working class, will eventually bring about the overthrow of monopoly capitalism (imperialism) in the United States, and establish the political rule of the working people: the dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers' rule will completely transform society in the interests of the people and will abolish forever the evils of class society: exploitation, unemployment, poverty, wars, and all inequalities. This is the historic mission of the working class; it is to this end that the REVOLUTIONARY UNION and all other genuine Communist organizations are dedicated.

Other publications by the Revolutionary Union:

A Selection from the Red Papers 1, 2, and 3 (50 cents)
Red Papers 4: "Proletarian Revolution vs. Revolutionary Adventurism." Major documents from an ideological struggle in the Revolutionary Union. (\$1).
China's Foreign Policy: A Leninist Policy (50 cents)
Build the Anti-Imperialist Student Movement (35 cents)
Temple Strike: Black Workers Lead Strike to Victory (30 cents)

Out soon: Red Papers 5: National Liberation and Proletarian Revolution in the U.S. (\$1)
Red Papers 6: Proletarian Leadership in the United Front.

These may be ordered from the following addresses:

In the Western states:
Revolutionary Union
Box 291, 1230 Grant Ave.
San Francisco, Calif. 94133

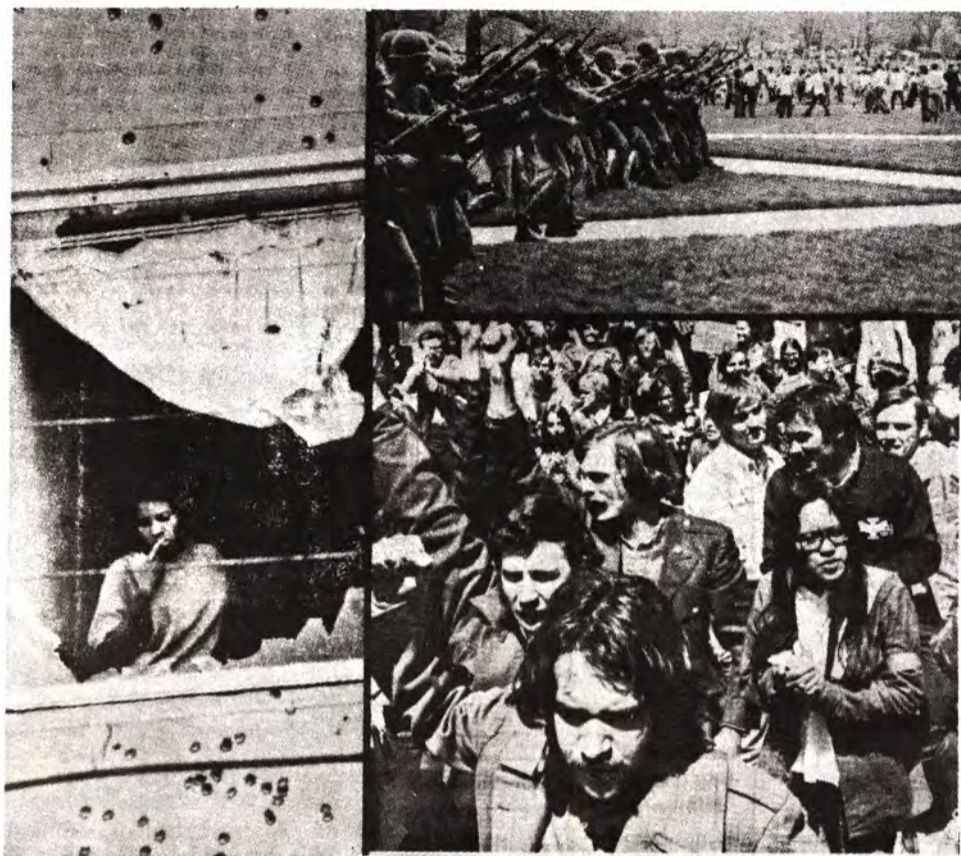
In the Eastern States:
Revolutionary Union
Box 1986
Philadelphia, Pa. 19105

In the Mid-west
Revolutionary Union
P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Ill. 60654

National Mailing Address: P.O. Box 3486 Merchandise Mart,
Chicago, Illinois 60654.

Lyndon B. "lynch mob" Johnson. Johnson didn't care anything about the Blacks and the poor. But when millions of people fought against poverty and for civil rights, he had to grant a few concessions to try to make them give up their fight.

And, of course, when Black people continued to fight for full equality and rose up in rebellions in Newark, Detroit and a hundred other cities, Johnson called out the national guard and airborne army units to shoot them down. The story of the 1960's, like the 1930's and every other period in American history, is filled with episodes of mass struggle against the police and military forces



BULLET HOLES AND BAYONETS SIGNIFY POLICE AND NATIONAL GUARD MURDERS OF STUDENTS AT KENT STATE AND JACKSON STATE...STUDENTS MASS TO FIGHT BACK.

commanded by the capitalist rulers.

And the 1970's are no different. Who can ever forget the murders of white and Black students at Kent State and Jackson State, during the mass student upsurge in 1970?

Life teaches us again and again that we cannot rely on the "reasonableness" and "good will" of the capitalists and the promises of their candidates. We can only rely on the thing the capitalists fear most: our own mass movement. While our movement is still very young, its roots go back hundreds of years, and, in the past few years, it has already demonstrated in hundreds of ways its growing strength and power.

It was less than ten years ago when the anti-war movement sprung up, at first made up of only a handful of people, mostly students, whose cries could hardly be heard in the vacuum of apathy that then existed. Today the anti-war movement is millions strong

and includes people from all sections of society. And while this movement hasn't forced the imperialists to end the war in Vietnam and Indochina, it has certainly contributed to forcing tactical retreats by the imperialists and to speeding up the day when they will be forced to get out completely.

It was only about 15 years ago that the Black civil rights movement began in the south. Since then it has spread to the entire country and has become a revolutionary torrent, fighting the imperialists blow-for-blow and inspiring many other people, especially other third world people, to join in the struggle.

And, in recent years, growing largely out of the youth and student movement, and inspired by the Black liberation struggle, many women have begun to rise up and wage a fight for full equality.

Most significantly, the U.S. working class of all nationalities, with Black workers in the lead, is rising once again, after a short period of relative quiet. The ruling class shudders and trembles at the sight of workers becoming part of the mass anti-imperialist movement—which is exactly what is beginning to happen. The capitalists shudder and tremble because they know, as an old German workers' song puts it, that "all wheels stand still, if your mighty arm wills it;" because they know that the working class is the one class that has the power in its hands to end once and for all the exploitation, oppression and bullying of the imperialist ruling class.

As Vladimir Lenin, the great leader of the socialist cause of the working class, said:

When the rich capitalists are confronted by individual, propertyless workers (workers who own no land, factories or machines) this signifies the utter enslavement of the workers. But when those propertyless workers unite, the situation changes. There is no wealth that can be of benefit to the capitalists if they cannot find workers willing to apply their labor power to the instruments and materials belonging to the capitalists and produce new wealth. As long as the workers have to deal with capitalists on an individual basis they remain veritable slaves who must work continuously to profit another in order to obtain a crust of bread, who must forever remain docile and inarticulate hired servants. But when the workers state their demands jointly and refuse to submit to the moneybags, they cease to be slaves, they become human beings... The slaves begin to put forward the demand to become masters (of society), not to work and live as the landlords and capitalists want them to, but as working people themselves want to.

BUILD THE MASS STRUGGLE, CARRY IT THROUGH TO THE END

We must continue to build our mass movement, making it stronger and spreading it to ever larger numbers of people, like ripples made by a rock thrown into a pond. Working people, especially, must continue in ever growing ranks to become a part of the mass movement. And, because of the great power we literally hold in our hands, we workers must increasingly play a leading role in this movement, firmly and wisely directing it, step by step to its ultimate goal of not merely winning this concession or that out of the capitalist rulers, but of eliminating their rule completely and replacing forever their system of slavery and oppression with a society based on the rule of workers, on true equality, the dignity of labor and the real will of the majority.

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