

**PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD
UNITE TO
DEFEAT
IMPERIALISM**

THE CALL

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NIXON DUMPED BUT REAL FIGHT AHEAD

CALL EDITORIAL

The resignation of Richard Nixon is but a symptom of a sick and dying system. The sickness of the capitalist system, presently wracked by crisis on a world-wide scale, has sharpened the contradictions to the point where Nixon was forced to quit.

At best, Ford, the successor, will be able to cover over a few of the superficial sores that have emerged on the body of the system, but he will in no way represent any attempt at curing the underlying cancer, which is so deeply rooted in the fabric of monopoly capitalism that the destruction of one requires the destruction of the other.

The depths of the present crisis can be seen in the falling of more than a dozen capitalist governments throughout the world in the last few months. Like rats on a sinking ship, the politicians scramble for position on the highest deck, fighting and clawing, and pushing each other under. It was under these conditions that the Watergate exposures came about. Agnew and Nixon, the two leading spokesmen of the ruling class were dumped in order to lighten the ship and buy a little more time above the water.

It is only the fantasies of the capitalists which allow them and their representatives to speak glowingly and optimistically about Watergate proving "that the system works."

Upon taking office, Ford got up in front of the TV cameras and with a sigh of pained relief said, "Our long national nightmare is over." He then boasted, "Our constitution works... here the people rule."

This sentiment was echoed by all the leading newspapers, including the liberal press which had been the loudest shouters for impeachment. The Washington Post editorialized about the "great strength of our system" and the pressing need for "national unity."

TALK ABOUT "NATIONAL UNITY"

But what is all this talk about "national unity" and "bringing us together again" except a call for the working and oppressed people to lie down in the face of the continued capitalist offensive and the rising tide of fascism and war? Have the basic conditions of inflation, war and increased impoverishment of the millions of poor and working people in this country changed or will they change with the departure of Nixon? No! Will Nixon's leaving mean a government assault against discrimination of minorities and for full democratic rights to all people? No! Because these things are not the product of any one individual president or spokesman, but are the by-products of a system built upon the foundations of exploitation and the domination of small countries by big superpowers.

The divisions within the ruling class which led to Nixon's resignation have never been over the real questions which confront the majority of the people. They fight over what is best for capitalism. Democracy exists in this country within the limits of this question and only for the capitalists themselves. It was only when Nixon was exposed for his violations of this capitalist code of ethics that the majority of the ruling class felt that he weakened their system too much to continue on as president.

The people, under the leadership of the revolutionary forces, approached the question of dumping Nixon from the opposite perspective. As we pointed out in an earlier CALL editorial:

"The issue must be broadened to show that the real question is not just Richard Nixon. The real issue is the stemming of the fascist offensive which Nixon has launched, against the working and oppressed people as well as his own capitalist opponents. While working people and minor-

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Greek patriots celebrate fall of fascist junta, a direct result of aggression in Cyprus.

SUPERPOWERS BEHIND CYPRUS WAR

Shows Meaning of "Detente"

The recent events surrounding the situation in Cyprus have once again helped to expose the role of the world's two superpowers, who while talking of "detente" are actually the main cause of war and bloodshed in the world.

On July 15, the sovereignty of the small, but strategic island in the Mediterranean, was threatened by a coup d'etat led by 650 right-wing Greek army officers commanding a 6,000-man national guard force. The goal of the coup was to smash the independent-minded Makarios government and bring Cyprus under the control of the Greek fascists.

As of this writing, it appears that the Greek officers have overestimated their power and have met with heroic resistance from the Cypriot people, both of Greek and Turkish ancestry, as well as the outrage of the peoples and governments of countries throughout the world. The Greek military junta has fallen from power in Athens while the coup-imposed government led by Nicholas Sampson has also been forced to step down. However, the question of Cyprus' sovereignty and independence is still not resolved.

But to fully understand the Cyprus events, it is necessary to look behind the scenes at the role being played by the big powers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union whose rivalry and contention in the Mediterranean have long been the cause of unrest and the danger of war.

Cyprus has historically been the target of imperialist intervention and domination by foreign powers. Before Britain occupied the country in 1878, Greeks and Turks had lived there peacefully for centuries. When Britain was finally forced to grant independence in 1960, the seeds of sectarianism were already sown. Nationalist sentiments were used by both Greek and Turkish governments to their own advantage, helped by the various imperialist powers

with interests in controlling Cyprus. In no way can the struggle in Cyprus be seen as simply a battle between Turkish and Greek Cypriots.

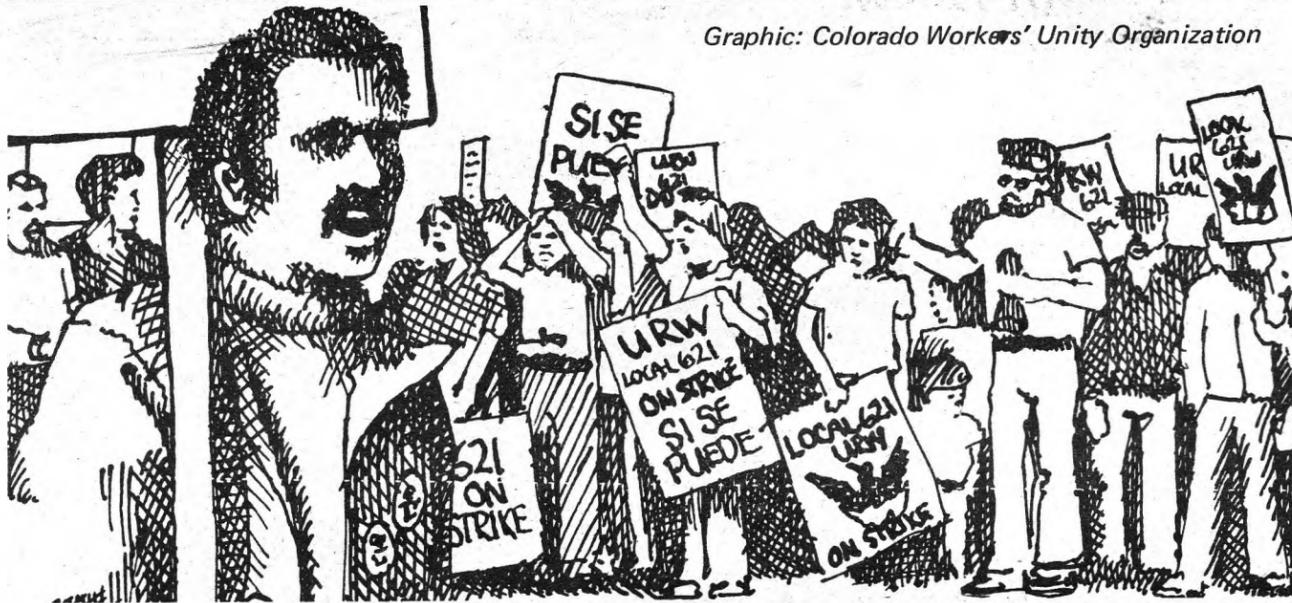
Both Turkey and Greece have in the past attempted to invade Cyprus and have failed. In 1964 Cypriots succeeded in maintaining their sovereignty against imperialist attempts to divide Cyprus into two states with NATO troops to "keep the peace." Since 1967, President Makarios has taken a position of neutrality and non-alignment in an effort to unite Cypriots of both nationalities. Makarios also pursued a foreign policy which kept both superpowers at bay in their efforts to expand their spheres of influence in Europe and the Middle East. It is for these reasons that the Greek reactionaries took it upon themselves to overthrow him. They hoped that the overthrow of Makarios would lead to forced unity with Greece.

The Greek government, through their officers in the National Guard, instigated the military coup—most probably with U.S. prior knowledge and possible support. Once the coup was under way, the Turkish government was only too eager to use the opportunity to invade Cyprus, especially because they had the backing of the Soviet Union who skillfully used the occasion to split the ranks of the two NATO countries. The split ultimately led Greece to quit NATO's military structure and fully exposed the disintegration of the old imperialist alliances.

The Turkish invasion was marked by indiscriminate bombing and shelling of civilian populations, killing hundreds of Cypriots of both nationalities. In terms of butchery and brutality, the Turkish forces and the Greek-led National Guard came out even.

Seeing a chance to advance their own aims by "fishing in troubled waters," the Soviet Union rushed into the pic-

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People in Struggle

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VIETNAM STUDENTS RESIST DEPORTATION

Los Angeles—Seven South Vietnamese students who have been studying in the U.S. are now facing deportation back to Saigon and almost certain imprisonment, torture, and possibly even death.

The deportation proceedings were initiated by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, according to local immigration officials, because of the students' political activity in opposing the war in Vietnam and the brutality of the fascist Thieu dictatorship in Saigon.

The seven students applied for political asylum here under Article 243 (h) of the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act which states, "... the Attorney General is authorized to withhold deportation of any alien within the U.S. to any country in which in his opinion the alien would be subject to persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion ..."; and also under Article 33 of the United Nations Convention on Refugees, which was ratified by the U.S. Senate in 1968.

Their request for asylum has so far been denied on orders from the State Department, which realizes that should political asylum be granted, it would be an open admission that the Thieu puppet regime it owns in Saigon engages in political repression and torture.

The students have, during the course of their studies here in the U.S., actively voiced their opposition to the Thieu regime and its fascist and warlike policies. They are known to the dictatorship as fighters for democracy, independence, and freedom. Because of this they wouldn't stand a chance if they were turned into the hands of the hanoi secret police.

At the initial deportation hearing on August 15th, several hundred friends and activists demonstrated outside the Los Angeles Federal Building in support of the just demands of the students. Although the request for asylum was denied, the struggle continues.

The hearings have been continued by the racist immigration judge, C.L. Holzman. People are urged to write letters of support for the students to their congressmen and women, and to Leonard Chapman, Jr., Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D.C. Copies of the letters should be sent to the students' lawyer, Frank Pestana, 619 Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles, Calif. 90057.

POLICE ATTACKS HIT DENVER CHICANOS

Denver—Police repression is continuing to be used heavily on the Chicano community and the growing Chicano movement throughout Colorado and the Southwest.

In the latest incident in Brighton, Colorado, the clash between police and Chicanos occurred when the police tried to break up a gathering of young people at a park who the police thought "might" be drinking. The police came prepared for a violent confrontation—they were dressed in full riot gear and had brought dogs with them. Within minutes, clubs started cracking on heads and people were being attacked by the dogs.

Just prior to that, deputized vigilantes in the small rural town of Monte Vista in southern Colorado turned what started out as a little bar room fight into a full-scale riot when they burst into the bar with clubs and shotguns. The fight had ended, and although all was calm when the vigilantes arrived, the Mounted Rangers attacked the Chicanos and later arrested dozens on felony riot charges. This group—the Colorado Mounted Rangers—has reportedly been trained by the FBI and the U.S. Army in counter-insurgency warfare to be used in attacks on the Chicano community.

As in dozens of cases before, the Chicano movement has mobilized to turn every attack into a struggle which strengthens the movement for democratic rights. Members from La Raza Unida Party (LRUP), MI CASA, the Crusade for Justice, UMAS (United Mexican-American Students), and other community groups organized people to jam the city council meetings, and march and demonstrate in a way that this city has never seen before. Because of this, the city was forced to withdraw their contract with the Rangers, although the Conejas County Sheriff in Colorado continues to retain them as "deputies."

In Colorado, Chicano activists have had their offices raided, a dozen or more leaders have been murdered in the past several years, and countless others have been jailed or forced into hiding. But with each attack, the movement has responded by taking its cause to the people and thereby increasing its own strength and the ability of the people to fight back.

TYRONE GUYTON FIGHT STILL ALIVE

Oakland, Calif.—The struggle to get justice for Tyrone Guyton, a 14-year-old Black youth murdered by three cops almost a year ago, continues here in Oakland. On August 11, *THE CALL* sponsored an "old-fashioned barbecue picnic" to help keep the issue of Tyrone's murder alive, and to help raise money to pay off some of the debts incurred by Tyrone's family as a result of his death.

Over 300 people enjoyed the afternoon of barbecue, music, and speeches, and many more people, especially from the Black community, expressed their support for the cause with donations of money and time. Several barbecue restaurants donated food, and a band from the International Harvester truck plant in San Leandro played for free all afternoon.

In a speech during the program, Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, Tyrone's mother, spoke about the injustice of this system which allows criminals like Nixon and her son's murderers run about on the loose. She expressed confidence that with the kind of broad support that was evident at *THE CALL* picnic, Tyrone's murderers and all the real criminals would be brought to justice.

THE ROSENBERGS WON'T BE FORGOTTEN

New York—Many memories prevail of that evening twenty-one years ago—June 19, 1953—where a struggle lost, but a lesson was won. It was on that terrible night at sundown that the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were extinguished in the electric chair at Sing Sing Prison.

In remembrance of the "legalized" murder of the Rosenbergs by the U.S. government, 3,000 people attended a memorial on June 17 at Carnegie Hall.

The two sons of the Rosenbergs, Michael and Robert Meeropol; Morton Sobell, a co-defendant in the Rosenberg case who spent 19 years in prison; Helen Sobell; and Big Black, a defendant in the Attica Prison trials, were the main speakers. The purpose of the memorial was to generate support for the reopening of the Rosenberg case, and to show how this struggle is linked to the fight against all the other frame-ups perpetrated by the imperialists to try and crush the struggles of the masses.

Twenty-one years ago, the government labeled the Rosenbergs "atom spies." However, that was not the charge against them. They were charged with "conspiracy to commit espionage." Had they been charged with being spies, the government would have had to prove overt acts. The main witnesses against Ethel and Julius were the Greenglasses, Ethel's own brother and sister-in-law. The government used them to lie against the Rosenbergs. A sketch that was supposed to have shown the Soviet Union the secret of the atomic bomb was the root of the government's case. This sketch was later proven meaningless by the opinions of top atomic scientists. For more proof, read: "Invitation to an Inquest" by Walter and Miriam Schneir, and "Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" by John Wexley.

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg are heroes. They resisted the efforts of the United States government to make them confess to a crime they never committed. They are an inspiration to the people's movement in the struggle to overthrow the rotten imperialist system in this country.



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KILLER COP HAS GOT TO PAY!

New York City—"Shea must pay!" "New York cops, you can't hide; we charge you with homicide!" With these and other shouts about one hundred militant demonstrators gave New York's brand new fortress-like Police Headquarters a taste of the people's anger.

Patrolman Thomas Shea, who shot to death an unarmed ten-year-old Black child, Clifford Glover, last year in Jamaica, Queens, is currently on police department trial after being found innocent of murder charges in a Queens trial last year. Shea was the first cop to be tried for murder while in uniform and his case is certain to be used by the police as a measure of "how far they can go" in their terrorization of the Black community!

The demonstration included several friends and neighbors of the slain child. All felt that Shea's acquittal was a miscarriage of justice, and all understood that the issue went beyond the matter of one rotten cop, but was a question of how the police terrorize Black and poor communities, keeping people down.

In the words of one of Clifford Glover's neighbors: "You steal a loaf of bread and they give you twenty years; you steal a railroad—they pat you on the back and want to make you president."

But most keenly felt was the awareness that "If he (Shea) were Black and he killed a white kid, he'd be dead now."

Several groups, organizations and individuals came together for this protest. They included: The October League, The Committee for Justice for Clifford Glover, the Revolutionary Union, Youth Against War and Fascism, the African Information Service.

THE PEOPLE MAKE NEWS!

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Miners Hold the Line Against Company Goons



While Duke Power President, Carl Horn, was righteously warning the country about the dangers of inflation and governmental overspending, he was stepping up Duke's campaign not to overspend on its workers. Anxious to avoid such excessive expenditures as decent wages, safe working conditions, and health care, Mr. Horn has patriotically intensified his campaign to prevent his employees from unionizing.

As the strike at Duke's Eastover mining subsidiary at Brookside passed the one-year mark last month, Brookside was joined on the lines by the Highsplint mine, another Eastover property. This has been met with police and thug violence by Eastover. This violence has further sharpened the struggle.

Following the eviction notices and police attacks described in last month's *CALL*, Arnold Miller, UMWA president, paid a visit to Kentucky Governor Ford. Ford, who is currently running for the Senate was anxious not to openly antagonize organized labor in the area and agreed to withdraw State Troopers from the picket line. This move was seen as a result of pressure from the mass rally of nearly 7,000 miners held in Harlan the day before Miller's visit.

Eastover, however, wasted no time in making up for the lack of police by contracting large numbers of professional gunmen to run the picket line down and intimidate the people. For weeks now nightriders have been shooting into peoples' homes, usually during times when the man of the house is gone and only women and children are present. Several union people and sympathizers have been beaten.

Through use of these terror tactics, the Highsplint line was successfully broken during the week of August 3. Opening up with automatic weapon fire from the company store, thugs would guard the scab caravan in. Most of those in caravan were bosses and thugs with only some 40 of 280 Highsplint miners working. Having crossed the line the thugs would leave their cars and under cover of more gunfire launch an attack on the line with nightsticks and clubs. Even with these attacks, not once did the workers fail to mount a picket line.

TABLES TURNED

On Monday, August 12, the tables were turned. Realizing that the picket line area was almost indefensible from the guns, the workers and the Brookside Women's Club set up down the highway at Shields, out of sight of the company's machine gun. Forming at a railroad crossing, they blocked one lane of Highway 38. Normal traffic was re-routed, and when a scab caravan appeared, it was effectively blocked from approaching the mine. Enraged, the chief thug, Basil Collins, drew his gun and motioned to his boys to follow. Hoping to attack the union pickets, Collins suddenly had no followers. As the scabs left their vehicles they found themselves confronted with a line of over a hundred armed workers ready to hold the line at any cost. Faced with the women of the Brookside Club armed with clubs and backed by the guns of the union men, the scabs wouldn't try to break the line. They found their own guns useless against the united strength of the people. What followed was a 10 hour facedown on the highway. On one side were the scabs who still had their guns, on the other the union people determined to resist any assault.

A temporary setback was suffered on Tuesday when the union leadership tried to cool things out while a congressional investigatory committee visited the area and State police got some scabs through. However, a mass meeting of some 300 people held that night resolved that the strike would be won on the line by the people and not by dependence on investigation committees. The next morning the scabs were again stopped by a mass picket line. The line held strong on Thursday. Police arrested 13 strikers and supporters Thursday afternoon and served several warrants. Friday, scabs again crossed the line.

In the meantime, President Arnold Miller, of the United Mine Workers of America called a five-day mourning period for the week of August 19. The mourning period will shut down all union mines in the country to commemorate the deaths of 73 of our brothers and injury of 3,600 more this year alone. It is also a protest against violence done against the union by the state and thugs in Kentucky. Unspoken, but another obvious goal, is to reduce coal stockpiles in preparation for the strike in the fall. In calling the mourning period, Miller stated: "We know the history of bloody Harlan, because our blood was spilled there in the 1930's, as it was spilled in Kentucky in the 1950's and

1960's and is being spilled there now. We have had enough of those billy clubs and enough of coal operators' machine-guns." (quote from Arnold Miller—UMW Journal).

The call went out for coal miners from all over the fields to come to Harlan County. Miners' supporters were brought in to stay the entire week to provide protection for the brothers and sisters in Harlan County and provide back-up for the picket lines. On Thursday, August 22 a massive rally of 6,000 coal miners in hard hats was held in Harlan to demonstrate union wide solidarity with the effort to organize Eastern Kentucky. The miners were brought in by the busload on busses chartered by the union for that purpose.

This kind of mass action is welcomed by the people of Harlan and all coal miners. It has been at the insistence of the rank and file that the memorial period was called. Though the International has far from dropped its reliance on courts and legal battles to move us forward, it has responded to the call of the rank and file to intensify the militancy of its tactics. The UMWA is stepping forward as one

of the most progressive unions in the country today. The reform campaign which defeated Tony Boyle and brought Arnold Miller to the leadership of the union has provided the spark that has led to the effort to organize the rich coal fields of Kentucky, the militant insistence on safety enforcement, and sharp contract struggle.

We need the support of all our class brothers and sisters in our efforts to organize Eastern Kentucky, gain a strong contract, and build a progressive union. We are calling for the setting up of Brookside support committees in all areas where they don't exist, for the purpose of publicity and raising money which we desperately need now that the High splint mine has joined the struggle. We ask that people have a view of continuing these committees through the Fall, as UMWA support committees to help us out through the contract struggle as well. The state is going to use and is using every means at its disposal to break the UMWA. It is crucial to the whole labor movement that this not happen.

Contact Carl Dykes, Box 367, Evarts, Ky. for information to start a support group.

ATLANTA REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

It is a long standing lesson of history that wherever there is oppression, there will be resistance. Sometimes this resistance will be spontaneous, sometimes organized; sometimes it will be massive resistance—sometimes only a few individuals. But resistance is always there.

This is certainly true in the Black communities of Atlanta where police brutality has taken a particularly blatant and fascist form. The police and the ruling circles which are increasingly coming to rely on police terror, don't quite understand this historical lesson of resistance. Instead they run furiously to douse every flame they see, thinking each time that this will be the end to protests and demonstrations. That is why on July 24th they arrested Mrs. Idella Gibson and her sixteen year old son, little Ben.

They arrested her because she refused to sit home and mourn when police killed her 17-year old son, Brandon, last June. Like many other courageous Black women, she stood up to defend her children and her community. A week after Brandon's murder, Mrs. Gibson was standing up at a rally in front of the police station and condemning the brutal and shameful murder of her son. She was a militant example to all Black people and that is why they arrested her.

This latest incident began when a neighbor told Mrs. Gibson that little Ben had been arrested. Police had arrested him while he was playing ball. He was charged with driving without a license. Police alleged that a helicopter had seen him driving (prior to the arrest) and the squad car was now coming on the scene to make the arrest.

Mrs. Gibson rushed out to the patrol car where her son was in custody and pulled him out of the back seat. "You already killed one of my sons, you're not going to get another one" she shouted. At this point she proceeded back to her apartment, holding on to Benjamin. The police followed her, shoved her around and eventually got them both into the back of the squad car.

The two were immediately taken from the scene where a crowd of people was gathering. The police then took Mrs. Gibson and son to the parking lot of a nearby liquor store where they met about five other cars. Mrs. Gibson and her son were held there for about 20 minutes. This is a common practice when police are trying to figure out what kind of charges they can trump up.

Once they finally arrived at the police station, the two were separated. Again a police officer started shoving her around and made threatening remarks as well. He was stopped from attacking her by another policeman who advised him that "it would not look good" for the police.

Her bail was set at the outrageous sum of \$12,000 and she was bound over on six charges including "swearing at a police officer," "damaging government property" and "inciting to riot." All these charges are pure fabrications. Mayor Maynard Jackson was so alarmed at the potential the situation had for mass protest that he personally found a lawyer to handle the case. (So far, however, Mrs. Gibson has not dropped her suit against the city. She is suing Atlanta for negligence in the hiring and training of police officers which resulted in the death of her son, Brandon).

A few days after the arrest, the Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition (AARC) organized a rally to protest the incident. Many people from the community, including eye-witnesses to this arrest, got up and spoke.

A speaker from the AARC talked about the growing wave of police repression against Blacks in Atlanta and around the country. "The pigs are getting strong, but we're getting stronger" she said. Pointing to the need to resist she said, "Bowen Homes is going to be a lesson for the whole Black nation. What we've got to do is to resist." She finished her speech with these words, "We have to organize ourselves—we can't rely on the mayor, the police department, the chamber of commerce . . ."

Atlanta's ruling class doesn't like to hear this kind of talk and they are running scared. Mayor Jackson has recently attempted to closet the whole question of police brutality by appointing a Commissioner of Public Safety (popularly referred to as 'superchief'). In accordance with a State Supreme Court ruling which had removed the injunctions against this, Jackson appointed old friend and staff assistant Reggie Eaves to the position. Jackson made the decision with no regard whatsoever for the interests of the people of Atlanta who continue to be subjected to police brutality and harassment.

Jackson decided that he had made a few gains personally and he could not risk any further confrontation with the chief. The City Council soon followed suit and withdrew its motion to impeach Inman, the police chief.

A trial date has not been set in Mrs. Gibson's case. In a preliminary inquiry in Juvenile Court on August 12th, two of the four police officers subpoenaed in Ben's case failed to show up. These events serve to further expose the lawless nature of the Atlanta Police Department and the dual system of justice in this country. We'd like to ask the Atlanta Police the same question we asked our ex-president, Richard Nixon. "Law and Order, but for whom?"

Newark, N.J.—The longest mass rent strike in U.S. history ended here last month with a victory.

After four years of refusing to pay rent, some 1,000 Black families in the Stella Wright public housing project forced the Newark Housing Authority (NHA) to agree to fix up the crumbling apartments and to allow more tenant voice in the management of the complex. Over 700 of the 1,000 families had braved numerous orders from courts and the NHA to pay or get out. They also defeated attempts to divide, intimidate and bribe members of their Newark Tenants Organization (NTO).

Following the Black urban rebellions in the 1960's, the NHA all but abandoned Stella Wright. From the outside, surrounded by vacant square blocks with only a billboard here and there, the tall, grim brick apartment houses looked like leftovers from a bombing raid. Inside, they looked the same, with dark halls and stairways, crumbling plaster and no elevator service. Many of the elderly living on the 12th floor were literally prisoners in their apartments since they could not walk up or down the many stairs.

For years it was impossible to get anything fixed. Broken windows, refrigerators out of order, stoves that didn't work, sinks, toilets and bathtubs stopped up, worn-out paint on the walls. Whatever it was, no matter how many times the tenants requested repairs, nothing was done.

This was why the tenants just laughed when the NHA threatened to "end all maintenance" if the rent wasn't paid. In effect, all maintenance had ended long ago.

The tenants' victory was a great one. It was only this spring that Robert Notte, NHA head had declared: "The day of reckoning is here." On April 7, he said; all tenants would have to move. Stella Wright, which had cost the NHA millions of dollars in lost rent, would be closed. But on July 17, the NHA gave in. It promised the tenants a voice in decisions affecting the complex and said \$1.3 million would be spent for repairs and to set up a tenant management council. In addition, a task force of "distinguished citizens" of Newark would make recommendations on how to solve the buildings' problems—thus forcing the city to deal with Stella Wright and gaining the possibility of more

NATION'S LONGEST RENT STRIKE

Victory at Stella Wright!

publicity for the tenants. Moreover, the federal Housing and Urban Development department stepped in. It was the first time under the Nixon administration that HUD had ever been forced to take notice of a local housing problem.

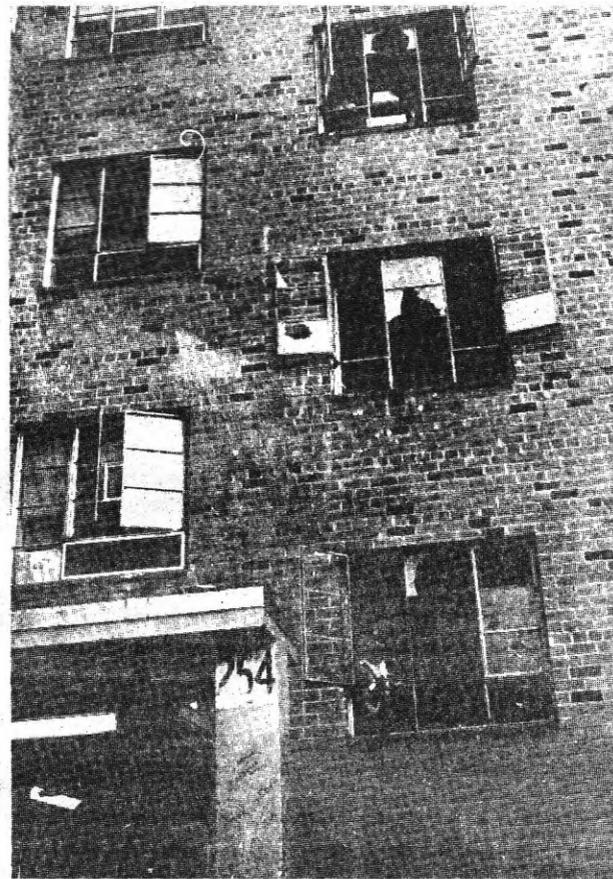
Every tenant had a reason for holding fast with the other tenants throughout the long years. "I did it for my children," said a 40-year-old father of three. "It's not safe for them to walk in the halls. We were tired of moving and decided to stay here and fight."

A teen-aged youth said: "I used to live here. Now I live about six blocks away. I come over all the time to my girl friend's. Every winter I help her and her mother put plastic sheets over the windows and other things. They can't stay warm otherwise."

By far the greatest victory was that the tenants have defeated the eviction notices. They can stay where they are, having to pay less than half the back rent they owe. Their struggle—among other things for more funds—will have to continue, for it could cost over \$1 million to repair the elevators alone. But the Stella Wright tenants have won one of the most important public housing battles to date in this country by relying on their own militancy and unity.

Their victory and agreement to pay rent does not mean the end of headaches for the NHA, however. Still on strike are the tenants at the Scudder, Columbus, Hayes and Walsh homes, where the rest of Newark's public housing is also in a shambles.

By singling out Stella Wright for an attempted shut down, the NHA had hoped to divide and crush the striking apartment-house tenants one by one. Instead, the Stella Wright victory will add to the determination of the other strikers to win decent housing for themselves.



(Muhammad Speaks photo)

ATROCIOUS CONDITIONS at Newark's Stella Wright housing project led to the nation's longest rent strike.

MARION PRISONERS RESIST INHUMAN EXPERIMENTS



Marion, Illinois—On July 31, 1974 Edward M. Sanchez, a politically active prisoner confined in the Behavior Modification and Long Term Segregation Unit at the U.S. Federal Penitentiary here, attempted to take a guard hostage to dramatize the plight of prisoners confined in Behavior Modification programs.

In a letter to *THE CALL*, Sanchez said, "My act was solely political as I sought intervention by the public for the prisoners confined in Behavior Modification programs across the country."

Sanchez has long been an active fighter against inhuman prison conditions. He helped organize resistance against the infamous START Program (one of the first Behavior Modification programs) that was recently declared unconstitutional due to its cruel and unusual punishment. He was a leader in mass food boycotts in support of the Leavenworth Brothers (see August *CALL*) and a "jailhouse lawyer" who has caused many problems for the officials through his exposés of prison conditions.

Since his transfer in June to the Federal Prison at Marion, Illinois, he has been helping to lead the fight against the fascist CARE program there.

The CARE (Control and Rehabilitative Effort) Program and other behavior modification units of its kind are based on the fascist assumption that rebellion and resistance to oppression on the part of prisoners is a "mental aberration" that could be "treated."

But what does this treatment consist of?

*The administration of massive doses of dangerous mind-altering drugs to either scare the rebellious inmate into submission, or turn him into a "vegetable." One such drug is Anectine. When injected into a person, it causes respira-

tory arrest, and feelings of deep horror and terror, "as though he were on the brink of death," according to one prison psychiatrist. While the prisoner is undergoing this feeling of "suffocation and drowning," he is scolded for his behavior and told to shape up or he'll get more of the same.

*Electro-shock treatments to "convince" the prisoner that his behavior and attitudes are not desirable.

*Sensory deprivation and isolation from all human contact for long periods of time. Sometimes prisoners are strapped to steel beds in a small cell with no light for months at a time, and forced to defecate on themselves.

*Lobotomies—a surgical procedure that removes a section of the frontal lobe of the brain, turning the prisoner into a human robot with no emotional feelings.

The basic philosophy behind behavior modification, according to Dr. Edgar Schein, a leading proponent of its use on prisoners is to radically alter behavior by "removing the individual physically and preventing any communication with those whom he cares about," and by undermining, weakening, or removing the emotional supports to his old patterns of behavior. Some of the other techniques used, according to Dr. Schein, are "the segregation of natural leaders, undermining ties to home by the systematic withholding of mail, social disorganization and the creation of mutual distrust," etc.

Due to the intolerable and inhuman conditions inside the CARE unit, there have been many suicides and attempted suicides. For example, Jackson Fee was found hanged in his cell in October 1973 after two years in the CARE program; Patrick Cullen and James Pattmore slashed their achilles tendons in November 1973 in protest against their

confinement in CARE; Paul Neil attempted suicide by slashing his wrists with a broken light bulb in May 1974 after being told by officials that he would "never get out of the CARE Unit." Several prisoners, including Edward Sanchez have been sent to the U.S. Medical Center at Springfield, Mo. suffering from varying degrees of "stimulus deprivation psychosis" resulting from long periods of isolation; and many other examples.

As for the START program that was recently shut down by court order, its victims include one suicide (Charles Afano, one of the first prisoners to be scheduled for START, committed suicide on the day that he was notified that he was to be sent to the unit); two men driven to such psychosis that they had to be placed in sanitarium wards; numerous beatings, drug assaults, etc. . . .

All of these programs, though causing much suffering, have been met with courageous resistance by prisoners "selected" for treatment. This resistance has taken the form of hunger strikes, work stoppages, court suits, and even prison rebellions.

The prisoners at Marion, Illinois are now asking the courts to intervene and stop the practice of behavior modification on prisoners, and are demanding that the fascist CARE Program at the prison be closed down.

In a recent message to *THE CALL*, Edward Sanchez asks our readers to, "Help halt this 1984 house of horrors by writing letters to U.S. District Judge James Foreman of the U.S. District Court for Eastern Illinois at Danville, Ill., and demand that he close the infamous Control Unit (CARE-ed.) at the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, Ill. and release the men from their intolerable and cruel confinement."

It was action such as this, and mass demonstrations, that recently forced Federal Judge Oliver to close down the START Program at another federal prison.

S.T.A.R.T. PROGRAM CLOSED

To *THE CALL*:

On July 31, 1974, U.S. District Judge James Oliver gave the long awaited legal opinion to the controversial S.T.A.R.T. Behavior Modification Unit. Judge Oliver ruled and said the program to be unconstitutional, officially closing that program. START was resisted and protested against for 2 years.

On behalf of the START Brothers, I extend much thanks to the legal support from the National Prison Project Lawyers from Washington, D.C. who represented us, to the many movement presses that gave us wide publicity and support, and to the beautiful masses of people who firmly supported our stand. All who made this legal victory possible, we urge all of you along with us to continue such support to all prisoners resisting such programs or any injustices.

We do not claim this as a personal victory, but rather as a peoples victory. It could not have been done without you.

We love you, appreciate you, and extend to all warm revolutionary love and solidarity.

In Continued Struggle,
Rafiki
Eddie Sanchez

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE UNITED!!

OCTOBER LEAGUE HOLDS SOUTHERN LABOR CONFERENCE

STRESSES UNITY OF NATIONAL AND CLASS STRUGGLES

Atlanta, Ga.—“The united struggles of the working class and the Afro-American people” was the central theme of the Southern Labor Conference, held here August 3-4. The conference, sponsored by the October League, was one of several regional conferences being planned in the wake of last November's national conference.

More than 125 activists from around the South attended the conference, representing many organizations and collectives. Revolutionary activists from a broad range of struggles participated, including fighters in the Harlan County, Ky. miner's battle for union recognition; the Gulfcoast Pulpwood workers; activists in the Oneita textile strike; the campaign of the United Farm Workers of America; the anti-repression movement in Atlanta and many other movements of the laboring and oppressed people throughout the South. Organizers from factories, shops and mills around the region exchanged experiences and learned from each other.

The conference was marked by a high spirit of unity which was evident throughout the whole weekend. Principled struggle and debate took place on a number of important questions.

The strength of the conference, as in past OL labor conferences, was the fact that the discussions, including the theoretical discussions on the national question and trade union work, were based on practice among the masses, paying attention to the particular conditions of southern labor.

The South is the area where Afro-American people, after suffering through hundreds of years of slavery and racist oppression under capitalism, were forged into a nation. Due to the history of Black oppression and the special significance of the national question in this area, the South has always been viewed as a special question by U.S. Marxists. It is here, where the legacy of white supremacy and the plantation system has most strongly left its mark, that you find the lowest level of organization among both the Black and white workers. It is here that white supremacy has played its most treacherous role and has left a deep imprint on the consciousness of all workers and the broad masses of the people.

The fact that the conference was held in Atlanta, the scene of the most severe and open fascist police terror, aimed primarily at the Black population, showed vividly that these conditions have not disappeared, even with the breaking up of most of the old, semi-feudal agricultural conditions. To the contrary, they have grown even sharper.

NEED FOR COMMUNIST UNITY

The conference was deeply influenced by the growing need to build communist unity and form a new communist party. Discussion of party-building was a central focus for the conference. Other focuses for the conference were on the need to unite the working class in struggle with the Afro-American struggle and the movements of people and countries around the world oppressed by imperialism.

Charles Costigan, a leading member of the OL in Atlanta, gave the opening presentation on the character of the struggle in the South. He gave many examples of the great advances that were made whenever Black and white workers were able to unite in the course of struggle. Through this presentation, he demonstrated clearly the fact that the fight against white supremacy must be central to our work in the labor movement.

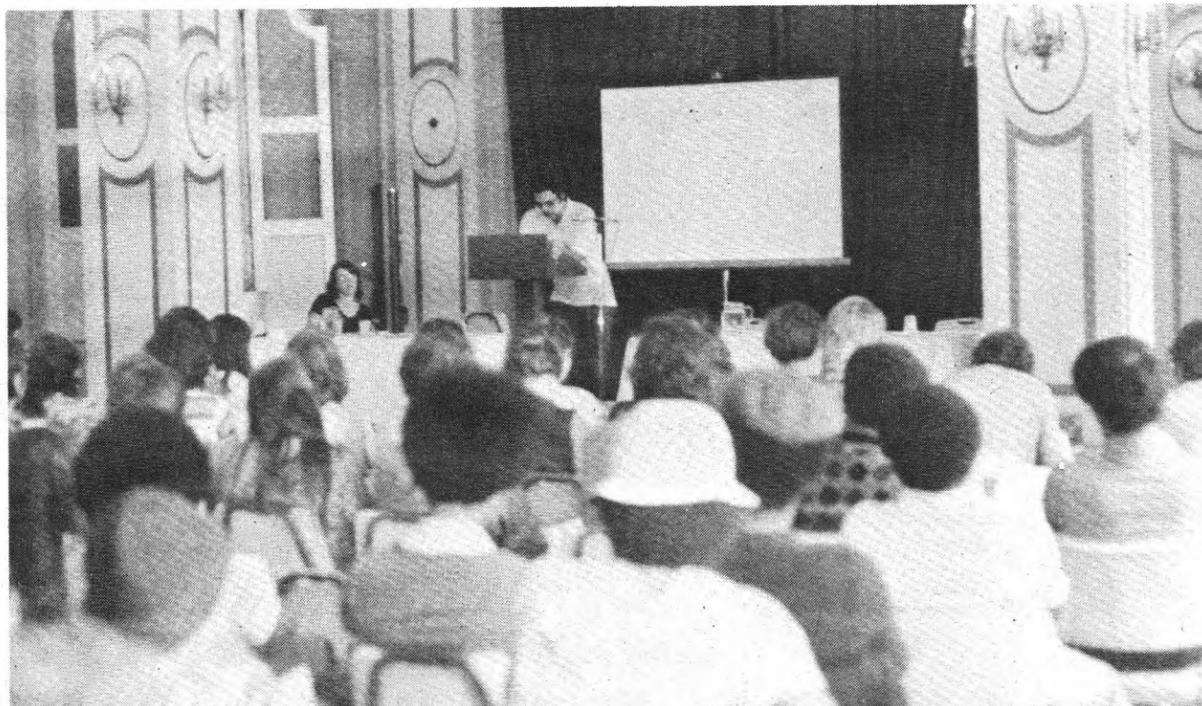
Numerous speakers pointed out the need to build a new party. Michael Klonsky, Chairman of the October League, in his address to the conference said, “The masses have always shown their willingness to fight . . . so the question comes up, ‘What is Lacking?’ It is the lack of a party.”

“The existence of a party will qualitatively change our ability to carry out our tasks,” he said. “For example, regarding the national question and the labor movement, communist work necessitates that communists take up their special duty of fighting the bourgeois ideology of white chauvinism among the white workers, taking the question of Afro-American self-determination to them and secondarily combatting narrow nationalism within Afro-American people's movement. But how can this work be fully carried out as long as Marxist-Leninists are split up in different organizations, each working in its own direction without a common center? How can our tasks be linked together as long as Afro-American and white communists are in different organizations of national as well as multi-national character?”

“Our goal,” said Klonsky, “must be one multi-national party with one center. To accomplish this, the same main enemy must be combatted within the communist movement as must be done in the general movement of the working class—white chauvinism.”

“Marxist-Leninist organizations built along national lines have played a valuable role in bringing Marxism-Leninism to hundreds of workers and movement activists, but multi-national unity must be our goal. Nationalism in the communist movement is in the main a by-product of, a reaction to, white chauvinism. To build multi-national unity, communists must resolutely take up the task of combatting white chauvinism within their own ranks as well as taking the question of self-determination to the class as a whole.”

Nanny Washburn, a veteran of more than 40 years in the communist movement, summed up her experiences in her early days as a child of a poor white textile worker's family, who was forced into the mills at a very early age. As a young woman she was educated by communist organizers and recruited to the Communist Party when it was still a



SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE HEARS PRESENTATION on southern working class history (above). Nanny Washburn (below) points out need for a new communist party. (Call Photos)

revolutionary organization and when it was spearheading the fight of the workers and oppressed people in the South. Nanny, still an active OL member at 74, drove home her main point time after time in her speech, which was greeted with a standing ovation from the audience: “You'll never be free in America,” she said, “until you build a real strong communist party.”

The conference spent a great deal of time discussing the national question as it applies to Black people in the South. Sherman Miller, a member of the Central Committee of the OL, spoke directly to this question. He said, “Supporting the right of self-determination means waging a consistent struggle against all national oppression. This is not an abstract question about whether or not Black people are a majority or even if they should necessarily secede (separate to form their own state). Rather it is a question of removing all barriers to Black people winning political power. Historically, Black people have suffered under national oppression and this oppression has meant precisely the denial of the right of self-determination by the ruling class in all its different manifestations.”

INHERENT IN IMPERIALISM

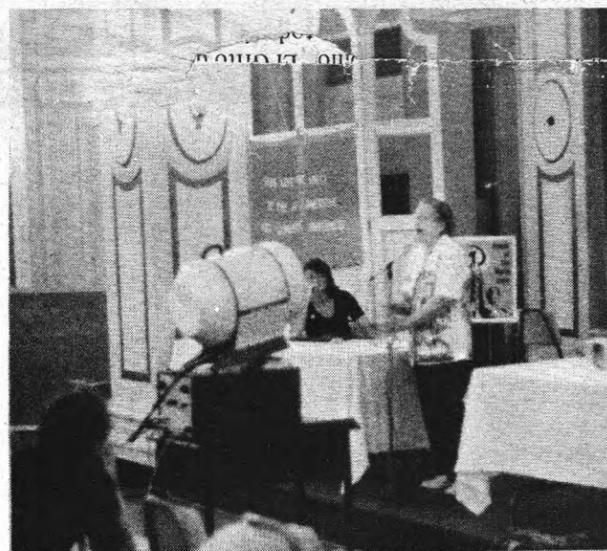
Miller continued, “National oppression is an inherent policy of imperialism. The fact that imperialism has driven people off the land into the urban areas where the majority have become workers does not eliminate national oppression, but rather intensifies it. The Afro-American struggle is in essence a class struggle and the national question can never be fully resolved under imperialism.”

Miller concluded, “But upholding the right of self-determination is not an abstract call for secession as it is put forward by the opportunists of the Communist League. The right of self-determination must be supported in the context of the overall struggle for class unity and the needs of that class struggle as well as the national struggle. The slogan, ‘Support the right of self-determination,’ is primarily aimed at the white workers, to win them to struggle for consistent democracy in all areas of society and break from the white chauvinist line of the capitalists.”

The conference heard an excellent, well-prepared presentation from a Black woman textile organizer on the problems of organizing in the textile industry. She pointed out that it was the largest and most organized industry in the South. “Because of the historic conditions in the South,” she pointed out, “the textile industry serves to depress wages and working conditions for the entire region and serves to weaken the entire southern labor movement.”

Textile was seen as the key focus of the efforts to organize the unorganized in the South. Following this presentation, the conference saw a newly-produced film on the victorious strike at the Oneita Mills in South Carolina. (This film is available through *THE CALL*.)

The conference paid special attention to the struggle of the United Farm Workers Union and reached the unanimous opinion that now more than ever before, it is vital that communists build the broadest possible support for this heroic struggle against the new attacks from the grower-Teamster alliance. Serious criticisms were made of one new policy of UFW however, which if carried out would critically weaken the farm workers' fight. This policy is one of assisting the



Immigration police carry out its mass deportations of foreign workers, who reside here in the U.S. without papers.

It has been reported that several of the UFW's best organizers in various parts of the South have recently been fired from the union's staff for refusing to take part in the rounding up of “illegals.”

It was concluded, that while giving the fullest possible support to the UFW's work in the South, we should at the same time protest this violation of working class principles of internationalism.

The conference broke down into workshops on the role of women in the working class struggle; on applying the national question in practice among the workers; on building the anti-imperialist struggle in the plants and on organizing the unorganized to name a few.

The conference also was entertained by Anne Romaine from the Southern Folk Cultural Revival Project, who sang several songs born out of the working class traditions of the South as well as some of her own original pieces. A dance was held Saturday night at which a band composed of workers who participated in the recent strike at Warren Corp. in Atlanta entertained.

The conference was seen as a great success by all who attended and an important step forward for the revolutionary movement in the South. It strengthened the working ties between the various groups around the South and placed that unity on a higher level.

Michael Klonsky summed it up by pointing to the fact that “the next year will be crucial for the movement in the South as well as in the whole country. Unity is growing in the communist movement and we are approaching the day when the organizations here will cease to exist and all comrades here can unite into one single revolutionary organization, like Nanny Washburn said—‘a strong, genuine communist party’—and I think that we're all going to succeed in doing just that!”

STOP THE FASCIST DEPORTATIONS

Foreign-Born Workers Are Not the Enemy!

A VIEW OF THE FARMWORKERS' STRUGGLE

The government and companies use many different ways to try to divide workers here in the U.S. from each other, and from the people of other countries. From "Be American, Buy American," to deportations, they try to make it seem that these "other" workers are the ones responsible for unemployment, inflation, energy crises, and the other problems plaguing us today.

Deportations are used by the growers and the government to intimidate and exploit "illegal" Mexicano farm workers, putting these workers in a semi-slave position. Many agricultural workers are "illegal" workers from Mexico, and are subject to brutality and the corruption of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), in addition to the exploitation at the hands of the growers.

The INS acts as an employment service for the growers, the large agri-business in the Southwest. During times of harvest, or other need for cheap or strike-breaking labor, the INS officials are blind to the foreign workers, letting them into the country easily. When their labor isn't needed anymore, they are rounded up and shipped back to Mexico, often without getting paid for their labor. This corruption has been investigated for 16 months by the Department of Justice. They have found evidence of bribery, narcotics violations, slavery, conspiracy to murder, running prostitution rings, and INS agents generally acting in the pay of the growers and other monopolists.

One of the investigators described a typical situation in

the Southwest. "It was time for one of the big Texas ranchers to harvest a crop. He hired a crew of illegal aliens and notified the chief of that particular Border Patrol sector of his action. The chief patrol agent saw to it that the ranch was not raided during the harvest.

ARRESTED AND SENT BACK

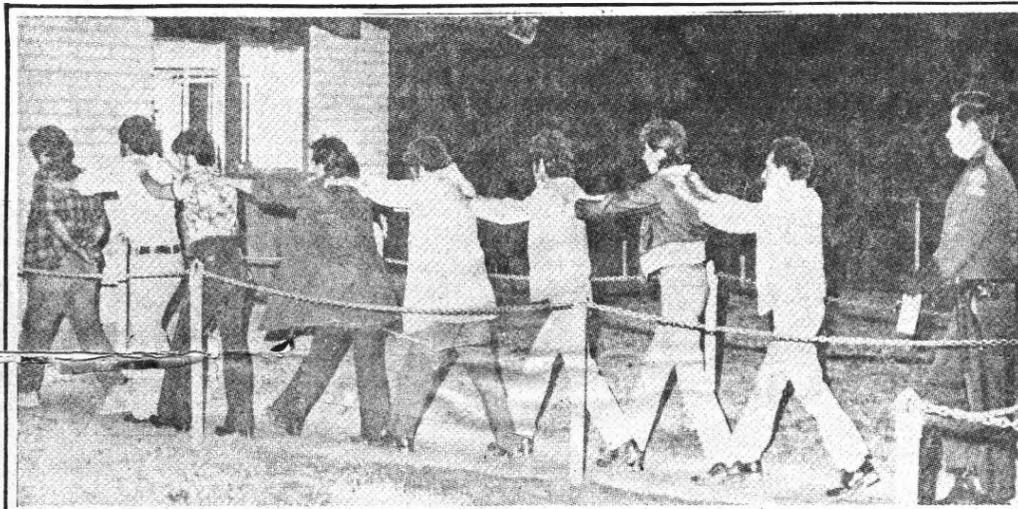
"When the crop was in, the rancher notified the sector chief, and before the Mexicans were paid, the patrol arrested them and sent them back across the border.

"The rancher got his crop out of the field, the chief patrol agent got year-round hunting rights on the ranches, and the Mexicans were introduced to slavery and deportation."

Despite all evidence of this type, the situation remains the same. The investigations uncover some excesses and some dirt but never lead to an end of the vicious exploitation of migrant farm workers.

The monopolists exploit the "illegal" workers for cheap labor, and use them to break and divide the growing unity and militancy in the labor movement. The United Farm Workers of America (UFW) have been particularly hard hit by this use of foreign-born workers as strike-breakers and the conspiracy between the growers and the INS. In recent strikes in California--in Oxnard's strawberry fields and in Coachella during the grape harvest--with the full knowledge of the Border Patrol.

The striking Sloane workers in Sun Valley, California have also faced the use of workers from Mexico by the company in its strike-breaking activities, along with many other strikers.



MORE THAN 700,000 Mexican "illegals" have been rounded up this year and sent back to Mexico. The Border Patrol (shown above) subjects them to the most brutal, racist treatment.

HAITIANS CARRY ON FIGHT AGAINST DEPORTATIONS

Miami, Florida--The struggle against fascist deportations of Haitian political refugees has gained new strength here.

Militant demonstrations have been held in New York. In Miami, an arrival area for many Haitians, and in other parts of the country, broad-based support has developed.

Coming often in leaky boats, braving storms and other dangers at sea, the Haitians are fleeing from the terroristic regime of Jean-Claude Duvalier. In collaboration with United States imperialism which is in almost complete control of Haiti's economy, Jean-Claude, like his deceased father, the infamous "Papa Doc" Duvalier, has eliminated even the most basic liberties.

In sharp contrast to the open-door treatment given to the Cubans who have come to Florida since the revolution, the Haitians have met with an all-out offensive to keep them out. This deliberate policy of the U.S. government stems from the fact that the Haitians are Black and attempting to escape fascist repression which is bound up with the interests of U.S. monopolies in Haiti. The Cubans, on the other hand, have immigrated after the fascist Batista regime was overthrown by the revolution, a severe setback for U.S. imperialism.

Up until the end of June hundreds of Haitians were in Florida and Texas jails on \$500 bail per person. The National Council of Churches through the Church World Services made \$10,000 available to bail everyone out of jail. In addition to this aid, support has come from unions, churches, students, the YWCA, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Center for Dialogue and others in the Miami area.

In May retired Marine Corps commandant Leonard Chapman Jr., (a deserving target of the G.I. movement several years ago) was in Tampa, Florida as part of a "nationwide tour." According to the Tampa Tribune: "He added that there is no ceiling on the number of

Cubans who can immigrate because political refugees are considered to be in a special category. He defended the deportation of Haitians because they are "economic refugees." "General Chapman (retired) is now the Immigration Service Commissioner.

Now that nearly all the Haitians are out of jail and their cases are being prepared by volunteer lawyers, the Haitian Refugee Information Center and supporters of the Haitian cause are participating in a two-fold effort. They are raising the call to oppose the policies of the Immigration Service while they are continuing to raise money to feed and shelter those with no means of support. Haitians are being housed in churches and other centers by the progressive community.

The Haitians have also relied on their own efforts. Rev. Jacques Monpremier leads the Haitian Refugee Information Center in Miami. He, himself, came here four years ago. He told *THE CALL* that the reason he started the Center was because: "They (the Haitians) come because they are persecuted. . . . We wonder what more the Immigration Service needs to approve their requests because they testify how they have been beaten by the Tontons Macoutes which are the secret police of the regime and some have been crushed down in the trunk of a car for hours. Some of their parents and friends have been killed."

With such determination from both the Haitians and their supporters they are bound to win more support and victories in the fight against fascist deportations.

Donations can be mailed to:

Rev. Jacques Monpremier, Director Haitian Refugee Information Center.

5821 N.W. 6th Court

Miami, Florida 33127

Checks are payable to: Haitian Refugee Information Center.

The UFW has at times been in the forefront of exposing the conditions that illegal aliens are subjected to. But when it comes to what should be done about the situation the UFW maintains that the INS should increase deportations. In their own words: "The position of the UFW is undaunted--the 'illegals' must either be granted full democratic rights, including the right to join a union of their own choosing, or they must go. The UFW takes an unequivocal stand against the use of illegals to impede unionization in the agricultural fields of the Southwest." (El Malcriado, official organ of the UFW, editorial, July 31, 1974).

The UFW has actively taken up this campaign to deport "illegals." Recently they issued a directive to supporters and organizers, in both strike and non-strike areas. They are supposed to find and turn in all illegals, wherever they are, whatever they are doing. This policy of turning the UFW into an arm of the INS has been protested by organizers, many of whom were fired when they refused to go along with this policy.

The UFW is attacking the alien workers as the cause of strike-breaking. But these Mexicano workers who come here illegally are forced here, to find jobs, to feed their families because of U.S. plunder of their country. They are exploited even more blatantly and viciously than the farm workers who are here legally.

The "either-or" position of the UFW--that unless these workers are given democratic rights, they must go--is unrealistic. As long as there is imperialism, foreign-born workers will be denied democratic rights. Even Black and other minority peoples who have been here over 300 years are denied basic rights including union rights and are often used to break strikes because of this factor. Does this mean the UFW will attack the right of these workers to live here and earn a livelihood?

NEVER "GIVEN" RIGHTS

No workers are even "given" rights, as the struggle of the UFW itself has proven, since the growers want to keep this flow of cheap labor, and will never give it up without a fight.

The UFW is asking the INS to increase their deportations, but even they point out, that the INS has always acted in the interests of the growers and other monopolists.

In the UFW's meetings with representatives from the INS their requests have been passed over. The Border Patrol now deports more "illegals" from non-strike areas than from the areas where strikes are in progress. When UFW members have pointed out "illegals" working in the fields, on strike to Border Patrol guards, they have been laughed at.

Even if some of the strike-breaking illegals were deported, there are many more to take their place. Right now, farm workers without work papers don't have much choice. They are forced here by imperialist plunder of their own country, used as a labor pool, cheap and easily obtained, easily gotten rid of when the need is gone. Only in the border areas, where the UFW has worked directly with the workers in carrying out education about their strikes, have they been able to achieve unity and prevent scabbing.

A stand must be taken against the grower's use of foreign workers to break strikes. But the attack cannot be directed at the workers. And the solution is not more deportations. The battle must be taken right to the source of the problem, the giant monopolists who have forced the "illegals" here in the first place and who reap the profits off their labor.

DESERVES SUPPORT FROM EVERYONE

The heroic struggle of the UFW is one that needs and deserves increased support from everyone. The farm workers are in the front ranks of the struggle against the capitalist offensive. If the union is defeated or suffers any setbacks at all, they will be setbacks for all workers and for the struggle for democratic rights of all minorities. The union is also a leading voice in the battle against the government's policies of war and aggression. When we criticize this one position on deportations, we do so in the spirit of strengthening the union.

There are some, we know, who will try to use this struggle over the deportations question to attack the UFW. Such opportunists have never really supported the union in the first place and any such attempts to deny support to the union and the strikes, should be sharply condemned. Anything which is used to weaken support for the UFW is objectively an enemy at this time, to the interests of the working class.

This is why we must stand in opposition to the present policies of the union regarding the question of mass round-ups of foreign-born workers. It is from our own experience in helping to build the strike and the boycott, especially in the Spanish-speaking communities, that we have drawn this conclusion.

**LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS !!
SUPPORT THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE
UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION ! !**

ON THE LINE!

A SUMMARY OF WORKERS STRUGGLES FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY



Wildcats Hit AT&T Strike Settlement

On August 4, American Telephone & Telegraph signed contracts with unions representing almost all of their 800,000 employees. One council of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, with 65,000 members was the only union who rejected the contract outright, and 56,000 workers went out on strike against Western Electric, Co. one of AT&T's subsidiaries.

The new contracts call for a 7.1 to a 10.7% increase in the first year, and while higher than many contracts this year, still doesn't even begin to catch up with what inflation has eaten away over the year. The cost-of-living escalator is worse than the old, and needs to be at least 14% to keep up with inflation.

Telephone operators, members of the CWA, "unplugged" and walked off the job across the country, both after the old contract expired in late July, and after the new contracts were signed despite the objections of their union leadership.

The issues raised by the wildcats are very basic—higher wages, more benefits and better working conditions. Telephone operators are classified as unskilled workers, and the top pay after four years is only \$158 weekly. They have absolutely no paid sick days, and workers who miss any number of days are subject to warnings, harassment from management, and even disciplinary action. Bathroom facilities are poor (four toilets for 150 women), and generally workers feel that the company should do a whole lot more for its "unskilled" employees.

"NO CONTRACT—NO WORK"

In Detroit, a wildcat of mostly Black women of Local 4000 began when the union failed to make a temporary peace between the workers, whose contract expired July 18 and the Michigan Bell Telephone Co. The 3-year-old contract was inadequate and when the union leadership extended the contract indefinitely, as one operator said, "We had to come out!"

Local 4000 held a membership meeting during the wildcat, where the union leadership made it clear that the walk-out should end immediately. A strike vote was taken, and the rank and file held firm. They demanded to know why the union they pay dues to, and the stewards they elect refuse to represent them. As their picket lines made clear, the position of the strikers was "No contract, No work!"

After five days of the wildcat strike, most returned to work on July 25 expecting, along with the rest of the CWA members nationally, that the union would call a "legal" strike in August. But the national negotiators signed the new contracts, and rank and file went out again, on wildcat across the country, from San Francisco, to Colorado, to the East Coast. The contract is very similar to the one that was rejected by the national CWA membership by 87% the week before. Many of these workers never even saw a contract until they wildcatted. Union officials called the strikes "unauthorized and illegal" and tried to discredit the strikers.

AT&T tried to stop the strikes by posting notices, threatening fines, and possible firing for participating.

While the wildcats were short-lived, they showed the spirit of militancy, and the determination of the rank and file to overcome the passiveness of their union leadership in fighting the sprawling monopoly of AT&T. The members of the CWA have learned one again that Ma Bell is, and will remain a "cheap mother" until they can unite, and fight back.

DETROIT BELL TELEPHONE
workers wildcat against sell-out settlement despite pressure from their own union leadership. (Call Photo)

4,000 SUPPORT STRIKING MINERS

The United Mine Workers called a 5-day work stoppage the third week of August as a moratorium period for a threefold reason. It was in solidarity and support of the on-going strikes in Harlan County, to protest the import and use of South African coal, and it was in commemoration of the miners who have died in mining accidents and those who were massacred in Ludlow, Colorado when Rockefeller called in the troops on striking miners.

There were demonstrations on Aug. 22 in Mannington, W. Virginia, Frankfort, Ill., and a march and rally of 4,000 miners and supporters in Harlan Co. itself. Rank and file miners came from all over the country, although mostly from Harlan County itself to join with supporters.

In fear of this mass movement of miners, the owners of the Highsplint mine, one of Eastover Mining Co.'s, shut it down for the whole week. The miners and supporters themselves closed down Arjay mine.

During the march, and at the rally, many different unions and organizations pledged their support to the striking miners. They emphasized the unity between their various struggles.

A UMW official addressing the crowd hinted that negotiations will not begin until November if the strike in Harlan County isn't settled, and pledged full support for the strike.

RANK & FILERS PLAN SEPT. 23 STEEL DEMO

East Chicago, Ind.—On August 17 and 18, rank-and-file steelworkers from around the country gathered here with many friends and supporters to map out final plans for rank-and-file activity at the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) Constitutional Convention on September 23 in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

There was discussion on the recent Consent Decree, and the fight against race and sex discrimination. Historically minorities have been paid less for their work in the dirtiest and most dangerous departments—like the coke ovens and blast furnaces—that are key to the production of steel. The rank-and-file movement has to be a multinational one, and the fight against discrimination is crucial to building this real rank-and-file movement in the USWA. It was agreed that the two main issues to be popularized would be the fight against the Consent Decree and the ENA (no strike agreement). Steelworkers and members of other unions are all going to help teach Abel and his bosses, the steel companies a lesson. They are not going to sit idly by while stripped of the right to strike, victimized by increasing discrimination.

The main slogans decided on by the Conference for the upcoming demonstration in Atlantic City are "Dump Abel And Fight The Attacks On Working People, Minorities And Women!" Anyone interested in supporting the struggle, by building for the Atlantic City demonstration, or by organizing local support rallies, should contact the District 31 Right to Strike Committee, Box 801, Hammond, Indiana.



LONG STRIKE AT SHIPYARD ENDS

On July 17, the members of Local 5, of the Marine and Shipbuilders Union voted to end their 17 week strike against the General Dynamics shipyard in Quincy, Mass.

The key issues of the Quincy strike were wages—particularly a cost-of-living clause—and productivity (that is, the company's efforts at speeding up the workers.) Despite the substantial wage increases won by the strike, there was contention over the settlement. The major struggle in the membership meeting was over the lack of a cost-of-living clause in the new contract. This had been one of the main demands of the strike, and without such a clause some, if not all, of the increases won in the three-year contract could be eaten up by inflation.

The union was successful, however, in defeating the company's push to create a new job category, "shipyard mechanic," which would have greatly sped up work at the shipyard. Job descriptions will remain the same as in the previous contract, although committees will be formed to work on the issue of "productivity."

Settlement of the Quincy strike came only after repeated attempts at mediation by W.J. Usery, Jr., director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation and special assistant to the President on energy-related labor issues. Usery, the Nixon Administration's top mediator, put priority on the Quincy strike because of its strategic importance "in easing the energy crisis." General Dynamics Corp. has contracted to build eight Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) tankers by late 1975-76. These tankers will be used to ship LNG, or fuel for heating homes, from Algeria to the U.S. It appears that Usery put pressure on the company to settle the strike as quickly as possible, and increase the wage offer.

Whatever role played by the federal mediators, however, it is clear that the gains received by the workers from the settlement were won by the determination and militancy of the workers themselves. This determination was expressed by one picketer shortly before the details of the proposed settlement were released: "I can't get excited, not until I hear what the terms are. If it isn't a good contract, I'm gonna buy a winter coat to keep warm on the picket line."

CHINESE WORKERS FIGHT FOR UNION

San Francisco—Chinese garment workers are waging many strikes in the sweat shops of the Bay Area, protesting poor working conditions, unfair labor practices, and demanding the right to unionize. Recently, 135 workers of the Great Chinese American Sewing Co. (Jung Sai) in Chinatown walked out when the company fired a worker who had been trying to improve conditions in the plant and get it unionized.

Jung Sai workers voted to join the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), but the owner closed the factory and declared bankruptcy rather than recognize the union. The workers then moved their picket lines to the main plant and central office of the company. The police came and arrested 60 of the picketers. As of now, charges against 40 have been dropped.

This series of strikes threatens the companies' ability to make the super-profits off immigrant labor, which makes up the backbone of the garment industry's workforce. This is why the Great Chinese American Sewing Co. is now farming out their work to over 25 other shops rather than recognize the union. Almost all Chinese women make their living in the garment industry.

In a press release sent out to different Chinatown newspapers, the ILGWU, the Jung Sai Strike Committee and the Strike Support Committee made an appeal for support from all sections of the Chinese population, in their fight for democratic rights. As they stated in the press release, "The right to unionize is a basic right won, yet today the majority of Chinese workers still lack union protection. Here Chinese garment workers at Jung Sai are standing up and saying, 'We have the right to organize, to be protected by unions, and we will fight for these rights!'"

As the African liberation movements continue to take the offensive in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau against Portuguese colonial rule, the ruling junta inside Portugal is being wracked with internal contradictions and splits. Both the African victories and the internal Portuguese dissension have recently forced the government to "pledge independence" for the colonies, indicating that Portuguese colonialism is on its last legs.

However, the Portuguese colonialists are not going down without a fight. Ever since the April 25th coup that ended nearly 50 years of fascism in Portugal, the new provisional government, divided between rightists and "socialists," has made much of their supposed desire to at last "find a solution to the question of the African colonies." But soon after negotiations began between Portugal and representatives of the African liberation movements, it became clear that the new junta had no intention of granting real independence, and talks quickly broke off.

The scene then shifted back to the battlefields, where the liberation forces, recognizing that the colonialists needed to be "convinced," quickly took the offensive.

FRELIMO LAUNCHES OFFENSIVE

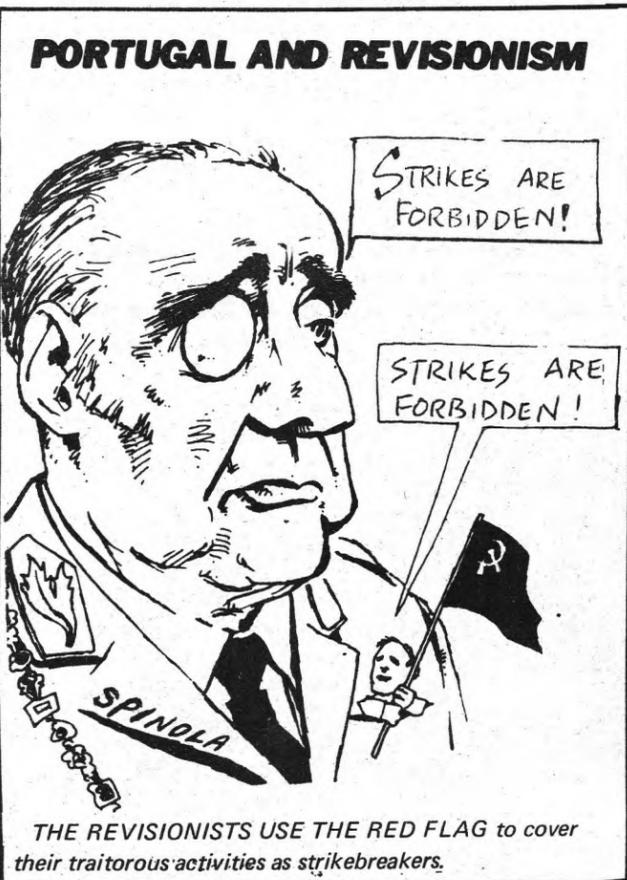
The Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) launched a new general offensive July 1 against the Portuguese colonialists. The offensive opened up a 5th front inside the country in Zambesia province, a densely inhabited and rich farming area important both strategically and economically. Frelimo guerilla fighters occupied the important town of Morrumbala, the first settlement of its size to be liberated in Mozambique's 10 year history of armed struggle. In addition, Frelimo attacked the important railway lines linking enemy held areas with the white racist stronghold of Rhodesia. This move threatened Rhodesia's access to the sea, and aided in weakening the fascist regime in that country. A further victory was the cutting of all direct road and rail communications to the imperialist-sponsored Cabora Bassa dam project in Tete province, a project designed to prop up colonialism by opening up farm areas to white settlers while flooding out the African villages in the area.

With the Frelimo offensive achieving victories all down the line, the morale of Portuguese troops has sunk to a new low. On July 19, 2,000 colonial soldiers undergoing military training issued a communique declaring their refusal to go to northern Mozambique to fight the Frelimo guerillas. A number of Portuguese troops have even gone over to the side of Frelimo.

ANGOLA STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES

The situation in Angola, the Portuguese colony richest in raw materials, has also taken a sharp turn against the colonialists. The two major liberation movements in Angola, the MPLA (Popular Liberation Movement of Angola) and the FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola), agreed to set up a common front structure to strengthen their struggle for the complete independence of their country. This is a significant development, as there have been sharp contradictions and antagonisms between the two organizations in the past. Since the setting up of the common front, Angolan liberation forces have increased their attacks on Portuguese convoys, bases, and other military targets.

Even in the cities of Angola, the struggle is intensifying. In the capital city of Luanda, the largest demonstration in the history of Angola, estimated at 30,000 persons, marched in a funeral procession for seven Africans slain by a mob of white vigilantes—the flags of both the MPLA and the FNLA flying together for the first time at the funeral ceremonies. When Portuguese troops fired on the demonstration and killed 20 people, a general strike was called that shut down most of the city.



Revisionists Can't Save Them —

PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS ON THE RUN



AFRICAN LIBERATION FIGHTERS, by waging armed struggle, have put the colonialists on the run

Guinea-Bissau, however, is where the colonialists have been at their weakest. The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and The Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), the leaders of the struggle for independence in that country, declared Guinea-Bissau an independent republic in September of last year which is now recognized by over 80 countries. Although the Portuguese did not at first officially "grant" independence, there didn't seem to be much the colonialists could do to avoid it. The PAIGC controls nearly 90 per cent of the territory, with the Portuguese troops occupying only a few strongholds. The Portuguese rulers were finally forced to recognize the PAIGC as the legitimate government and support the country's entrance into the U.N. All fighting has apparently ceased, and Portuguese troops are reputedly being withdrawn.

Though a tremendous victory for the people, the struggle is not over yet. One important area of negotiation still unsolved, is the PAIGC's insistence that the Cape Verde Islands, historically considered to be part of Guinea-Bissau be recognized as an integral part of their independent republic. Portugal would like to hang on to the Islands because of their strategic military importance.

VICTORIES HURT JUNTA

The victories of the African people have taken their toll on the ruling junta inside Portugal. This, combined with the increasing demands of workers and peasants for democracy, and for higher wages and better living conditions, has left the government unable to act as splits between the different factions in the government increase. These differences recently led to the resignations July 9 of Portugal's prime minister and four cabinet members, followed two days later by the dismissal of the rest of the cabinet by the Armed Forces Movement. It was the Armed Forces Movement, a group of young military officers, that carried out the April 25 anti-fascist coup.

The cabinet shake-up marked the failure of the right-wing elements in the new government, disguised as "moderates" and led by President Antonio de Spínola, to consolidate a program of open suppression of the rising people's movement at home as well as the liberation struggle in the colonies.

Rushing in to fill the vacuum left by these right-wing elements are the so-called "socialists" of the revisionist Portuguese Communist Party (PCP). The PCP revisionists are using the red flag as a shield to cover their traitorous activities. Facts prove they are acting as strikebreakers against the working class as well as compromisers with Spínola's neo-colonial policies in Africa.

REVISIONISTS ARE SCABS

During the course of their activities since the anti-fascist coup, the PCP has organized anti-strike demonstrations, and has even had union leaders jailed. For instance, a struggle by postal workers was crushed June 20 by the new junta with the solid support of the Portuguese Communist Party, who mobilized against the strike and called the workers "accomplices of the fascists." This is in line with their policy that "strikes should be avoided" as they only benefit the monopolies who are seeking to "disrupt the economy."

The PCP claims that the strike movement of the Portuguese workers (the lowest paid in Europe) is equivalent to the strikes led by Chilean reactionaries that helped topple

the popular Allende government in Chile. However, rather than being provocative, petty bourgeois strikes, the strikers in Portugal represent the most militant, class-conscious sections of the working class. The truth is that the PCP revisionists have betrayed the working class for a seat or two in the government.

How do the revisionists justify their scab activity? In an interview with the Daily World, the newspaper of the revisionist CPUSA, Pedro Soares, member of the central committee of the PCP, had this to say: Even though the workers now have the right to strike, this most important weapon of the working class, Soares insisted, "... is not to be used until other means are exhausted." In other words, by asking the workers to use "other means," Soares and the PCP are asking the workers to leave it to the politicians to solve their problems. Aside from being afraid of the imperialists, the PCP seems to be afraid of the workers as well.

MASSES GET ORGANIZED

They have good reason to be afraid, too. The masses in Portugal are getting organized. In the towns and cities, workers councils and trade unions are being formed to fight for better wages and an end to the fascist policies of factory managers. In the rural areas, where the peasants are ruled by absentee landlords who exploit their labor and leave them nothing, peasants' associations are being formed to fight the landlords. Already, there have been a series of agricultural strikes in the countryside, showing that the discontent that festered under nearly 50 years of fascism is now bursting out. Add to this the fact that women all over Portugal are organizing themselves to throw off the yoke of the backward male supremacist ideas that have kept them super-exploited, and you get a picture of a Portugal seething with mass upheaval and revolutionary activity.

It is just such a situation where the revisionists can play their most dangerous role as a buffer between the colonialist ruling junta and the masses. And it is in just this kind of situation that the PCP will attempt to control the mass struggles and steer them into the dead end of reformism.

CAN'T FOOL PEOPLE

But whatever maneuvers the Portuguese colonialists, with the aid of the revisionists in their government may try, they cannot fool the Portuguese people, just as they have been unable to fool the African people.

Speaking to reporters July 13 in London, Frelimo Deputy Secretary for External Affairs, Oscar Monteiro, warned against the idea that the new government of Portugal intended to peacefully end its colonialist rule. "The entity that governs Portugal today is a colonialist entity," he declared.

The African people are relying on themselves to achieve independence, not on any so-called "socialist friends" in the Portuguese government. In a recent statement that holds true for all the African peoples oppressed by Portuguese colonialism, Frelimo President Samora Machel said that the entire Mozambiquan people want freedom, peace, and independence. Neither tricks nor force can stand in the way of this. Machel declared, "Portuguese colonialism will be crushed; the Mozambiquan people will win."

BUILDING A REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT MOVEMENT

Part 1— SNCC AND THE EARLY PERIOD

The future of the student movement appears bright. This year could bring about a revitalized struggle on the part of students and young people both in the U.S. and around the world.

Last spring's student uprisings in South Korea, Greece, Thailand, South Africa and Japan signaled the coming resurgence of this movement. In Connecticut, Wisconsin, California and elsewhere, student coalitions led by Black and minority student organizations, fought against government cut-backs in financial aid and ethnic studies programs. At the University of Washington and other major universities, broad coalitions of students defeated efforts of the school administration to bring non-union lettuce and grapes into the campus eating facilities and held mass rallies in solidarity with the United Farm Workers of America and against racial discrimination. Ten thousand marched in May on the campus of Kent State University, where in May 1970, four students were killed by national guard troops while protesting the invasion of Cambodia. On other campuses around the country, thousands of young people rose up demanding that Nixon be dumped and that an end be put to his fascist policies.

The beginnings of some new anti-imperialist student organizations is also a promising sign of things to come. Despite claims by the capitalist press that "Nixon has brought peace to the campuses", or that the student movement is "dead" the fact is that as long as the many injustices of this system continue to exist, there will always be a movement of students which rises up in resistance. The continued growth of various student organizations confirm this fact.

MINORITY STUDENTS FIGHT RACISM

For instance, MECHA and UMAS are two Chicano student organizations present on many campuses in the southwestern U.S. which have continued to grow and take a militant stand against the treatment of the Chicano minority. Youth Organization of Black Unity (YOB) is another anti-imperialist youth organization which has played a significant role in building African Liberation Month and initiated demonstrations against the racist "scientist" William Shockley and his theories of white supremacy as well as against the campus policies of racism and discrimination.

Many other local and national organizations of minority students, veterans organizations on the campuses, women's groups and others continue to lay the groundwork for a year of struggle. In June the first national meeting of the Revolutionary Student Brigade was held in Iowa. In preparing to open a new year of activism, the questions of what role students can play in the revolutionary movement and what tasks the student movement faces need to be widely discussed.

The recent history of the student struggle provides some material with which to answer these questions. Students and youth in general have always gravitated towards the revolutionary movement primarily as a result of their own position in society. Youthful energy combined with the desire to build a better world and shape their own future as well as an openness to new ideas, have drawn the youth into the ranks of those most active in the people's struggle.

Often because of their education, students have gained early access to revolutionary ideas and teachings. Many of the great revolutionary leaders like Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, J.V. Stalin and Mao Tsetung were first introduced to revolutionary thought while they themselves were students.

The general oppression of the majority of young people under capitalism provides an additional basis for student activism. High unemployment and bad or irrelevant educational conditions, forced military service in imperialist wars and many other factors act to expose to students



Black students played leading role in militant student movement of 60's. Above: Armed occupation of Cornell.

the real nature of this system. In the U.S. many thousands of students came face to face with the contradictions of imperialist society when they were called upon to fight in the Vietnam war. It exposed to many the lies that they had been taught about the "benevolent" and "democratic" nature of the U.S. system of government, especially when it affected them directly.

Thousands more rebelled against the blatant injustices committed by the ruling class against Black and other minority peoples in a country which teaches its young that capitalism brings brotherhood and equality.

This contradiction—the clash between the phony capitalist ideals taught in the classroom and the reality of oppression, exploitation and aggression which became sharply evident in the 1960's—produced the ferment in which students around the country were speaking out and going to jail in protest of war and racism. This rebellion broke out even at a time when the workers movement was at a relatively low ebb. But even without the conscious working class leadership so necessary for victory; even with the errors and the often unscientific approach to the struggle that many students took in that period, one thing should be clear. The rebellion of the students in the 60's was just and was a heroic page in the history of the people of this country.

As early as 1959, students at Berkeley and Chicago began to denounce the government's policy of sending "military advisors" to Vietnam. Over the next decade, teach-ins, draft resistance movements, blocking of troop trains and armaments depots and countless marches and publications brought the issue of the imperialist war clearly before the people. In so doing, the student movement set the spark that led to the flame of the U.S. anti-war movement with its mass actions a million strong and its broad support among the working people.

It was no coincidence that the militant student movement of the 60's found its beginnings in the most heavily oppressed and poorest region of the country—in the South. On February 1, 1960, Black students initiated the first sit-in to desegregate the Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C. The brutality with which this demand was met shattered for many people the illusion of U.S.

"democracy." This kind of brutality towards the student movement and the Black liberation struggle in particular was a clear indication of what the ruling class will do to maintain their profits and their power. It was to be followed by such events as the Orangeburg Massacre and the murders of protesting students at Texas Southern Univ. which made headlines all over the world.

The growth of the sit-in movement and the spread of similarly militant movements throughout the South, led

to the formation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee at Greensboro in 1963. SNCC allied with many other organizations outside the campuses in waging the fight for Black liberation and grew nationally with the rising tide of the Civil Rights Movement.

SNCC advocated non-violence as the main tactic until through its own experience, it learned that the U.S. ruling class would use reactionary violence and terror against any and all challenges to its white supremacist policies. In 1967 SNCC began advocating instead, "organized self-defense of the Black community" against Klan and police terror. The slogan of "Black Power" was advanced beginning in 1965 as an objective call for the right of self-determination for Afro-American people.

SNCC's move from pacifism to resistance and Black Power brought down upon them the wrath of the liberals as well as the so-called "friends of the Negro people" and even that of the revisionist Communist Party USA who were loudly advocating their line of "peaceful transition to socialism." SNCC was forced to "go against the tide" and rely on themselves and on the masses.

FIRST OPPOSITION TO INDOCHINA WAR

SNCC's influence in the ideological direction of the student movement laid the groundwork for the developing anti-imperialist consciousness that followed. It was the first major organization to publicly call for militant protests against U.S. aggression in Indochina. Later, during the 1967 "June War" of Israeli aggression in the Middle East, while many sections of the student movement were trying to straddle the fence between anti-imperialism and Zionism, SNCC openly denounced Zionism and its policies of war and annexation of Arab territories. Calling upon the movement to take up the anti-Zionist call, SNCC was able to show clearly the link between Israel's anti-Arab policies and the white supremacy of its chief backers, the U.S. ruling class.

Owing to the absence of a Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S. since the early 50's, most entrants into the movement of the 60's were young people, unfamiliar with a scientific understanding of the class and national struggles and unfamiliar to Marxism. SNCC and the whole Civil Rights Movement became a school of clashing ideologies and the scene of some new stirrings of revolutionary ideology growing in opposition to the liberalism of the disenchanted middle-class reformers. Various degrees and formulations of Marxism, nationalism and reformism struggled out their views and at one point led to a split.

The split in SNCC had several underlying causes. One was that SNCC never resolved the organizational question of whether it was to be a mass-based organization or a narrow cadre group. This contradiction made it impossible to resolve political differences properly. Secondly, there was a split over the question of whether white and Black SNCC members could remain in one organization. The growing nationalism of the period came into conflict with the liberalism of most of the white students and intellectuals, who viewed themselves for the most part as part-time fighters. White SNCC workers were finally asked to leave and to go and organize in white communities—something which, up to that time had been totally neglected.

Other divisions in the ranks included some who advocated the necessity of armed struggle or preparation for such a struggle as the main form of the fight for liberation, against others such as John Lewis and Julian Bond who advocated "working within the system."

SNCC's overall contribution was its consistent stand against racism and imperialism. Because of this, the entire student movement began to see the need to unite against imperialism and to make the fight against discrimination a central part of its program.

The second part of this series will appear in the October CALL, analyzing the lessons of the May 4th Movement in China, and tracing the development of SDS.



(Left) Civil rights march in Cambridge, Md. was joined by students from local colleges in 1964. (Right) Columbia University students were jailed by the hundreds in a strike in the spring of 1968 demanding an end to university expansion into the Black community. Their struggle received wide support from community and Black liberation movement.

Which Way For CLUW?

Mass Struggle or Sell-out Bureaucracy

Local chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) are being born across the country in the midst of a fierce struggle. This struggle is directed at the few top women bureaucrats who are trying to keep the organization tied to the opportunist policies of the existing trade union bureaucracy. They hope to prevent CLUW from really fighting for the needs of working women.

Protests against bureaucracy have been heard from San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Boston, Washington D.C., and Atlanta. As a result, CLUW President Olga Madar has been forced to issue a second edition of the organization's procedural rules which are more in line with those adopted by the 3,200 women who attended CLUW's founding conference last March in Chicago.

The struggle against red tape has come out most sharply in Washington, D.C. and Atlanta. These two cities have sent letters of protest to the national steering committee. For example, Atlanta women insisted that any chapter that has fulfilled the spirit and intent of CLUW's "Structure and Guidelines" be chartered. CLUW president Madar and others have been frantically trying to keep local chapters of CLUW from being chartered until her clique is in full control of them.

Groups in other cities such as Los Angeles and New York are experiencing stalling tactics on the part of local bureaucrats, who rely on the procedural rules to say, "We can't take any action until we're a chapter." They also do such things as schedule meetings at long intervals in an attempt to stifle the initiative of the women. Underlying the stalling tactics of the bureaucrats are their desires to limit CLUW to a small circle of prominent white labor movement women, rather than opening it to the masses of working and oppressed women.

At the same time that this is going on, rank-and-file forces are trying to cut through the red tape—sometimes uniting with different officials—and are attempting to build CLUW as a mass, militant action organization.

The group in Cincinnati, for example, has passed a resolution supporting the United Farm Workers boycott and



UNION WOMEN DEMONSTRATE in New York City around the turn of the century.

joined a UFW march in the city in July; strongly supported the Brookside miners' strike by initiating a \$500 gate drive at a local UAW assembly plant, and even participated in a caravan that went down to the Brookside strike lines.

CLUW in Washington, D.C. has conducted training sessions on how to fight discrimination in the plant, including one on the filing of EEOC suits, and another one on how to fight discrimination in the union.

The New York group is planning a labor school while the farmworkers have been invited to speak in Boston and Los Angeles. After the farmworker speakers urged CLUW to boycott grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine, they received standing ovations. The farmworker speaker in Los Angeles, Vivian Drake, noted that the farmworkers had felt used when a resolution supporting the boycott was not passed at the Chicago convention, and urged the Los Angeles group to pass such a resolution as soon as possible.

Atlanta CLUW has encouraged women to put in job applications at a local steel plant which hasn't hired women since World War 2. Some successes were gained, and the CLUW women plan to pursue the case with EEOC charges, law suits, demonstrations, and other protests until the plant hires more women.

The key to building CLUW is to get the local bodies to develop actions and educational programs that speak to the real demands of women workers. At the same time, the only way to develop these programs is to actually begin to recruit a good number of rank-and-file and minority women to CLUW, something that the bureaucrats are unwilling and unable to do.

The struggle over the rights of national minorities is also beginning to emerge in the local groups. In New Jersey, for

example, a sharp struggle arose when a leaflet failed to include the fight against the special oppression of minority women as one of the goals of CLUW. While a few women said, "We're all women," or "We're all workers," the majority finally agreed that CLUW must stand up for the special demands of minority women. Also, in Los Angeles, militant demands by Black women for more Black women speakers have been met. However, many chapters are still largely white-dominated, and some do not yet publish their literature in Spanish or other languages.

In addition, a struggle over whether to support affirmative action suits for women and minorities is in the making. Ultra-"left" groups such as the Communist League and the Trotskyists have joined with the bureaucrats in opposing affirmative action (company and union programs to remedy discrimination). These groups say that such efforts to support affirmative action "split the class" or pit one oppressed group of women against another.

But in fact, historically it has been the failure of the labor bureaucrats to fight for the rights of minority and women workers that has "split the class."

The reaction of President Madar to rank-and-file protest in CLUW has been to resort to red-baiting. The process, which began in Chicago when Madar singled out an outspoken rank and filer in a UAW caucus meeting as an "independent Maoist" is now on the increase.

Madar labels anyone who disagrees with her as an "independent Maoist" and accuses that person of wanting to "destroy CLUW." Bureaucrats such as Madar, however, are growing more isolated as it becomes obvious that they are the ones who are trying to destroy CLUW by trying to limit participation and by blocking the local groups from taking any independent action for women's rights. If these bureaucrats' opposition to the giant monopolies and their male supremacist policies was half as strong as their anti-communism, CLUW would already be in the forefront of the fight for the rights of working women.

NEED FOR INDEPENDENT ACTION

Another concept pushed by Madar and her allies in trying to keep the lid on CLUW is that of "working only within the intra-union framework." By this, they would limit CLUW to having its members only go to meetings, etc.; whereas the left forces and most rank and filers see the need for CLUW to also take part in independent political action.

The rank-and-file forces in CLUW not only have the bureaucrats to deal with, but also their faithful allies—the Communist Party. The CPUSA never fails to unite with the bureaucrats in opposing the rank and file. As for their idea of "action programs," the CPUSA would like CLUW to tag along behind the Democratic party by confining the organization's activities to registering women to vote, promoting women candidates, and supporting legislation for women.

There are also a multiplicity of Trotskyist sects seeking to destroy CLUW. While some "Trots" such as the Spartacist League have usually come into meetings posing as the so-called "militant caucus" trying to sow confusion with their thousand-and-one resolutions unrelated to the sentiments of the women present, they have been easily exposed. Others, however, such as the Socialist Workers Party, have proved to be the more devious enemy. Opportunists with no regard for the sentiments and wishes of the rank and file, they collude with the CPUSA in refusing to fight the bureaucrats for more democracy and militant action.

The fight against the bureaucrats in CLUW is inevitable because the path towards a real workers' movement is blocked under this system by this gang of labor aristocrats. The imperialist system which we live under bribes this gang of labor aristocrats with money and privileges in exchange for their efforts to sabotage and put the brake on the working class movement.

We need to take up the battle against the bureaucrats in a militant way, because in the process of severing the masses of women from these corrupt misleaders, we will become educated and strengthened. And as CLUW becomes an organization that fights for working women's true needs—child care, equality in jobs and promotions, equal participation in unions and in politics—it will be that much better able to strengthen the united front against imperialism in the U.S.

SLOANE STRIKERS TAKE STRUGGLE TO OTHER CITIES

Scoring a major blow against the R.G. Sloane Manufacturing Co., the striking members of United Rubber Workers Local 621 held boycott and strike demonstrations in several cities in a coordinated drive on Sloane and the sale of scab plastic pipe fittings.

Through national support won over the last 18 months of pitched fighting against Sloane, Local 621 was able to hold picket lines of over 350 strikers and AFL-CIO supporters at the Sun Valley, Calif. plant, and boycott lines in front of Montgomery Ward stores in Oakland, Ventura, Denver, and other cities.

After the United Rubber Workers International leadership chose August 7 for a local Los Angeles mobilization of trade union support, Local 621 strikers immediately decided to go one step further and called for national support activities to build their boycott against "GSR" plastic pipe fittings. An already existing Sloane Strike Support Committee in the Oakland area began work around August 7, and new support committees were built in Oxnard, California through the United Farm Workers members and supporters, and in Denver, Colorado through labor and community organizations such as the Colorado Workers Unity Organization, Crusade for Justice, AFL-CIO bodies and URW locals.

Montgomery Ward was singled out for boycott activities by Local 621, both for the August 7 demonstrations and for a long-run boycott campaign. As the largest single buyer of "GSR" pipe fittings, their policy of stocking scab merchandise has been a road-block to a successful victory for the mainly-Latino local. Therefore, continued educational leafletting aimed at removing Sloane fittings from the stores has been set in motion. Although the impact of Local 621's boycott will come through active support of construction, plumbing, and electrical workers, a removal of "GSR" fittings from Wards stores will certainly add to the effort by tightening economic pressure, mobilization of non-industrial support, and in publicity to the often overlooked struggle.

Already this pressure has taken effect on plant operations.

Once run by over 400 scabs and strike breakers, layoffs due to the boycott, striker harassment, and oil industry uncertainties have cut the plant's output tremendously. In fact, the entire operation of Sloane, once the nation's largest manufacturer of plastic pipe fittings, has been damaged. Layoffs at the Cleveland, Ohio plant number into the hundreds, and months earlier Sloane was forced to close down their Tennessee facilities. In addition, several warehouses and distributing centers have been closed. Local 621's snowballing struggle has crippled the parent company, also. Stock in the corporation has hit all time lows under 2 dollars a share, whereas the year before the strike, the financial news read a much rosier picture in the 20's and 30's.

The once-cocky Board of Directors of Susquehanna Corporation has evidently bitten off more than they can chew with their efforts to break Local 621. Besides facing the wrath of hundreds of strikers, Susquehanna now has to deal with irate stockholders who have filed suit against the company, and the Sloane brothers, founders and original owners of the company, have been quoted as telling a representative of the Board of Directors, "It took two farmers (the Sloane brothers) to build this company and 31 jackasses (Susquehanna's Board) to break it." But the truth is that the workers are the ones breaking Sloane's ability to super-exploit them and breaking Sloane's racist treatment of Latino workers as well.

The strike force immediately followed the August 7 actions with more boycott work on a national scale. Hosted by the Colorado Sloane Strike Support Committee, strikers appeared at public forums, union meetings and UFWA boycott lines in Denver, Colorado. This is the first speaking-tour out of California for Local 621 members and is to be followed by a planned national speaking tour in the latter part of the summer.

As Rafael Sanchez, Local 621 picket captain, told the forum crowd at the Denver Labor Center, "Sloane has tried to break us, and they really thought that they could. They were wrong. We will turn them into dust."

SPIRIT OF "EL GRITO DE LARES" STILL LIVES IN PUERTO RICO

The first Republic of Puerto Rico was declared amid the flames of insurrection on September 23, 1868. On this day, Puerto Rican independence fighters staged an armed uprising against the Spanish colonialists. Their historic revolt, known as "El Grito de Lares" (The Cry of Lares), lives today as an inspiration to all patriotic Puerto Ricans. Though this Republic lasted only a short time, the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence and sovereignty continues to this day against their new masters—the U.S. imperialists.

The late 19th century saw anti-colonial revolutionary wars sweeping across Latin America. The Antillian islands (including the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Cuba, and Puerto Rico) were part of this revolutionary tide. Many secret societies were formed, aimed at the overthrow of Spanish domination.

Dr. Ramon Emeterio Betances was one of the leaders of this movement. Betances was convinced that nothing could be won from Spain through appeals for reform. As a revolutionary, he saw that the prevailing legal system in subjugated countries was nothing more than legalized injustice. His activities forced him into exile but in no way turned him away from his goal to aid in the struggle for Puerto Rican independence.

The insurrection was meant to explode in the town of Lares on September 29, 1868—the day on which slaves celebrated the festival of Saint Michael. The secret societies agreed to work together to strike the blow at an agreed-upon

time. But the plans of the independentistas (independence fighters) were discovered, and they were thus obliged to move the date of the insurrection up to September 23. Betances, who had organized an expeditionary force while in exile, was prevented by this discovery from arriving at San Juan with his additional force of arms.

On September 23, the Puerto Rican people, led by the members of the secret societies organized in this period, started the first armed uprising in the country for national independence. The Puerto Rican patriots routed the Spanish army from the mountain town of Lares, and proclaimed the Republic of Puerto Rico. Immediately after this, they were to take the town of San Sebastian and the rest of the island with the aim of liberating the country from the yoke of Spanish colonial rule. But after a bloody struggle, the Spanish army defeated the armed insurrection.

Now every year on September 23, the Puerto Rican independence fighters march to the town of Lares to pay respect to the heroes of this rebellion, and to reaffirm their dedication to finish the struggle begun in 1868. One full century later in 1968, over 30,000 people from many patriotic organizations gathered in Lares to commemorate this day. To do this, they had to overcome many difficulties, for Lares is a mountain town accessible only through small rural roads.

Puerto Rico is no longer a colony of Spain. However, it is still not an independent country. In the late 1890's, the rising strength of the independence

movement had forced Spain to grant autonomy to Puerto Rico. But in 1898, following the Spanish-American war, the U.S. government laid claims to Puerto Rico as one of the "spoils" of its imperialist aggression.

Since that time, the movement for independence has grown in breadth and depth, including more and more sectors of Puerto Rican society. Many Puerto Ricans have been forced through the colonial schemes of the U.S. to migrate to the U.S. mainland. This in no way changed the demand of the Puerto Rican people for independence, but instead has brought the Puerto Rican struggle within the U.S. borders. The struggle has expanded to include the demands of the Puerto Rican national minority here for democratic rights and equality within the U.S.

As the Puerto Rican people again reaffirm their commitment to the struggle for independence this September 23, we in the U.S. must recognize our duty to the continuing struggle.

Puerto Rico is now a colony of the U.S. imperialists. All freedom-loving people within the U.S. must also take up this struggle as their own—for in fact it is! The enemy of the Puerto Rican people is the same enemy working and other oppressed people in the U.S. face every day—monopoly capitalism and imperialism. It is our internationalist duty to take up the struggle against our common enemy.

The Puerto Rican people and the people of the United States must reaffirm their commitment to achieve the independence of Puerto Rico. Learning from the spirit of "El Grito de Lares," we should use our efforts to build for the huge rally scheduled for October 27 in Madison Square Garden that will call for the independence and freedom of Puerto Rico.

**¡Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!
Independence for Puerto Rico!**

REPORT FROM LATIN AMERICA:

Labor Movement Fights Imperialism

As the capitalist system plunges deeper into a world economic crisis, every country faces its own rising inflation. In each country workers have been faced with a drop in living standards, a faster pace of production, and higher prices in the market. This attack upon the working class has caused widespread discontent, particularly sharp within the trade union movement.

Latin American workers have always faced poverty and exploitation. Now the struggle has once again flared into a mass movement. Throughout Latin America workers have risen up to make their union truly represent their needs.

Workers are refusing to let their unions be manipulated by sell-out bureaucrats to suppress their struggle. Instead the working class has initiated a mass struggle to kick out the capitalist labor lieutenants, and elect an honest and militant leadership. The fight also entails establishing unions independent of governments, a drive to organize the unorganized, and a struggle for the bettering of the everyday conditions of life.

A major aspect of the South American union movement is anti-imperialism. The largest factories and major resources in their countries are controlled by the U.S. imperialists. This has led to head on confrontations with the super-exploitation of the imperialist camp. Nationalization and workers control are demands which the workers have put forward with a unified shout of defiance. When the unions are controlled by the rank and file, they have played a militant role in the united fronts against imperialism in each of their own particular countries.

NEW HIGH POINT

In Argentina, the rank-and-file struggle for militant and democratic unions has reached a new high point. Millions of workers are fighting to reclaim their organizations from the right-wing Peronist bureaucracy. The old leadership pushes what they call the "social pact." They claim, to make Argentina strong the workers must cease to struggle, promote production and unquestionably follow the dictates of the government. But workers have refused to put up with these demands which would only lead to their further exploitation. Instead they have struggled to rid themselves of false leadership, and continued their strikes which reached a high point shortly before Peron's return.

With Peron's death, the bureaucracy is on more shaky footing than ever. While relying on Peron's support during the past year, they now must turn more openly to their gangster methods of violence and assassinations of militant new leaders. This is a bankrupt policy which only exposes their rottenness, and arouses the resistance of the workers.

Without Peron's personal protection, the union hierarchy will be more open to attacks from previously wavering left Peronist groups. Organizations such as "Youth Peronist Workers" and "Base of Peronism," while being for "a socialist homeland" had often conceded to rightist elements under Peron's favor. Peron's death should now allow these groups to more openly ally themselves with other militant sectors, such as the "Revolutionary Communist Party" and "Vanguard Communist" who have never limited their line to the wishes of Peron.

Argentina's revisionist Communist Party is largely a middle-class organization, and maintains little strength among the working class. Their union policy has concentrated on cementing an alliance with middle Peronist forces and the labor aristocracy. Though publicly condemning the "Soc-

ial Pact," in practice they attack the right-bureaucracy only where they meet head-on over each others own opportunistic plans. Both the bureaucratic hierarchy and revisionists try to present themselves as the true union leadership in paper organizations isolated from rank-and-file support. The C.P. thinks that by calling a conference of "recognized" officials and issuing a few militant sounding resolutions, that the working class will fall in line behind their opportunism. But workers are not falling for these tricks, and are choosing its leadership based on the real everyday struggle.

Some of the most significant advances for the Argentinian working class have been in Cordoba, an industrial center for auto manufacturing. Centered in Cordoba are international giants such as General Motors, Fiat, Renault, and Peugeot. It is here where workers made their first success in kicking-out the union hierarchy and reclaiming their unions. Not only have the workers gained control on the shop level, but they also have seized leadership of the total union organization. René Salamanca, a long-time militant and member of the new Revolutionary Communist Party, was elected Secretary-General of the Auto-Mechanics Union (SMATA), representing a membership of 20,000.

Salamanca is leading a militant anti-imperialist workers movement. Voicing the demands of the rank and file with a revolutionary perspective, he has led the fight against the labor stooges of the Peronist hierarchy, and also against the real bosses of the Argentinian workers—the imperialists.

SMATA now reflects the demands of the rank and file. Inner union democracy has been restored, the union backs up the workers on the shop floor, and inter-plant coordination and solidarity is stressed. A united front of workers has become a real force, which acts in unity with other sectors of the people.

Other labor forces which have strong insurgent movements are the railroad, municipal, hospital, forest, sugar, and tea workers. The struggle has a long way to go before the hierarchy of the General Confederation of Workers is

overthrown. Nevertheless the upheaval of the Argentinian working class will continue until the power of the imperialist labor lieutenants is smashed.

The Bolivian miners are famous throughout Latin America for their revolutionary militancy. The Federated Union of Bolivian Mine Workers, (FSTMB) is a union controlled by the rank and file. The union expresses the desires and aspirations of the Bolivian workers to be independent of imperialist domination. It also takes a firm stand against the sell-out policies of the fascist dictatorship of General Banzer, and repression at home.

More than once Bolivian miners have taken to the streets with guns to defend their advances and hard won victories. Last January when the dictatorship raised food prices 140 per cent in one day, the miners led the working class in a two-week general strike. When the military attacked peasants who had blockaded the national highways, 5,000 workers from the largest mines in Bolivia renewed their strike in solidarity with the peasants. Though the "Bolivian Workers Central" had been driven underground, they publicly claimed responsibility for the general strike.

During the 15th National Congress of FSTMB last November, resolutions covered a wide range including amnesty for political prisoners, higher wages, better education, and several anti-imperialist resolutions. One such resolution stated that: "The epoch in which we live is characterized by the struggle of the oppressed masses against the imperialist aggressor. . . particularly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We live in the epoch of the triumph of Socialism over Capitalism, the epoch of the victorious liberation struggles over colonialism . . . and the growing power of the workers movement against the monopolist in the industrialized capitalist nations." Added to this was their support of the "unity of the working and popular classes in their role of armed confrontation with the Yankee Imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces . . ."

The trade union movement in Peru is marked by strong

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 17)



Demonstrating workers in Latin America carry banner reading, "Our Support is for the Struggle Against Imperialism and the Bourgeoisie!"

We suppose the Revolutionary Union (RU) thought they could dismiss the October League simply by printing 11 pages of denunciations of our work and labeling us "revisionists," "opportunists," etc ... (see Aug. Revolution—"October League: A Cover for Revisionism"). But, simply saying it doesn't make it so. The RU article is a barrage, assembled by RU's best from around the country, and mixing bits and pieces of half-truths, rumor-mongering, and out-and-out lies:

It is only one of many recent attacks on the October League from such diverse groups as RU, the Communist League, Spartacist League, Communist Party, etc. . . These are signs of OL's growing influence and rapid growth as well as our involvement in the struggles of the people. We refuse to get diverted by such attacks, but instead take the dual approach of 1) trying to learn from them in order to improve our work, and 2) using them to better understand the class outlooks of the various groups attacking us so viciously.

In the case of the RU article in Revolution, we are left with the feeling that this was written mainly for RU's own members, to reassure them in a situation where RU is wracked with sharp internal divisions and splits, especially from the dwindling ranks of their national minority members. The past few months have seen leading members of that organization leaving, often discouraged and sometimes angered at what they have called, "RU's increased sectarianism and deep-rooted white chauvinism." (See Paper by Earl Rose, former member of RU's Central Committee on leaving RU). Their closest allies of a few months ago such as Black Workers Congress and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization have openly denounced them as "white chauvinists," and "Progressive Labor Party Reborn" (PL is an organization which at one time claimed to be Maoist, but was soon exposed as a gang of white chauvinists and police agents).

SECTARIANS

It is not surprising then that the RU leadership would try and direct the heat away from themselves with this kind of tirades, not just against OL, but against all the other forces that make up the young communist movement in the U.S. It is RU's way of spreading confusion and discouragement in the ranks. By themselves, these sectarian attacks which view everyone outside the RU as one reactionary mass and are based on the one tactic of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows," expose the fact that RU has never been interested in building communist unity and a new party, but have seen themselves from the very beginning as "the only Marxist-Leninists." This accounts for a polemical style which is not fundamentally different from the Trotskyists such as the Spartacist League and others who polemicize with each other, not in the Marxist fashion of trying to seek truth from facts, but rather in phrase-mongering attacks which they hope will bury their "opposition."

But these tactics will not bury us. Through them we are able to distinguish that much better between the two lines, the two roads, and the different class outlooks working within the ranks of the communist movement. This will make us better communists.

The RU attacks have put more light on their own line, which is characterized by "leftism" in its form but rightism (or reformism) in essence. The "leftism" is seen in RU's policies towards the United Front Against Imperialism which is our general line towards the revolution today. The United Front is a line of uniting all that can be united against the imperialists and their aggressive, fascist policies and, within that united front movement, developing the leadership of the working class in every area, and maintaining the independence and initiative of that class. This independence and initiative, of course, requires that the working class have its own organizations and, most importantly, its own party—a Marxist-Leninist party which at this time does not exist. Building such a party constitutes the central task of all Marxist-Leninists at the present time.

WIDESPREAD ORGANIZATION

But even in the absence of such a party, the various communist groups are responsible for carrying out widespread organizing work among the masses in their day to day struggle against exploitation and oppression, and in doing so, to carry on the broadest education among the people (not just the left) in the spirit of socialism and revolution.

RU has in practice abandoned the work of forging this United Front and has in recent months relegated itself to sloganeering and sectarian splitting within the left movement. They have given up the effort to build the broad unity necessary to take on the present assault on the people's livelihood being waged by the ruling class. Instead of carrying out a policy of uniting all who can be united, the RU is developing the sectarian policy of RU vs. the big reactionary mass. Aside from failing to consolidate its own advanced forces, it is also pursuing a policy of driving the middle forces into the ranks of the enemy and failing to use contradictions in the enemies' camp—just the opposite of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line. Mao Tsetung most clearly stated this general line in his writings on "Problems of Tactics in United Front."

"The tactics required for this purpose are to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and combat the die-hard forces—these are three inseparable links . . ."

"LEFT" IN FORM, RIGHT IN A RESPONSE TO REVOLUTIONARY U

The Revolution article attempts to make use of some of OL's errors in our mass work (which we shall deal with later) in order to paint the OL as "revisionist" (exactly the same as the CPUSA). But the real contribution of their article is that it fully exposes the RU's anti-united front stand, even to the point of making some backhanded attacks on the People's Republic of China and its foreign policy.

This line which has a "left" appearance, is really *right* in essence, because it abandons the masses to the leadership and influence of the reformists and opportunist trade union and civil rights leaders, and fails to break the middle forces from their influence.

The first example we can see is RU's attack on OL's trade union work, which over the last two years has become stronger and deeply rooted among the industrial workers. RU claims:

"... OL's strategy for building the workers' movement calls for uniting with one section of the trade union bureaucracy against another section—the 'progressive section' against the reactionary section." (page 12).

First of all we would like to plead guilty to the charge. To unite with the progressive section of the labor leadership against the reactionaries has always been the Marxist-Leninist approach and this is exactly the course we have taken in the past in such struggles as the defense of the United Farm Workers in their struggle against the scabs of the Teamsters' leadership, and in the struggle of the United Mine Workers Union leadership, where the more progressive and democratic sections headed by Arnold Miller waged a struggle for leadership against the reactionary Boyle leadership. Such struggles and such unity are certainly in the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, and making good use of such contradictions is certainly an important part of communist strategy.



What effect will RU's line of "jamming the unions" have on the struggle of the United Farm Workers?

It is true, of course, that such alliances carry with them great dangers. If the communists dropped their vigilance and gave up their own independence, such an alliance could be dominated by reformists who would then turn on the revolutionary forces when they were strong enough. This is exactly what the CPUSA did under the leadership of the Browder revisionists when they gave up their leadership after leading in the building of the United Auto Workers Union in 1937, and, in fact, the entire CIO. This is also the policy of the modern revisionists today, who toddle behind the Woodcock UAW leadership and others of his type.

But is this kind of capitulation inevitable within the united front? Does this danger prevent us from uniting with forces in the mass movements of the people who are progressive against the reactionary die-hards? RU says, "Yes!" Why? The Revolution article explains when speaking of such alliances:

"This too, ultimately comes down to relying on the labor bureaucracy as a whole, and also the bourgeoisie because it controls the labor bureaucracy."

And here lies the heart of RU's logic. To "unite", to the RU, ultimately comes down to "relying on" the progressive elements in the unions. This same logic is also applied to the petty bourgeois sections of the Black liberation struggle, the women's movement, the Dump Nixon movement, etc. . . Its practical implications are that RU, while paying lip service to the united front, actually becomes the splitter and wrecker of every actual effort to build such a front. They confuse "uniting" with "relying on," and therefore oppose unity with non-proletarian forces in principle.

RU does make a concession to the unity of the working class:

"Sometimes it is correct," says the Revolution article, "to unite with trade union officials, depending on the particular conditions, sometimes, it isn't. But uniting with

trade union officials no matter how 'progressive' can never be the basis of a revolutionary strategy."

Here we have a good example of RU's clever tricks in covering their rear. They concede that it may be necessary to unite with this or that official. Very well. But then they say this is not the "basis of a revolutionary strategy." Obviously the attempt here is to make it seem that the strategy of the communists is to have the rank-and-file of the working class take on the bourgeoisie alone and that every section of every other class and strata is one reactionary mass which does not have to be united with strategically.

Is this a communist strategy? No way! Stalin defined strategy in "foundations of Leninism" in the following way:

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution . . ."



OCTOBER LEAGUE MEMBER addressing a rally in support of the Sloane strikers. Through work in building the strike, communists can do independent education.

RU is claiming that the progressive sections of the union leaders are not included in the "disposition of the revolutionary forces (main and secondary reserves)." To them, all the various rifts within the various sections of the labor movement are only minutely important and only then in terms of uniting with a few individuals when they are forced to unite with us.

But what is it that will make certain reformist forces within the labor movement and the movements of nationally oppressed peoples unite with us? It is our deep ties among the masses gained through years of patient work, and our position as unifiers and leading fighters for the day to day interests as well as the long-term interests of the class.

The RU article likes to speak of "critical support" rather than "100 per cent support" but this too is a false issue. All support the working class and its leadership gives to other classes and other organizations and forces is always conditional. At the same time, this doesn't mean struggle is carried out simply through the communists maintaining their "pure" slogans. As anyone fighting the reactionaries in the union leadership knows, struggle must be waged in a protracted way, with caution and restraint and in accordance with the understanding of the masses of workers, even the middle and backward workers. RU claims in the article that :

"We did give critical support to the Miller slate (referring to the Arnold Miller campaign against the Boyle reactionaries—ed) while at the same time emphasizing that the rank and file should keep the initiative in their own hands and continue to jam the union and not rely on it." (p. 15)) ("Jam" is slang for putting the organization "up against the wall"—ed).

"CRITICAL SUPPORT"?

There are two things that stand out in this statement. The first is that the RU is not telling the truth. They never lifted a finger within the Miners for Democracy Movement, which attracted support from the broadest sections of the miners. Their "critical support," the tiny bit there was, was limited to articles lecturing the workers in the heat of the anti-Boyle struggle, that Miller, who they labelled a "Social-fascist" was bound to betray them. This "crystal ball" method of education has left the RU isolated from the workers in every struggle where it has been carried out. They are doing the same type of thing within the United Farm Workers Union. Rather than helping to build the union in opposition to the fascist assault that has made this the key labor struggle in the country, RU has given its "critical support" in the sense of building counter-organizations to the UFW, holding counter-rallies and counter-caravans as an alternative to working within the UFW.

The second point that stands out in the above statement by RU is their strategy of "jamming the Union." It is true that struggle must be waged when even the progressive

IN ESSENCE: UNION

wing of the union leadership takes a stand counter to the interests of the workers. This is the case presently in the UFW, where the union leadership has pushed their policy of turning in illegal Mexican workers to the immigration police and in the UMW where Miller's waverings on the 10-day memorial work stoppage has hurt the struggle (See July Call article).

But this can never mean "jamming the union." The workers do have to rely on the union as the basic organization of the workers. RU's anti-union policies come out strongly in this article. The RU's view, like so many ultra-"leftists" before them is that the unions are all reactionary and as the revolutionary struggle heightens, more and more workers will leave the unions. Their policy is to build "pure anti-imperialist workers' organizations" in their place.

J. V. Stalin, summing up the Leninist view of work in the trade unions wrote the following:

"Hence it follows from what Lenin says that political agreements, political blocs between Communists and reactionary leaders of the working class are quite possible and permissible. . .

"But why are such agreements necessary at all?

"In order to gain access to the working-class masses, in order to enlighten them as to the reactionary character of their political and trade union leaders, in order to sever from the reactionary leaders the sections of the working class that are moving to the Left and becoming revolutionized, in order, consequently, to enhance the fighting ability of the working class as a whole (Stalin, "The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee")

STALIN ON UNIONS

"Whether good or bad, it is a fact that the non-Party workers . . . regard the trade unions as their principal strongholds, which help them in their struggle against the capitalists. . . That explains the fact that the broad masses of the workers regard the direct struggle waged against the present trade unions from the outside by the "ultra-lefts" as a struggle against their principal strongholds, which took them decades to build and which the "Communists" now want to destroy. Failure to take this specific feature into account means wrecking the entire communist movement in the West." (Letter to Comrade ME-RT-1925).

The unions are not simply defensive organizations either, as RU pictures them, but must be made into organizations that, as Marx said, "far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions." ("Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council").



DEMONSTRATION OF ITALIAN UNIONS attack capitalism and the parasites who live of the labor of the working people. RU abandons the struggle to move the trade unions to the left.

To accomplish this, the most protracted and careful struggle must be made within the unions to build them up, not "jam them." This will take a very complicated struggle with many twists and turns and will include alliances with various sections of the labor movement including the "progressive" bureaucrats against the "reactionary" bureaucrats.

If RU feels that such compromises and alliances will stain their purity, that's tough! But they will end up isolated, leaving the workers under the influence of the labor aristocrats. This is why we say RU's policy is *right* in essence. This is why after all their bragging about how they were the saviors of the Farah workers, they are isolated in El Paso from the rank and file, have not been able to carry on independent communist education among the workers, and are viewed as chauvinists for their downplaying of the Chicano national question.

While RU has much to say against our support of Sadlowski in the District 31 of the United Steelworkers Campaign (most of which is outright lies), they don't comment on our positive work in building up the rank-and-file move-

ment in the midwest against Abel and his no-strike (ENA) policies (see letter from S. Benjamin—Letters page), which they have not had any role in, except to stand on the sidelines and watch. They have not said anything about the mass movement that has been built with our efforts and others to oppose, with the masses of workers, the "consent decree" which is a racist company-government trick on the workers. They don't speak of the thousands of workers in the Brotherhood Caucus who were brought, for the first time, into political struggle by communists in the country's largest rank-and-file caucus. They stand on the sidelines hoping the struggle will fail so they can point at everyone's errors but their own.

They don't mention these things because it would show in fact who is and who is not building up the independent organization and action of the rank and file against the labor hacks.

Many of the errors of our own work in building these struggles are constantly being examined by our comrades. For example, at the time OL people first began to work at the GM Fremont plant and first began to initiate work around the Brotherhood Caucus, their immediate tendency was to do just what the RU does. Rather than digging in to fight within the union and do the slow difficult work of mobilizing the working class through struggle, some comrades were interested only in publishing our own paper and recruiting a few workers quickly, when this wasn't in accord with the conditions of the struggle inside the plant.

We in the OL have spent the past two years waging a fierce battle in our ranks against the petty bourgeois sec-

tarianism and phony "leftism" that now characterizes the RU. Coming off of this struggle we have also made rightist errors. This was especially true when the level of struggle was high and the masses were mobilized. That is when the danger of rightism becomes the greatest, especially when the organizers are young and inexperienced, as they were at the Fremont plant.

But despite the errors that were made, the overall work of these comrades was good and it showed in the respect they won from the workers and the gains that were made in building the organization, and in the victories over the company as well as in the level of communist education that was carried out through propaganda and study group work.

It was far better that they make those kinds of mistakes than the RU kind of not lifting a finger to build the Brotherhood and then opportunistically sloganeering and criticising.

There are many other examples of the RU's "left" reformism in the Revolution article which we will go into in the future. There is RU's reference to Black civil rights fighters and reformers as "Black bootlickers" (p.16), which demonstrates the racist view of the RU towards the Black united front in practice. There is RU's backstabbing of the women's fight for equality on the Equal Rights Amendment. And there is the international situation, where RU accuses China of supporting the struggle of certain Third World countries, only as a "concession" made to capitalist governments, rather than as a matter of principle. These are questions which we will take up in the next issue of *THE CALL*.

LETTERS TO THE CALL



WHO IS REALLY FIGHTING ABEL?

To the October League (M-L)

After reading the August issue of Revolution, the national newspaper of the Revolutionary Union, I feel a few points must be made. In their article criticising the October League (M-L) they compare the RU's "revolutionary and militant practice" with the OL's "revisionism". Specifically, in discussing how to build a revolutionary worker's movement, the RU refers to the May 26 demonstration in Milwaukee against United Steel Worker President I.W. Abel and his reactionary ENA and consent decree policies. The Milwaukee demonstration was spirited and militant in terms of slogans and speeches, but there were few steelworkers present. Those supporters who were there consisted overwhelmingly of RU members from Milwaukee and Chicago plus the rest of the Milwaukee left. The faces were the same.

Contrasting this was the pre-steelworkers convention held in Chicago that same weekend. I was able to attend part of that conference in which the October League played a leading role. There were approximately 150 participants there, two-thirds of whom were rank and file steelworkers representing caucuses in 20 major industrial cities across the country. Discussed and acted upon were resolutions ranging from defeat of the no-strike pact to the improved status of women within the union.

Although I belong to neither organization mentioned, my feeling from seeing these two events that their composition tells the story concerning who is building a proletarian opposition to the fascistic Abel policies and who is not.

Sincerely, S. Benjamin

FROM LEAVENWORTH BROTHER

Greetings Comrades,

Due to the increased intensity of struggle here and some problems with mailing, my response to your recent letter has been delayed; but know that all of the Leavenworth Brothers are very deeply inspired by your revolutionary expressions of solidarity.

After more than eleven months of confinement within "the pit" of Leavenworth's infamous building No. 63, of beatings, incommunicado captivity, and forced digestion of food served to us by the criminals who illegally charge us with committing "crimes," the penal and judicial "gods" last month suddenly decided to dismiss their murder charge and move the Leavenworth Brothers to Wichita, Kansas.

. . . We were charged with murdering a pig. Why? Because we are fighting for freedom, and the enemies of the people are opposed to freeing their economically and politically enslaved [people].

. . . We were framed because of the weapons we used to

attack the monster and the degree of effectiveness employed with these tools. And the frame-up charge of murder has been dismissed due to the continued use of these same weapons—and we are not at all reluctant to state that the weapons we speak of are the forces of the masses, the power of the people—and we shall at all costs march on towards victory with the people . . . until all political prisoners are free, and until the people have gained full control over the determining factors of our lives.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

With Revolutionary Regards,
Alf Hill

The Leavenworth Brothers.

Support and financial contributions can be sent to the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee at 106 E. Lincoln, Wichita, Kansas (316) 276-6535.

WE MUST FREE HAROLD DANCY!

Harold Dancy, Jr. is accused of murder. He was booked for murder when his alleged victim died two days after being shot in a tavern fight.

This is clearly a frame-up of the highest degree. At 14 years of age, Harold was at home with his mother when he supposedly shot the man. The tactics "our boys in blue" used were not far apart from those used by the San Francisco police during the "Zebra" outrage.

Because Harold and his family live in a predominantly white neighborhood, where there is a history of police brutality against Blacks, he was rounded up along with every other Black youth the police could find. Before booking Harold for the tavern shooting, the police drove him around the neighborhood, stopping to ask if Harold was "the one". Some of these whites later picked Harold out of the line-up. In fact, some people had earlier identified Harold's brother as the murderer, when the two of them look completely different. It is clear the police are out to find someone to put the blame on, and that someone has to be Black.

Harold's trial was set for July 8, 1974. After about 10 minutes in the courtroom, we found that the prosecution felt they hadn't had sufficient time to prepare a case, so

the trial was continued to August 29.

This kind of action against Black people is not new.

However, we, the Harold Dancy, Jr. Defense Committee have rallied around this brother in his fight for freedom. We've planned fund-raising activities, the first of which was quite successful. Many people have signed petitions to Bernard Carey, the State's Attorney, asking him to drop charges and begin to do something for the Black people who elected him. At some factories, like Stewart-Warner and Hotpoint, we have gotten good support. We want to free Harold Dancy. The police and the politicians that have and will continue to use racism as a dividing block between Black and white, young and old are being exposed as we fight. Some people are content contributing to the heart fund, but we are contributing to a cause much greater in dimension and political content not for personal glory but to stop the tide of fascist attacks against all people.

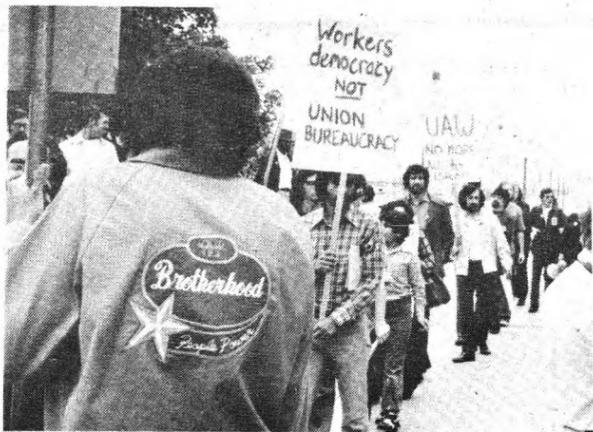
This is part of our fight for unity.

All contributions may be sent to:
The Harold Dancy Jr. Defense Committee
c/o Jordan, 416 East 61st. St., Chicago, Ill., 60637

United as We Are, We Dare To Struggle, Dare To Win

COMMUNISTS ANALYZE BROTHER HOOD

Lessons Drawn From Building U.A.W. Caucus



The Brotherhood Caucus at its height was a mass workers' organization within UAW Local 1364, GM plant in Fremont, California. It attracted most of the advanced and progressive workers in the plant who were fed up with the sell-out union leaders in the International and their puppets on the local level. Hundreds of workers of all nationalities and strata were active members of the caucus at its height, and active support for the caucus could be found among the vast majority of workers. The plant was swept by a sort of "Brotherhood fever" as the workers went in the hundreds to union meetings to confront and oppose the local leaders and International Representative, as mass rallies were held to support Brothers and Sisters who were ripped-off for their Brotherhood activities, and as rudimentary organizations were built in the various departments in the plant.

What did the Brotherhood represent? It was an organized form of the rank-and-file forces within the UAW. Just as Woodcock and his gang of bribed labor leaders were the forces of the imperialists in our union, so the Brotherhood (and similar caucuses which have been built around the country) represented the force of the rank-and-file in our union. Its overall program's main points were struggle against the company, struggle against discrimination and struggle for union democracy. As such it was on a collision course with the class collaborationist, chauvinist and corrupt International leadership. The caucus was a concrete form of action of the rank-and-file against GM, with petitions, line organizations, work stoppages and other forms of resistance. In both its multi-national membership and in its taking up the special demands of minorities, the caucus represented the proletarian line on the struggle against discrimination, directly opposing the chauvinist line of Woodcock and his agents. And the Brotherhood was a united front of various strata in the plant including skilled workers, former local union officials, many rank-and-file workers, and communists who were all united (each for their own reasons) in a front against GM and the International.

STRUGGLE AGAINST INTERNATIONAL

This struggle against the International was one of the Brotherhood's main concrete functions. The main form this took was a militant opposition to the old local leadership of corrupt local agents of the International. This often exposed the direct connections of the International with these local leaders in their financial corruption and in the direct control the International Representative had over the affairs of the local union. This concrete campaign allowed many workers to learn from their own experience what side of the fence the International is on. This opposition was also clearly expressed in the leaflets and newspaper of the caucus.

One of the most important aspects of the Brotherhood was its struggle against discrimination. This was one of the main points of principle in the caucus. Its multi-national membership and the fact that the leadership of the caucus was mainly Black posed a threat to the International, which has maintained its control over the union chiefly through the suppression of minority workers. There were many campaigns against discrimination (e.g. petitions on seniority rights; a struggle to get Black women with high seniority on as janitresses; a struggle to get a woman rehired after having been fired in a blatant sex discrimination case) that were successfully waged by the caucus in the plant. When an OL member was fired for political activity, hundreds of workers turned out to protest rallies and got her rehired.

BRIBED STRATA

As capitalism develops into its highest stage of imperialism, a small section of the proletariat becomes "bourgeoisified," and becomes the bribed agents of the imperialists within the working class movement. These paid agents attempt to steer the trade unions into the channel of class cooperation and national chauvinism. In the U.S., especially, the working class has a long history of this labor aristocracy, which has attempted to suppress the struggle of Afro-American workers for equality; which has tried to pit American workers against workers of other nations, and which has consistently tried to give up the basic rights of the workers to have a strong union with the right to strike. And these "imperialist-minded, imperialist-bribed and imperialist-corrupted" labor aristocrats have built a firm hold on the unions in the U.S.

But does the fact that this struggle will be difficult mean that we shouldn't take it up. No! As Lenin said in "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder:" "This struggle must be waged ruthlessly, and it must unflinchingly be

brought—as we brought it—to a point when all the incorrigible leaders of opportunism and social-chauvinism are completely discredited and driven out of the trade unions! And our goal in waging this struggle is to win the masses of workers (and their basic organization, the unions) to our side, to follow the leadership of our party."

One of the best forms that the working class has come up with in its fight against these "mis-leaders" has been the caucuses within the unions. These caucuses provide a concrete organization of struggle for the union members that stands in direct contrast with the class cooperation of the International leaders. Caucuses should be able to unite the vast majority of union membership (of all strata) around a program of struggle against the companies, union democracy, anti-discrimination, and unqualified opposition to the International, with the ultimate goal of isolating them and kicking them out of the union. Caucuses provide a mass organization for communists to win the masses to see the need for revolution, to struggle with other strata for political leadership of the class, to exert revolutionary influence on the whole union, and to work toward revolutionizing the unions.

When we first started working at GM-Fremont, we were faced with a practical decision; What would we do in the Brotherhood? We realized that we had to move beyond the stage of just talking about it, and should start acting on what we saw. Another question we faced was this one: How would any work that we do in the Brotherhood relate to our central task of building a new party?

PARTICIPATE FULLY

We made the decision to participate fully in the Brotherhood. This was a correct decision; it represented a break with the ultra-"leftism" that has plagued the young communist movement, keeping it isolated from the mass struggle. This decision put us in a position of helping to lead a mass movement in the union. Participating in the Brotherhood was an expression of the correct political line that the goal of communists working in the trade unions is to win the masses to the side of revolution, by isolating and destroying the principal enemy within the unions, the labor aristocrats. And it also represented the correct line that the chief method of rule of these labor leaders (as well as their chief form of class cooperation) is national chauvinism; therefore the struggle against discrimination and chauvinism in the union will be the key to their defeat.

Going all out to build the caucus was also the correct thing to do because it put us in a better position to raise the workers' political consciousness. It was a united front of various strata, who, for their own reasons, opposed the International and its local puppets. Working in this united front gave the advanced workers the experience of working with other strata, so they could learn who are the most stable allies and who aren't. And, working in the caucus

gave us the opportunity to conduct mass political propaganda on a much wider scale than if we had stayed aloof from this workers' organization. We were able to build organized mass support for the UFWA, for the Chinese October 1 celebration, and for the Dump Nixon movement.

But while consolidating this breakthrough against ultra-"leftism", we at times flipped to economist errors, which expressed themselves in many ways. First, our propaganda work was much too limited. The political propaganda that we carried on in the caucus newspaper and leaflets was not nearly as comprehensive as it could have been, and often remained at the "lowest common denominator" of the caucus, instead of presenting advanced, revolutionary ideas and struggling with the less developed forces in the caucus. The independent propaganda that we carried on (in devel-

oping the advanced workers, in selling *THE CALL*, and in pointing out the final aim of the working class movement) was inconsistent and often at the bottom of our priority list. Secondly, the task of building a strong communist organization in the plant was not always taken up; training of workers with Marxism-Leninism, recruitment of workers to the OL, and independent distribution apparatus for *THE CALL* inside the plant—all these things were at times neglected as we built the caucus. Third, we did not struggle as much as we should have within this united front. This was a two-line struggle in the Brotherhood as there is in everything. This was the struggle between the advanced forces (who were committed to the people, who saw the importance of struggling against the International, and who were open to revolutionary ideas) and the opportunists (who were working in the caucus for their own personal gain, or for their small circle of friends, and who were opposed to mobilizing and organizing the masses).

But these mistakes were all the result of not carrying out the line of the October League, which has always put party building in its three aspects—theoretical, mass work, and organizational—as our central task. If we had carried out this line, we would have carried on comprehensive communist propaganda, we would have built a strong factory nucleus, and we would have maintained our independence within the united front.

And these mistakes do not mean that the decision to participate fully was at all incorrect. The line of "critical support" that has been put forward by the RU means reducing communists to the role of "objective spectator" of the mass movement, who covers himself no matter what happens—he can say he was right if it succeeds and he can say he was right if it fails! In practice in our plant, this meant the RU did nothing but attack in order to maintain their own "purity" and abandoned the mass struggle of the rank and file. Secondly, their disdain for the struggle of the masses led them to not take up the fight against discrimination in the plant.

WHO IS FOR IMPERIALISM?

Communists must analyze the contradictions within the working class—who is for imperialism and who is against it—we must be a student of the movement. But on the basis of our analysis we must act to build the progressive, anti-imperialist forces within the unions. As we build this united front, it is bound to develop the two-line struggle. And that is a good thing, for out of that struggle the front will develop. We must certainly not be afraid of that struggle, nor should we be so concerned with being able to say we were right no matter what happens. And communists must maintain their independence and initiative within the united front, to consolidate the advanced forces and point out the final aims, and to have the freedom to criticize opportunism and violations of the united front.

So the reasons that we work to build caucuses within the unions are the same ones we have for working in the unions themselves. We want to increase the fighting capacity of the workers, help them fight for their rights. We want to help the working class get organized. And we want the masses of workers, not just a handful of contacts, learn from their own experiences and from our propaganda that they need to overthrow the whole system of imperialism. In building the Brotherhood we made a lot of mistakes that prevented us from carrying out these goals. But the RU is contributing nothing to the ideological level of the communist movement, or to the workers' movement, by sitting back with its "critical support" and openly attacking the Brotherhood from the beginning. This puts them objectively on the side of the company and the bureaucrats.

October League Forum

"BUILDING A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY"

MAJOR QUESTIONS FACING TODAY'S MOVEMENT

CHICAGO — SAT. SEPT. 7 7:30 P.M.
MIDLAND HOTEL
172 W. ADAMS

HOUSTON — FRI. SEPT. 20 7 P.M.
UNIVERSITY OF
HOUSTON

DETROIT — SUN. SEPT. 8 7 P.M.
TRINITY METHODIST
13100 WOODWARD
HIGHLAND PARK

NEW YORK — FRI. SEPT. 27
LOCATION
TO BE ANNOUNCED

SEATTLE — SAT. SEPT. 14 7:30 P.M.
CAMP FIRE HOUSE
722 18th Ave.

BALTIMORE — SAT. SEPT. 28
LOCATION
TO BE ANNOUNCED

"Countries want independence, Nations want liberation, People want revolution"

TAKING UP THE CALL

SOVIET BLACKMAIL AT U.N. SEA CONFERENCE

The United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has continued to be a battleground between the interests of the two superpowers and the reasonable proposals of Third World countries for safeguarding their rights and resources. The Soviet Union, defeated in many of its schemes by earlier debate, finally made a pretense of agreeing with the majority of Third World countries on the point of a 200-mile limit for maritime rights. But the Soviet representative quickly added that "All questions concerning the law of the sea are interrelated, and must be resolved as a package deal." This was a very thin mask for the Soviet plan to push through an article on "freedom of passage" through the highly strategic straits of the world's seas, such as the Straits of Malacca. The USSR attempted to blackmail the other countries by saying, in effect, that they would have to grant the USSR free passage, in return for Soviet support for the 200-mile exclusive economic zone.

At stake in the current U.N. Conference, is whether or not countries have a right to develop their coastal waters according to their own needs; and whether big naval and fishing powers have the right to do as they please, totally disregarding the interests of the countries on the shoreline.

Nueva Hora, newspaper of the Argentina Revolutionary Communist Party, wrote an article in July, summing the struggle at the Sea Law Conference:

"Today, the Yankees and the Russians have appropriated the rights to exploit fishery, oil, and all resources of our seas, alleging that we (the Third World countries—ed.) are not in a position to do it ourselves.

"Argentina's continental shelf is one having the most abundant resources in the world; it is also a spot where the Yankees and the Russians are daily stepping up their frantic contention to decide which will seize our resources...So long as Third World countries unite to defend their own interests and oppose the policy of aggression and plunder of the two superpowers, neither the U.S. nor the USSR can realize its ambitions to win domination."

"PERSEVERE IN ROAD OF ARMED STRUGGLE"

The Thai People's Armed Forces, together with the Thai Communist Party has directed the people's war to great victories in its ninth year of struggle. In all sections of the countryside, revolutionary base areas exist, where the people hold political power. Attacks on Thai government forces have heightened, and thousands of peasants have been mobilized for the cause of national liberation.

In an editorial broadcast August 7, Thai People's Radio put forward the call to "Persevere in the road of armed struggle, expand the people's war, and win still greater victories." The broadcast further stated, "In the past year, the people's armed forces smashed one enemy 'encirclement and suppression' operation after another, attacked and overran enemy barracks, police stations, and posts, ambushed the enemy in an active and planned way, engaged in more battles of annihilation, and won one brilliant victory after another."

FRENCH PEASANTS FIGHT INFLATION

On the tourist routes in the south of France, peasants have mounted slaughtered pigs on poles, as dramatic symbols of their struggle against inflation and the Common Market policies which are forcing them off the land. In countryside towns, milk trucks have been ambushed and overturned, and government offices have come under armed attack, as peasants and farmers have persisted in their demand for a higher price for their crops.

Huge organizations of the peasants have developed rapidly in the last few months. Conditions have been deteriorating for French peasants because the government has fixed farm prices, increasing the cost of production 20% in the last year. On top of this, because of the inflation in the economy, it is impossible to obtain credit to purchase farm equipment.

At Larzac on Aug. 17-18, over 100,000 people demonstrated against the government plan to confiscate more farm land to build military bases. This struggle has taken on a special significance, since the overall Common Market strategy for France is the destruction of small farms, and the development of agribusiness monopolies to control agriculture.

Many peasants and small producers understand that their demands for higher prices are opposed by most workers, who are also waging a major battle against the high cost of living. To solve this contradiction, peasants have begun setting up stores and stands in the cities for direct sales, enabling them to raise their wholesale prices, while keeping retail prices stable.



AFRICAN WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATIONS

The Fourth African Women's Congress held in Dakar at the end of July, was attended by representatives of 33 African countries and liberation movements. Simultaneous with the Congress, African Women's Day was celebrated in numerous countries with demonstrations and festivities reaffirming the glorious role of African women in the struggles of their people.

The Congress paid tribute to the inspirational contribution of women to the liberation struggles in southern Africa, Palestine, and Indochina. A resolution was passed stressing the opposition of the Congress to all forms of racism, colonialism, and imperialism, especially as practiced by the Israeli Zionists and the white minority supporters of the apartheid system in South Africa.

The political resolution adopted by the Congress further affirmed, "the primordial role the African women play in the harmonious and integral development of the African continent. Therefore the Congress opposes all discrimination in the distribution of tasks to the detriment of women."

CANADA URW FIGHTS FOR COST-OF-LIVING

Canadian rubber workers have been locked in a fierce strike struggle with the U.S.-owned Firestone and Goodyear tire companies, centering on a cost-of-living clause for the United Rubber Workers' Canadian contracts. Rank and file pressure to win the strikes (which have lasted two hundred days at Firestone, and over a hundred at Goodyear) has led to a consumer boycott, initiated by union leaders at Canadian tire stores. The workers have already passed out leaflets explaining their strike at a number of locations.

The cost-of-living clause is especially controversial, because the big rubber companies were able to keep such a clause out of U.S. contracts in 1973. If the Canadian workers win, it will be hard to keep U.S. workers from fighting for the same demand in 1976, when their contract next expires.

PANAMA BATTLES FRUIT MONOPOLIES

The people of Panama have actively joined the campaign to defend their country's independence against the exploitation of big U.S.-owned corporations like United Brands (formerly the United Fruit Company). In a mass rally Aug. 5, in Panama City, thousands of banana workers led a huge crowd in denouncing United Brands' policy of closing its operations until Panama backs down on the demand for a tax on banana exports.

United Brands, and other U.S.-owned fruit monopolies, have banded together to try and wreck the formation of the banana-producers association among Latin American countries. They are afraid that if this organization gets off the ground, they will no longer be able to get away with the wholesale plunder of Latin American resources and labor.

Panama has stood fast in its demands, however, and has not been intimidated by the threats of United Brands. Panama's president, General Torrijos, told the crowd on Aug. 5, "We are not isolated in this struggle; the Third World, the union of the exploited countries against the exploiters, is watching the results of this struggle."

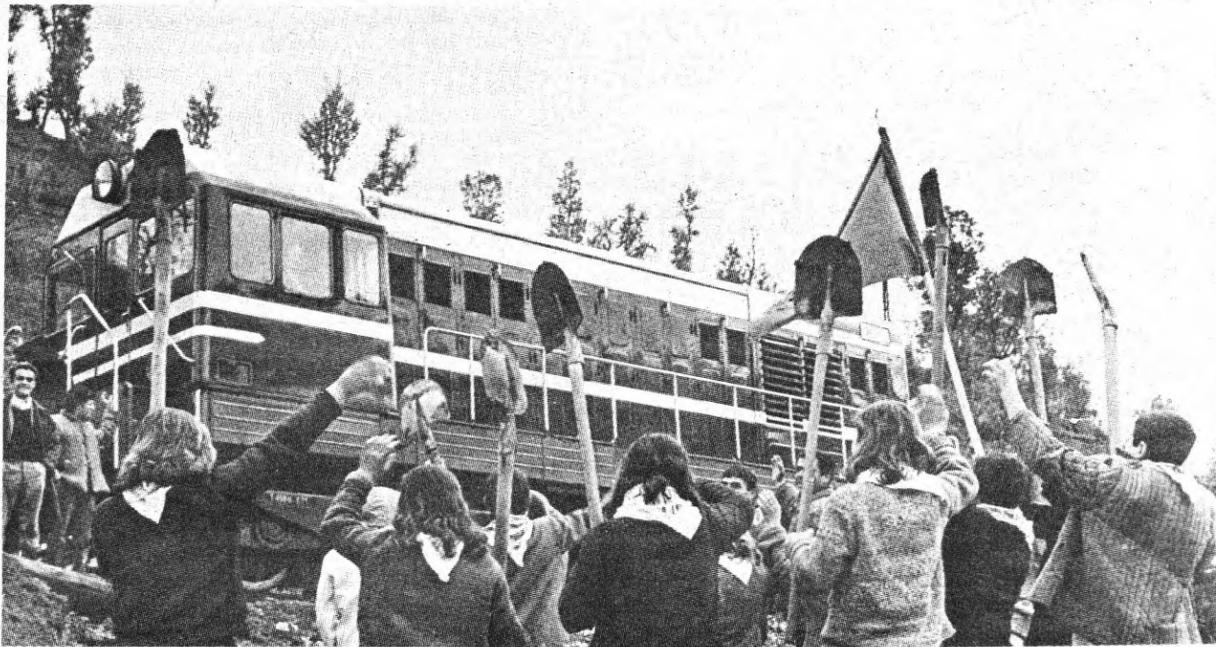
ONE-MAN RULE DENOUNCED IN S. KOREA

The recent attempt to assassinate south Korean puppet dictator Pak Jung Hi was used in the news media to whip up sympathy for this corrupt regime in its struggle against "terrorism." In fact, however, the recent events are only one more indication of the mass anger felt by the Korean people who suffer under the yoke of Pak's torture chambers, concentration camps, and one-man rule.

While Pak has totally denied democratic rights to the people since taking power, these repressive policies have been aimed increasingly at the mass movement for peace and the reunification of Korea. Even members of the puppet assembly have begun denouncing the anti-democratic policies of Pak. But when members of opposition parties stated on Aug. 7 that Pak's "emergency measures" were "dictatorial steps for maintaining his rule" Pak answered that these emergency measures can "also be applied to the assembly members," to silence them.

The Pak regime is becoming more and more isolated, as even some of its former allies have seen through its policies. A spokesman for the South Korea Democratic Unification Party recently called the south Korean assembly a "most undemocratic hired congress." The south Korean Shimin Party has also denounced Pak, saying that his regime is a cover up for dictatorship and suppression under the signboard of democracy.

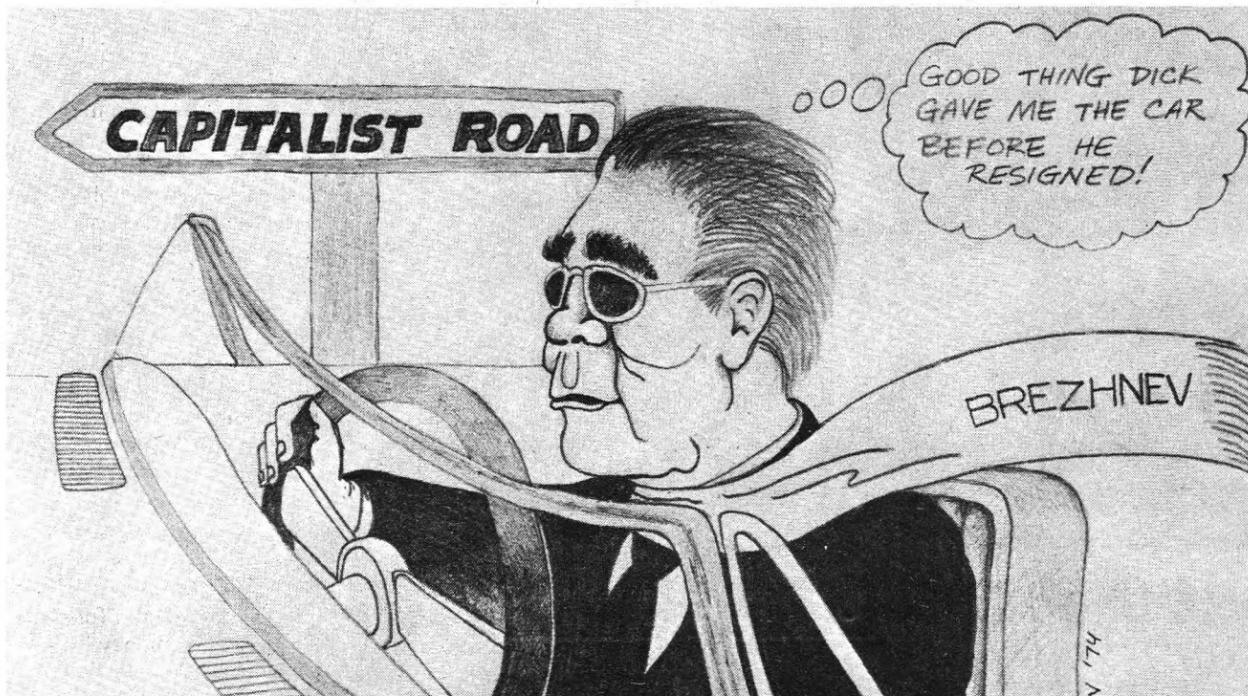
FIRST LOCOMOTIVE ON RAILROAD BUILT BY YOUNG VOLUNTEERS



Early this year in Albania, the railway line between Elbasan and Prenjas was completed. This railroad, as well as most others in socialist Albania, was built by the youth on a volunteer basis. Over 140,000 young volunteers, workers, and specialists spent five years constructing this section of the railway, which passes through rugged mountain terrain. Eighteen tunnels had to be constructed, as well as the Bushtrica Bridge, second tallest bridge in the Balkan Peninsula.

The building of the railroad is viewed first and foremost by the Party of Labor of Albania as a school for training revolutionary youth. The young people spend a good deal of their time doing political study and participating in cultural activities. The completion of this major construction project clearly shows the socialist spirit of the Albanian youth, and demonstrates their firm desire to forge ahead with socialism. The Party of Labor has always considered the youth to be its militant reserve, and it is examples like these which show this to be true. Through mass actions and socialist construction, the revolutionary qualities of the young people are further strengthened and consolidated.

U.S.S.R. / SOCIALISM IN WORD . . . BUT CAPITALISM IN FACT



Despite claims from Soviet officials that the Soviet Union is a society "free from antagonistic classes," evidence continues to mount which shows that in reality, this once proud birthplace of socialism has now degenerated into a capitalist country.

Recent travellers returning from the Soviet Union say that sharp class antagonisms are growing daily between the masses of working people on the one hand and a small handful of privileged bureaucrats on the other. Except for the fact that these growing antagonisms are disguised in many of the socialist forms of state ownership, left over from previous periods (prior to 1956) anyone familiar with existing capitalist relations in the United States would feel right at home in Moscow.

For the working class, who are now being blamed in the Soviet press for their "rising aspirations" the basic necessities of life (food, housing, transportation and quality medical treatment) grow increasingly inaccessible, while for the rising ruling class, the Soviet Union is a paradise filled with the best of western-made luxuries, fine cars, fancy houses and, of course, if not down-right decadent existence.

A recent article in a Soviet newspaper ran a complaint by Nina Danilova, a mother of seven, who told of her seventh-grade son going for a walk in the rain wearing a pair of his father's heavy work boots.

"He came back in a bad mood and said that his new friend, the son of a highly qualified specialist, had made fun of his boots. I told him that that boy was badly brought up and said he should pay no attention to him because I could not afford to buy new boots immediately.

"Our children know that our wages are not high enough to buy expensive things so there have never been requests for transistors or trousers of a special cut. They know that they will buy the things for themselves when they start working."

But despite the pleas to troubled youth to "ignore" it, the fact is that there are some youths who can and do easily afford to buy transistor radios, tape recorders, motorcycles and flared slacks, much of which are imported from the West, or sold on the black market. The money to buy these goods on the markets which thrive in the big cities, comes from parents who are part of the privileged classes and strata of Soviet society.

STUDENTS TALK

One Western reporter recently interviewed several college students who were having a fine time over a fancy champagne dinner. The girls and boys were dressed in clothes not sold in Moscow and were smoking American cigarettes.

"My father is a diplomat," one young man explained. "He brings things home with him from abroad and we buy a lot from foreign tourists."

Other families, according to the reporter, are allowed to shop at special stores reserved for special government ministries and departments of the Communist Party. The stores are unmarked and guarded to keep out those who do not have the proper credentials.

Also reserved for the privileged few are special health clinics and pharmacies where better quality medical care and drugs are available. Doors to the better lower schools where foreign languages are taught and the big universities and institutes are much more easily available to the children of these privileged families of officials and managers. Tickets to the best theater and concert performances and special events like the recent visit of La Scala opera company of Italy are kept away from the common people and generally distributed to loyal party members and government people.

Housing is given out in the same fashion, with the wealthy being able to afford two or three private country homes (dachas) located in the suburbs. Sound familiar?

Around the Black Sea resorts, high government and military as well as party officials own expensive homes and wallow in splendor.

This rising bourgeoisie, has formed out of the developing capitalist relations which take on the form of state monopoly capitalism in much the same way as the gas company might be run here, or the railroads in capitalist countries where they have been nationalized. Along with these developing relations have come all the usual signs of capitalism, including periodic crises of overproduction, inflation and, more recently, unemployment. Most significantly, from the ranks of the party and the bureaucracy has emerged a group of very wealthy people with privileges and power that compare with the giant monopolists here in the U.S. Included in this class are top level party leaders, government elite officials, military and police leaders and performing artists and entertainers to name a few. These people live in a style not even remotely comparable to the majority of the Soviet people.

The most obvious sign of privilege, just like in this country, is the big automobile. For the privileged class it is not unusual to own several fancy limousines, either of the Soviet-made Zil variety, valued at about \$80,000, the less expensive Chaika (\$14,000) or foreign-made Rolls Royces or Mercedes-Benz.

Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev often rides around town in his Rolls-Royce while his armed guards ride in a Zil on their high-speed trips between the Kremlin

NEVER FORGET CLASS STRUGGLE

At the working conference of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party at Peitaiho in August, 1962 and at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September of the same year, Chairman Mao put forward quite comprehensively the basic line of the CCP for the whole historical period of socialism, Chairman Mao pointed out: Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."

and his apartment on the west side of the city.

Violinist David Oistrakh and composer Aram Khatchaturian each own a Mercedes, and Victor Louis, journalist and known KGB spy, owns two, plus a Land Rover. When the privileged get an expensive car, their next task is to build a garage in their houses. An apartment cooperative was formed in Moscow recently to persuade officials to build a garage. "We were lucky," one member told a Western reporter, "as we had a famous actor and a well-known singer in our cooperative who became our best mediators."

While ownership of private dachas is quite common to members of the higher echelons of the party and government, Soviet Minister of Culture Ekaterina Furtseva was recently highly embarrassed when some of her opponents in the government publicly disclosed (a la Nixon) that she built her Moscow country place at a cost of \$170,000 using government materials purchased at a discount. What one must ask, and what the Soviet press failed to ask, is how any government worker could afford a house of this type in any other way?

Another one of the privileges of the Soviet bourgeoisie

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 17



Soviet revisionists exploit workers, says "Class Struggle"

Exploitation of the Soviet working class by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is exposed by an article in the latest issue of *Class Struggle*, organ of the Workers' Communist Party (M-L) of Norway.

The article says that the Soviet Union has changed into a state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Today, Soviet property, state or cooperative, belongs to the ruling bureaucrat-capitalist class which came to power through the Khrushchev coup. The working class no longer decides the road along which production develops. It has almost no power at all over production. According to a public-opinion poll conducted by the Soviet revisionists themselves, when 1,000 workers in a metallurgical works in Siberia were asked whether they know the way to fulfil their production target, 70 per cent of them gave a negative reply. Furthermore, they are not interested in the matter, because what they say does not count and nobody takes their opinion seriously. The Soviet working class is deprived of the power of control over the means of production and excluded from all policy-making bodies. Excluded from the management of enterprises and being pushed aside and oppressed in party and state organizations, the Soviet working class has lost the possibility of influencing production and social development, not to say leadership.

The economic reforms in the 1960s placed the leaders of Soviet enterprises in a position similar to that of general managers in Western enterprises, the article says. Today,

these leaders control the assets of their enterprises. They work out production lines in order to make profit. They make decisions on the employment and discharge of workers, fix their wages and punish them arbitrarily. Like Western capitalists, they can sell instrument of production, houses and land for profit or rent them to others. Obviously, they deal with state property as their private property. This exploiting class is the real owner of Soviet means of production.

Today, profit has become the motive force of the Soviet economic system. The workers are exploited through the seizure by the upper class of the surplus value they have created.

The article points out that one of the consequences of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is the emergence of unemployment. According to an exposure by a Soviet magazine, the number of Soviet citizens (including their families) who are roaming everywhere in search of jobs usually reach three million.

In conclusion, the article says that a form of capitalism different from that commonly seen in traditional capitalist countries has appeared in the Soviet Union where capitalism has been restored. The new bourgeoisie exercises control over the means of production, first of all, through the seizure of state power. This has led to highly concentrated state monopoly capitalism. The Soviet ruling class is facing an unsolvable problem.



SEPTEMBER 3 MARKS THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF HO CHI MINH the great leader of the Vietnamese revolution. Uncle Ho, pictured above at the Second National Congress of the Indochinese Communist Party, was a lifelong revolutionary fighter who said, "To save the country and liberate the nation, there is no other road but that of the proletarian revolution."

SOCIALISM IN WORDS ...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

is fancy health care. Dr. Mstislav Keldysh, head of the Soviet Academy of Science, had arterial surgery performed by the American expert, Dr. Michael DeBakey, twice. Journalist Louis was able to go to Zurich for surgery on his aching back. Press reports indicate that some of these privileges apparently are granted by the government to use up excess currency that exists in the Soviet economy. During years of having little to buy in the way of consumer goods, certain well-paid functionaries were able to accumulate huge savings accounts. These upper echelon or middle class citizens can form cooperatives to build apartments in much better style and quality than the government housing agencies provide.

Along with these economic developments can be seen the growing cultural attachment to the West. Bell-bottom jeans, which go for as much as \$100 on the black market, and Beatle records are the main pursuit of the upper class youth. Recent Soviet government figures showed that the Beatles were the largest selling foreign record performers in that country. The wealthy will sell stacks of rubles for a fraction of their value in order to get hard currency when they travel abroad in order to bring back luxury goods unavailable in the U.S.S.R.

The private market is another source of wealth for some. A few farmers have made large amounts of money by flying into major cities to hawk cases full of tomatoes at \$4.68 per lb. in winter, or strawberries and cherries at \$2.34 per lb. in the spring. Other sources of increasing private wealth for a few lie in similar speculation and in hoarding scarce commodities to sell on the private market.

Also similarly to the U.S., the rich blame the growing discontent on the poor. They are told that their "expectations are too high" and that the common people are too greedy, and suffer from "commodity fetishism."

"The problem is compounded by a tendency to exaggerate the power of things, to make a fetish of them," Valentin Tolstikh told a forum conducted by the Communist youth paper, Komsomolskaya Pravda. "The problem was created by parents who like to repeat, 'let my children not suffer things that I suffered'."

SEEK FAME AND FORTUNE

But the fact cannot be hidden that the "rising expectations" for material wealth of the Soviet people are only a reflection of the ruling class education that they receive in the Soviet system where the quest for fame and fortune is the main reason a young person goes to college. The Soviet elite that has made a fetish of fame and fortune has pushed material incentives as the main motivation for advancement among the people, rather than putting leadership, hard work and "serving the people" in first place as is done in real socialist countries like China and Albania.

A Moscow mother wrote Komsomolskaya Pravda that her son surprised her recently by asking, "Are we poor or rich?" But this should be no surprise to anyone in a country where increasingly the contradiction between rich and poor is once again, as it was prior to the 1917 October Revolution, becoming an antagonistic contradiction in society and which again calls for revolutionary overthrow and transformation of the existing social relations.

No amount of talk about a "state of the whole people" can cover this burning question before the Soviet people with their long heroic revolutionary traditions. Classes and class struggle are growing sharper with each day.

LATIN AMERICAN WORKERS ...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

anti-imperialist struggle. However problems started when the government created its own federation of unions (Peruvian Revolutionary Workers Federation), and counterposed it to the traditionally left controlled General Federation of Peruvian Workers." At stake is the independence of the working class in leading their struggle.

The recent general strike of 50,000 workers in Puño and Arequipa centered around the issue of recognition of a teachers' union outside of the government. While the majority of teachers voted for an independent union, the government stepped in and cancelled their elections. The teachers found widespread support from other laboring sectors, and in the strikes that followed over 200 were arrested, 8 killed and 40 wounded.

It was during this general strike that the revisionist Communist Party of Peru held its 6th National Congress. Instead of supporting the striking workers, they claimed that there existed "no manifest contradictions between the government and the workers." To the C.P.P. these striking workers were tools of a fascist threat. While the revisionists maintain control of several unions in the C.G.T.P., in Construction, Metal Mining, Bank Workers and Graphic Illustrators, they use their positions to suppress the workers' struggle. The C.P. tells workers that Peru is on the road of "irreversible revolutionary transition" led by the "radical middle sector of the Army" and that to oppose the government of the "unquestionable leader General Velasco" is to become "agents of imperialism."

Strong rank-and-file movements sprang-up in steel, fishing and in the auto industries. "Revolutionary Vanguard" and "Red Homeland" often have played leading roles in the establishment of these strongly anti-imperialist and militantly independent caucuses and unions.

The auto industry is particularly active. In January, a struggle broke out at Chrysler's plants in Lima and Trujillo. The fight not only centered on higher wages and more security, but also protested Chrysler's "fascist imperialist aggression" against the political rights of the workers. The workers accused Chrysler of making their factories into prisons.

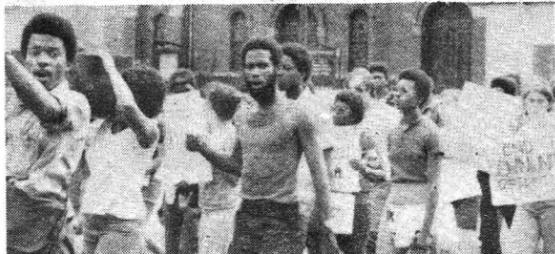
There had been over 100 disciplinary actions and over 50 suspensions. Safety was ignored, rate of production speeded-up, leaders fired, and violence used against union representatives. It is this type of struggle which led the Chrysler workers to call for the "destruction of imperialism" as a first step towards the liberation of the working class."

In Mexico workers are also fighting to create democratic unions, independent of the goon-riddled structure controlled by the government. Recently in the Yucatán, popular leader Pedia Efrain Calderón was assassinated while working to establish new peasant unions. This sparked off a month of worker-student-peasant strikes. But Calderón's killing is not an isolated instance. Violence typifies the struggle of workers to create an independent movement, free of bureaucratic manipulation.

The Revolutionary Union Movement is a strong and independent left force involved in the labor struggle. Their base is the Union of Electrical Workers, the first successfully rank and file controlled union in recent years. Their organizing efforts are now being extended to other industries, and in solidarity with other existing rank-and-file movements. The Front of Independent Unions is another group struggling along the same lines, though the Revolutionary Union Movement goes further in publically supporting the anti-imperialist struggle of the world liberation forces.

Other industries with strong militant sectors are railroad, oil, bank and auto. The large May Day celebration staged in Mexico City certainly points to the continuation of the struggle on even broader grounds in the future.

The trade unions of Latin America have come to be characterized by strong anti-imperialist actions, based on the daily demands of the working class. Direct confrontations between workers and the international companies of the super-powers are flaring up throughout the continent. No matter where imperialism builds its factories, workers will continue to fight against exploitation, and build unions which can truly represent their demands.



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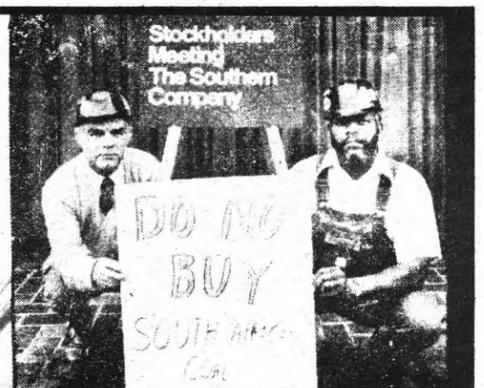
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FORD - THE CRISIS DEEPENS . . .

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ities are being jailed and prosecuted daily for going out on strike or for standing up for their democratic rights; while farm workers are filling the jails in Delano and the Coachella Valley, we cannot allow the real criminals like Nixon and Agnew to unleash these fascist attacks without punishment." (THE CALL, December, 1973.)

We encouraged the building of mass actions, focusing also on the murderous bombings of Cambodia and the aggression of the U.S. and Israel in the Middle East. Dump Nixon movements were organized in cities throughout the country in an effort to turn the mass anti-Nixon sentiment into something that could result in positive gains for the people, and a weakening of the capitalist assault on the rights of working people. This movement had a positive effect, and the fear of an increased people's movement was certainly a major factor in Nixon's resignation. The call to "bring us together again" by politicians is aimed at liquidating movements such as this.

Another aim of the Dump Nixon movement was to bring the political struggle against war and fascism into the factories and to the working people themselves. Many thousands of workers took part in the Dump Nixon demonstrations, which also received support from dozens of unions and the most active, militant elements of the rank and file struggles. The rising tide of the working class movement played a major role in deepening the pit in which the monopolists find themselves today.

It is true that the fundamental questions have not been resolved with Nixon's resignation. In fact, Nixon appears to be getting off light, with little threat of jail. The Congress refused to even take up the question of the illegal bombings of Cambodia which was responsible for untold destruction of human lives. But still, the resignation of Nixon did objectively weaken the capitalist offensive and therefore must be seen as a concession by the ruling class and a victory

for the people's cause.

The danger now is that some may be taken in by all the talk of the system working or the minor concessions Ford has made to the draft resisters in Canada. His talk of national unity is especially dangerous when it is echoed by the leaders of the labor unions who have flocked to his feet offering labor peace while capitalism tries to get itself together.

The revisionists of the CPUSA are also prettifying Ford, although they are upset that their call for "new elections" got hardly any support. They hope to increase their influence within the capitalist system of electoral politics by being the main spokesmen for "detente." This phony line says that the people of the world should give up their freedom and let the two superpowers rule the world jointly.

The CPUSA has abandoned all pretenses of being a revolutionary party and was the first to praise the new president for continuing Nixon's international policies. In the Aug. 10 issue of Daily World, the revisionist CPUSA writes:

"Gerald Ford announced even before being sworn in as the 38th U.S. President, his decision to keep Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State and to continue the policy of detente.

"The reason is that is where the votes are. Detente is a policy endorsed by the masses of the U.S. people as well as decisive sections of big business—the latter for their own obvious reasons."

It is this praise of Ford, as a man responsive to the interests of the people (even if only for their votes) on the question of detente, that exposes the really dangerous role of the CPUSA as the main apologist for the ruling class within the ranks of the working class. It was the CP's stand on detente, which they admit is the same as "decisive sections of big business" that helped prop up Nixon, even when his ouster was a mass demand. In doing this, the CP was only towing the Soviet line which wanted Nixon to stay in off-

ice because a weakened U.S. presidency, gave the USSR a stronger bargaining position in the international detente game. The CPUSA's view that the pro-detente forces, like Nixon, Ford and Kissinger, are opposed by the "bad" and anti-detente forces, like Jackson, led to their praise of Nixon as a worker for world peace.

No sooner was Ford in the White House than the fraud of "detente" was exposed again—in Cyprus where both superpowers began a scramble for spheres of influence. (See accompanying article.) No sooner was Ford in the driver's seat than amnesty for Nixon was established as the government's policy. No sooner had he sat down in his chair, than more talk of rising prices and the need for more "productivity from the workers" began flowing out of the mouths of Ford's appointees.

The dumping of Nixon signals only the beginning of the struggle against the rising tide of fascism which is directly linked to the deepening economic and political crisis of capitalism. In a revealing statement about the continued effects of inflation, Senior Treasury Adviser, Paul McCracken said in an interview in U.S. News and World Report, a week after Ford took office:

"We would probably turn to much more severe economic controls and the more detailed and severe the controls over economic life, the more difficult it is for any economy to generate progress, and for democracy to function in a normal way... We could move towards a police state."

So the lessons should be obvious. The fight cannot stop with Nixon. The fascist offensive is not dead and the general assault on the living standards of the people is increasing. The threat of a new superpower conflict is with us and the people's movement has got to take the offensive. The answer lies in a broad united front movement against the imperialists and their rotten policies, which mobilizes the masses in militant struggle and not in the petty reforms and election schemes of the opportunists.

SUPERPOWERS & CYPRUS . . .

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ture. They saw this as an opportunity to get even for their setbacks in the recent Middle East events where the U.S. imperialists made some gains at their expense. The Soviet revisionists, the two main powers, saying that the Ma, the MPLA (Popular Liberation Front) and the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Africa) "cannot close its eyes to set developments in Cyprus and 'has to follow them closely.'" They asserted that the "situation now strongly requires quick and effective measures" by the Soviet Union. Within 24 hours after the Cyprus flare-up, Soviet cruisers and destroyers were reported steaming in the direction of Cyprus, from Syria, where the Soviet flotilla is based. Western press agencies reported that "8 Russian airborne divisions totalling about 50,000 men have been put on alert in western and southern Russia."

At the same time, the U.S. 6th Fleet, permanently stationed in the Mediterranean, was placed at the ready and the prospects of all-out war seemed great. But pressure from countries around the world made it difficult for the two giant powers to pursue their expansionist aims in such an open way. Immediately, both of them tried to use the U.N. as a forum for their ambitions and they both took to the diplomatic road. They wooed some nations while attacking others, adding more heat to the fire and stirring up antagonisms everywhere.

USSR TRIES TO GET FOOT IN THE DOOR

On July 29, the Soviet Union urgently demanded a meeting of the U.N. Security Council at which it put forth a draft resolution calling for "a special mission to be sent immediately to Cyprus to inspect the situation on the island." At first the Soviet representatives were afraid of revealing their true purposes and secretly approached some non-aligned countries to present the draft resolution for them. But they were turned down by these countries and finally had to take the podium themselves. It was then seen that the real intent of the Soviet Union lay in the formation of this "U.N. special mission." The Soviet representatives went around madly campaigning to be made part of that mission as a way of broadening their sphere of influence and getting Soviet troops into Cyprus. Once this sneaky plan was revealed, it was strongly opposed and defeated.

Greece, Turkey and Britain then began to meet in Geneva in an attempt to bring about a cease-fire. Again, the Soviet Union tried to intervene. Victor Mainin, head of the Middle-East Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry was hurriedly sent to Geneva with the task of meddling in the conference on the pretext of "observing its development."

These efforts were matched by the U.S. who sent Under-Secretary of State Joseph Sisco, from Athens to Ankara in an attempt to impose a settlement favorable to continued U.S. domination and aggression.

In an interview with the Lebanese daily newspaper, Al-Anwar, President Makarios said, "it has become clear to many that the U.S. is playing a role in the Cyprus crisis which has nothing to do with the interests of the peoples of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey." Makarios then told the



Beirut newspaper that he has no wish to hold talks with "certain great powers playing a backstage role, nor with those who are hiding behind the scenery either."

After six days of consultation, an agreement was reached with the main countries involved "calling on all forces, including irregular forces to desist from all offensive or hostile activities." This resolution upset the Soviet Union because it didn't include their wish for a "special mission" to which they could gain access. They vetoed the resolution.

The events in Cyprus are developing along a fine thread separating a fragile cease-fire from all-out war. But through it all, the role of the two giant superpowers is being clearly revealed to all.

The Chinese representative to the United Nations, Huang Hua, spoke to the U.N. Security Council on August 1. He said, "As is known to all, Europe has continually been the focus of contention between the two superpowers, while the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus are at the Southern flank of Europe." Huang Hua went on to condemn the "two superpowers who stop at nothing in expanding their respective spheres of influence." He pointed out how "the two superpowers vie with each other in sending their observers to the tripartite talks in Geneva. Is this not a manifestation of their fierce contention?"

Huang Hua said in conclusion, "The facts have taught us" wherever there is contention between the two superpowers, there will be no tranquility and the issue there will be further complicated. Therefore, on the Cyprus question, we must firmly uphold the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and resolutely oppose all schemes of all outside forces, particularly the two superpowers."

Condemnation of the superpowers' role in Cyprus also came from Albania. A July 24th article in "Zeri i Popullit" stated, "The Cypriot event reveals very clearly the hypocrisy of the noisy propaganda of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism about 'detente', 'respect for the independence and sovereignty of other countries' and 'non-interference in the domestic affairs of all states.'" The article concluded, "An end should be put to any foreign interference in the domestic affairs of the Cypriot people. Cyprus is an independent country which must be left free to solve by itself its own domestic problems."

These statements best express the sentiments of the freedom-loving people both in Cyprus and throughout the world.



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